PRZEGLĄD
SOCJOLOGICZNY

tom LVIII/4

2009

LIST OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

This English-language issue of *The Sociological Review* contains a selection of texts originally written in Polish and published in our journal in 2009. The selection has not been made at random. Two texts refer to Jan Lutyński's concept of apparent actions (cf. *The Sociological Review* 1/2009). M. Czyżewski develops the concept further, indicating its applicability in the contemporary social life. The analyzed field is the university and public debates. A. Golczyńska-Grondas and A. Kretek-Kamińska apply the idea of apparent actions to the functioning of social services.

Another matter of interest is the status of higher education in Poland. The problem is interesting to researchers as well as to the entire milieu of scientists and politicians. Articles by M. Czyżewski, K. Karczmarczuk and A. Boczkowski represent the trend of self-analysis of the situation of universities in the period when decisions are made as to the future of higher education.

The article on the relations between the state and ethnic groups of Chile has a different and exceptional character, as it discusses the methods of dealing with a multicultural society.

MAREK CZYŻEWSKI
University of Lodz

"NEO-APPARENT" ACTIONS. SOME REMARKS ON CHANGES OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATION AND ACADEMIC LIFE

Summary

The times of the so-called 'real socialism' abounded with apparent actions. It would seem that such post-1989 changes as political democratization, market facilitation of the economy and introduction of the principle of publicity into the public sphere should have yielded a gradual marginalization of apparent actions. Instead, there are still plenty of apparent actions in Polish social life, even if their sources, mechanisms and functions have partly changed. The article addresses the two areas where apparent actions are particularly intense. In the fields of Science and Higher Education, a number of detrimental, and usually taboo, fictions have cumulated, especially in the domain of research, publications and mass education. The sphere of mass media, journalism, public debates and shaping of public opinion contains equally destructive illusions. Recent tendencies in apparent actions urge a theoretical reflection on apparent communication and apparent knowledge, and help to isolate 'neo-apparent' actions.

Keywords: apparent actions; public communication; Science and Higher Education; knowledge; trust; postmodernity; ethnomethodology

* * *

It seems obvious that apparent actions (in Jan Lutyński's sense) are present in areas of social life whose organization is based on the disparity between the facade of officially-declared, socially-important goals and the everyday experience of persons entangled in actual institutional practice. Lutyński emphasizes that such disparity perseveres against the commonsensical evidence, as the

'concealment, duplicity and hypocrisy' are guarded by 'pressures' and 'coercion' from above, which prevent this common knowledge from being made public [Lutyński 1990a: 107–108; cf. Piotrowski 1998: 41]. The author of the concept of apparent actions based his observations on the sociological qualities of 'real socialism' [Lutyński 1990a, 1990b, 1990c], although he also pointed out the universal afflictions of bureaucratic institutions, regardless of the socio-political system in which they function. Following this train of thought, one may expect apparent actions to transpire also within a post-communist reality (despite it being so unlike the realities of a 'people's democracy'), especially in such formalized organizations as public administration, political parties or public television, thus in places where the official, socially sublime goals are loudly proclaimed, albeit not necessarily realized.

It is beyond any doubt that the so-called 'real socialism' era abounded with apparent actions. It would seem that such post-1989 changes as political democratization, market facilitation of economy and introduction of the principle of publicity should result in a gradual marginalization of apparent actions. However, apparent actions still constitute a firm fixture within Polish social life, even if their sources, mechanisms and functions have partially changed. One aspect is particularly worth a closer study, namely the game of appearances within two selected areas: public communication and scientific life. These particular areas have not been selected because appearances and fiction are particularly frequent in these fields (the contemporary financial system is probably unparalleled in this regard) but rather due to the fact that they are responsible for the quality of social consciousness. A significant number of detrimental and usually tabooed fictions have cumulated in the fields of Science and Higher Education, especially in the domain of research, publications and mass education.

Another equally problematic area of destructive illusions is the field responsible for the shaping of public opinion – the so-called 'public debate', which includes mass media and journalism. The illusive nature of actions within the area of public communication as well as its destructive character are the subject of fierce, politically motivated and often futile public disputes, which bestow additional references (in part self-references) upon the issue of apparent actions. On the other hand, in this regard, the fields of Science and Higher Education approach the opposite, equally destructive extremity – matters about which "everybody knows" are not usually discussed.

This article combines the discussion of the empirical manifestation of new tendencies within the broad spectrum of apparent actions with theoretical reflection on the subject of apparent communication and apparent knowledge, with the aim of isolating examples of "neo-apparent" actions. This process entails phenomena which are to a large extent inevitable, although the sources of such inevitability are worth mentioning. Moreover, it is important to differentiate between destructive appearances and useful fictions as the latter (such as the counter-factual principle of publicity or the counter-factual principle of searching for the truth in scientific procedures) seem an indispensable point of reference for the criticism of the former.

THE PRAISE OF APPEARANCES AND FICTION
(WITH RESERVATIONS)

It would seem that the problem of apparent actions is not that the fields of appearance, illusion, pretending, insincerity and fiction are meant to be fundamentally dysfunctional, as opposed to the allegedly always valuable areas of truth, sincerity, rectitude and realism. On the contrary, a number of benefits can be traced, stemming from an adherence to appearances and values which exist solely to keep appearances. The positivist intellectual background of Jan Lutyński's concept of apparent actions could obstruct the appropriate appreciation of the positive, and more significantly constitutive, role of illusion in social life. However, the praise of appearance and fiction cannot be without reservations.

Let us commence a short review of the positive outcomes of appearance with the basic structure of social life, namely the intersubjectivity. Alfred Schutz, founder of Social Phenomenology, insisted that the sense of the everyday world is largely dependent on maintaining two idealizations (and thus premises) which cannot be fulfilled, and which together constitute the principle of the reciprocity of *perspectives*; not even the opponents of social phenomenology have succeeded in refuting this thesis. According to the idealization of the interchangeability of viewpoints, it is assumed that we would perceive the world just as another person does if only we assumed his/her point of view. The point, however, is that it is never completely possible to assume another person's point of view. Another idealization relates to so-called 'relevance systems', i.e. the hierarchy of issues seen as important or not important. Due to the differences in life experiences and different interests in the situation, our hierarchies of important and unimportant issues are not and cannot be congruent. We assume, however, that these differ-

ences can be sidestepped through a common denominator of temporary shared goals and issues to be addressed [Schutz 1973: 11–113].

These two idealizations constitute not only a normative reference frame for everyday life routines, which enables us to evaluate our own behavior as well as that of others, but also a foundation without which partial and fleeting understanding would not be at all possible. Therefore, fragmentary and inconstant real intersubjectivity occurs largely due to the illusory assumption that full intersubjectivity is possible. Habitual maintenance of the fiction associated with full intersubjectivity as well as the resources of common social experience give us a sense of grounding and of being together with others. Instances when one or the other of the aforementioned idealizations is undermined clearly illustrate how easy it is to lose such a sense. It has been demonstrated by the 'ethnomethodological experiments' [Garfinkel 1963], as well as the analysis of interactions portrayed in literary works by Kafka or Dostoyevsky [Schütze 1980].

It should be emphasized that as the basic structure of social relations, intersubjectivity is a double-edged construct, since it is intrinsically linked with the field of prejudice, stigmatization and social exclusion. The dark side of intersubjectivity should be remembered especially in the face of the apology of trust which has been present in sociological reflection in recent years. The concepts of social trust and social capital, formulated within 'mainstream sociology' [e.g. Coleman 1990, Sztompka 2007] could significantly benefit from the inclusion of phenomenological and ethnomethodological approaches to both the positive and negative aspects of this issue. Schutz never studied the problem of trust (German *Vertrauen)* as such but instead he focused on the "familiarity" (German *Vertrautheit)* [cf. Endress 2002: 17–19]. As Schutz's conclusions seem to indicate, trust is contingent upon uncalculated "familiarity" *(Vertrautheit)* with the action and appearance of another person, based on common knowledge. Of course, familiarity is the opposite of the experience of strangeness, which is associated with lack of trust. Transforming the experience of strangeness into the experience of familiarity is not easy and the experience of familiarity can easily be undermined in the process.

In early Ethnomethodology, which developed Schutz's ideas in this regard, trust is contingent on whether or not basic expectations are met as regards "normal appearance", in other words, modes of being and action which are regarded as normal and can be interpreted as such. The point is not only about how to make an appropriate, "normal" impression, as the participants of social life treat the fulfillment of such expectations as the basis of common moral judgments. This occurs because according to common, conventional reasoning, the socially-defined

normality or abnormality of someone's "appearance refers us to their ostensibly actual traits ("He has kind eyes, he is reliable" or "he is crazy, you cannot reason with him"). Thus, common conclusions on the subject of seemingly "objective" features are responsible not only for trust bestowed upon those whom we perceive within the socially defined norm, but also for the lack of trust towards people regarded as aliens, bringing the risk of uncertainty or threat [Schutz 1973, Garfinkel 1967].

In other words, sociological theory overlooks the fact that the social object called trust or "the culture of trust" is constituted by the structures of the experiences of familiarity and strangeness. The ambivalence of trust refers therefore not only to the sometimes problematic functions of trust but it is located in the area of its social constitution. It is the contrasting character of familiarity and strangeness that constitutes the ambivalent nature of trust which, on the one hand, provides the "familiar ones" with a sense of security and community while on the other, excludes "strangers". Such a paradox, explored in numerous studies devoted to the so-called labeling theory, is the proverbial fly in the ointment produced by mainstream Sociology and Economy in praise of trust, social capital and so on.

Another positive outcome of adhering to appearances is the justification of scientific conduct as a procedure which should be differentiated from the principles governing common knowledge, the methods of media statement organization, political rhetoric devices or the rules of entrepreneurship. The issue is significant in a situation when the lines dividing the scientific study of reality from other methods of experiencing it become blurred; On the one hand, they are affected by the postmodern culture, advocating a skeptical view on the rule of reason and promoting the cult of mosaic-like arrangements, while on the other, being strongly influenced by the pressure of economic discourses dictating the criteria of practical application and profitability, which are external to Science.

The scientific image of the world as a particular variety of knowledge exists only inasmuch as researchers who follow specified procedural requirements pursue the goal of constructing a scientific, by necessity artificial, model of the studied reality. In case of the social sciences in the broad sense (such as Sociology, Psychology, Economy and History) where the field of study includes persons undertaking actions, the scientific image of reality may not be able to envisage real people in their whole complexity and uniqueness; instead, it must be somehow populated by artificial, unreal "puppets" created by researchers. They only meet the requirements of the theoretical model adopted by the researcher – they undertake actions and have experiences solely within the boundaries set by the

theoretical concept which created them [Schutz 1973: 40–142]. This occurs even when the theoretical concept is not assumed in advance but "generated" in the course of study, that is, according to the strategy principles of grounded theory [Glaser, Strauss 1967].

Thus, the condition of the scientific profession is the fictitious nature of the scientific image of reality. However, such a necessity entails a shadowy zone in the form of the risk of production of scientific artifacts as well as the excess of scientific lingo. The uncompromising deconstruction of Social Science methodology as the scientific production of facts can be found in Aaron Cicourel's *Method and Measurement in Sociology* [1964], as well as in radical ideas of Harold Garfinkel, including the notion of "glossing", which refers to abstract, and ostensibly explanatory scientific formulas failing to reconstruct the experienced reality [Garfinkel 1967].

The positive proposition of late ethnomethodology has been focused on the "unique adequacy requirement" [inter alia Garfinkel et al. 1986; also Garfinkel, Wieder 1992]. Regardless of the erroneous readings which appear in textbooks on modern sociological theories, the "unique adequacy requirement" does not postulate reaching the ostensible core nor a basic grammar of social action (nor, as Michael Lynch ironically puts it, does it mean the quest "for the Holy Grail") but it should rather incite the emergence of many new hybrid research disciplines, appearing at the junction point of interpretation processes and ethnomethodological analysis [Lynch 1993: 274–1277]. Such a research program has never been fully realized and in these instances where it has been, it is located (according to Garfinkel's intention) outside of Sociology as science and as institution. In other words, Ethnomethodology in its radical version has caused its own marginalization – at its own request. Although a consistently-comprehended ethnomethodology deliberately leads towards the destruction of standard scientific procedure, it nevertheless remains a source of inspiration for such varieties of Sociology which are not satisfied with the uncritical production of scientific artifacts. The dilemma associated with drawing inspiration from ethnomethodology is evocative of a moth circling a flame; Straying too close brings the risk of destruction while remaining afar entails lack of access to the light. In this situation, the concept of Science proposed by Alfred Schutz and heavily criticized by radical versions of Ethnomethodology gains value, as it guarantees that it will remain within the grounds of scientific procedure. This status seems particularly important, especially in the face of contemporary risks of blurred lines.

By necessity, the two further disciplines in which very valuable benefits of adhering to appearances are manifested will be only briefly outlined although

they deserve a much broader discussion. Democratic political order in a modern, complex society is possible due to partial consensus, the condition of which is that fundamental outlook differences be set aside and focus be directed on such aspects of the difference of opinion which can be reconciled. Political liberalism in terms of John Rawls [2005], which is meant here, is certainly a controversial concept of political order when treated as a normative ideal. Deep divisions can be observed between liberal supporters of shaping political reality according to an outlined, deliberate model and their anti-liberal adversaries (both left- and right-wing) who are opposed to excessive – in their view – cooling of political disputes or concealed exclusion of radically-alternative opinions. However, as a record of political "actuality" or a description of empirically-verifiable scenarios of political order, a partial consensus seems to be a more relevant scientific model. It is worth noting that the partial consensus principle could be considered as a representation of Schutz's second idealization of the congruency of systems of relevance (see above).

Finally, the game of appearances and illusion provides the foundation on which, to a large extent, the quality and taste of interpersonal and intergroup relations are based. Georg Simmel [1992] and Erving Goffman [1971] pointed to the need to maintain fiction in social relations through such procedures as the preservation of purposeless "sociability", tactful omission of "truth" when talking to another person, overlooking gaffes or "repairing" them together, irony and self-mockery, as well as interactive exercises of distancing oneself from the burdensome action routines and cognitive schemes. These aspects of social relationships can play a very positive role, not only in private dealings but also in institutional and public relations, which the theory of communication proposed by Jürgen Habermas does seem not to take into account, recommending instead distance and distrust towards communication practices that undermine the principles of (rational) discourse.

APPARENT AND "NEOAPPARENT" ACTIONS

Given the reasons outlined above, it is worth stating that the apparent actions in Jan Lutyński's terms are a particular, dysfunctional subset of the broader field of appearance and fiction, distinguished by the contrast between the official purpose and the real uselessness, the lack of positive public disclosure of such uselessness despite general awareness, as well as socially-harmful consequences. Among the latter, Lutyński points in the first place to "the lowering of civic and

professional morale of their [apparent actions] performers, observers and even commissioners" [Lutyński 1990a: 117].

Following the initial praise of appearance and fiction, the issue of apparent actions can be, therefore, formulated as follows: What makes it possible for a value to be transformed into anti-value, something worth striving for into something to be avoided; order into disorder; conditions which ensure smooth functioning into a dysfunctional pathology; characteristics determining the integrity of such areas of social reality as everyday life, public sphere, politics, and scientific life into traits negating essential requirements of their integrity?

Contrary to the utilitaristic and pragmatic connotations of the concept of apparent actions proposed by Jan Lutyński, it is worth noting that a significant normative turning-point in the operative field of the problem is not between actuality and fiction, but between fictions which are useful (nay, even desirable) and those which are useless or even harmful. Stressing the contrast between fabricated fiction and reliable actuality can be misleading because the positivistically perceived values of effectiveness and usefulness are susceptible to allegations from critical theory, exposing the narrow practicism of instrumental reason. Granted, in the frame of reference of real socialism, which abounded in grotesque facades and was afflicted with a wearisome scarcity of efficiency, it seems abundantly understandable to dream of making actions "real", of banishing the artificial staffage of propaganda servitudes and improving the organization of social life. But it is commonly known today that the reality of the capitalist economy, democratic order and the shaping of political institutions of civil society is by no means freer from apparent actions. In fact in many areas, although this may sound like heresy, the role of illusion and appearance seems much greater than in real socialism – suffice it to mention the increasing role of PR and marketing in the economy, the transformation of the modern financial system in into a global one, an Internet "casino" based on virtual money including the so-called derivative instruments, or a far-reaching medialization and staging of political life. It should be stressed again that the transformation of public communication and scientific life, a subject of a closer interest in this text, is only a fraction of an overall trend toward the "de-realizing" of reality which in this case consists in the constant staging of public debates or the alleged "professionalization" of Higher Education.

One of the basic properties of apparent actions in Jan Lutyński's terms relies on the fact that it is widely known that apparent actions are useless (or harmful) as regards the achievement of the official goal but such knowledge is not publicly disclosed. Nowadays, the situation seems to be different.

Firstly, because of the freedom of expression and independent media presence, public disclosure of apparent actions is possible and – considering the normative principle of publicity – even desirable. What is more, the disclosure of apparent actions, as well as other grotesque anomalies, becomes a media product corresponding to the media's demand for communications to attract audiences. However, the disclosure usually stops at the level of such a "collation" of information, so that it can cause superficial indignation or amusement but is not accompanied with a message of thorough knowledge about sources and mechanisms of detected pathology, nor an incentive to consider it. Furthermore, the general attitude of the media to mass production of communications "engaging" the audience leads to indifference to the content of individual messages. As a result, it sometimes results in "banging one's head against a brick wall": the media can relentlessly talk about one or another apparent action to no actual avail. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of public debates, including those which relate to specific apparent activities, such as within administration or social welfare. Debates are of course permitted and even desirable but themselves are often illusory, since they generally consist in delivering different statements without establishing a real dispute and without coming to any conclusions.

Secondly, a hypothesis can be formulated that in the conditions of contemporary forms of capitalism and democracy, aside from the traditional, typical apparent actions (e.g. administrative absurdities) apparent actions of a new type appear, namely "neoapparent" actions. *They do not meet the definitional requirement of apparent actions, which speaks of their widely recognized uselessness (and sometimes even harmfulness) in terms of formal objectives, and knowledge on this subject is purely private and cannot be made public. The image of "neoapparent" actions, both in the private and public domains, can enjoy universal regard as at least "so-so", or having at least some degree of usefulness, although the action itself can in fact be useless or even harmful*. Knowledge of the uselessness or harmfulness of "neoapparent" actions is not universal and is often the subject of (not overly profound) public disputes and controversies. The question is thus, so to speak, about apparent actions in the circumstances of false or at least foggy consciousness. The type of "neoapparent" actions is disseminated in many areas of social life. Contrary to apparent actions, neoapparent actions are surrounded only by a relatively limited range of insincerity. However they can also have a morally-corrupting influence on their performers, observers and commissioners.

The scope of the dissemination of knowledge on "neoapparent" activities and the degree of transparency and distinctiveness may vary depending on the

area of occurrence; As it turns out, the situation in the area of public commu-
nications differs from the one in scientific life. In each case, however, the blur-
ring of boundaries occurs between what is real and what apparent, and between
truth and falsehood as well as good and evil. These boundaries, hitherto seen
as sharp, become blurred. At the same time, the field of ambiguous phenomena
is growing: neither real nor apparent, neither true nor false and neither good
nor bad. The Internet obviously contributes its part to the social production of
such ambiguity. Another example can be observed in the relatively new, hybrid
formats of television production whose common feature is an inclination for
sensational, quasi-realistic effects which would be compelling for the audience,
such as police-detective series which are supposed to be based on facts but are
in fact somewhere between the formula of a documentary and fiction and feature
mostly professional actors (e.g. the originally German format *K11 – Kommissare
im Einsatz*, and its Polish version *W11 – Wydział Śledczy* [*Investigation Office*]),
assorted and ubiquitous varieties of *Reality TV*, where participants, the so-called
ordinary people, are placed in unusual circumstances (such as *Big Brother, The
Real World, Fear Factor* and their derivatives) or where amateurs in a given field
are persuaded to take on the role of professionals (e.g. *Pop Idol*, *Strictly Come
Dancing*) and related formats. But the point is not only about the various formats
of media production, they are merely an illustration of the overall process of
the diffusion of ambiguous patterns of behavior in many spheres of economic,
political and social life.

Moreover, the application of the distinctive criteria of reality and appear-
ance, truth and falsehood and good and evil for this type of phenomena gives the
impression of anachronism. These criteria have in fact originated from before
the fundamentally postmodern cultural change and are to supposed to refer to
the phenomena emerging in the course and under the influence of that change. It
can be best illustrated by the pattern of four phases within the image proposed
by Jean Baudrillard [1994][1].

In the first phase of a cultural definition, an image is a "reflection of
a profound reality", which is possible assuming the optimistic and naive idea
of a sign reference to reality. If, however, we feel that the picture "masks and
denatures a profound reality", then we apply the skeptical and suspicious optics
of ideology criticism, typical of the second phase, and following the footsteps
of Marx, Freud and Mannheim we will search for social, political, economic or
psychological causes of the distortion of the image of reality. In the third phase

---

[1] Quoted after: Baudrillard 1994: 6.

of the image, we still remain within the circle of skepticism and doubt, but this time we are inclined to notice that the image "masks the *absence* of a profound reality" – in other words, we search for manifestations of artifice, simulation, exaggeration, pretense, public relations tactics, political marketing, care about the image, hypocrisy, omissions and lies. It is here, I think, that the perspective designated by Jan Lutyński's concept of apparent actions lies, whose message consisted in opposing the illusory and harmful, politically-forced facade of real socialism. The fourth phase "marks a decisive turning point" as until now we have thought that, one way or another, we have been dealing with the signs that conceal "something" (refer to "something", distort "something" or pretend to be "something"), while now we are surrounded with the signs which "dissimulate that there is nothing", since the image "has no relation to any reality whatsoever; it is its own pure simulacrum". What begins to surround us is not the reality with which earlier cultural eras had to do, nor is it, strictly speaking, a "virtual reality", nor the traditionally conceived "unreal", but rather a vague and chaotic chain of phenomena located within the unclear horizon beyond the division of reality and unreality. It is in this area – or rather at the transition point leading to it – that neoapparent actions are located, as it seems.

Lucien Febvre [2002], one of the masters of research on the history of men-tality, argued with the standard reading of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* by Francis Rabelais as a supposedly brave, precursory manifesto of atheism, stating that in the Renaissance the meaning of modern atheism (disbelief in God) had not yet existed as a cultural form. Thus, an earlier era of cultural categories cannot be forced into the subsequent categories of interpretation without committing an error of ahistoricism. Reversing the vector of time, it can be said that application of outdated categories of interpretation to the new reality is sometimes a similar error. The attachment of contemporary Western societies to the traditional binary categories of reality and appearance (as well as to the criteria of truth and falsehood and good and evil) is indeed still strong but it does not change the fact that in the Western cultural milieu, a far-reaching erosion of such categories can be observed which, in specified regards, gives way to the ambiguity of surrounding phenom-ena. At the same time, the forced binary classification model of 'yes/no' moves, it seems, on to such spheres which have so far been of secondary importance in the hierarchy, such as efficiency, profitability and perceptual attractiveness.

While, therefore, apparent actions as defined by Jan Lutyński are surrounded by an ominous aura or grotesque hypocrisy, "neoapparent" actions are rather foaming in an atmosphere of banality, coarseness and alleged "practicism" which overrides the trivial faces of its emissaries and followers. The cult of trivial

values has not yet gained full cultural legitimacy and still requires the game of appearances in the spirit of traditional values. This purpose is served by media-staged moral scandals. Baudrillard formulated instructive comments on the so-called Watergate scandal. In his opinion, "Watergate succeeded in imposing the idea that Watergate was a scandal" which rendered "a large dose of political morality reinjected on a world scale" [Baudrillard 1994: 14]. Thus, the staging of the Watergate scandal was to serve as a demonstration that the political order is fundamentally sound and the illegal and immoral practices have been swiftly eliminated. Brave journalists, nipping the evil among political elites in the bud are in fact an image in the classic western film poetic, where a noble sheriff wins the fight with a band of cutthroats and order and peace are restored in the town. Here, the secret is not only the widespread degeneration of politics, in the light of which Watergate was not and by no means is an isolated case, but above all the disappearance of politics as a field of reality and its transformation into a chaotic game of images and illusions.

The beginnings of the postmodern cultural transformation in the West are usually seen as more or less the last quarter of the twentieth century. It can be assumed that on a larger scale this transformation has arrived in Poland and other former Eastern Bloc countries along with the advancing processes of system transformation. According to the thesis proposed here, one of the manifestations of postmodern transformations is the dissemination of "neoapparent" activities at a different pace and intensity in the circle of the Western civilization. Due to the fact that in the new, emerging "reality" obsolete, binary criteria are still applied, ones which the new "reality" eludes, one can hardly agree with the postmodernist vision that a completely different era of post-modernity has simply already begun. It seems a more accurate diagnosis to speak of "a pre-postmodern era character-ized by a desperate adherence to modernist conceptions of truth and rationality, and to the institutions that enforce them, while at the same time bearing witness to their disruption and decay" [Lynch and Bogen, 1996: 248].

COMMUNICATION AND PUBLIC LIFE AS A SCIENTIFIC AREAS OF "NEOAPPARENT" ACTION

In both selected areas, neoapparent actions are not only useless but also harm-ful for official purposes. Quite often, public communication fetishizing the value of "information" not only fails to contribute to the shaping of public opinion as a result of a real public debate but blocks its development. Neoapparent actions

in the field of science not only fail to serve the search for scientific knowledge and education of new generations but interfere with these objectives, although they are carried out under the banner of "knowledge" or "knowledge society".

Public communication is influenced by a number of negative conditions, both external and internal [Czyżewski 1997]. Among the internal conditions, the issue of excessive staging stands out. Increasingly, television debates do not consist in the consideration of the arguments of different parties but in interactive games focused on concern for a participant's own self-image and undermining the image of the adversary. However, viewers do not mind since such television debates are generally treated in part as a variety of an entertainment program. A new format has entered into Poland, one long known in the West, the format of podium discussions involving prominent personalities who simulate a real debate before the gathered audience. Soon, Jürgen Habermas's reflections on the subject, formulated fifty years ago in his *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, may prove to be accurate in our part of Europe:

> "So-called debates were formally organized and at the same time compartmentalized as an element of adult education. Religious academies, political forums, and literary organizations owe their existence to the critical review of a culture worthy discussion and in need of commentary; radio stations, publishers, and associations have turned the staging of panel discussions into a flourishing secondary business. Thus, discussion seems to be carefully cultivated and there seems to be no barrier to its proliferation. But surreptitiously it has changed in a specific way: it assumes the form of a consumer item […] Today the conversation itself is administered. Professional dialogues from the podium, panel discussions, and round tables shows – the rational debate of private people becomes one of the production numbers of the stars in radio and television, a salable package ready for the box office; it assumes commodity form even at 'conferences' where anyone can 'participate'. Discussion, now a 'business,' becomes formalized; the presentation of positions and counterpositions is bound to certain prearranged rules of the game; consensus about the subject matter is made largely superfluous by that concerning form. What can be posed as a problem is defined as a question of etiquette; conflicts, once fought out in public polemics, are demoted to the level of personal incompatibilities. Critical debates arranged in this manner certainly fulfills important social-psychological functions. Especially that of a tranquilizing substitute for action; however, it increasingly loses its publicist function" [Habermas 1989: 163–164].

The question therefore arises: what serves what? Do theatrical aspects, inevitable in communication and not without valuable qualities, serve the consideration of arguments, or is it *vice versa* – that the socially-recognizable definition of "considering the arguments" is a tool used for the purposes of media or podium staging of the so-called "public debate"? An additional aspect of theatricality and public communication is associated with a specific variety of language emerging in the television and radio, sometimes known as "media talk" [see Hutchby 2006,

Tolson 2006]. Its striking features involve: the method of conducting interviews (in many respects different from daily routine and often artificially intensified), characteristic lexical and phraseological varieties, as well as seeking the applause of the audience present in the studio.

Internal determinants of public communication are reinforced by the external environment, especially through commercialization. Medialization combined with commercialization means a demand for sharp, unproductive disputes between parties who in a way speak different languages and lead nowhere – that is, the ritual chaos[2]. Ritual chaos and the destructive variety of conflict communication, which consists of inconclusive highlighting the insurmountable differences of opinion, often poses as social drama, that is, a model of constructive conflict transformation, which it certainly is not. What is interesting, in the bustle and chaos, a ceremonial and apparent agreement between the conflicted parties is often hidden, excluding such views which are alternative to all parties involved in the dispute. Indeed, alternative views threaten the covert doxa which is secretly shared by ostensible adversaries. Thus, the so-called public debates of our time are often multi-layered productions based on a complex game of appearances.

The apparent nature of these and other political activities (identified as the uselessness or harmfulness) is often the subject of especially bitter, unproductive disputes. These disputes are often staged and played tactically as they are generally based on changing political interests rather than deep differences of opinion. Quarrels of this kind (both radio and television provide new examples every day) stop at the surface of the problem and do not cross the boundary condition of a concordantly constructed, quasi-theatrical performance, involving the integrity of the underlying assumptions about matters which cannot be problematized. The result is a vicious circle: a lot of noise and strong words, while sources and mechanisms of "pre-postmodernity", including neoapparent actions, are ignored. The contemporary, medialized and commercialized sphere of public communication is not able to promote reflection and knowledge about itself.

The result of this situation is its resistance to change and correction, a non-subvertability of sorts. Parliamentary committees of inquiry may serve as an illustration of the problem. They are mostly unproductive in the sense that they do not (and cannot) bring clarification and resolution of the matter. On the contrary, they seem to result in generating only the appearance of "insolvability" of the case. In this respect, the analysis of Michael Lynch and David Bogen

---

[2] See the characteristics of discourse mechanisms of ritual chaos, social drama, ceremony and agreement in: Czyżewski 1997.

[1996] concerning the 1986-1987 commission of inquiry in the Iran-Contra affair is quite informative. This commission was meant to examine the relevance of information (widely publicized by the media) concerning the suspicions of high representatives of the Washington administration as to their entanglement in the illegal sale of arms to the embargoed Iran. Arms sales were to be aimed at a "behind-the-scenes" easing of the strained relations between the US and Iran, as well as the clandestine financial support of Nicaraguan anti-communist guerrilla, the so-called Contras. In their description of the procedure which was subject of the commission's inquiry, Lynch and Bogen employ the concept of "sleaze" – in its general use relating primarily to illegal or immoral practices of political elite concealed behind the veil of an alleged rule of law, high moral standards and dedication to the common good.[3] An important feature of political sleaze is its "slippery" nature, suggested by onomatopoetic qualities of the word and referring not only to the morally dubious and in some sense "shady" (devoid of good style) character of the aforementioned actions but also to its "elusiveness", i.e. the systematically occurring impossibility of determining ultimately whether and to what extent the raised objections are real.

The logic of sleaze is transferred partly to the activities of commissions of inquiry involved in tracking political sleaze and it is by the activities of these committees reinforced, willingly or not. Charges relating to "sleaze" demand a clear decision on the grounds of legal discourse but face complex defense strategies which effectively seek to establish legal undecidability of all accusations [Lynch and Bogen, 1996: 243–248].

Although the inevitable by-product of the committee of inquiry is, as it seems, the support of the convoluted "logic of sleaze", commissions of inquiry are still appointed in different countries, perhaps mainly because of the political capital that can be made out of them because of media publicity (this principle operates in all directions of the political scene) and due to the demand for the legitimacy of the political system as a whole. This does not mean that no committee of inquiry would be better than the "sleaze" which the very committees generate nor would it be better than tolerating the "sleaze" afflicting political elites here and there. It is, however, worth being aware of what the activities of a committee of inquiry actually entail, so as not to confuse the official statement on the matter

---

[3] The category of sleaze was commonly used in the nineties in the UK in connection with a series of media corruption and moral scandals whose heroes were the politicians of the conservative Tory party. The so-called *Tory sleaze* has contributed to Tony Blair's Labor Party coming to power in 1997.

with the qualities of the social construction of "reality", in which committees are involved.

Moreover, taking into account the role of the sleaze in public life, thereby drawing attention to an important sector of "neoapparent" actions leads to general theoretical issues. While "trust" within the meaning of sociological theory "fills the essential gaps between stable normative order and situated conduct […], sleaze enables actors to exploit equivocality and indeterminacy when asked to comply with the binary terms of moral regulations. Where trust is cited as the quintessential mode of precontractual solidarity, sleaze refers us to inadmissible machinations that make the system work through secret deals, official lies, and transgressive alliances" [Lynch and Bogen 1996: 246]. Thus, "trust" and "sleaze" are somewhat parallel phenomena. With trust, a social "ceremonial of truth" is possible which (referring to the ideas of Michel Foucault) is based on the "regime of truth", specific to a given society[4]. Its counterpart is a "regime of sleaze" which "works in a more obscure fashion as a lubricant that enables slippage and reduction of friction at points of contact within the interior channels of the machinery of state" [Lynch and Bogen, 1996: 246–247].

Scientific life is filled with "neoapparent" actions, especially in the field of empirical research and Higher Education. Scientific analyses, by necessity, feed on the "pigeonholing" of reality and by definition must use models of their object of study. These unavoidable properties of scientific inquiry undergo excessive sharpening within large, bureaucratic research projects, which deserves a sociological and political science analysis. Striking is the lack of public debate on the "project science" and "project knowledge" in Polish sociology. Polls, the most widely known form of social research, are a separate issue. Due to society's growing awareness of polls being largely useless from the standpoint of official purposes (which is associated with awareness of weaknesses of the poll methodology, their medialization and political instrumentalization), polls are increasingly seen on the one hand as apparent actions, on the other hand as a necessary ingredient of an attractive media communication on political topics. The knowledge of the partially-apparent character of polls is not widespread among sociologists, who are generally confident about their "so-so" suitability for achieving official objec-

_____

[4] Cf. notes by Foucault (1984: 73: "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true."

tives, giving them the attributes of "neoappearance"[5]. On this occasion, it is worth noting that the criterion of knowledge about the uselessness and harmfulness of activities, determining the qualification of actions as apparent or neoapparent, must be relativized to the social subjects of such knowledge. The same action may be of a more apparent nature in one social environment and rather "neoapparent" in another.

A new quality in the dissemination of "neoapparent" actions appears along with the wave of research in the field of the so-called knowledge-based society, social capital and human capital, governance and civil society, and thus phenomena and processes assumed to be determinants of modernization and democratization. In this area a dominant discourse evolved, which does not allow alternative and skeptical viewpoints. In their light, one could consider for example overt and hidden functions of the dominant sociological discourse. According to one possible hypothesis, such discourse is reduced in the theoretical dimension to an open promotion of a society based on exchange networks, and in the mental dimension – to covert and unreflective reproduction of the principles of "governmentality", a neoliberal formula of managing society by means of self-government of workers and citizens[6]. A related skeptical viewpoint results from the analyses of "the new spirit of capitalism" based on networks and projects [Boltanski, Chiapello 2007]. Mainstream Polish sociological theory lacks serious references to these and other alternative perspectives. In other words, a reflection on any negative aspects of the above-mentioned determinants of modernization and democratization, as well as the dominant sociological discourse which promotes them, is virtually absent from the sociological environment while among Polish sociologists, support for these determinants is generally taken to be a so-so usefulness at least and sometimes even fully useful.

Similar changes have appeared in Higher Education. Knowledge of its negative aspects is not widespread. High rates of school attendance in Poland after 1989 is treated by the media and influential sociologists as one of the major, if not the most important, unquestionable successes of the Polish transformation. However, mass education cannot but lead to a lowering in the intellectual level of students and a decline in the quality of education, as well as to reorienting the curriculum for allegedly practical skills (confusingly called "procedures") and to the withdrawal into the background of the critical and distanced analysis

---

[5] See more on the role of polls in: Czyżewski, 2007.

[6] Foucault developed the concept of "governmentality" in his lectures from 1978–1979 [Foucault 2004]. See the introduction to this concept: Czyżewski, 2009.

of reality. Mass education must also lead to a lowered intellectual level of the teaching workforce – by increasing the number of teachers, increasing their teaching workload and by the mechanism of the weak hiring the weaker to work at universities. A number of outstanding students do not stay at university, not due to better life prospects elsewhere, but because they are felt to be too strong intellectually and too independent mentally of their potential superiors.

Scientific life in the conditions of bureaucratization of universities and mass education is an area particularly susceptible to the influence of "sleaze", such as plagiarism of academic articles and student undergraduate and graduate theses, as well as illegal or morally questionable administrative practices and teaching. The scale and mechanisms of these phenomena are not subject to public, in-depth discussion. The focus of media audiences are mobilized occasionally by more or less spectacular "scandals", the staging of which is meant to make an impression that the grounds for a legal and moral order are respected.

Another fiction which is surrounded by the belief in its accuracy is the so-called "professionalization" of sociological and economic academic courses. Within the academic structures and with university staff, it can rarely result in acquisition of practical skills needed to deal with specific problems in the so-called 'life'. The real effect of "professionalization" may rather be the assimilation of the "language of the field" (categories of public language for naming a given discipline), which is usually accompanied by the lack of analytical distance to this language. An additional dimension of "professionalization" is associated with the demand for courses such as European affairs, journalism, organization and management, PR and marketing. In these scientific and "practical" hybrids, the academic character of study is largely lost but it is not replaced with the professional mode of education seen in vocational high schools in the West.

The aim of the scientific sphere, according to the traditional definition, is the search for truth through theoretical and empirical research as well as education (seen as *Bildung*, education which serves the intellectual and moral development of individuals). The degree of implementation of these objectives is a measure of independence of the scientific sphere. The significant loss of independence is evidenced by the transformation of the university in recent decades. Under administrative, financial and media pressure, the institution of the university is transformed into a factory producing research project reports and an enterprise competing in the market of Higher Education[7]. Society *en masse* has no knowledge

------

[7] Devastating effects of thinking in terms of entrepreneurship in Higher Education in the United States was analyzed by Thorstein Veblen nearly a hundred years ago [1918].

of these matters but for most students and academic employees, the situation, though not comfortable, seems acceptable or at least unlikely to change. This gives raise to strong opportunist tendencies in the form of enjoying the prestige and financial benefits from the *status quo* and suppressing doubt, not to mention the desire to protest. Life and intellectual opportunism go hand in hand as well as, in a sense, with political and institutional opportunism.

The most serious adverse effect of the transformation of university into a production and service institution (euphemistically called the "firm") is, as it seems, the increasingly common lack of distinction between the "language of field" and the "language of analysis", and more broadly – the language and the reality. Languages of the disciplines which have colonized universities, the languages of administration, business and media, are progressively being treated by students and researchers not as discourses, but as languages describing reality. This trend can hardly be changed, regardless of whether it is based on naivety, cynicism or a mixture of both these components, which, as noted by Erving Goffman [1971: 31–32], is the basis at performer's "so-so" faith in his/her own performance. Another consequence of the lack of the discourse awareness is the lack of reflection on the reverse impact of scientific life on so-called practice (politics, economy, media). These problems specifically relate to Sociology, the demand on whose rebel capital, expressed in the past through providing impetus to subversive thinking, is disappearing today. Sociology, rather than analyzing reality, becomes its part and requires a critical analysis itself.

To recapitulate – public communication within the institutions of Science and Higher Education is based on the discourse mechanism of ceremony, along with apparent agreement while omitting inconvenient points of view. Interestingly, the ceremonies of academic life hide substantial differences of opinion in the scientific community, the disclosure of which would very likely bring the launching of a pattern of ritual chaos.

CONSLUSIONS

The essence of "neoapparent" actions (as opposed to the typical apparent ones) is the lack of both private and public knowledge of them among people involved in them. This quality may not be surprising in the instrumentally-oriented sectors of the economy and politics but it must be unsettling if it applies to areas which have the development of social consciousness written on their banners. Public communication is, after all, meant to serve the shaping of public opinion and

scientific life is meant to contribute to the development of in-depth and adequate knowledge. If these areas abound in "neoapparent" actions and thus suffer from the lack of self-reflection, it is twice as disheartening.

The observations outlined provide the background for a postulate of further reflection and empirical research on "neoapparent" actions. This is not an easy task. Neoapparent actions, as components of "pre-postmodernity", are located in a field between two extremities: the inevitable actual ambiguity and the requirement of using unambiguous, binary criteria. Therefore, a reasonable analysis of "neoapparent" actions can, it seems, neither exclusively rely on the conservative return to sharp, anachronistic criteria, nor on the intellectually opportunistic concept of "floating downstream" in the form of accepting the post-modern blurring of boundaries. Guidelines can rather be found in interpretative orientations, which have the tools of sociological *re*-construction of the social construction of reality at their disposal and can be applied to the study of "pre-postmodernity". The analysis of the "neoapparent" actions may also contribute to completing the sociological picture of apparent actions.

REFERENCES

B a u d r i l l a r d, Jean [1994] *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.

B o l t a n s k i, Luc, Ève Chiapello [2003] *Der neue Geist des Kapitalismus*. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz.

C i c o u r e l, Aaron V. [1964] *Method and Measurement in Sociology*. New York, NY: Free Press.

C o l e m a n, James S. [1990] *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

C z y ż e w s k i, Marek [1997], „W stronę teorii dyskursu publicznego." ["Toward a Theory of Public Discourse"]. [In:] M. Czyżewski, S. Kowalski, A. Piotrowski [Eds.] *Rytualny chaos. Studium dyskursu publicznego. [Ritual Chaos. Studies of Public Discourse]*. Kraków: Aureus. 42-115. (Second edition – 2010, Warszawa: WAiP. 49-117).

C z y ż e w s k i, Marek [2007], „Sondaże: polityka, media, wiedza. Katalog wątpliwości." *Przegląd Socjologiczny*. ["Opinion Polls: Politics, Media, and Knowledge. A Catalogue of Doubts"]. Vol. LVI/1. 39-59.

C z y ż e w s k i, Marek [2009] „Między panoptyzmem i «rządomyślnością» – uwagi o kulturze naszych czasów." ["Between Panopticism and «Gouvernmentality» – Remarks on the Culture of Our Times"] *Kultura Współczesna*. No. 2. 83–95.

E n d r e s s, Martin [2002] *Vertrauen*. Bielefeld: Transcript.

F e b v r e, Lucien [2002] *Das Problem des Unglaubens im 16. Jahrhundert. Die Religion des Rabelais*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

F o u c a u l t, Michel [1984], "Truth and Power." [In:] idem, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow, New York, NY: Pantheon Books. 51–75.

F o u c a u l t, Michel [2004] *Geschichte der Gouvernementalität*. vol 1 and 2. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

G a r f i n k e l, Harold [1963] "A Conception of, and Experiments with 'Trust' as a Condition of Stable Concerted Actions." [In:] O. J. Harvey [Ed.] *Motivation and Social Interaction*, New York, NY: Ronald Press. 187–238.

G a r f i n k e l, Harold [1967], *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

G a r f i n k e l, Harold, H a r v e y Sacks [1970] „On Formal Structures of Practical Actions." [In:] J.C. McKinney, E.A. Tiryakian [Eds.] *Theoretical Sociology: Perspectives and Developments*. New York, NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 337–366.

G a r f i n k e l, Harold, Eric L i v i n g s t o n e, Michael L y n c h, Albert B. R o b i l l a r d, Perry T a k a [1986] *Respecifying the Natural Sciences as Discovering Sciences of Practical Action [I & II] Doing so Ethnographically by Administering a Schedule of Contingencies in Discussions with Laboratory Scientists and by Hanging Around Their Laboratories*. Unpublished manuscript. Department of Sociology, UCLA.

G a r f i n k e l, Harold, D. Lawrence Wieder [1992] "Two Incommensurable, Asymmetrically Alternate Technologies of Social Analysis." [In:] G. Watson, R.M. Seiler [Eds.] *Text in Context: Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. 175–206.

G l a s e r Barney G., Anselm L. Strauss [1967] *Discovery of Grounded Theory. Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine.

G o f f m a n, Erving [1971] *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

H a b e r m a s, Jürgen [1989] *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

H u t c h b y, Ian [2006] *Media Talk. Conversation Analysis and the Study of Broadcasting*. London: Open University Press.

L u t y ń s k i, Jan [1990] *Nauka i polskie problemy. Komentarz socjologa. [Science and Polish Problems. A Sociologist's Commentary]*.Warszawa: PIW.

L u t y ń s k i, Jan [1990a] „Działania pozorne." ["Apparent Actions"]. [In:] Lutyński 1990. 105–120. Originally published in: *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*. 1977. No. 2.

L u t y ń s k i, Jan [1990b] „System dogmatycznego autorytaryzmu i jego tendencje rozwojowe (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli działań pozornych i ukrytych)." ["The System of Dogmatic Authoritarianism and its Development Tendencies (with Special Consideration of the Role of Apparent and Hidden Actions"]. [In:] Lutyński 1990. 121–173. Originally presented at the Polish Sociological Congress in Łódź, December 1981.

L u t y ń s k i, Jan [1990c] „Psychologiczne konsekwencje realnego socjalizmu i ich znaczenie dla systemu. Próba analizy." ["Psychological Consequences of Real Socialism and their Significance for the System"]. [In:] Lutyński 1990. 174–218. Based on manuscripts from 1987.

L y n c h, Michael [1993] *Scientific Practice and Ordinary Action: Ethnomethodology and Social Studies of Science*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

L y n c h, Michael, David Bogen [1996] *The Spectacle of History: Speech, Text, and Memory at the Iran-Contra Hearings*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

P i o t r o w s k i, Andrzej [1998] „O Jana Lutyńskiego koncepcji działań pozornych." ["On Jan Lutyński's Concept of Apparent Actions"]. *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*. Nr 4. 39–50.

R a w l s, John [2005] *Political Liberalism. Expanded Edition*. New York, NY: The Columbia University Press.

S c h u t z, Alfred [1973] "Common-Sense and Scientific Interpretation of Human Action", In: idem, *Collected Papers*. Vol. 1, Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff. 3–47.

S c h u t z, Alfred [2008] *O wielości światów.[On Multiple Realities]*. Kraków: Nomos.

S c h ü t z e, Fritz [1980] "Interaktionspostulate – am Beispiel literarischer Texte. Dostojewski, Kafka, Handke u.a." [In:] E.W.B. Hess-Luttich [Ed.] *Literatur und Konversation. Sprachsoziologie und Pragmatik in der Literaturwissenschaft*. Wiesbaden: Athenaion. 72–94.

S i m m e l, Georg [1992] *Soziologie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

S z t o m p k a, Piotr [2007] *Zaufanie. Fundament społeczeństwa. [Trust. The Foundation of Society]*. Kraków: Znak.

T o l s o n, Andrew [2006] *Media Talk. Spoken Discourse on TV and Radio*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

V e b l e n, Thorstein [1918] *The Higher Learning in America. A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men*. New York, NY: Huebsch.

KRYSPIN KARCZMARCZUK
University of Łódź

MODERNIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN POLAND. THE PERSPECTIVE OF REFLEXIVE MODERNIZATION

Summary

The article critically examines the modernization of the Higher Education (HE) sector from the perspective of reflexive modernization. The source of radical change of HE in Poland was the neoliberal institutional solution, opening HE institutions to privatization, competition and marketization and liberating them from the heteronomous bureaucratic structure legitimized by the conditions of the previous system. To explain the nature of the changes in Higher Education, three analytical categories of reflexive modernization are used as heuristic tools: individualization, risk and reflexivity.

Keywords: reflexive modernization, individualization, social risk, Higher Education

INTRODUCTION

Past and future modernizations in the Higher Education (HE) sector are marked by three neoliberal institutional solutions. The first of these relates to the neoliberal economic reforms which started twenty years ago and the fundamental goal of which was a significant restriction of the role of the state in economy as well as in other areas of social life. As far as the HE sector is concerned, the role of the state can be limited on the basis of the amendment of the 1990 Higher Education Act of September 12th [Journal of Laws No 65. Item 385, amended]. The Act enabled free and independent development of HE through restoring the decision-making power to the rectors and senate of the University. The previous

strategy wherein the HE was to be fully financed by the public was discontinued, while the new policy entailed broad autonomy for public universities and favorable conditions for founding non-public ones, which in consequence resulted in marketization and commodification of teaching processes and research [cf. Pachociński 2004]. New institutional solutions have transformed the previous bureaucratic HE system into the educational services market [Simonova, Antonowicz 2006].

Another institutional solution has been the Bologna Process, adopted by the European Union Member States in 1999. The Member States established the general principles of the education organization, the so-called European Higher Education Area, the purpose of which was to engender fundamental transformations within the educational systems of the higher education in all the European Union countries. In practical terms, it meant the opening of the higher education sector to competition, privatization and marketization. This, in turn, was intended to create conditions for citizens' mobility, adapt the educational system to the needs of the labor market, improve the employability of qualified workers and improve the competitive position of the European HE system in relation to the rest of the world, especially to the USA [Kraśniewski 2006]. In Poland, the objectives of the Bologna Declaration have been included in the 2005 Act of July 27th, the Law on Higher Education [Journal of Laws 2005 No 164, Item 135, amended]. Thus, learning in a higher education institution within the Bologna Process has been given a new dimension dominated by neoliberal practices, forcibly executing the adaptation to the requirements of the information society and knowledge-based economy [cf. Szeląg 2006].

The implementation of the Bologna Process guidelines has become more effective since Poland joined the European structures in 2004. The main objective in this strategy was that until 2010 and within a significant region of Europe the most competitive and dynamic economy be created, knowledge-based, capable of constant development, providing more jobs and more socially coherent. The leaders of the European Union stated in Lisbon that "investing in people and creating an active and dynamic state of wealth" is the basis of the knowledge-based economy. Member States must therefore strive to allocate more financial means on human resources and to raise the importance of life-long learning. Poland's access to the EU has considerably marked the direction of future governmental actions within the scope of the creation of the development strategy for the research and higher education sector. Such a development strategy until 2015 has been presented by the government in a 2008 document of April 8th, in which it has been stated that the research and development activity is of crucial importance

to Poland's civilization development and to the increase in the innovation and competitiveness of the Polish economy.

The document has accepted that the institutional solutions described above provide considerable modernization sources for the higher education. A similar point of view can be found in a research report carried out within the framework of the international NESOR project (2006-2008), which states as follows: "The EU Lisbon strategy, with its focus on competitiveness and employability and the Bologna process, with its plan of the transnational transparency of the European higher education, have been the main sources of influence on the transformation of the higher education in Europe. The global challenges, the economic development and the changing societal expectations have also affected the function of the higher education institutions. As a consequence, a new social risk has emerged, one which is a source of concern of students and graduates as well as the employees of the higher education sector."[NESOR 2009:298]. These consequences require defining and introduction within the academic discourse, which would allow for a more profound reflection upon them. The purpose of this paper is a critical examination from the perspective of the reflexive modernization theory of how the process of modernization of the higher education contributes to the revealing of incongruities between the strive for modernity (of the civic society and the market economy) and the overcoming of the old structures of post-socialist society. With this purpose in mind, three following analytical categories of reflexive modernization shall be employed, namely: individualization, risk and reflexivity, as heuristic instruments for explaining the character of transformations within the higher education system.

KEY GUIDELINES OF THE REFLEXIVE MODERNIZATION THEORY

The main guidelines of the reflexive modernization theory have been presented in the works such as: *Risk Society* by Ulrich Beck (1992) and *The Consequences of Modernity* (1990) by Anthony Giddens, as well as in the collective work by three authors: Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash, *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order* (1994). The main theses boil down to the following argumentation. The developed Western societies have entered a new phase of development, which the founders of the theory named the „second modernity" and which had emerged from the earlier form of the „first modernity", namely the industrial society.

Its constitutive features consist predominantly in the questioning of the traditional structures, searching for alternatives and constant revision of political choices. The above criteria make it different from the logic of the "first modernity", which refers to the necessity, stability and constancy of the meanings.

The "second modernity" as a new historical epoch, liberated out of the framework of the classical industrial society and assuming a new shape, has been named by Ulrich Beck the *risk society*. It is characterized by the global state of uncertainty and danger, "(...) in which the social, political, economical and individual forms of risk became increasingly more prone to escape the control of institutions which in the industrial society performed the monitoring and defensive functions"(Beck 1994:5). This is why the *risk society* is forced to seek „(...) a delicate balancing between the contradictions of continuity rupture within modernity, reflected in the antagonism between modernity and industrial society, and between industrial society and risk society" (Beck 1992:9). The search for balance between the contradictions resulting from the continuation and turn becomes a modernization problem in itself. It is characterized by creative self-destruction and self-confrontation with consequences for the risk society. Thus, it is directed towards solving its own problems generated by the risk (Beck, Bonss, Lau 2003).

In the last twenty years, Poland's higher education system has found itself in a similar situation. It has been forced to search for the state of relative balance between the contradictions resulting – on the one hand – from the need for continuing the precious development policy of the higher education, which refers to the traditionally dictated schemes and models, while, on the other hand, the necessity to undertake modernization challenges imposed by the knowledge/risk society.

From this point of view, the academic year of 2007/2008 can be considered a proper moment for an evaluation of the hitherto phase of the modernization of the higher education system. For the first time since the beginning of the transformation, in this period the overall number of students decreased by 0.02% in relation to the previous year. In the academic year of 1990/1991, there were 112 higher education institutions in Poland, where the total of 403 800 students were enrolled. Seventeen years later a rapid growth was observed and in the academic year of 2007/2008 there were 455 higher education institutions on the education market, including those of the Departments of National Defense, Internal Affairs and Administration, where 1937 400 students were enrolled. Among all higher education institutions, 131 had the status of a public university, with 1276 900 persons studying there (65.9% of all students), including 301 900 first-year

students. In comparison to the previous academic year, the number of students decreased by 1.9% [Szkoły wyższe... 2008:17-18].

Aside from state higher education institutions, which offered their students full-time, evening, part-time (weekend) or extramural courses, private schools have begun to appear and develop since 1991.The statistical data of *GUS* (Central Statistical Office) indicate that within the period of seventeen years (1990-2007) a rapid development of private HE institutions have been observed; from "zero" level in the academic year of 1990/91 to 324 HE institutions in the academic year of 2007/2008, with 660 500 students (34,1% of all students). Additionally, 33 state vocational higher schools should also be included in the data [Szkoły wyższe..2008:18-19]. Thus, one of the significant results of the marketization of the higher education in Poland has been the process of quantitative transformations of this sector, in consequence of which the stratification of higher education institutions have become more pronounced, with the division into better and worse ones [cf. Domański 2005].

In this period, changes in the higher education system were nothing out of the ordinary, as similar processes could be observed in many European countries as well as in New Zealand and Australia. However, what differentiates the development of Poland's higher education system from that of other countries, especially from post-socialist states, is the visible radicalism of these changes [Simonova, Antonowicz 2006]. Data for the 30 OECD member-states indicate that in 2006, 27% of the population of these countries aged 25-64 had a second degree higher education. In Poland, the this index was 18% and 8% for the first degree [OECD 2008:42]. Another index, calculated in relation to the population graduating from a secondary school in a given year, indicates that in the OECD countries in 1995 37% of young people began second degree education, while after ten years (in 2006) this proportion increased to 56%. In Poland, the index have grown as follows: in 1995 one in three secondary school graduates (36%) began the second degree education; in 2000, two in three graduates (65%) saw it necessary to study further, while in 2006 their proportion increased up to 78%. With such an index, Poland was in second place among the OECD member-states, *ex quo* with Iceland (78% and after Australia (84%) [OECD 2008:58]. The above-quoted qualitative data document the pace of transformations within the sector of higher education. They tell nothing of the consequences of these transformations.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE MODERNIZATION
OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

In the reflexive modernization theory, the analytical category employed in researching the consequences of modernizing actions is the notion of individualization. Individualization refers to a process by which people are disconnected from collective social structures. As these structures weaken and disintegrate, institutions (e.g. family, government departments, trades unions, universities) are also going through an individualization process in that they are being hollowed out from within as they themselves lose the ability to assert collective authority and control. In living individual, unconnected lives, people are only partly integrated into society through its institutions (e.g. as students, voters, taxpayers, and car drivers). They are therefore dependent on those institutions that facilitate these interactions (e.g. schools, taxation office, and government agencies). It can assume two connotations. "On the one hand, individualization means the disintegration of previously existing social forms – for example, the increasing fragility such categories as class and social status, gender roles, family, neighbourhood etc. (...). The answer points to the second aspect individualization. It is, simply, that in modern societies new demands, control and constraints are being imposed on individuals. Through the job market, the welfare state and the institutions, people are tied into a network of regulations conditions, provisos. From pension right to insurance protection, from educational grands to tax rates.: all these are institutional reference points marking out the horizon within which modern thinking, planning and action must take place" [Beck, Beck-Gernsheim 2002:2]. In this context, individualization can be regarded on the level of organization/institution (trade unions, higher education schools, banks, governmental agencies, etc), which signifies the extent their weakened ability to exert power and control over as a result of the modernization changes. In reference to individual persons, on the other hand, it is a sign of liberation out of the hitherto social norms. Individuals pulled out from their traditional structures are left to themselves, their individual fate, thus becoming susceptible to risk. The paper concentrates on three aspects of individualization: differentiation, choice and disembedding.

DIFFERENTIATION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR

In an article published by *The Economist* [2005], Adrian Wooldridge examines the conditioning of changes in higher education, stating: "Mass higher education is forcing universities to become more diverse, more global and much

more competitive" [Wooldridge 2005]. Under the slogan of 'differentiation', higher schools diversify their educational missions, strive for more specialization by developing diverse research faculties and curricula. The critical factor which enforced differentiation in the higher education sector in Poland were the stipulations contained in the 1990 Act , which created the conditions for dynamic development of non-public higher education schools. The same institutional framework served as a platform for HE courses organized by extra-mural learning institutions (Polish Academy of Sciences). The 1997 Act of June 26th on higher vocational schools [Journal of Laws No 96 Item 590, amended] created the conditions for the development of vocational higher schools, licensed to grant the degree of *licencjat* (bachelor) or *inżynier* (engineer) [Szkoły wyższe..2008:17]. The above described institutional solutions contributed to the rapid development of non-state higher education system, which addressed the students' expectations and developed regardless of the public higher schools. At present, their role is to supplement the state higher schools. [cf. Simonova Antonowicz 2006].

One of the forms differentiating the higher education sector is the type of the academic course. In the academic year of 2008/2009, the number of students taking the full-time course amounted to 928 100 persons, which is 48.1% of all students, while 999 600 persons (i.e. 51.9% of the total number of students) attended the part-time and evening courses. At public universities, nearly two-thirds (63.7%) of students attended full-time courses, while in non-public schools non-full-time students were decidedly in a majority (81,7% of the total number of students) [Szkoły wyższe... 2008:26].

DE-MYTHOLOGIZING OF INDIVIDUAL CHOICE
IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Individualization in the context of choice means that „... each person's biography is removed from given determinations and placed in his or her own hands, open and dependent on decisions. [...] Individualization of life situations and processes thus means that biographies become *self-reflexive;* socially prescribed biography is transformed into biography that is self-produced and continues to be produced. Decisions on education, profession, job, place of residence, spouse, number of children and so forth, with all the secondary decisions implied, no longer can be, they must be made" [Beck 1992:135]. In the modernization processes, the category of choice gains a special significance for an individual as it allows for a self-reflexive biography to be realized, a biography which is dependent solely on the individual and not created by traditional structures.

In the context of higher education, the practice of individual choice is manifested in its fullest in developing professional qualifications. Obtaining higher education is perceived in the categories of investment which is to bring a reward in the near future in the form of a satisfactory level of salary, greater possibilities of professional development, greater social prestige and decreased risk of unemployment. However, it is the economic returns for education are the most crucial in individual decision-making in terms of investing time and money in education: the individual rate of return and the public rate of return [OECD 2008:185]. The former one reflects the relations between future wages and education costs of an individual, while the latter defines the relation between the social expenditures, such as the costs which the government spends on education and future returns in the form of higher tax intake. The published data for 2004 for the OECD countries indicate that the individual rate of return for all OECD countries was on average slightly higher than 5% [OECD 2008:182]. There were no significant differences between men and women (respectively, 12 % and 11%). Men received the greatest benefits from completing higher education in the Czech Republic (29.1%), Portugal, (23.9%), Poland (22.8%) and Hungary (19.8%). For the full picture of the issue it must be added that in 2004 in these countries the indices of second-degree higher education completion in the 25-64 age group were within the 13% and 18% bracket, and thus decidedly below the average (i.e. 27%) for all OECD countries. Higher level education brought relatively small rewards in Sweden (5.1%), Norway (7.4%), Spain (7.6%) and Germany (8%) (OECD 2008: 186). In turn, public rates of return for education for all the OECD countries in 2004 amounted to 11% for men and 9% for women [OECD 2008:183].

'DISEMBEDDING' FROM HETERONOMOUS RELATIONSHIPS

The term of "disembedding" has been introduced by Anthony Giddens for the situation of "the lifting out of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space" [Giddens 1990:21]. Reflexive modernization theory conceptualizes disembedding as arising out of individualization. It refers to how people and institutions are lifted out from the taken-for granted heteronomous structures of industrial modernity (e.g. family roles, class, race, gender, education, knowledge) which are then replaced by heterodoxical contingencies (Beck 1994). "At the same time as the liberation or 'disembedding' occurs, new forms of reintegration and control appear (re-embedding)" [Beck, Beck-Gernsheim 2002:203].

The use of the term 'disembedding' in relation to higher education allows one to notice completely new areas of the modernization process, such as the emergence of new heterodox relationships. One of such areas, as of yet not quite utilized in practice, are the possibilities of cooperation between business and science. Critical notes so far directed at such cooperation indicate the need to free it from previous heteronomous structures. The basis for formulating such a conclusion has been provided by the empirical study commissioned by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in 2006, the objective of which was to identify factors affecting the cooperation between entrepreneurs and research centers [Raport ...2006]. The study has been conducted on a group of 173 managers (82 of whom did and 91 who did not cooperate with research centers) 71 academic employees have been interviewed. The study results indicate that only 9% of enterprises invested in research and development. Such a low level of expenditure is practically manifested in the number of patented inventions. In 2005, in Poland there were only as few as 2.7 patent per one million citizens, while in the European Union there were 133.6 patents [Raport... 2006]. Vast majority of interviewed researchers declared that the research centers do in fact address entrepreneurs with offers of cooperation, however, it is met with the lack of initiative or interest on the part of the business sector. In their opinion entrepreneurs are not willing to participate in financing any research due to purely pragmatic reasons. On the other hand, opinions expressed by the entrepreneurs reveal their ignorance in terms of the possibility of undertaking cooperation by one of the parties, which they partially explain by there being no tradition of innovation-based entrepreneurship in Poland. The last issue can be perceived as a manifestation of the current lack of innovatory power on the part of entrepreneurs. It is also curious that most of the interviewed entrepreneurs (56%) see no need of such cooperation.

Another of heterodox relationships is the emerging academic entrepreneurship. It is in the preliminary institutionalization phase. The first entrepreneurship incubator was founded at the Warsaw University in 1998, it was however, only the new Act on Higher Education [2005 Act of 27th July, The Law on Higher Education, Article 86, Item 1-3] and the act on certain forms of supporting innovation activity which started to stimulate universities to develop such a form of activity, occurring at the juncture of science and business. An incubator can be created in the form of a general academic entity or a trading company or a foundation. Also, the Department for Implementation and Innovation has been created in the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the analyses of which indicate that 49% of incubators are registered as foundations [Dąbrowski 2006]. Institutional basis have been created for academic entrepreneurship incubators and technol-

ogy transfer centers in order to make better use of the intellectual and technical potential of universities as well as the transfer of academic research results to economy. Academic entrepreneurship research indicates that the basic motive for academic entrepreneurs locating their firms in entrepreneurship incubators or in science and technology parks are financial reasons as well as infrastructural and organizational facilities [Nagrodkiewicz 2007]. One of such incubators is the Łódź Regional Science and Technology Park (Łódzki Regionalny Park Naukowo-Techniczny), founded in 2006 [Nauka i Biznes 2006]. Its purpose is to attract and support new companies created on the basis of academic research results. They can make use of the facilitated access to: specialized university laboratories, technological resources, expertise and specialist advice as well as direct contact with university professors.

NEW SOCIAL RISK GENERATED
BY THE HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR

Risk is an intrinsic feature of the contemporary society. It is associated with dangers which are unintended and unpredicted results of the modernization processes. "By nature, then, risks have something to do with anticipation, with destruction that has not yet happened but is threatening, and of course in that sense risks are already real today" [Beck 1992:33]. What type of real risks may the higher education sector be facing? The opening of the higher education to privatization, competition and marketization has been reflected in the increasing risk. The study conducted within the scope of the international NESOR project of 2006–2008 indicates the following social risks:

– degradation of human capital – surplus of highly qualified labor force who work beneath their qualifications, accepting worse working conditions (and lower wages) in order not to fall out of the work market into unemployment;

– a new sphere of frustrating inequalities caused by unemployment of persons with higher education (studies indicate that 10% of new employees is recruited from secondary and tertiary school graduates, while 90% of new employees is recruited from vocational and technical schools graduates);

– emigration of educated people. Such emigration is referred to as human capital flight ('brain drain') in public debate;

– digital exclusion caused by unsuccessful accession of new information and communications technology. While it mostly affects poorly educated people, according to the study of *Społeczna Diagnoza 2007* (*Social Diagnosis 2007*), as

much as 67% of people with primary education or lower never uses a computer, the internet or a mobile phone and only 3% of them uses these new technologies. In comparison, 73% people with higher education (of the first and second degree) employs the new technologies (81% of students), and 7% uses none of them (only 1% of students) [NESOR 2009].

One of the significant sources generating uncertainty and risk is the gradual retraction of the government from financing educational institutions. Such a tendency can be noticed not only in Poland but also in other EU countries. This does not include the money expended by the state as calculated per one student. Expenses of this type remained on a stable level in the OECD countries in the years 1995-2000, while they have increased on average by 11% in 2000–2005. Poland, with a 39% increase in expenditure per student in 2000–2005, has taken the second place after Greece (59%) and before Austria (37%). Such a significant increase in expenditure in Poland and other countries is related to a large increase in the number of students. In Poland, in the years 2000-2005 the number of students have increased by 25% on average. A greater increase on the number of students have been observed only in Hungary (51%), in Greece (48%), Iceland (48%), Slovakia (40%), the Czech Republlic (38%) and in Switzerland (27%). [OECD 2008:224].

In 2005, the OECD countries expenditure on a higher school student amounted on average 15559 $ (including the R&D expenditure; excluding these costs, the average amounted to 11512 $). In case of the 19 EU states, the same average amounted to between 10474 $ and 6990 $. In case of Poland, the data was, respectively: 5593 $ and 4883 $. These are the lowest results among the thirty OECD countries, and among the six so-called partner-states, only Estonia (3869 $) and Russia (3421$) have lower expenditure per student. Developed countries such as: the USA (24370 $), Switzerland (21734 $), Sweden (15946 $) and Norway (15552 $) disburse several times more money for educating a student than Poland [OECD 2008:218].

REFLEXIVITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the risk-society, modernization is of reflexive nature, although it is not reflective, as the term might suggest. Reflexivity does not imply more self-awareness of people but rather a magnified awareness of the fact that a full control of individuals over nature, technology, social context, etc. is virtually impossible. Nevertheless, "(...) the more modernized the society becomes, the more active individuals (subjects) have ability of influencing the social conditions of their

existence" [Beck, Giddens, Lash 1994:184]. The particular role of reflexivity is revealed in the course of structural transformations. Scott Lash defines it thus: "In reflexive modernization, the structural change pressurized the agencies in order to liberate them from their old structures, forces individuals to become free from the normative expectations of the institutions of the first modernity and encourages them to become involved in the reflexive monitoring of such structures and self-monitoring of one's own identity upon its creation" [Lash 1994:170]. Thus, through reflexivity, organizations/institutions as well as individuals are freed from their limitations and increase their potential as far as the monitoring of the structures created and of their own identity are concerned.

In the context of the higher education sector transformations reflexivity is manifested in the form of the monitoring and control function by the ministry of science and higher education in relation to the tasks realized by universities, such as with regard to the quality of education, scientific research conducted, financial operations or student enrollment, etc. Here, three following issues are of importance: 1) difficulties in measuring the quality of education; 2) information asymmetry in the higher education market and 3) teaching staff shortage [Simonova, Antonowicz 2006].

Difficulties related to measuring the quality of education have appeared at the very beginning of the modernization process and have been related mainly with rapid development of the educational services market and the accompanying uncontrolled development of non-public higher schools. Such development dynamics has been partially caused by the demographic baby boom entering the market of educational services, which lead governments and political parties to insistently promote the ideology of constructing a market economy, which needs highly qualified employees [NESOR 2009]. Increasing educational aspirations of the society as well as the growing market value of higher education led directly to the rise of a conflict between the quantitative growth of students and the need to maintain quality standards of education. This has significant implications in the form of reduced quality standards of education and significantly influenced the subsequent process of implementing the recommendations of the Bologna Process. Researchers dealing with these problems see the reason for such state in the lack of competition in the market of educational services and inadequate control of government agencies over higher education [OECD 2006:9].

Due to the increasing number of universities, it has been proved necessary to establish accreditation committee. They evaluate the compliance of the implementation of educational standards in a given field of study and a number of teaching staff employed (i.e. staffing minimums). Among the few currently oper-

ating accreditation committees, the State Accreditation Committee (*Państwowa Komisja Akredytacyjna, PKA*) is the one whose decisions and evaluations have legal power. It is responsible to the minister of science and higher education for assessing the quality standards of education in universities and for opinions on proposals of new courses of study in higher education. Setting up an accreditation committee demonstrates the need for regulation and control of universities from both the state and the academia. Attempts are also made to include employers as consultants and experts into the PKA in order to use their assistance to eliminate or at least reduce the disparities that occur between formal graduate qualifications and the expectations of employers in practice. [Forum Akademickie 2009].

Information asymmetry is a natural consequence of educational services market development and the universality of higher education. Both these factors cause turbulence in the institutional environment of universities, leading to a shortage of information about their activities. In a stable environment, information about universities are generally based on their reputation but in a competitive environment they are more untested and sometimes contrary to the quality of service provided. In order to organize the chaos of the information rankings are attempted which through classification of various educational institutions are becoming an important source of information for many people in making decisions about the choice of university and field of study. The importance of these rankings increases with the number of students who, by bearing the costs of education, become consumers of educational services and thus expect proper quality of service. Regardless of the reliability of the data presented by these rankings, they are an important link in academic public relations.

The quantitative growth of educational institutions and the number of students per academic staff member has caused a high demand for teachers. The academic labor market formed this way has began to pose new problems for public and private universities in the course of their hiring process. In the case of the former, academic employment was dependent on the financial constraints imposed by the state budget. In turn, private schools had not educated their own teaching staff, thus becoming forced to hire teachers from public universities in order to meet the requirements posed on them by the accreditation committee. Thus, in practice, some teachers are employed in public and private universities, thus working more than one job which in turn has its consequences for the level of education.

SUMMARY

In periods of great modernization breakthroughs, the traditional concepts of the role of entire social groups and institutions, culture and society have changed. Higher education and the institution of the university have been subjected to these processes by neoliberal institutional arrangements, creating the conditions for its privatization, marketization and competitiveness. This resulted in the negation of the former ideal of higher education – nationally oriented, geared towards the inculcation of national consciousness and the construction and bonding of national community, which has been replaced by a vision of higher education oriented towards entrepreneurial activities and administered by economic rationality, similar to that employed in the management of large corporations [see Kwiek 2004]. Modernization of this type necessitates individualization of the behavior of institutions / organizations and individuals by their liberation from heteronomous dependence and reconstructing new structures by reflexive monitoring and control of emerging social risks.

The mass of higher education prevents its continued public funding. The process of privatization of higher education, understood as a gradual process of withdrawal of state financing of educational institutions, is associated with at least three issues. Firstly, the former vision of a welfare state is re-examined, in which the state gradually withdraws from its role in financing public services. Secondly, the development of the knowledge-based society engenders a "soft revolution" in which knowledge replaces physical resources as the driving force of economic development. Universities are becoming an important element of the knowledge-based economy, the purpose of which is to train skilled employees [see Karczmarczuk 2010]. Thirdly, globalization processes cause the blurring of "distances" between sectors and cause the transformation of higher education institutions in a similar manner as they do business.

REFERENCES

B e c k U., [1992], *Risk society;Towards a New Modernity,* Sage Publications, London

B e c k U., [1994], *The Reinvention of Politics: Towards a Theory of Reflexive Modernization,* [in:] Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order, ed. Beck U. Giddens A. Lash S., p. 1-55, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press

B e c k U., B e c k - G e r n s h e i m E., [2002], *Individualization; Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences,* Sage Publications, London

B e c k U., B o n s s W, L a u Ch., [2003] *The Theory of Reflexive Modernization: problematic, hypotheses and research program, Theory, Culture and Society,* vol. 20, nr 2, p. 1–33

B e c k U., G i d d e n s A., L a s h S., [1994], *Replies and critiques*, [in:] Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order, ed. Beck U. Giddens A. Lash S., p. 174–202, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press

D ą b r o w s k i M., [2006], *Przedsiębiorczość akademicka,* e-mentor, nr 3

D o m a ń s k i H., *[2005], Między ocenami i faktami,* Rzeczpospolita, 15 września *Forum Akademickie,* [2009], *Pracodawcy i jakość kształcenia,* nr 4

G i d d e n s A., [1990], *The Consequences of Modernity,* Cambridge: Polity Press

K a r c z m a r c z u k K., [2010], *Społeczeństwo i gospodarka oparta na wiedzy - od prognozy do diagnozy*, [in:] Proces Boloński – nowa ideologia i praktyka edukacyjna, ed. A. Buchner-Jeziorska, A. Dziedziczak-Fołtyn, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź (in preparation)

K r a ś n i e w s k i A., [2006], *Proces Boloński: dokąd zmierza europejskie szkolnictwo wyższe,* MEiN, Warszawa

K w i e k M., [2004], *The emergent european educational policies under scrutiny the Bologna Process from a Central European perspective,* [in:] "European Educational research journal" vol.3, nr 4 p. 759–772

N a g r o d k i e w i c z A., [2007], *Przedsiębiorczość akademicka. Doświadczenia i opinie polskich przedsiębiorców akademickich* [in:] „Biuletyn Euro info".

Nauka i Biznes [2006]. Wiedza i praktyka, Portal Województwa Łódzkiego, 07.06.

NESOR [2009], *The social function of higher education in the social models of the European knowledge society, Final Report 2006-2008,* Międzynarodowy Projekt Badawczy, Socrates Program, Łódź

OECD [2006], *Reviews of tertiary education – Poland*,

OECD [2008], *Education at a glance*, OECD indicators

Pachociński R. [2004], *Kierunki reform szkolnictwa wyższego na świecie*, Instytut Badań Edukacyjnych, Warszawa

Raport [2006], *Bariery współpracy przedsiębiorców i ośrodków naukowych*, ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego, November, www.mnisw.gov.pl

S i m o n o v a N., Antonowicz D. [2006], *Czech and Polish higher education – from bureaucracy to market competition*, "Czech Sociology Review", nr 3, p. 517–536

S z e l ą g A. [2006], *Funkcje szkoły wyższej w kontekście Procesu Bolońskiego*, in: Problemy edukacji w szkole wyższej, ed. a. Szeląg, p. 13–29, Oficyna Wydawnicza „impuls", Kraków

Szkoły wyższe i ich finanse w 2007r. [2008], GUS, Warszawa

W o o l d r i d g e A. [2005], *The Brains business.* "The Economist"*,* 10, September.

ANDRZEJ BOCZKOWSKI
University of Lodz
Sociology of Education Department

EFFECTIVENESS AND USEFULNESS OF EDUCATION AS SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES

Summary

In the article, an attempt has been made to conceptualize the problems of effectiveness and usefulness of education by examining the quality of teaching from an operational perspective. The effectiveness is understood as a level of attainment of educational objectives being related to the social functions of education; the usefulness is defined as the benefits of realization of these functions to individuals and groups. Effectiveness and usefulness, when treated as aspects of the quality of education, are placed in an evaluative context consisting of: the education objectives, social actors interested in training and their expectations, the normative sphere (with respect to education problems) as well as areas, directions and methods of assessment.

Keywords: effectiveness of education, usefulness of education, quality of education, social functions of education

* * *

The effectiveness of education is the degree to what the objectives of an educational project are achieved. Formulation of educational goals with specific characteristics (type, level, nature and intensity of changes in awareness, habits, etc.) presents a separate sphere of problems, well described in theory, from the classical concept of Bloom's [1956], but in educational practice in general handled formalistically and in educational policy, especially concerning higher education, dominated by general pedagogical slogans, ideological declarations, full of good will postulates of wishful thinking, the viability and the actual implementation

of which are not assessed on the basis of empirical evidence [Szczepański, 1971, 1976; *Strategia rozwoju...* 2009]. Educational goals, in theory, should be formulated rationally, based on objectivized diagnosis of social needs and in accordance with the logic of the functioning of that part of social life to which the specified educational process refers. In practice, objectivized diagnosis of educational needs is very difficult to obtain, if at all possible. Allegedly objectivized diagnoses of learning needs are either based on incomplete data or express an ideology of a group which pursues its own interests, or are simply an expression of the dominant education ideology (sometimes referred to as an educational paradigm). Moreover, all or some of these factors occur simultaneously. It must be remembered that appropriate modifications of the educational objectives (in other words, the manipulation of these objectives) can result in increasing or decreasing the education effectiveness, as well as make its measurement easier, less complicated – or more difficult, more complex. The selection, accuracy and reliability of the measurement of the degree of achievement of the objectives is another group of problems, also susceptible to the non-substantial influence and various manipulations.

An important concept applicable to the assessment and description of the educational system and the implementation of any plans of change in this system is the general category of usefulness, colloquially understood as the property of benefiting, being practically applicable, or being needed for something. Generally speaking, it can be said that it is the ability to meet a certain need. In the social sciences (primarily in economics) usefulness is defined more precisely as the efficacy, or as the satisfaction gained by an individual as a result of the consumption of a commodity, of attaining the objective pursued or of choosing a particular action [Marshall 2004: 413].

The usefulness of education consists in various benefits to social actors (individuals or groups), potentially or actually interested in educating.

It is worth noting that both in the ordinary sense as well as in the socio-economic definition, the usefulness of some process, action, phenomenon or a state of affairs may be a particular aspect (also a consequence of) the effectiveness of such process, action, phenomenon or state. Provided that certain conditions are met, the usefulness can therefore be regarded as a practical verification of effectiveness. This also applies to the sphere of education, whose effectiveness has been defined above as the degree of achievement of pre-formulated educational objectives, while one of the goals of most general nature and essential importance may be providing pupils (students or learners) with the knowledge

and skills which are useful and, in particular, capable of bringing specific benefits in professional practice.

The sociological meaning of the concepts of effectiveness and usefulness of education consists, generally speaking, in making more realistic the description and making easier the analysis of how the system of education is fulfilling its attributed social functions.

Views on the role of education in a society are derived from a wider system of beliefs about the nature of social reality, therefore, various authors suggest slightly different sets of social functions of education [see eg. Spencer 1979: 404–407; Goodman, 1997: 201–203; Ballentine 2001: 29–57]. However, several functions of higher and postgraduate education can be reconstructed.

a) *Socialization function*: learning how to be a producive member of society (including groups such as professional and socio-professional). This function is realized in particular through:

– transferring the elements of culture (civilization) in the form of the so-called general knowledge,

– transferring and, consequently, internalizing certain values,

– social integration (including, for example, integration within socio-professional groups),

– determining social position, in particular through its reproduction (this also applies to the position in the socio-professional group); establishing social relationships with others,

– enforcing specific rules in the process of social control.

b) *Selection and training function* (situating individuals in specific locations of the socio-professional structure, providing qualified employees to social subsystems). This function is implemented through formal processes of transfer, acquisition, preservation and improvement (refreshing) of the professional competence (appropriately selected elements of knowledge, skills and attitudes).

c) *Certification function* associated with the importance attributed to formal diplomas or certificates of completion of schooling cycles. Some sociologists of education (particularly the supporters of the theory of conflict) note that education – especially higher and postgraduate level – is becoming more commonly considered as a need or necessity of more social than individual-development nature. In the Anglo-American sociology, attributing particular importance to formal qualifications is defined as credentialism, to emphasize that the evidence, certificates, these "credentials" certifying a certain level or type of education are often a prerequisite for employment, regardless of whether any actual skills and

knowledge are behind them and whether the knowledge and skills acquired in the training are really necessary to perform the job.

d) *Innovation and development function*. Introducing changes, especially innovatory ones, is a widely expected function of education. Sociologists emphasize that actual implementation of the innovative features can only be expected of higher education (although such expectation is often futile, especially in our country). The question of the innovative potential of different levels of education remains open, although various doubts prevail here, concerning real possibilities of carrying out this function by compulsory stages of education. Within the function of innovation and development, there are two, generally coexisting, consistent types of motivation to acquire education:

– autotelic, where participation in the educational process is treated as an end in itself (in special cases it may be a personal development, self-realization, self-improvement, etc.)

– instrumental, where the acquisition of education is a means to achieve other objectives, an economic investment, etc. (in particular, such an objective may be the change a specific section of social reality).

One of the functions of education emphasized in the book by Metta Spencer [1979: 404] is "babysitting" – taking care of children, dealing with them during a part of the day, allowing parents, mostly mothers, to carry out their work. The author intended that this function referred to the early stages of education, but it can be reasonably assumed that a similar function is fulfilled by the mass and marketized higher education (also, in part, on the postgraduate level). This function, this is occupying a large number of young people with educational activity. On the one hand, it postpones their entry into the labor market, not very receptive in the macroeconomic scale, and on the other hand, it increases a chance of more satisfying (for all) implementation of the above-mentioned selective/distributive function.

In this context, the effectiveness of education as a sociological category is the degree of achievement of the objectives optimized for their performance of different social functions of education, while the usefulness of education is the range, types and importance of different types of benefits associated with successful implementation of these functions[1]. In the sociological sense, the effectiveness and usefulness of the education are used to describe and analyze the social real-

---

[1] The belief that it is possible to gradually achieve the ideal of a truly effective and useful education is a singular "founding myth" of the hundred-year-old egalitarian ideology of the repair of the social world through an increasingly universal access to all levels of education. For some time, this ideology has been successfully challenged by the cultural reproduction theories and theories which speak of the system of education reproducing the existing social structure. These

ity in the field of education, in particular, to identify discrepancies between the actual situation in this sphere and its various "ideal types", in other words – the distance which separates the actual state of the educational system fulfilling its social function, firstly, from the ideal state in this respect, and secondly – the state established in the planning process of social change. It must be remembered that the education process applied to the community can be recognized in itself as a social intervention – a deliberate action aimed at introducing a relatively stable change in the fragment of social reality defined by the characteristics of this group, or as an activity conducive to other social changes, sometimes viewed in terms of social modernization [see Buchner-Jeziorska 2005].

One of the components of the sociological semantic field of the concepts of effective-ness and usefulness of education is their socio-technical meaning. It consists in the fact that during the educational process, foundations of a positive response to social changes can be formed, based on the results of scientific research and fulfilling, to a greater or lesser extent, the premises of the so-called "purposeful action procedure" [see Kubin 1978; Podgórecki 1996]. One of important socio-technical issues emerging in the field of sociology of education is therefore a question of whether and how effective training with specific characteristics is useful in the above meaning, that is, whether and what benefits it brings to social actors in-volved in the implementation of such changes and to these ones to which these changes relate.

It may be worth reminding a passage from a speech by the rhetorician Libianos in honor of Julian the Apostate, quoted in an article by Czapów and Podgórecki,: "it is difficult to issue useful laws because reason is needed for that purpose" [Czapów, Podgórecki 1972: 9]. One might add that useful laws are such which benefit those who observe them and / or the legislators. And further, the usefulness is the result of reason (wisdom?) but the wisdom (reason?) does not have to – although it may – strive after usefulness understood as a general benefit to all members of a society or some substantial part of it. Whether the reason – in a sense of the mind formed in the course of education – will have such striving is largely dependent on the socialization processes, mainly on education. Its effectiveness in achieving well defined objectives and its social usefulness are thus decisive in the success of purposeful actions undertaken by the initiators of social changes[2].

theories are supported by studies showing a relatively minor impact of educational system on eradicating social inequalities.

[2] It can be assumed that the objectives of education – from a general social perspective – may be more or less useful for different segments of a society; it is difficult to imagine the lack of any

Effectiveness and usefulness of education in the sense of bringing benefit to society as a whole or to certain segments of society are undoubtedly constitutive features of the purposeful action procedure in the sense that once has been given to this notion by Adam Podgórecki. Education, especially understood as a structured formal and administrative system of education should strive to maximize its use-fulness in this very sense. It should also pursue the optimum level of realization of the targets set on the basis of a reliable diagnosis of needs and having taken into account the socially acceptable system of values (in a pluralistic society – socially accepted systems of values) – and thus to be as efficient as possible.

In its essence, the usefulness of education cannot be reduced to general state-ments about the social benefits from the existence of the educational system and the periodic[3] participation of all members of the society in it. The main issue here is the question of the criteria of usefulness, and therefore also of its types, varie-ties or variants. Thus, a fundamental issue appears of different perception of the usefulness of education by different social actors involved. Also very important are the mutual relations between the usefulness of education and its effectiveness. All these issues have important socio-technical aspects in terms of consequences for actions undertaken in order to amend certain parts of social reality.

The process of education, or, in broader terms – the functioning of the education system divided into grades or levels of education, in particular into compulsory and optional edu-cation, paid directly and paid from the state budget, is an example of a highly complex macro-social process. The ability to meet a variety of conditions is vital for whether – if at all – this process is moving in the direction of maximizing its effectiveness and usefulness. Any reforms of the educational system should be analyzed from this point of view. In this context, the manipulative aspect of socio-technique should also be remembered, relating to the public opinion: in order to see particular kinds of education as useful (or useless), actions are some-times undertaken, directed at shaping the stereotypical views. The usefulness of education can thus be persuaded, particularly the useful-ness which is somewhat potential, expected and an-ticipated at the beginning of a particular educational cycle.

The issue of effectiveness and usefulness of education is, in fact, a particular approach to the analysis of education quality.

---

socially useful aspect of educational objectives, no matter how they might be formulated. It can also be expected that a completely ineffective educational cycle is only a rare pathology in education.

[3] In recent concepts of education an increasing role of "life-long learning" can be seen, which may mean also a gradual increase in periods of participation by individuals in various forms of socially-controlled education.

In order to consider issues of effectiveness and usefulness of the educational system or of various educational projects (including broader reformatory projects in this area), one must be aware for whom, from whose (or what) point of view the educational system and projects carried out within its scope are effective and useful. These problems are the focused in the concept of the client of the educational system or cycle (the recipient of education services).

According to the general guidelines of ISO 9000, the most important measure of qual-ity, including quality of education, perhaps more important than the concept of quality as maximizing and optimizing desired characteristics of an item or service, or as a stability of a set of parameters, is the customer satisfaction, seen as a compliance of the expectations of the client of an organization or institution with the characteristics of the object, or with the con-duct and effects of the service [see for example: Brauer, Kühme 1999; Reu, Przybyła 1999; Hornowska 2004]. But while in the case of production, service (in the traditional, narrow sense) or administrative organizations, customer satisfaction is the criterion which is clear and relatively easy to operationalize in the form of indisputable indicators, then in the case of edu-cational institutions or facilities the issue is more complicated because there is a substantial difficulty in precise and unambiguous determination who is the client of these institutions and whether or not the concept of a client is aptly applied here at all, and if so, whether it can be used as the sole one in determining the actors to which the categories of effectiveness and usefulness of education refer. These difficulties relate to both the facilities and institutions which directly carry out the state educational policy objectives as well as institutions provid-ing educational services for a profit[4]. The theoretical reflection on issues of education quality predicted such difficulty for some time, treating it simply as the academic digression, and basically dismissing it entirely [see eg. Van Vaught 1994]. It was only the need and even – in the bureaucratic and administrative sense – the necessity for the submission of projects related to providing and assessment of the quality of training to the requirements of accreditation and certification bodies, operating under the standards established by the ISO (International Or-ganization for Standardization), that attracted the attention to important practi-cal questions. Who is the client of an educational or training institution? Whose satisfaction would be the criterion of the quality of education?

From the economic or commercial standpoint, the customer in the field of education is the one who pays for the educational cycle. This point of view is

---

[4] The latter ones are, at least formally, controlled by the state and, at least in theory, also con-tribute to the implementation of educational policy.

adopted, be it exclusively or among others, in most dictionary definitions of the client. In the English language dictionaries and in English language marketing analyses, in addition to the term 'client' another, also semantically related, but hardly synonymous expression 'customer' is used (the purchaser, also the recipient of services). The differences here are rather subtle but nevertheless quite signifi-cant. In one of the dictionaries, a 'client' is "someone who pays for the service or advice from a person or organization" and the customer is "someone who buys goods or services from a shop, company, etc." [*Longman Dictionary...* 1995]. According to another dictionary, a client is "a customer or s o m e o n e   w h o r e c e i v e s   services [my emphasis, AB]", while the 'customer' is "a person who buys goods or a service "[*Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* 2003]. Only some of the dictionary entries are a bit clearer in suggesting that paying for the service is not a necessary element of the definition of the client. In one of the American encyclopedia dictionaries, it can be read that the client (in the first sense), is "one for whom professional services are rendered" [*The American Herit-age Dictionary ...* 1980]. Dictionaries also use sometimes a reference to the Latin origin of the word client: it is someone who is under the protection of someone else. Such a meaning is used in the marketing considerations, particularly in rela-tion to small and medium business. In one of his popular Internet expert opinions, an American construction entrepreneur Josh Macmichael wrote: "Understanding the difference between a client and customer can affect the way in which you do business. Because clients tend to be people who seek advice, people tend to pay more attention to clients than they do customers. This is evident in the fact that some businesses actually have changed the name of their customer service department to client service. If you still aren't sure on the difference between the two, consider the example of a lawyer and client. Although they are paying a lawyer for services, an individual is not considered a customer. This is because they are seeking advice and are under the lawyer's protection. This is a good way to remember the difference between the two." [Macmichael 2009]

One might ask, who is the client of an educational facility (or buyer of educa-tional services) on the compulsory levels of education: whether it is the student, their family or rather the state (as the formal and administrative representation of the public)? This applies, of course, to the primary and secondary schooling. And who is the client of the non-compulsory forms and levels of education, funded by the state, including those which are part of the otherwise necessary implementation of the State functions relating to the defense and maintenance of public order? General considerations on the quality of higher and postgraduate

level of education[5] suggest explicitly that the client is a student/learner because they are the direct recipient of educational services. Thus limiting the issues under consideration to this particular level of education, one can ask further – about the essence of educational services. What is the service which students / learners are provided and are they still clients, if they do not receive it in a certain, pre-established manner, or only receive a part of it? What is the content of the service, the product, of which they are recipients? The answer seems obvious: the knowledge, skills, attitudes – or a specific competence. And if someone expects also or exclusively something else? Are the competences transferred to such persons actually acquired, and if so, to what an extent are they adopted as a useful service in autotelic sense, and to what an extent in instrumental terms? Perhaps equally important, or even more important are other elements of educational services understood in an extended sense, as participation in the educational process (training cycle) – such, for example, as the prestige associated with the very fact of participation, the social composition of the participants, obtaining a diploma / certificate, the postponement of the responsibility for an individual adult life and, until recently, in the case of men – a shield against compulsory military service. Knowledge and skills do not count then, and / or are treated instrumentally in terms of processing and completing the next batch of material due to the goal of staying on the list of students with a perspective of at first distant and then ever-closer diploma / certificate, which is also considered generally as a means of securing employment, support and, possibly, prosperity. Instrumental use of this part of the educational services, which is recognized in the educational discourse as the most important, leads to apparent actions in relation with the service provider: learning, instead of being the acquisition of knowledge and skills bringing a relatively lasting effect becomes periodic at best, a short-term response to the requirements of formal and administrative requirements, a response often leaving no significant trace in the consciousness of the recipient of educational services. Which of course does not mean that participation in the educational cycle is useless for a participant. The problem is that the predicted and then experienced benefits may apply only to certain of the functions of education, often distorted in the popular reception by ideological stereotypes and myths appearing in the educational discourse.

---

[5] The reflection on the quality of education at all levels of the educational system is mostly reduced to the demands of the development of infrastructure and equipment for educational institutions (and in fact to increasing the expenditure on education) as well as stereotypical, mythologized „improvement of effectiveness of education", usually in a form of a series of demands resembling ritual incantations or clichés.

This is also the case of another social actor or stakeholder in educational transaction: educating institutions on higher and postgraduate level. If one of the foreground assumptions of such an institution is increasing the number of non-obligatory learners and students, usually accompanied by the lack of teaching staff – and this happens as a result of the universal commercialization of education at this level, the essence of educational services inevitably moves in the direction of activity only feigning the provision of substantially significant educational service[6] and the care of its actual acquisition by the "clients." The situation is not helped by the fact that the largely commercialized educational system and its educational facilities conduct their business "on demand", which consists of different, sometimes conflicting expectations of various actors / stakeholders involved in the educational process.

From sociological point of view, an educational service can be recognized, firstly, as an activity aimed at achieving the objectives of training defined in a given training facility, or assigned to a given cycle or level of education. Secondly, as the activity of the educational system (and its various sub-systems) aiming at achieving social functions attributed to it[7]. Such approaches, as well as other viable alternatives, are not mutually exclusive; they may differ in scope, range or extent of the complexity of the cognitive or analytical perspective, but they still will be different aspects of education service as a conceptual construct. Another, very important issue is the content of educational services. Firstly, that is what pupils, students, learners (clients of a 'business' of education? buyers of an educational product?) are expecting from the educational system. Secondly, equally important, and also ambiguous is the content of the educational offer, or how (if at all) the objectives of education are formulated – in different contexts, at different levels or grades of the educational system as well as whether and to what an extent these objectives are achieved, or are likely to be achieved. It is also evidently important how expectations of „clients" of the educational system and the „service" obtained by them are related. Such relation brings the cumulative effect in the form of the so-called customer satisfaction syndrome.

---

[6] Substantially significant educational service is defined here as the impact of an educational facility designed to make targeted, relatively permanent changes in the consciousness of people affected by such an impact.

[7] Implementation of the various social functions of education is, to varying degrees, useful for different entities (and their types). The criteria of usefulness can be (and often actually are) different, even contradictory, and the domination and forced execution of one function sometimes brings negative consequences for the performance of other functions.

In the marketing and evaluation literature, customer satisfaction is defined simply as the evaluation of the act of acquisition and the consumer experience related to product, service, brand or company. Recent studies of this problem use the concept of cumulative customer satisfaction, defined as any previous experience with the product or service provider. This definition is closer to the expressions used in economic psychology and economy of prosperity, where customer satisfaction is synonymous with the concept of usefulness of consumption [see Johnson, Fornell, 1991; Johnson, Gustafsson 2000]. The usefulness of consumption is nothing but the benefits of owning some good or being the recipient of a service – for example, the recipient of educational services.

Narrow, economic and commercial definition of clients limits the perspective of the analysis in an educational context, in fact isolating it from the problems of social functions of education, in particular from the question of the functionality of the educational system and its components. Firstly, in such a sense, the pupil, learner or student is not a client (or is not the only client), if the cycle of education is paid by the state or its agency, structural fund, foundation or an NGO, or, as sometimes happens, an employer. Secondly, it is worth recalling the distinction and the mutual relationship between the concept of a client and the concept of a beneficiary. This is especially crucial in the situation where the benefits of a better education – more knowledge, new skills, well-formed attitudes, etc. – are made available not only to the person being educated but also other individuals or social groups. This occurs in a number of social subsystems, including the health care system[8]. A customer is someone who comes into the possession of a product (in particular one which is the essence of the service). A beneficiary is someone who benefited from the fact that such product came into the possession of a customer. Because of a specific benefit (or a specific set of benefits), a customer may be – but not always is – the beneficiary – the latter may be another social entity; there may also be no beneficiaries at all (lack of benefits of a particular type), their configuration may be different than originally expected, there may also be a situation of apparent benefits or different that assumed; there may be beneficiaries aware or unaware of certain benefits. The concept of a customer, even extended beyond its purely economic meaning, is far from enough in the context of education, especially taking into account the whole set of its differ-

---

[8] The problem of this distinction deserves a separate, more extensive and in-depth discussion, particularly in the context of the educational market dominance of formalized standards and rules for the provision and evaluation of education recommended by official certification and accreditation bodies.

ent functions. The concept of a beneficiary is an important complement here, however, a broader, generalizing category is lacking, one which could be used in relation to the qualitative aspect of education, in particular its effectiveness and usefulness. The concept of the social actor interested in education may be such a category.

A social actor interested in education is a person, community or institution having specific expectations from the educational facility[9], which uses its services and as a result has those expectations met, as well as the needs behind them, and/or receiving certain goods (benefits). If one could speak of the s a t - i s f a c t i o n of an actor interested in education (in the sense mentioned above), it would be usefulness understood as the perceived and / or experienced benefits resulted from the functioning of a particular cycle of education or a particular educational system. Such an approach goes far beyond the marketing perspective still dominant in the analysis of the quality of education (especially higher and postgraduate), limited to the relationship between the client (direct recipient of educational services) and service provider (educational facility) and adopting a simplified understanding of the satisfaction of the student as the current balance of positive and negative feelings associated with educational cycle.

In reference to each educational project a number of social actors can be identified, corresponding to the definition of the actor interested in education.

They are, therefore, firstly, those who directly participate in the educational enterprise as pupils, students or learners. Their satisfaction may not be the sole criterion for the quality of education, because of the variety of reasons for undertaking education and subjective goals involved. There is no doubt, for example, that some pupils, students or learners of graduate and postgraduate courses would be most happy if no specific requirements were directed at them, no exams expected to be passed nor different subjects to be completed, etc. and at the end of the training cycle they were handed diploma or certificate of graduation (completing an educational cycle) without any additional "obstacles".

Secondly, as an actor interested in activities of an educational institution can be considered a potential employer, more broadly – an institution which in the future will employ a graduate, or is currently employing such a student of postgraduate studies. Regardless of the operational difficulties in determining

---

[9] Most expectations are not specified, explicit or at least semantically homogeneous; in fact, vagueness, amorph-ousness and a far-reaching stereotypical character is a soil nutritious for effective marketing actions. Some of the psychological aspects of the formation and dynamics of expectations and the associated ambiguity of the very concept are discussed by E. Hornowska (op. cit., p. 125–126).

what the satisfaction of such an actor is and how it is manifested, it also cannot be regarded as the sole or main client a training facility. Employer's objectives are not always identical or consistent with the objectives of the graduate. Sometimes employer is guided by a particular understanding of self-interest, and is not always interested in someone educated in ways that are beyond his influence. In the case of postgraduate education quite often the employer is not interested in further training of his employees, or even is against it, despite existing regulations, recommending a favorable attitude in this respect [see Pogorzelska 2002].

Thirdly, a social actor interested in some educational activity (educational cycle) could be a specific professional circle whose prospective or current members participate in this activity. It is so on the assumption that such a circle actually exists and is capable in certain circumstances to articulate their expectations relating to the raise of qualifications of persons belonging to it and to feel any satisfaction if those expectations are met. However, this assumption is not always fulfilled, and what is defined as the professional circle is often a field of competition, in which a diploma or a certificate of graduation (including a postgraduate course) can be one of the tools.

Fourthly, as a social actor interested in a specific sphere of education can be considered entire sector, for which, at least in principle, a given education facility works. However, the size as well as structural and functional complexity of such an actor make empirical indicators of "system satisfaction" (a summative criterion for the quality of education in a given field) difficult to define and measure. In fact, their role is assumed by ratings and reviews mostly formulated by the *ad hoc* administrative and political demands. However, one can imagine an attempt to operationalize 'system satisfaction' in the form of a set of indicators relating to the raise of its efficiency[10] (in particular efficiency of the part of the system known as human resources) as a result of the presence of people with certain educational parameters within the system. At this point attention should be paid to the fact that maximizing the number of people with the highest possible education of a particular type hardly ever is a prerequisite for increasing efficiency of performance, quite the opposite – it may cause disruption in efficiency mechanisms.

---

[10] Efficiency is defined here in the praxeological sense which Tadeusz Kotarbiński gave to this concept: an action is efficient when it is (1) purposeful (purpose-directed), (2) using all actor's resources indispensable to attain the purpose, (3) using the resources in economic way (1970, p. 197–206).

Fifthly, a social actor interested in education is a society represented formally and ad-ministratively by the state, including various institutions, traditions, culture as a whole and its individual features or elements. Positive responses or impressions caused by the participation of specific individuals or groups in education, in this case are the hardest to grasp empirically due to the scope of any evaluation and the stretching in time of the nation-wide outcomes of educational macro-processes.

All this inspires to adopt a slightly different point of view – broadened and more complex, and thus more corresponding to reality – on what is the essence and the main criterion of education quality : the satisfaction of the actor interested in education.

The satisfaction of a particular, quite precisely defined client, while a sufficient criterion of quality in case of manufacturing products and providing services of consumable character, is not a sufficient criterion for educational services. They are clearly of investment character – independently on variations in types, causes and motives of investing in cosciousness changes. Moreover, in the case of educational services, the criteria of quality (understood as the degree or level of satisfying the actor) may be different because of the need to meet the expectations of different actors interested in education. The "parameters" of these expectations would have to be determined only through arduous analyses taking into account many social circumstances – cultural, administrative, political, economic, etc. Indeed, any social actor interested in education formulates – directly or indirectly – a set of expectations, and therefore certain requirements to be met by educational system (or educational cycle). The expectations of various actors are common and sometimes coincide, but often differ greatly. Many of these expectations in a more or less conscious manner coincide, accumulate and undergo some modification in the minds of the people directly involved in the educational process, secondarily affect other interested actors and is reflected in the expectations formulated by them towards training institutions. In this way students (learners), through their actions, their satisfaction, which may be operationalized in evaluative studies in various ways, becomes a major medium through which one can try to evaluate the quality of education. Schematic illustration of these complex processes and phenomena is shown in Figure 1.
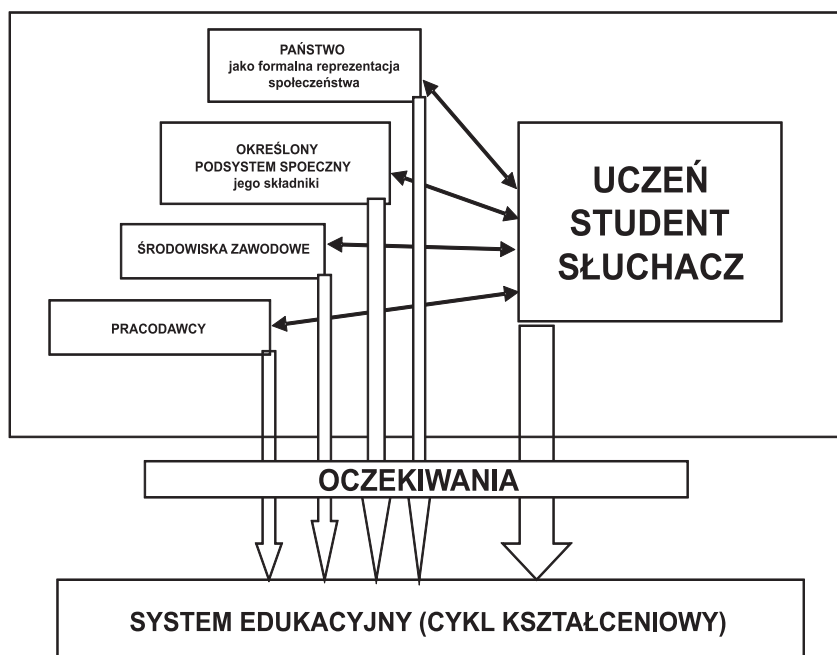
Fig. 1. Social actors interested in education on higher/postgraduate level

Quality, and therefore the quality of education can be understood differently and this is reflected in the literature of the subject [see e.g. Frazer 1992, Skrzypek 1999, Boczkowski 2001, Hornowska 2004, *Strategia rozwoju*… 2009]. In particular, the quality of education can be interpreted as its effectiveness, i.e. the extent to which educational objectives of a training facility, previously formulated on the basis of needs and expectations of actors interested in education, are achieved. Most frequently there is also the question of whether certain professional skills are transferred, developed, modified and refreshed in a way that maximizes the satisfaction of particular actors. As satisfaction is here a function of benefits perceived in relation to specific educational experiences, we are dealing here with another aspect of the quality of education – its usefulness. It is particularly important that mutual relations exist between these two aspects of education quality (Figure 2).
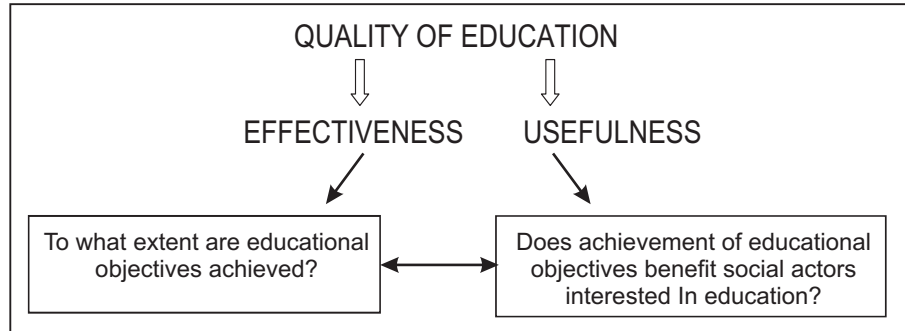
Fig. 2. General relationship between effectiveness and usefulness of education

The assessment of the education quality conceived in such a way can be carried out in three complementary dimensions or aspects – as is shown in Figure 3. Firstly, by checking how much consciousness of the participants of a learning process has been subjected to a desirable (consistent with the objectives of education and / or expectations of the actors interested) changes as a result of this process. Secondly, through the analysis of the positive (again – in line with educational objectives) aspects of professional careers of people educated, the point being, of course, to extract and identify those aspects which have their roots in an educational cycle completed by a given person or are at least indirectly related to that cycle. Thirdly, the assessment of the education effectiveness can be performed using evaluations, feelings and opinions of graduates after the completion of an educational cycle. The first of these evaluations concerns the effectiveness of education, the second – its usefulness, while the third – both effectiveness and usefulness of education.
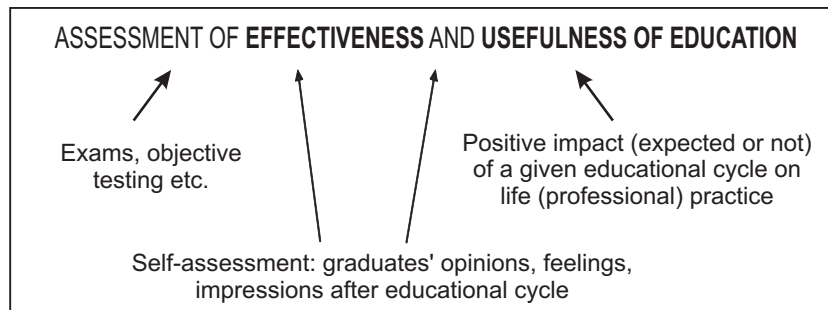

Fig. 3. Three ways to assess effectiveness and usefulness of education

Educational objectives are generally formulated by an institution offering education or by a wider educational system, taking into account cultural patterns, interests of the state, social expectations (expectations of social actors) – including direct participants in the educational process and their families, expectations of groups of people pursuing the interests of the edu-cational system, the interests of academics, employers, etc. Which is not to say that there is a coincidence. Usually one of these options (one of the social actors) is dominant, while others are subordinate (or are subordinated) having a more or less unique background or reference systems. One can also imagine a dynamic, varying hierarchy of interests and related expecta-tions.

Social actors interested in education always expect benefits – different in the case of different actors, often conflicting or mutually exclusive. The qualification of events or states as a benefit or no benefit may be different in the context of perceived education effectiveness . What is a benefit for one social actor – inde-pendently on the level of effectiveness – for another one may be an effective but useless realization of an educational objective.

The value may be, on the one hand, the achievement of specific education objective(s), and on the other hand – meeting certain individual or collective ex-pectations. In this context a category of universal educational objectives can be suggested – the kind which should always be carried out regardless of the content and details of the educational process. These are changes (defined structurally, not generically) in consciousness of the educated actor. If these changes were imple-mented sufficiently, the training could be regarded as effective, regardless of ac-quired knowledge and practical skills characterized generically. An argument could be made that the achievement of the universal education objectives would make the educational process useful as well, in a similar universal dimension. Assessment of the education effectiveness should be performed in this context as well.

Both the goals and expectations may be formulated in terms of benefits. Moreover, re-gardless of its objectives (verbalized or not), education may bring some benefits, so the utility value of education should be taken into account – whether it brings or not the benefits of de-fined characteristics (expected or un-expected, unforeseen or foreseen, predicted or unpre-dicted). In order to determine the above, an assessment of education usefulness is made. Here, a category of the relative utility of education should be considered: some benefits (even those that are not seen as such in connection with specific perceptual conditions of the interested actor) arise or may arise from the participation in the educational process. Training may there-fore be perceived as useless, despite the established

effectiveness and independently on use-fulness perceived by another actor according to other criteria.

An assessment of the education effectiveness and usefulness is associated with „customer satisfaction", i.e. the degree or the scope of positive assessment of learning outcomes by certain interested actors. This assessment also concerns coming up to the actors' expectations connected with learning process, educational institution etc., generally formulated in terms of benefits. It is made by taking into account the degree to which expectations are included in the declared goals of an educational institution (before selecting its kind or specific type of training) as well as the extent of achieving these goals (meeting those expectations) during the educational cycle and as its result. The issue of assessing the usefulness comes into play as the main component of the satisfaction of an actor interested in education, if the question arises about meeting the expectations,. Education is (was) useful if it brings (brought) benefits, that is, if events or states of things occurred as its result, are (was) perceived/experienced as benefits. Of course, it also entails benefits unrelated to the formal (official) education program.

Directions, spheres and locations of the evaluation of the effectiveness and usefulness of education should relate in some, possibly precisely defined way to the purposes of education and expectations associated with it, which can be illustrated by the following example.

Postgraduate education (training) was effective because during its course an employee had to learn to do something he could not do before – and indeed this took place. However, such training is not useful to him[11], if he anticipated a salary raise in connection with it – because he did not receive it. If the purpose (or one of the purposes) of the educational process was to ensure higher wages for the persons educated, which in fact is a rare enough occurrence in the educational reality[12] one could speak of the ineffectiveness, or partial ineffectiveness. For

---

[11] Usefulness is always for someone, from some point of view, it is interpreted subjectively or inter-subjectively; effectiveness is associated with objective changes in a person who is (being) educated as well as in the effects of its action – although generally it is difficult to assess these changes.

[12] One can imagine a socio-technically oriented educational cycle – aimed at mastering the methods of negotiating raises or promotions in a workplace. In educational reality, it is realized in a quite specific manner in a form of psychological training course in assertiveness, negotiation etc., as well as trainings concerning specific behavior in the process of seeking work. In any way, effectiveness concerns the changes which have been caused by the education process in an educated person, while usefulness – whether the participation in the educational process and the possible (though neither necessary nor obvious) changes in an educated person brought, are bringing or can bring any benefits to either such person or another social actor.

the employer, such a training, if it was effective, is useful or not – depending on whether what the employee has learned the company (employer) needs or not, whether it benefits employer or not – of course in employer's own individual or collective assessment. It can be said that it is the society (professional environment, area of the economy) which benefits – because sum of skills has increased. But it is a controversial benefit in the sense that it sometimes boils down essentially to the optimistic interpretation of statistical data, because in fact those skills may not be needed by the society (including the economic sphere or a professional environment) – for example, there is no demand for specialists in the field. Thus, it may be an advantage / benefit of an apparent or virtual nature. But it is also the fact with a determined negative and positive meaning, with its own "useful" life as a social fact, present in the collective consciousness, in the public opinion, entailing a number of decisions, actions and consequences, especially important for the functioning of the educational system.

Basic mechanisms and circumstances of assessing the effectiveness and usefulness of education are presented in Figure 4.
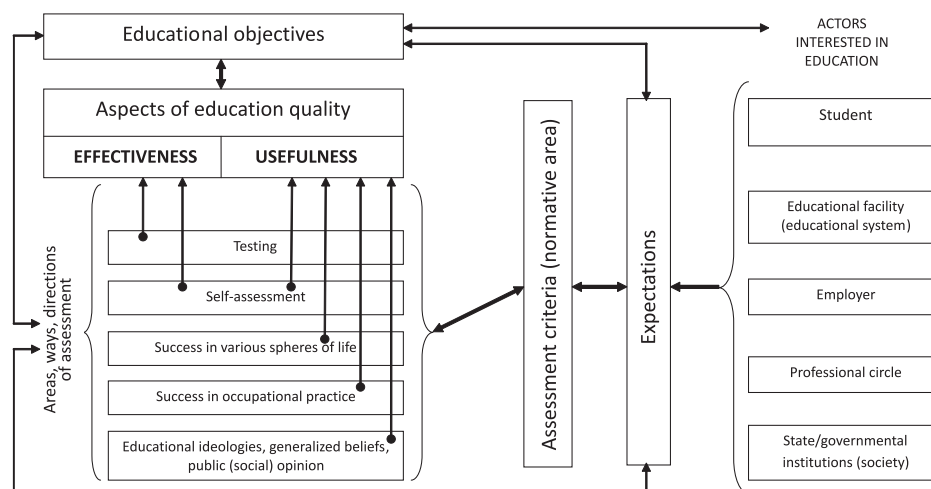

Fig. 4. Assessment (evaluation) of education effectiveness and usefulness

Arrows indicate the directions of interactions between:
– educational objectives (both declared and realized),
– effectiveness and usefulness (aspects of the quality of education),
– social actors interested in education,
– actors' expectations,

– assessment criteria,
– spheres, methods and directions of assessment.

1. Interactions between the objectives of education and its effects described in terms of efficiency and usefulness.

This type of interaction consists in the fact that, *inter alia*, the specific manner of formulating and implementation of the objectives of education affects the level of effectiveness (harder to achieve, more ambitious targets can cause lower effectiveness – with a fixed method of evaluation, uniform criteria, defined area in which evaluation is made and, of course, with a fixed inventory of resources and equipment of a training institution). Some ways of formulating objectives (e.g. a high degree of generality) and some methods of their implementation (e.g. emphasizing modernity or alterative character of didactics) favor such an interpretation of the level of effectiveness which is good (useful) for the interested actor. Certain formulations and the anticipated manner of realizing the educational objectives also influence the perceived usefulness – primarily as an incentive to engage in the education process in relation to the subjective assessment of the adequacy of that formulation to the expectations of the actor. All of it can also affect – in a secondary or complementary way – satisfaction of the actor resulting from his commitment in the education process.

The level or the degree of effectiveness and usefulness of education may strengthen or modify the objectives' formulation and implementation. Especially differences in the assessment of these two aspects of education quality (highly evaluated effectiveness with low evaluation of usefulness and *vice versa*) can lead to reflection on whether the objectives of education (of a definite system of education or educational cycle) are properly formulated – in line with the ideological and theoretical premises as well as the substantive needs.

2. Interaction of the objectives of education (the way they are formulated and implemented, their scope, level of generality, etc.) and actors interested in education with specific parameters.

Objectives can be formulated differently and / or modified because of the default preferences of a particular actor or they can be expected, and therefore suggested or inspired by one, several or all actors[13]. The social actors listed in the Figure 4 do not exhaust the list of possible actors interested in education – in analyzing the effectiveness and usefulness actors with other characteristics also can be taken into account.

---

[13] Typically, not all actors are interested in education of a particular type, in a certain mode, a certain level, etc, thus, the term which should actually be used is: „potentially interested actors".

Objectives formulated and realized in a certain way can affect what type of social actors are interested in educational process, cycle or project and to what an extent.

3. Each of the actors interested in education has expectations of the educational system, institution or facility – expectations of a more or less specific character. These expectations apply not only to the educational objectives explicitly formulated by an educational institution, but also to other elements of an educational offer.

The impact of mass media, the marketing of educational institutions, the functioning of public opinion are all conducive to unifying tendencies, however, the area of their specifics remains significant, perhaps becoming even more differentiated with the increasing number and diversity of educational offerings.

4. Educational objectives and expectations of interested actors remain in the constant relationship. Educational goals can be compatible (in varying degrees) or inconsistent with the predominant or common expectations of actors. In the case of low compliance, or lack thereof, the objectives of education are usually reformulated, there are also changes in realization. It must therefore be assumed that the expectations of interested actors may affect the educational objectives. The way in which these objectives are formulated and realized may affect the interested actors' expectations – clarifying, restructuring and modifying them. This might be when expectations are not very precise, vague, or if the educational offer in the part regarding the educational objectives is seen as more attractive than expectations.

5. Expectations and criteria of evaluation interact with each other. The general direction, type and degree of generality/detail of expectations affect the type of criteria used to evaluate the effectiveness and usefulness of education as well as the selection – conscious or not – of a particular system of norms as a reference system in these assessments.

Generalized evaluation criteria which are a relatively permanent element of consciousness (culture) of particular interested actors may regulate the expectations aimed at specific educational systems, institutions and projects.

6. Expectations of interested actors and adopted criteria of evaluation may affect the sphere[14] and aspect of the quality of education in which the assessment is (or will be) made. In the case of a direct recipient of educational service – pupil, student or learner, applying both personalized, subjective criteria, as

---

[14] Spheres of assessment can be distinguished in various ways, also differently than was done in Figure 4.

well as those more general, formed in public space – the assessment is made primarily in the sphere of life practice (including professional sphere of life) and sometimes in the field of educational self-assessment. These assessments relate primarily to the usefulness of education; effectiveness – recognized in connection to specific expectations – is only a prerequisite condition of usefulness. This does not mean that the direct recipient of educational service makes no evaluation of its usefulness in other areas, for instance in public discourse. Employers, due to the specifics of their expectations and criteria will locate their assessment in the area of professional practice. Institutions and educational facilities locate their assessments primarily in the field of tests and – in the case of universities and postgraduate education – procedures for assessing educational services by direct recipients. State institutions – primarily in the sphere of ideology, politics and propaganda (one might add – using mainly quantitative reporting).

But if for some reason it is known in advance in what area or what social or cultural context an assessment of the effectiveness and usefulness of education is (or should be) made, it may affect the conscious or unconscious choice of both broader normative references and more or less specific evaluation criteria.

7. Educational objectives (declared and implemented) and spheres or contexts in which the quality assessment is made mutually influence each other. Through assessments in particular areas (contexts) directions and types of changes, modifications and objectives of education may be indicated. Specific formulation of educational objectives and practice of their achievement may affect the sphere in which the results of education are to be primarily assessed as well as which aspects of education quality will dominate the assessments.

8. The assessment of the effectiveness and usefulness of education if affected by: declared and realized educational objectives, the characteristics of the evaluating actor (in particular, their expectations relating to the educational institution or project), adopted evaluation criteria, as well as spheres of reality which provide the context for evaluation. Especially the perception / feeling of the usefulness of education, defined through various benefits connected with a given educational system, institution or project, depends on the parameters which are included in Figure 4. Since the assessment of education results which contributes to the conditions of satisfaction of interested actor is not, or at least should not be carried out once or "once and for all", the perception / feeling of the effectiveness and usefulness of education may vary with the change of a reference system, consisting in each case of various configurations of elements listed above, also changing themselves under the influence of social and cultural conditions.

REFERENCES

B a l l e n t i n e J. H. [2001], *The Sociology of Education. A Systematic Analysis.* Prentice Hall New Jersey.

B l o o m B. S. [1956], *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals.* w: B. S. Bloom (red.) Susan Fauer Company, Inc.

B o c z k o w s k i A. [2001], *Ocena jakości kształcenia podyplomowego w zakresie medycyny pracy. Podstawy teoretyczne i praktyka ewaluacyjna.* Oficyna Wydawnicza IMP, Łódź.

B r a u e r J.-P., K ü h m e P. E. [1999], *Poradnik wdrażania systemu zarządzania jakością wg ISO 9000.* Oficyna Wydawnicza Spectrum, Warszawa.

B u c h n e r - J e z i o r s k a A. [2005], *Szkolnictwo wyższe jako czynnik modernizacji społecznej. Przykład Polski okresu transformacji*, [w:] A. B u c h n e r - J e z i o r s k a, M. S r o c z y ń s k a (red.) „Edukacja w cywilizacji XXI wieku". Wyd. Wyższej Szkoły Umiejętności, Kielce.

Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary [2003]. Cambridge University Press.

C z a p ó w C., P o d g ó r e c k i A. [1972], *Socjotechnika- podstawowe pojęcia i problemy*, [w:] A. Podgórecki (red.). Socjotechnika. Style działania. Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa.

F r a z e r M. J. [1992], *Quality Assurance in Higher education*, [w:] Quality Assurance in Higher Education, red. W. A. Craft. The Falmer Press, London-Washington DC

G o o d m a n N. [1997], *Wstęp do socjologii*, Zysk i S-ka, Poznań.

H o r n o w s k a E. [2004], *O pomiarze jakości usług w obszarze edukacji*, [w:] A. Brzezińska, J. Brzeziński, A. Eliasz (red.) „Ewaluacja a jakość kształcenia w szkole wyższej". Academica, Wydawnictwo SWPS, Warszawa.

J o h n s o n M. D., F o r n e l l C. [1991], *A framework for comparing customer satisfaction across individuals and product categories*, Journal of Economic Psychology 12/1991, 267–86.

J o h n s o n M. D., Gustafsson A. [2000], *Improving Customer Satisfaction, Loyalty and Profit: An Integrated Measurement and Management System.* Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

K o t a r b i ń s k i T. [1970], *Sprawność i błąd (z myślą o dobrej robocie nauczyciela)*, Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, Warszawa.

K u b i n J. [1978], *Orientacja socjotechniczna w socjologii. Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny*, 2/1978, s. 219–240.

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Third Edition. Longman Group Ltd. 1995

Macmichael J. [2009, March 1]. Client-customer – What is the difference? http://ezinearticles.com/?client-customer---What-is-the-difference?&id=2050907 (15.01.2010).

M a r s h a l l G., red. [2004], *Słownik socjologii i nauk społecznych PWN*, Warszawa 2004.

P o d g ó r e c k i A. [1996], *Socjotechnics. Basic Problems and issues*, [w:] „Social Engineering", red. A. Podgórecki, J. Alexander i R. Shields. Carlton University Press.

P o g o r z e l s k a D. [2002], *Pracownik skierowany na naukę a pracownik podejmujący naukę z własnej inicjatywy*, ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny 2002; LXiV,1: 79–85.

R e u H., P r z y b y ł a C. [1999], *Projekt ISO 9001:2000. Komentarz*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Spectrum, Warszawa.

S k r z y p e k E. [1999], *Jakość i efektywność*, *Wyd.* UMCS, Lublin.

S p e n c e r M. [1979], *Foundations of Modern Sociology*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.

Strategia rozwoju szkolnictwa wyższego 2010–2020 [2009], Wyd. Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa.

S z c z e p a ń s k i J. [1976], *Szkice o szkolnictwie wyższym*, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa.

S z c z e p a ń s k i J. [1959], *Zadania uniwersytetów w perspektywie planu 15-letniego. Życie Szkoły Wyższej, nr 16* (także w: Szczepański J. Odmiany czasu teraźniejszego. Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1971).

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language [1980]. red. W. Morris; Houghton Miffin Comp., Boston.

V a n   V a u g h t F. A. [1994], *Towards a quality management approach for higher education. CRE-action*, nᵒ 104 (A university policy for Europe), 1994, s. 79–97.

AGNIESZKA GOLCZYŃSKA-GRONDAS
AGNIESZKA KRETEK-KAMIŃSKA
University of Lodz

SOCIAL CONTRACT – ASSUMPTIONS AND REALISATION. THE CASE OF ŁÓDŹ[1]

Summary

One of the basic tools used in social work in the majority of European countries is the social contract. It is an agreement between the social worker and the individual client (or family) which precisely stipulates mutual obligations, requirements, rights and responsibilities of both sides. The contract is intended to be an effective method of diagnosing client's problems and to mobilize both sides to more intensive efforts to enable a client to have more personal control.

However, in the everyday practice of social work and its legal and institutional context, there are various constraints and barriers that may lead to distortion of the assumptions of a contract. It happens that the contract serves social workers and their clients as an instrument to realize interests and goals different from the intended.

In this article, ways to implement the social contract in Poland are suggested, along with conditions and limitations.

Keywords: social contract, social work, barriers in social works, apparent actions in social work.

Social contract is one of the basic tools used in social work and other professional assistance services in the majority of European countries. According to the methodology literature in social work, it is a tool that is expected to lead to empowerment and, in consequence, increase clients' areas of independence

---

[1] The article is partly based on the material presented in the report „contract as a social work tool" by the same authors published in the work/publication: „Are we efficient? Research of the effectiveness of social contract implementation as an instrument of social integration" published in 2007.

from social assistance institutions [Garvin, Seabury 1996: 297–298]. The Social Welfare Act of 12 March 2004 [Dz.U.2004.64.593] established the social contract as one of the instruments used by social workers in Poland. According to the Act, the contract is a special agreement between the social worker and the person or family applying for assistance. According to its assumptions, the determination of rights and responsibilities of both sides is aimed at mobilizing welfare clients to exert greater effort to overcome their difficult situations, and at the same time to contribute to higher efficiency of assistance provided.

Research[2] conducted in March 2006 among social workers of the Municipal Social Assistance Centre in Lodz[2] showed that the contract does not fulfil the expectations of being an efficient tool of social integration. Furthermore, in many cases it is treated as just another "paper to be filled in". Its use does not bring the intended results even though the method of its implementation may serve as exemplification of the behaviour defined by Jan Lutynski as an apparent action which "is officially considered important for realization, not necessarily as a single action, of a socially significant objective." but in reality does not fulfil that function: "Sufficient, though not always the only, justification of its occurrence in any form, is the fact that it was ascribed a significant role in realization of a specific goal; its real function is always – though not exclusively – its existence, though this may be limited existence, merely formal one". Moreover, its "non-practicality is known to all or almost all in a given population", though "it is private knowledge, not public, particularly not the one officially expressed" [Lutynski 1990: 107].

In this article we describe circumstances and mechanisms – diagnosed during the research conducted at the Municipal Social Assistance Centre in Lodz – due to which the social contract can be seen an exemplary of apparent action occurring in social assistance institutions. [NOTE: articles and other inanimate things cannot do anything; they cannot act, cannot show, cannot find, etc. Always word things so that people do the acting.]

---

[2] The project entitled "Study of the efficiency of application of social contract as an instrument of social integration" was commissioned under the Sectoral Operational Programme „Human Capital Development 2004–2006" and conducted in the period October 2006 – January 2007. Basic research objectives were: to assess the pattern of the social contract –construction of the form and standard procedures of its usage; to diagnose of conditions and barriers in social contract application as a tool of social work; to obtain knowledge on strategy of implementation and realization of social contracts and institutional and non-institutional factors conditioning these strategies; to formulate postulates of changes to the construction and procedures of contract usage in order to enhance its efficiency. The research team members were Agnieszka Golczynska - Grondas, Agnieszka Kretek - Kaminska and Jolanta Grotowska-Leder as a project consultant (see Golczynska-Grondas A., Kretek-Kaminska A., 2007)

SOCIAL CONTRACT IN LITERATURE

Anthony Maluccio and Wilma Marlow wrote that the contract in social work may be defined as at "directly expressed agreement between the social worker and the client referring to key problems, goals, strategies of interventions, roles and tasks of both sides". According to the authors, the basic characteristics of the contract are reciprocity of agreement, diversification of participation in the intervention process, openness and reciprocal accountability [Maluccio and Marlow after Compton and Galaway 1993: 471–472].

According to methodological assumptions of social workers, the process of entering into the contract allows clients to define themselves. The tool is intended to protect their individuality and develop abilities, such as participation is discussion, negotiations, making choices, involvement and decision making. The idea of the contract refers to the partnership principle in contacts between the social worker and the client. The partnership in the context of the contract does not mean that both sides have the same knowledge resources, share similar feelings or undertake common actions. The social worker is however supposed to treat the client as a partner in the process of problem solving [Garvin, Seabury 1996: 297–298; Maluccio and Marlow after Compton and Galaway, Compton and Galaway 1993: 472, 475].

The contract may have either oral or written form. It is the latter that is recommended because with the written agreement ambiguity and misunderstanding can be avoided, work can be planned and the assistance process can be evaluated. The social contract should include four basic elements [Compton, Galaway 1993: 473, 478]:

– determination of specific goals of both sides' work in measurable and observable categories;

– determination of scopes of accountability of each side of the contract in terms of rights and responsibilities;

– determination of techniques and means to achieve goals;

– determination of administrative procedures – e.g., dates and places of meeting.

The purpose of the contract is to set the diagnosis framework (situation assessment)[3] in the initial phase of contacts with the client. The client and social

_____

[3] Despite medical connotations of the term diagnosis we have decided to use it since it is widely used in the social work in Poland. See Szatur-Jaworska Barbara (2001) Lexicon of Social Policy; Kubin Jerzy (1998) Encyclopaedia of Sociology vol. 1

worker establish a common view of the situation based on knowledge, information, and intuition of both partners[4] [Compton, Galaway 1993: 473–474, 478]. When determining the conditions of the contract, the social worker should consider four types of limitations related to the amount of time that may be devoted to particular professional tasks, skills possessed, work ethics and functions of the social assistance centre in which he or she is employed.

There are obviously situations in which using a contract becomes impossible. The contract may need to be established when chances for understanding between the client and the social worker are small or none, e.g., in the case of work with a person in an acute psychotic state, or mentally retarded, with brain damage, or under the influence of substances that have changed the person's mental state, or a young child. Also the goals that need to be formulated may not be realistic due to the client's own abilities, possibilities of the assistance centre, or the skills or value system of the social worker. Contract establishment is not recommended in a situation where the social worker does not have access to the full diagnosis of the client, does not have sufficient time to realize the assistance process based on the contract, or does not have skills such as of formulation of social work goals, motivation of clients, negotiation with clients or establishing a partner relationship. It is also not possible to establish a contract with a person who simply does not agree to such a form of work. In certain cases, such as deep crisis requiring immediate intervention, the social worker should not use the contract at all because involvement in the process of negotiations and common decision making increases the sense of threat and is harmful for the client [Wloch, Domaradzki 2005: 20, Seabury 1993: 496–498].

It should be emphasized that work based on a contract is only one phase of the assistance process. – According to Garvin and Seabury [1996: 61–62, 74], the assistance process consists of several stages, including: starting intervention (initial stage),assessment, planning and preparation of action, realization, finishing and evaluation stage; however a contract ordinarily should be a routine part of this process.

---

[4] The literature shows that even in countries in which social work procedures are well developed, workers often assume that they are not responsible for determining of goals and tasks of the contract and their actions limit down to classifying the client to a relevant category. Such an attitude may be treated as a professional mistake. Work based on contract means concentration on clients and their problems in the course of systematic interactions between the sides of the contract. Premature revealing of intervention plan is also treated as a mistake, since it prevents client's involvement in efforts for solving the difficult situation and prevents work based on resources and "strong sides" possessed by the client (Compton, Galaway, 1993: 473–474, 478).

SOCIAL CONTRACT REALIZATION IN THE MUNICIPAL SOCIAL ASSISTANCE CENTRE IN LODZ[5]

The number of established contracts

In the period when this research was conducted, i.e., two years after the Social Welfare Act in which use of a social contract was promoted, the experience of the employees of the Assistance Centre in Lodz with contracts was rather limited. On average there were 6 social contracts per a respondent[6]; however, every 20th interviewee had not established any contract, only every 5th had used a contract at least twice, approximately 40% of the of respondents had used a contract 3 to 5 times, and not quite every 25th had participated in more than 15 contracts[7] (see table 1).

Table 1 – Number of contracts established by respondents

Number of established contracts	Number of respondents	**Rate of respondents**
0	10	5
1–2	33	15,5
3–5	86	40,5
6–9	38	18
10–15	36	17
16 and more	9	4
Total	212	100,0

Source: Own study. A. Kretek-Kamińska

---

[5] The research project was carried out in two stages in the period from October 2006 till January 2007. At the first stage questionnaire survey was conducted on the sufficient sample of 280 social workers of the Municipal Social assistance Centre in Lodz (240 questionnaires were returned). Due to significant lack of data in some questionnaires, 213 were finally qualified for processing, which makes 76% of the sample planned). At the second stage in-depth open-ended interviews were conducted with 20 social workers. The full version of the report was published in the manuscript: Golczynska-Grondas A., Kretek-Kaminska A. (2007), Contract as a social work tool, in: are we efficient? The study of effectiveness of social contract application as an instrument of social integration, Lodz: HOBO Publishing House

[6] While per one worker of the Lodz Assistance Centre there fell at that time on average 98 environments defined as so-called "active files".

[7] Workers with the shortest, less than one-year work practice in institutions of social assistance signed the fewest contracts (average 1,7 contract), while the most contracts were signed by people with twenty-twenty-five-year experience (average 7,7 contract).

"Content" of contracts – tasks set for social assistance clients

The tasks that the clients of the Lodz Assistance Centre were supposed to realize within the contract were highly diversified. In certain cases they only involved obligation to realization a single, simple activity, connected to solving various formal matters, such as obtaining of a housing benefit, family allowance, "getting" the personal ID card, registration at the job office or temporary work agency. These types of contracts might be described as "**simplified contracts**". It is however worth noticing that the task specified in a simplified contract could be difficult for the client to realize for emotional reasons (filing an lawsuit requesting alimony, filing a divorce lawsuit, starting detoxication therapy or a family therapy) or perhaps because the systematic effort required was frustrating (e.g., taking part in the course for long-term unemployed or qualification training, obtaining a disability certificate, looking for a job).

Social workers also established "**complex contracts**" in which the whole sets of the tasks the customer had to realize were specified. One of these contracts established with a 34-year-old man who had left a penal institution required registration in the Poviat Labour Office, participation in qualification training, continuing abstinence and respecting the principles of social life. Another contract obliged a 22-year-old person brought up in Children's Home to complete part-time (evening) elementary school, intensify efforts to find a job and undertake employment. The contract with a 51-year old alcoholic was planned to lead to her to obtain an ID card, undertake therapy, remain abstinent, register in the Labour Office and apply for a degree of disability certificate.

Strategies of work with the client based on contracts established

Three main strategies of the work with the clients were observed based on a review of existing contracts. Those strategies included the following:

1) the strategy based on simulating activities – realized most often by interviewed social workers, obliged to use contracts because of instructions from management, tended to choose the client for the contract in an accidental way. They proposed the realization of the set of simple activities to the first client "available", they signed the contract and left the client alone with his/her actions. The outcome of the use of a contract depended only on motivation and personal features of the client and probably not infrequently the social worker simulating the activities put aside such a contract *ad acta* as non-realized.

2) the strategy of the activities that could be qualified as scrupulous execution of professional duties that are routine for a social worker but lacking the special

emotional commitment inherent in frequent monitoring of client activities. In this case, the worker proposed the contract on the basis of a standard environmental interview. When the contract was signed the client was admonished to maintain contact with the assistance centre and make visits in case of difficulties. Although the social worker did not visit the client frequently, s/he was ready to intervene if the client expressed such a need. The responsibility for the realization of the contract rested on the client – one can suppose that a disciplined, active client could fulfill the contract; however, this strategy did not provide much opportunity for of positive results when clients were not motivated and or were apathetic.

3) the most seldom applied strategy was the strategy of activities carried out in accordance to the rules of the art, applied to contract application at a certain stage of the assistance process. The use of the contract was preceded by an accurate analysis of the client's current situation (usually the worker had already looked after that client for a long period of the time), next a conversation designed to motivate the client was held and the worker proposed that the client sign the contract. The contract contained requirements for specific tasks to be realized by both the client and the social worker. The conditions of the realization of the contract were negotiated between the sides. Signing the contract was an introduction to really intensive work with the client and the constant monitoring of activities. Such a mode of conduct made it possible for the social worker to react immediately when difficulties appeared during realization of individual tasks. It also made it possible for the either the client or the social worker to suggest changes in the schedule of the contract. The strategy of activities carried out according to the rules of the art, with considerable emotional commitment of both sides, could bring about a successful end to work with the client; however, it often merely contributed to the improvement of his life situation and the client continued to remain in the sphere of influence of professional social assistance.

THE ASSESSMENT OF REALIZED SOCIAL CONTRACTS

The majority (almost 80%) of social workers in this study were sceptical towards the possibility a social contract improving the outcome of their work with clients rather than using different tools of social work. Every fourth respondent believed that the contract was an ineffective tool regardless the place and circumstances in which it was used, also every fourth was of the opinion that that the lack of effectiveness of the contract was connected with the specific functioning of social assistance in Poland. The negative assessment of the contract in com-

parison with other tools turned out to be independent of workers' experience. It is worth noticing however that the total lack of effectiveness of the contracts was most often mentioned by social workers who realized the most contracts, i.e., more than fifteen (every third, while in other groups smaller contract experience – every fifth).

Let us underline that almost 70% of social workers declared that they would not choose to use a social contract in their everyday work with clients. Among the reasons for reluctance to apply the contracts (except for the already mentioned lack of effectiveness of the tool connected with the limited possibilities of actual realization of its decisions)were the comparatively high level of the difficulty of the tool compared to other methods along with its time-consuming and formal character. The three main types of attitudes towards the contract were distinguished on the basis of qualitative material: total negation, ambivalence and full acceptance.

Respondents with a negative attitude towards the contract declared that its application did not influence realization of the social assistance tasks: *estimating realistically the value of the contract for realization of our tasks, I would just say, it doesn't have any special meaning. On the one hand, it is used for the client as a - quote – "you need to do this, or else, you will not get the assistance". We cannot use such an argument, because he may not do that though fulfils all conditions to receiving the assistance and he should receive it. We would certainly not write in the decision refusing the assistance that he did not fulfill the conditions of the contract* (interview 12). Others said that this tool would not bring any success due to the state of awareness of present clients of the social assistance: *it seems to me that this will not be successful, really. Yet, surely, if this society is more, I don't know, if it transforms, this society, gets to grip with these new reality of the transformation, then maybe just it changes their point of view a little, but this generation just these fifty-year-old, even forty-year-olds at this moment will benefit little from the contract* (interview 14).

The reason for the negative response of the majority of people to the idea of using social contracts was the necessity to use yet another bureaucratic form that causes additional burden of administrative work and prevents carrying out the real social work: *However as I say those who somehow cope, just I do not see the need for them to signing the contract. It will be enough to tell them or turn their attention to this or that, end of story… it's possible to be done. This means generally I think that the more papers the worse, because directing the main attention to papers and documents distracts/turns one away from/ from the real social work. I mean there should be as little papers as possible and as much*

social work as possible, such really deep work with environment (interview 10). One clear idea in the statements of some of the respondents the irrationality of being required to use the contracts: *contracts should not be done surely like the boss told so that everyone signs two contracts this month. This is nonsense and absurd, and unfortunately that's how it is* (interview 3).

People ambivalent towards applying social contracts clarified that under suitable institutional conditions the contract could be an effective tool of work: *the idea itself is very right, however one can't work with the social contract being responsible for 100, 150 families. This is impossible, it is fiction, it is only creating a piece of paper for the management, that we do something about the contract (…). It would be effective, I think, if we kept certain conditions. I mean the social assistance in Lodz would have to at least function on different principles than it is functioning at the moment, and then yes, then it is really a successful idea, yet, it is half-baked/incomplete, staff not educated/trained enough, no arguments practically except this financial assistance* (interview 11). Suitable conditions in the respondents' opinions would mean a smaller work load, introduction of procedures of contract execution, solid training of workers and improvement of the tool itself.

Only three respondents clearly accepted the new tool. Although an enthusiastic attitude towards the social contract was displayed by just one of them, that person also has big objections to the construction of the form itself: *I consider the contract a very good tool and I simply felt prepared to signing up contracts with people, anyway I have recently signed a lot of contracts (…). Just, but because I am rather such a sharp, firm person, so (…) everyone immediately got to realizing them and I can say, that this contract in case of my clients here in the neighbourhood (names of streets), at this old (name of the district), where people there are uneducated, it proves OK, however (…) the matter of preparation this, writing in two copies, filling in what the purpose of contract is in case of every person, it is obvious that improvement of the situation, becoming independent, specifying main aims, detailed aims, just this is this for me a great problem* (interview 18).

MECHANISMS CONTRIBUTING TO SIMULATING ACTIVITIES

Jan Lutynski introduced four types of mechanisms inherent in the social reality of the state and/or system, contributing to the occurring of apparent actions. These mechanisms are: organisational and decision-making mechanism, axiological

mechanism, obligatory execution of unworkable decrees and allegedly-pragmatic mechanism. All these categories can be identified in the world of institutionalized social assistance [the Encyclopaedia of Sociology T.1. 1998; 157]

Organisational and decision-making mechanism

The organisational and decision-making mechanism is connected with execut-ing by the organization of the lower level of binding decisions taken on higher level, though these decisions should lie in the competence of the organization itself [the Encyclopaedia of Sociology Vol.1: 157]

The essential source of problems connected with realizing the planned aims and functions of social contracts and, in consequence, essential distortions is this field is placing social workers in a low place in the decision-making hierarchy or organized social assistance. One can assume that the workers under study perceived , first of all, as objectified performers of tasks imposed on them by representatives of higher authorities. For the majority of our respondents (over 80%) the administrative compulsion was the main motive for using the contract in the social work. *Well, if I have results, then they will not do me anything. The boss tells the worker does.* (interview 1). *We for example oppose, we speak with managers, but you have to do this full stop because this is a "prikaz"*[8] *from the top and full stop. (…)* (interview 3).

Also, decisions made by workers were questioned by their superiors, which caused workers to fear loss of credibility and authority in relationships with the clients: *we do not have authority for these people and the moment we say for example that there will be no assistance because this contract is not realized, the director changes our decisions and claims that to the assistance should be given because we just have money, for instance. Well I (…) now, yesterday I signed such a matter and I knew that this person did not deserve assistance because... and he* [the director] *admitted/allowed assistance because he found different premises* (interview 2).

The limited range of a social worker's impact on the decisions made within the contract was frequently determined by the negative attitude of staff toward anything new or unusual in a contract: *stiff company let's be frank, it is very hard to break through there and there is really a small group of the people who really want to do something. But they are overpowered immediately, „And what for… come on, don't stick your neck out", it's best, no ideas, nothing of own will, …*

---

[8] "Prikaz" is a Russian word for "order". In Polish language it is often used in ironic manner.

if they don't demand, don't stick your neck out or they would want something from you (...) and maybe that's why there are so few contracts. And if, I don't know, someone came in and said listen,(...) this can be great, let's look together where we can push these people, just we have somewhat limited possibilities, but we'll do something about this or that, maybe we would be motivated differently somehow in spite of various external difficulties (interview 4).

Another barrier to realization of functions of the contracts was the lack or vagueness of procedures for both establishing contracts and handling related financial matters**.** The formal position of employees proposing contracts was not clearly defined: *Who practically signs this contract, is this institution through its representative, or is this social worker, because this is somewhat obliterated in my opinion (...). It's so that I actually sign the contract blind – (...) I am not fully the side of this contract, but the side is… I don't know … various bigger and smaller bosses above me and any moment they can say "no"* (interview 20).

The negative impact of the organisational and decision-making mechanism on the realization of social contracts was revealed already in the early phase of preparing the respondents to apply the new tool. They became they obliged to establish contracts but they were not given sufficient access to information related to using this instrument in the social work. as many as 60% of the social workers of the Municipal Social Assistance Centre in Lodz declared that that they did not possess any or had insufficient preparation for applying social contracts. Only 39% workers had the possibility to participate in training for procedures, principles and possible applications of contracts. The respondents pointed to the superficial, ritual character of trainings. More than 94% of the respondents who took the part in the trainings had them for one day only, half of them for less than three hours. As many as 95% of those trained did not get the expected information about the contract (little more than 40% stated that they did not obtain any new information or skills during the training, others declared obtaining only general knowledge on the foundations of the contract). Only 5% of the respondents thought that essential content-related knowledge connected with the realization of the contract had been passed on during the trainings. The obvious result of the lack of preparation was problems in using the new tool[9].

---

[9] These problems appeared first of all in the preliminary phase of the work with the contract - motivating clients and formulating aims and tasks. Social workers were by far a more active side during the phase of preparations. Almost 70% of them had the decisive influence on the content of settlements of the contract - defined the most important conditions of the contract on their own and presented the ready, filled-in form to the client to sign (29%) or to make slight corrections (38%).

These examples of functioning of the mechanism related to organization and decision-making in the Assistance Centre in Lodz lead to the fact that the contract – instead of being the tool facilitating social work activities, becomes the basis for facade activities, masking the lack of such work. What is important, the described practices lead to starting further mechanisms supporting and strengthening of the apparent character of applied procedures.

AXIOLOGICAL MECHANISM

The operation of the axiological mechanism is manifested mostly in performing activities that are to confirm the acceptance and realisation of specific values although the activities themselves do not constitute demonstration of these values. [Lutynski 1990]

According to the 83% of the Lodz branch of Municipal Social Assistance Centre who took part in the study, the main aim of the application of social contracts should be to define and undertake activities leading to improvement in functioning, and consequently, to improvement in a client's living conditions. The respondents pointed to three basic tasks whose realization should be supported by applying social contracts to accomplish this goal. These basic tasks are: 1) improving the independence of the people in care of the centres for social assistance, activating them to undertake activities enabling them to change their difficult life situations; 2) expanding the powers of a social worker, strengthening his/her position in relation to his/her client, which as a result would make it possible for the social worker undertake more activities for the client and in his/her name, and, at the same time, forcefully execute the performance of the orders, tasks given to a client; 3) providing a detailed outline of the rules of cooperation between a client and a centre for social assistance[10].

Although the respondents were not asked directly about the values that could be realised through the use of social contracts, it can be assumed that two values implied above are vital – acknowledging that both social workers and clients participate in drawing up the contract and empowering clients to become independent. The sense of pressure from supervisors causes some respondents to enter a contract

_____

The opposite situation in which the client was the dominating side in the phase of establishing the principles of the work based on contract happened to only six from among the respondents.

[10] The first of the enumerated functions of contract was pointed to by 2/3 of the respondents, the second – by little more than ¼ of the studied group and the third – by almost 1/7 of the respondents (see: Golczynska-Grondas A., Kretek-Kaminska A., 2007)

only for reporting reasons, and the clients with whom the contracts are made are chosen in a purely accidental manner: *First of all we have to account for these contracts; we are under scrutiny and there was suddenly something like, you had to do them... and we were then looking for an opportunity (...) a client who would be happy with the offer, so that we can, in so many words, make him/her accept the contact* (interview 4). *It is often so, (...) at least it was so in my case, that there was an order from the superiors that I have to make the contract until the end of the week, so, whoever came in, these were often accidental people, caught at random, who come to us for ongoing assistance and, taking the opportunity to take advantage of you and get you to sign the contract here, so it makes no difference to the client.* (interview 1). Such a way of realising contracts causes those who are involved in executing a contract to be treated as if they and their role are irrelevant

Moreover, for the majority of the respondents the basis in choosing the people they would work with making a social contract were not the problems that made the charges use social assistance and willingness to work at solving these problems. Instead, over 70% of the people participating in the study thought that the most important factor in choosing the clients for contracts was their client's' relatively high abilities in the task-related area; in other words, they had the ability to realise the conditions and tasks included in the contract independent of whether or not these activities significantly influenced their life situations. When social contracts were used, the tasks were formulated in such a way that they were not troublesome for the social worker or the client which gave them the appearance of legitimacy: *Obviously, it was an assumption... I mean the assumptions were that it is first of all to influence his/her* (charge – the author's note) *some sort of improvement, you know, general, so that his/her situation changed or it facilitated the improvement, but not here, nothing like this happens in reality* (interview 4). The contracted tasks to be performed by the client frequently were reduced to the activities the charge would have to have undertaken if he/she had still wanted to receive institutional support, e.g., obtaining an ID, registering in their place of residence, registering at a work centre. Most likely, in the situations described above, making and accounting for completing the contract became a goal in itself, which may confirm the objectification rather than empowerment of the clients.

The existence of axiological mechanism is also confirmed by the protective function of the contract, identified during the study. Contracts neither served to empower social workers nor strengthened their position in relationships with clients; contracts served only to document the activities undertaken by an employee of a centre for social assistance. It merely provided evidence of work with a client

even if the work brought no results.. The rules included in the contract are an „alibi" of a social worker when the client does not comply with the responsibilities he/she accepted, the rules give the social worker an opportunity of defending him-/herself against a possible allegation of negligence or non-fulfilment of his/her professional, they serve, to a large extent, ensuring that the social workers' interests are intact in confrontation with their superiors: *well, if my manager asks me what I have done in this case I can say that I am in the course of realizing the contract and that I show some activity* (interview 2). It is noteworthy that the contract can serve social workers as a kind of „bogus threat" to clients: *Sir, we won't sign the contract and as a result you may have problems continuing this help you receive from us, we can stop paying out your money.(…) Yes, it was a kind of … making the contract was based on a request also, a threat* or a means thanks to which disliked clients can be or removed: *You know, it could sometimes be so arranged that you can get rid of an [repulsively sly] client by signing a contract with him/her which he/she won't fulfil.* The protective function of a contract thus includes a manipulative use of a contract by the social workers.

What is important is the way in which the axiological mechanism transforms the realisation of social contracts into fiction. This is apparent not only to social assistance institutions and their employees, but also to those who are the addressees of the assistance. In most cases clients were not at all interested in the introduction of the new tool enabling them to work on themselves, they were indifferent to or negative about the offer to sign the contract. For part of the charges, the contract was yet another bureaucratic tool, a vague "paper to sign" enabling them to sustain the *status quo*: *They don't understand what for, why there are so many questions, the more so that he gets his copy I have mine... and „if you have to, you can write", „you can write whatever you want", and getting any information from him is „I don't know", "I don't understand", "you can write it so that it's ok"…* (interview 3) *Truly, these clients don't care what they sign. It's important that they sign it because they get something for it* (interview 10). Furthermore, according to the participants in the study, for many clients it was a real impediment, it brought confusion into their lives: *A person who works off the grid cannot fulfil the conditions of the contract that says: "you have to enrol for a qualification course" because it will collide with his work schedule, right?, because you have to go there, sit for an hour, right? But he is employed without contract, without benefits but has some money as it comes, he comes in here so that he can increase his income a little and then the resistance against making the contract is very strong* (interview 12). With some clients, the obligation to fulfil the requirements of the contract (presumably aimed at improving their life

situations at least in assumption thereof) which ultimately would make them somewhat dependent on social assistance, aroused fear. The contract presented itself as a tool whose aim is to limit the assistance in the current form. In such situations some clients rejected the possibility of making the contract and others pretended to make it – they agreed to everything so that they could avoid an unpleasant conversation, but they had no intention of applying themselves to realising the accepted responsibilities: *parents lived like this, grandparents lived like this, neighbours live like this, everybody lives like this so they live like this. They steal some, they make some small schemes, they go to work for some half a year or so and they are signed up for social assistance non stop, they collect their cut there. So for them such a social contract is, I say, an extra paper to fill in, but they don't care too much* (interview 11). Sometimes the people who entered such a fictitious contract, knowing in advance that they would not fulfil it, avoided contacting social workers so that they could avoid the possible negative consequences.

It is worth noting that the negative attitude of the people using social assistance towards social contracts was mostly determined by a set of – appearing independently of the contract – characteristics typical of this group, such as passivity, learned helplessness, ineptitude, the demanding attitude towards social assistance connected with prolonged addiction to the help received, a high level of moral corruption (caused by, e.g., long-term imprisonment), etc., but in this specific case it was undoubtedly highlighted by the negative approach of the social workers to applying the tool: *we also don't have here an argument to tell them tat there is something like this, something new, important in the sense that if they fulfil the requirements then, let's say, there is a prize and if they don't then something…and then it is somehow binding and it is consistently executed and for them it's not something important but another document they have to sign and are given* (interview 7). *It's really like when a child has a bad approach to … I mean when a mother has a bad approach to some process, let's say, of rising a child, then the child takes it on subconsciously somehow. The same is with us. Because we have such a negative approach to the tool, the client approaches it simply as I'm saying* (interview 3).

The analysis of these data yields the conclusion that values such as making their clients independent and improving their living conditions as well as subjectifying both sides entering the contract are of an almost certainly half-hearted,

which is "an open secret"[11]. Jan Lutynski highlighted the fact that ostensibly realised values can derive from other historical systems and/or periods (1990: 111). The social contract is a tool which was taken over from western and northern European assistance systems, along with its whole ideology. It can be argued that people employed within the Polish social assistance system, conditioned by their character and organisational culture, are not able to accept the values inherent in social contracts. Their real professional aims are mostly connected with quick and efficient handling of consecutive cases and keeping the *status quo* of the system whose existence would be threatened if the clients were independent and subjectified. When conducting the open-ended interviews it was also observed that some of the respondents presented a paternalistic attitude towards their clients. This observation may prove to be an important element of the clandestine programme realized by some employees of social services – based on a system of values different than the one officially declared – is controlling the lives of their charges. Obviously, subjectifying of the clients stands in direct opposition to this aim.

MECHANISM OF OBLIGATORY PERFORMANCE
OF IMPRACTICAL ORDERS

„The source of apparent actions triggered by this mechanism is the obligation to do something that cannot be done in general or in a predictable way, or to do something that is in fact unnecessary to achieve a given goal. The impossibility of performing these activities is caused by various factors: by false assumptions concerning reality made when formulating the order, by the fact that the actions, which the order foresees take time that is not available, by the fact that performing the actions causes a group of people, who have to perform other actions that are crucial for them, etc."[Lutynski, 1990: 111–112].

Among the factors seen as symptoms of transforming the realisation of social contracts into ostensible activity there is the ineffectiveness of the tool connected with the lack of possibility of enforcing the resolutions made within the contract. It was stressed that the contract is a useless, additional *form that brings nothing in*. The new tool was called *ball and chain, divine retribution, a drag. Let alone*

---

[11] Information obtained during the study shows that in the inter-institutional discourse, conducted on the lowest levels of professional hierarchy, the strand of the ostensive character of the contracts made is frequently present. It is not clear, however, what the attitude of the people in managerial posts in the institution in question is.

the fact that social contract brings no effects whatsoever, it only brings difficulties, you have to select, execute in terms of quantity and quality needs to be high in general. This is what brings about bad associations when someone calls it a work tool. We say then that someone got a big amount of money for it and now tortures us with it (…) this contract was made up by someone but we don't know what for. We don't know why we were given this tool. And there is no result!

The fact that the recommendation to use the tool is an impractical order is bound with the way of financing budgetary institutions in our country. Neither the managers nor average employees are certain what means they will have at their disposal in a given period of time. At the beginning of a year there is usually a financial shortage which makes it difficult to motivate clients to a large extent. At the end of the year there are problems as to how to distribute excess money which in turn causes the benefits to be paid out regardless of the degree to which contracts have been fulfilled: *it often happens that our bosses say: that he hasn't fulfilled his contract obligations you should take away his money. But when there is pressure here at the end of the year that all means need to be distributed, then even if I have saved up on this person during the year, not in the sense that the centre gets money, but that I have granted him/her less financial support, he/she gets the money anyway at the end of the year, because I have to even out the amounts for those who don't have some great financial assistance at the time, so it loses its purpose really. Because if I take away some assistance I do it for a reason and, and , and it should be consistently used, right? I take the assistance away and so on. And later on.. in time it makes no difference that the assistance was taken away, you simply have to spend the money. And so we spend it.* (interview 3). Such a way of financing social assistance institutions made it impossible for the participants of the study to plan their activities and caused them to be very careful when making any declarations signing contracts with their clients.

Over 73% of the respondents noted the lack of legal regulations or the fact that they are imprecise as far as the realisation of the contract is concerned. The employees stressed that in the centres where they work there are no uniform and sometimes even no rules whatsoever concerning the procedures to be applied when a client does not fulfil his contractual obligations. The reason behind these problems is, among others, the legal requirement in accordance with which „in case of refusal to grant or in case of limiting the amount or size of a social benefit the situation of the people being supported by the person applying for a benefit or receiving a benefit" [Art. 12, paragraph 3 of the Act on Social Assistance], limits the possibility of enforcing the regulations of a contract. The employees did not

decide to deprive the clients of their benefits for ethical reasons. Moreover, the clients who were deprived of assistance applied different kinds of strategies to extort a change of decision – they appealed to the superiors, threatened to inform local or state authorities or the media, etc.: *if I make arrangement with someone that he/she does something and if not I will take their benefit away then it can happen that he/she later goes to file a complaint, comes here to MOPS or goes to the president. Then immediately there is a return message: "Please do not take this person's benefit away". It makes me look stupid because I made some arrangements to do something, we agreed that if he/she doesn't do something he/she will bear some consequences and it may later turn out that I won't be able to enforce the thing I want, that every – I don't know what to call them – telltales who go somewhere to tell on me to the president, make it work for themselves by shouting and complaining that the branches change decisions made in their case, like: they give them more or give them the thing they refused to give in the beginning. (…) And that it will not be like this: Assistance Centre has one firm standing on the matter such as „No. If these were the conditions of the contract then we uphold it and we do not change the decision". I'm afraid the situation can be completely different and that the employees will turn out to be incompetent in fact, they will not be able to enforce whet they agreed on* (interview 9).

Additionally, some existing procedures block the execution of contracts. For instance, in one of the Assistance Centre branches there was an obligation to change districts at several years intervals. This change took place regardless of the realisation of extended contracts in which a bond based on trust made between a social worker and a client is of great importance.

Another category of obstacles causing the activities undertaken within contracts to become ostensible was constituted by material resources at the disposal of the social workers who realised the contracts. Every fifth person drew attention to the fact that there is a lack of resources that would enable a reasonable realisation of social contracts. What is more, attention was drawn to the threat of entering a conflict with the managerial staff regarding the financial matters[12], the lack of a separate pool of money which could be used for contract clients and

---

[12] *Our managerial staff told us that if we make a contract about cleaning up a flat there will be some money to paint it, but it is always „some", nothing specific. And I think that when talking, making the contract with someone we have to talk about specifics and I have to know that, if a person commits him-/herself that he/she will clean up the flat and will want to paint those walls, we give him/her the money. (…). And then there may be a scramble with the managers whether there is any money or not, whether to give him 100 zloty or 50 zloty, that is why, well, I don't know* … (interview 13).

the necessity to „camouflage the resources" granted for the purpose of realising contracts, and the lack of an offer that a social worker can address to the clients to encourage them to enter a contract. Such encouragements might include the lack of extra-financial means of motivating the clients, which require some financial input (offers of training courses, workplaces, activities aimed at structuring free time, a network of canteens, etc.). Inadequate office space in social work offices make it impossible to conduct an honest conversation with a client without the presence of outsiders is an important factor as well. Participants in this study were also plagued by excess work that made it impossible for them to devote ample time to sign a contract and oversee the deadlines of the realization of the activities included in it. It needs to be stressed that the areas covered by social workers are too big. The number of environments charged to a social worker make it impossible to conduct a thorough social work: *somewhere in the world, in Europe, as far as I know, in France, because my friend is in France, she has 7, 10 environments and then you can work thoroughly with these environments, with these people while if you have about a hundred of them it is difficult to keep up with the paperwork, not to mention social work* (interview 10). A large number of clients results in neglect in everyday work and limits the possibilities of realising the time-consuming contracts that have to be constantly supervised: *Even signing 5 contracts – I can't imagine that, because I was conducting these 3 contracts and it was already a problem for me, I started getting confused, maybe i didn't neglect my work because it's obvious that it had to be done… but I couldn't focus on the contracts, and here are other matters, because I didn't have enough time (…). Too little time to focus solely on the people we signed contracts with, and they need to be controlled and supervised* (interview 2). Moreover, low salaries of social workers, which do not constitute a sufficient motivator for conscientious performance of their duties, are of great importance: *well, maybe if there was a little more money it would be some kind of motivation, but to get the money … when you have a family and so on it is important whichever way you look at it. You can do charity work as a volunteer, right?* (interview 15). The apparent character of the contract is again the result of the fact that institutional conditioning makes it impossible to apply the tool, generally speaking, according to assumptions [Lutynski 1990: 111] – the orders do not take into account the reality of social assistance, social workers do not have enough resources at their disposal neither do they have the time needed to conduct the task, they are also absorbed in performing other duties essential for an institution to work.

ALLEGED-PRAGMATIC MECHANISM

The last of the causative mechanisms of apparent actions pointed to by Lutynski occurs "in situations when the determining agents cannot or will not solve a problem that is seen as important by the citizens. It happens usually because the solution might bring about unwanted consequences or it would require employing specific means, which either are impossible or are deemed pointless. In order to demonstrate that the problem is being solved or at least that solving it is considered important, it is recommended that some activities be undertaken; they have no concrete results but were officially approved and regarded as necessary." [1990: 113]. The assumption that making the clients of social assistance independent is in fact considered pointless and leads to an outcome unwanted from the point of view of people within the system, and frequently has a merely speculative character[13]; thus, we will not pursue this thought. It is relevant, however, to briefly discuss the extent to which an introduction of effective solutions aimed at concrete improvement of the plight of the clients of social assistance services in Poland is perceived as real by local institutions, on the level of governing the country.

As a part of research into poverty, social exclusion and social assistance institutions that has been conducted since the beginning of the 1990s by the employees of the University of Lodz's Institute of Sociology[14] and during education and training classes for social workers, we have frequently encountered an opinion expressed by social workers claiming that the clients of aid are extremely impervious to any influence and change. It seems that this conviction is widely shared in their professional environment. However, formulating this stand in an overt and public way would undermine the reliability of employees who would lose their social trust mandate and question the meaning of their everyday work.

Research into the institutions granting social assistance, their employees and their clients lead us in the past to the conclusion that the Polish, highly bureaucratised system of social assistance is ineffective as a whole[15]. Unfortunately, the results of the analyses of our current data are no exception: *social contract is a part*

---

[13] It can be questioned, however, to what extent the existence of a numerous community of the impoverished upholds the functioning of the system and guarantees its employees work places.

[14] See, e.g. publications by Warzywoda Kruszynska W. (1998), „Zyc i pracowac w enklawach biedy" IS UL, Lodz and Warzywoda Kruszynska W. (ed.) (1998) „(Zyc) na marginesie wielkiego miasta" IS UL, Lodz

[15] See, e.g. Krzyszkowski J. (2005),", p. 151 and the article by D. Trawkowska published in the volume.

of a general trend which is connected with social assistance in Lodz. We are now specialists in creating fiction. We create documents… the outcome of our work is not the improvement of our charge's situation but a pile of filled-in forms. This is what our superiors demand of us, this is the level of awareness they have, so that they can be safe on the formal side, the rest is irrelevant, the client doesn't count, neither do we (interview 12). Bureaucratisation of institutions and its outcome of too much office "busy work" along with added field responsibilities seemed the most acute aspect of the situation from the point of view of social workers. Excess formalisation of the procedures leads to feelings of incompetence. The problems faced by representatives of assistance organizations are multiplied by lack of inter-institutional cooperation in the field: between the centres for social assistance and the representatives of courts, police, job centres and non-governmental organisations. These problems are faced when formulating or expanding an offer for clients and when obtaining new possibilities for enforcing the obligations of the contract on clients. Even when there is cooperation among agencies it is seriously hindered by the formalisation of mutual contacts.

Local self-government and state authorities are not in fact interested in solving the problems of social assistance clients. According to sociologists, poverty is an uncomfortable subject for politicians because it confirms their ineffectiveness. At the beginning of the 21st century, the political elites of cities and local government administration thought that the executive branch of government was responsible for the whole of the inhabitants' existence and placed the responsibility for these matters onto the representatives of these authorities. District and local administration unit managers were in turn convinced that the responsibility for solving social problems rested on social assistance institutions and thus they put the responsibility for formulating strategies and designing the assistance activities onto social workers employed in subordinate institutions [Warzywoda Kruszynska 2003a: 17]. In turn, on the level of state government the changes of governing parties were connected with „the exchange" of high and middle level officials employed in particular ministries. The consequence of staff replacement was frequently a change in ideological assumptions in the field of social policy, which made it impossible to conduct stable, thoughtful and consistent activities aimed at real solutions for social problems on different institutional levels. According to Wielisława Warzywoda Kruszynska, poverty was treated by politicians as "the evil with which you have to learn to live rather than a problem that needs to be counteracted or risk that needs to be managed" [2003b;121].

Since Poland entered the EU, several changes have been noticed in the approach to social services on the part of the executive branch of government at the

local level. The changes result from both programme documents and EU authorities' recommendations as well as from the opportunity to obtain the support from Structural Funds and EU aid programmes. [Warzywoda Kruszynska 2008].

CONCLUSIONS

Based on this project, the following general thesis can be formulated: the social contract is a tool in danger of devaluation. Sporadic – taking the number of charges in the care of every social worker of the Municipal Assistance Centre in Lodz into consideration, realisations of contracts, signed mostly as a result of an order from superiors and not of a thorough analysis of a client's situation, are rarely what they appear to be. Social workers who are inadequately prepared to use the imposed tool make basic mistakes; they negatively evaluate the assumptions of the tool and the way in which it was prepared. Overburdened with the number of environments they deal with, social workers limit themselves to superficial performance of standard procedures. The use of social contracts under the conditions in Lodz is thus an activity done „for show"; even more so, it is in contradiction with "the rules of the art" described in the introduction to this article. Additionally, social contracts are used "in accordance with the executors' assumptions [...], and against the interests and knowledge of those for whom the activities are conducted" [Lutynski 1990: 105]. As a result, we are also faced with an example of „fraudulent" activities in the course of which the quality of work performance is decreased (see: above/ibidem). It can be assumed that in this case we deal with apparent actions that may cause both social and economic damage; for example, the funds assigned to the realisation of the contracts do not contribute to improvements for clients, and the application of the tool decreases the motivation and morale of social workers. Actually, the purpose of the social contract, enhanced by other activities undertaken as a part of "social" work [Trawkowska 2009], seems to sustain an ineffective institutional system that can exist until a part of society consists of an adequately numerous community of the deprived, helpless, objectified and the socially excluded persons.

REFERENCES

C o m p t o n B.R., Galaway B. [1993], *Social work process*, Wadworth Publishing Company, Belmont California.

G a r v i n   Ch. D., Seabury B. [1996], *Działania interpersonalne w pracy socjalnej*, Interart, Warszawa.

G o l c z y ń s k a - G r o n d a s A. [1998], *Działania instytucji społecznych,* [w:] Warzywoda -Kruszyńska W. (red.) *Żyć i pracować w enklawach biedy*, Wydawnictwo IS UŁ, Łódź.

G o l c z y ń s k a - G r o n d a s A. [2006], *Wyjątkowość każdej sytuacji życiowej a proces pomocowy*, [w:] Golczyńska-Grondas A., Dunajew-Tarnowska Ł. (red.) *Metoda biograficzna w doradztwie zawodowym i pracy socjalnej*, ŁTN, Łódź.

G o l c z y ń s k a - G r o n d a s A., K r e t e k - K a m i ń s k a A. [2007], *Kontrakt jako narzędzie pracy socjalnej,* [w:] *Czy jesteśmy skuteczni? Badanie efektywności stosowania kontraktu socjalnego jako instrumentu integracji społecznej,* Wydawnictwo HOBO, Łódź.

K r z y s z k o w s k i J. [2005], *Między państwem opiekuńczym a opiekuńczym społeczeństwem. Determinanty funkcjonowania środowiskowej pomocy społecznej na poziomie lokalnym,* Wydawnictwo UŁ, Łódź,

L u t y ń s k a K. [1998], *Działania pozorne* [w:] *Encyklopedia Socjologii T.1,* Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa

L u t y ń s k i J. [1990], *Nauka i polskie problemy. Komentarz socjologa*. PIW, Warszawa.

S e a b u r y B. A. [1993], *Negotiating sound contracts with clients*, [w:] Compton B.R., G a l a w a y B. *Social work process*, Wadworth Publishing Company, Belmont California.

T r a w k o w s k a D. [2009], *Działania pozorne w pomocy społecznej – przejawy – mechanizmy – skutki,* Przegląd Socjologiczny tom LVIII/1

W ł o c h A., D o m a r a d z k i P. [2005], *Kontrakt socjalny. Przewodnik dla pracowników socjalnych ośrodków pomocy społecznej,* Praca Socjalna nr 3/2005

Ustawa o pomocy społecznej – Dziennik Ustaw 2004.64.593

W a r z y w o d a - K r u s z y ń s k a W. [2008], *Dzieci żyjące w biedzie – dzieci krzywdzone*, [w:] *Dziecko krzywdzone. Teoria, badania, praktyka Nr 2(23) Systemowa pomoc dzieciom – ofiarom przestępstw, krzywdzenia i zaniedbywania*

W a r z y w o d a - K r u s z y ń s k a W. [2003a], *Bieda poza granicami wielkiego miasta – kontynuacja i rozwinięcie wcześniejszych badań łódzkich nad biedą i pomocą społeczną*, [w:] Warzywoda-Kruszyńska W., Grotowska-Leder J., Krzyszkowski J. (red.) *Lokalna polityka wobec biedy. Bieda poza granicami wielkiego miasta.* WydawnictwoIS UŁ, Łódź

W a r z y w o d a K r u s z y ń s k a W. [2003b], *Władze lokalne w gminach województwa łódzkiego wobec problemu biedy*, [w:] Warzywoda-Kruszyńska W., Grotowska-Leder J., Krzyszkowski J. (red.) *Lokalna polityka wobec biedy. Bieda poza granicami wielkiego miasta.* Wydawnictwo IS UŁ, Łódź.

JEANNE W. SIMON
Universidad de Concepción
jsimon@udec.cl
CLAUDIO GONZÁLEZ PARRA, PH.D
Universidad de Concepción
cgonzal@udec.cl
JAMES V. FENELON
California State University, San Bernardino
jfenelon@csusb.edu

CONTRADICTIONS IN MULTICULTURAL INDIGENOUS POLICIES: A SYSTEMIC ANALYSIS OF THE CHILEAN STATE'S RESPONSE TO MAPUCHE DEMANDS

Summary

Even though no part of the world is untouched by the global economy, the role played by the State continues to have an impact on the resistance of indigenous peoples, and Chile is no exception. At present, the Chilean government presents several contrasting faces to indigenous peoples. On the one hand, it offers multicultural public policies based in "Development with Identity", whose formal objective is to generate economic and social development from the ground up. In contrast, in areas where the indigenous communities are in conflict with large companies over the control of natural resources, the Chilean government considers these communities to be terrorists, denying their basic legal rights.

At present, there is a diversity of positions within the Mapuche movement and within Mapuche communities with respect to the Chilean State, although the media tend to emphasize only the violent conflicts. Our paper analyzes the development of the "conflict" between the Mapuche and the Chilean State due to the extractive activities of private companies from a systemic perspective, situating this conflict within the larger international political and economic system.

INDIGENOUS PUBLIC POLICY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF THE CHILEAN STATE IN MAPUCHE TERRITORY

Jeanne W. Simon and Claudio González-Parra

Introduction

In 2009, southern Chile has appeared constantly in international and national news due to the violent confrontations between police forces and indigenous communities. Although the principal conflict is between indigenous communities and private land owners, (where) the Chilean State has emerged as the principal actor due to its active defense of private property rights. There is a generalized perception that the public policies targeted at indigenous communities in the last 15 years have been ineffective and that there is no easy solution to this conflict. Most of the analyses consider that the causes of this conflict are local and/or due to poorly designed policies, while Mapuche scholars question the Chilean State's intentions. Assuming that the State's intentions are to effectively integrate the Mapuche while respecting their diversity, this questioning indicates that the Chilean State has not been effective in clearly establishing their objectives much less in achieving them. The central position of this paper is that an analysis to characterize the role of the Chilean State in Mapuche Territory from a perspective based in indigenous studies will provide a new starting point for the development of effective indigenous policy and a transformation of the present conflict.

Perspective of Indigenous Studies

The field of indigenous studies is multidisciplinary and is unified by its research goals and object of study rather than by theoretical perspectives. Most of the scholars are of indigenous descent and criticize how the social sciences conceptualize indigenous persons as objects rather than subjects of their lives, history and social organizations. In general, their academic contributions have had more impact on global rather than national public policy.

Indigenous peoples all over the globe question the benefits of globalization process because they generally receive less of its economic benefits while paying for many of its costs. Even in the case when there are especially designed programs to assure their inclusion, many indigenous peoples still question globalization because they understand that their dignity, values and beliefs are under attack. These perspectives are often perceived by dominant groups as a threat to the status quo or have been used as an excuse to dominate or suppress them. At present, there is no obvious model to follow in order to develop harmonious relations between indigenous people and the State because each case is considered to be unique due to different cultural systems and historical developments.

Still, many similarities exist within the diversity of present-day conflicts between Nation-States and indigenous peoples. First, these conflicts generally involve control over land (and natural resources) and/or cultural differences. Thus, the diverse forms of resistance and cultural survival developed by Lakota, Navajo, Wampanoag and California Indian peoples in the United States, the Warli and Gond adevasi in India, the Maori peoples in New Zealand, and the Zapotec and Zapatista-led Tzotzil peoples in Mexico can be understood as a response to larger globalizing processes (Fenelon and Hall, 2008; Hall and Fenelon, forth-coming).

Secondly, the State's response to this resistance is also very similar in different countries. The demands for "self determination", "autonomy" and collective ownership of land are generally perceived as questioning the very fundamental base of the nation-state and economic development when these communities deny access to their natural resources. In response to their refusal, the State will actively or passively support the violation of these rights for the common good (economic development), and generally does not act as a mediator to guarantee the community's ownership rights. Fenelon and Hall (2008) argue that this is a logical result in a world structured by the international state system and global capitalism, which are hostile to collective societies and non-capitalist forms of production.

However, this negative vision of the State's role contrasts with the advances made in the ways of conceptualizing indigenous peoples and their rights in the global system. Especially within the United Nations System, there is an increased recognition of indigenous rights and most States have introduced multicultural public policies to address structural discrimination and maintain cultural practices while integrating indigenous persons into national society. In the case of Chile in the last 15 years, the State has implemented multicultural public policies based

in "Development with Identity", whose formal objective is to generate economic and social development from the ground up.

In order to re-conceptualize the different factors involved and critically analyzes the relation developed between the State and different indigenous communities in southern Chile from an indigenous studies' perspective, we first need to recognize that colonialism continues to structure both indigenous and non-indigenous understanding of indigenous resistance. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, in her seminal book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999: 1), clearly establishes how "the term research is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism." Indeed, throughout her book, Tuhiwai Smith explains and illustrates how colonial concepts are imbedded in Western methodologies, and as a result scientific knowledge is really subjective knowledge that maintains indigenous peoples in an inferior position in Western society. Her criticism of Western methodologies is to make them more universal, more objective, and ultimately to transform them into tools that can be used to improve the quality of life of all people. Our objective is similar: our intention is to trace out the elements of an argument that makes the indigenous resistance more understandable, while also suggesting ways in which to establish a dialogue.

The Mapuche[1] and the Chilean State

As suggested by Tuhiwai Smith, we need to decolonize our ways of thinking and especially our understanding of history. The history that is told needs to be based on facts but also on the recognition of different interpretations of those facts. The objective of the present paper is to characterize, contextualize and explain the positions of many Mapuche with respect to their relation to the Chilean State. In contrast with most Western thought, the Mapuche world vision is closer to systemic than to linear analysis because they perceive interrelations rather than linear chains of cause and effect.

Additionally, their perspective is historical. For the Mapuche, any reconciliation must begin with the recognition that the conflict begins with the arrival of the Spanish and that the Chilean State is essentially a continuation of Spanish colonial government because this is a critical point in their history that explains (partially) where they are today.

---

[1] The media and the Chilean government use the term to refer not only to the Mapuche but also to refer to other related indigenous groups, such as the Lafkenche and Pehuenche. Despite the fact that this term hides important differences, we use the term to emphasize their common cause with respect to the Chilean State.

To begin to establish a dialogue, the Chilean government and society should also recognize the positive elements and contributions of Mapuche culture. Although they did not develop a complex civilization like the Inca or Maya, the Mapuche are unique because they are one of the only indigenous peoples in Latin America who were not colonized by the Spanish conquistadores despite constant warring and negotiations. Although they subsequently lost control of much territory, at the time of Chilean Independence (1810), the Mapuche controlled the area south of the Biobio River, approximately half of present-day Chilean territory.

Shortly after obtaining independence, the new Chilean State focused its military force to control the southern territory by eliminating Mapuche resistance. After defeating the Mapuche in the early 19th century, the Chilean State acted to establish control over the new territories. First, the Chilean government began to offer indigenous lands to foreign and Chilean settlers because this land was considered to be "empty" since the Mapuche were no longer considered to be people. Subsequently, they legally created "indigenous land"[2] and marginalized the different family groups (lofs) by "giving" limited pieces of land in community property titles to State-defined "indigenous communities", which are the Chilean equivalent of reservations (*reducciones*). The property associated with each community was determined by the Chilean State and did not necessarily correspond to the traditional lands, especially in the case of the Pehuenche who were cattle raisers and not settlers.

These and other state actions have strongly impacted over time the present-day social organization of the Mapuche in diverse ways. First, Chile is a centralized, unitary State with a well-established presence throughout its territory since mid 1950s[3]. State presence includes police presence as well as public education and health clinics with strong assimilation policies. Even at present, the indigenous communities have little control over their education, health and justice systems. Additionally, the Chilean State has a dominant role in the definition and enforcement of the rights that indigenous peoples have within its boundaries, although

---

[2] The definition of an "indigenous community" is based the Chilean State's understanding of the indigenous political structures, and it transformed the original dynamic concept of "lof" into a land-based concept of community based in the authority of the community chief, the lonco.

[3] Public schools and health clinics were first established in indigenous territory in mid-20th century as part of a public policy to strengthen State presence throughout Chile. In 2008, 57% of the communities have a publicly funded school within community limits, and the rest of schools nearby. As a result, virtually all indigenous persons have attended school, although the majority of the persons born before 1960 did not finish elementary school. Younger generations have received more education in comparison with their parents. (Census 2002)

international organizations increasingly influence (but do not determine) government actions.

Construction and consolidation of the Chilean State and economy encouraged and required the assimilation of indigenous populations. The results of these processes can be observed in present-day Mapuche who often do not speak Mapudugun, present a certain opening towards the dominant culture and have adapted their lifestyles to favor mayor integration, including moving out of their communities and marrying non-indigenous persons (Irrazaval and Morande, 2007).

With the neoliberal policies implemented by a military government in the 1970s and 1980s, state presence was reduced in social services but not in police force. Furthermore, the liberalization and opening up of the Chilean economy, especially to Foreign Direct Investment, resulted in the transformation of many communal property rights into individual property titles and separated water rights from land rights, resulting in increased presence of commercial and extractive activities in indigenous territory.

Many Mapuche leaders participated actively in political parties prior to the military coup in 1973 and then in the opposition to the military government, and many form or formed part of the Concertation governments. Generally, they help the government better understand Mapuche demands, although they have often had the responsibility to implement government decisions with respect to indigenous policies. In the cases when they have disagreed, they have often lost their jobs[4].

With the return to a liberal democracy in 1990 and the decreeing of the Indigenous Law (19.253), the Chilean government began to offer multicultural public policies based in "Development with Identity", whose formal objective is to generate economic and social development from the ground up. Even though these policies were designed in collaboration with representatives of different indigenous communities to protect traditional indigenous identity, the general perception is that they have not because they do not address the structural discrimination existing in the system[5]. Furthermore, most indigenous leaders are critical of the indigenous policies and especially Indigenous Law because they do not immediately keep the promises made by the then presidential candidate Patricio

---

[4] See for examples the case of Domingo Namuncura, who lost his job because as Director of the governmental indigenous development corporation (CONADI) voted against the transfer of property rights from indigenous persons to the electrical company. For more details see Namuncura 1999.

[5] See for example, the discussion of Yańez and Aylwin (2007).

Aylwin in the Nueva Imperial Agreement, such as recognition as a nation and signing of the International Labor Organization Convention 169. Indeed, many persons of indigenous descent do not believe in the government's promises and even less that the government is well intentioned due to the contrasting image of State presence in the "communities in conflict"[6].

In contrast to their multicultural policies, in areas where the indigenous communities are in conflict with large companies over the control of natural resources, the Chilean government considers these communities to be terrorists, frequently denying their basic legal rights. For many of both indigenous and non-indigenous descent, these repressive actions show the "true nature" of the Chilean State. In response, many Mapuche have decided that military defense of Mapuche Territory (Wall Mapu) is the only option. Although the Chilean State cannot be considered especially violent towards the Mapuche (in comparison with other countries), indigenous communities have limited local autonomy due to the Chilean State's control over social, economic and political organization. Interestingly, this control has increased with the multicultural policies implemented in the last 15 years (Simon and González-Parra 2008).

As can be observed in this brief description, the relationship between the Mapuche and the Chilean State is complicated by the diverse social constructions of the past. These constructions have become even more complex due to the preeminence of the "Mapuche Conflict" that began to emerge in the late 1990s, where the media have The media has also played an important role in shaping public opinion as well as marginalizing Mapuche voices. The objective of the next section is to deconstruct the Mapuche conflict by characterizing the different identities present in both the State's position as well as within the Mapuche Movement.

THE MAPUCHE "CONFLICT"

The term "Mapuche Conflict" began to appear in Chilean media in the late 1990s, and since then it continues to dominate the public images of Mapuche in Chile. The construction of an image of Mapuche as violent and destroying the private property of law-abiding, tax paying citizens, with references to the "warlike nature of the Mapuche race" has replaced the previous stereotypes of Mapuche as lazy and drunks. At present, the dominant image is that the Mapuche create problems, are conflictive, and present a dangerous threat to the Chilean economy

---

[6] For a good discussion of the distrust, see Bengoa (1999).

and society[7]. As a result, the actual conflict is also a struggle over images in the media and popular opinion.

The term "Mapuche Conflict" was first used by the lumber companies in 1997 in the Provinces of Arauco and Malleco (see Map). Javier Lavanchy, one of the Chilean intellectuals dedicated to the analysis and discussion of the "conflict", argues that it began with acts of Mapuche violence, and specifically with the burning of trucks transporting lumber near the town of Lumaco (Lavanchy 1999). The dominant image of the Mapuche present in the Chilean media is that they are unreasonable and are only interested in stealing and destroying private property.

Although the principal conflict is between the Mapuche and the Private Sector, the private companies and landowners are generally presented as victims of the violence while the Chilean government emerges as the principal defender of the economic system. Although the State argues that it is neutral and desires only to "maintain order", the strong police presence and judicial prosecution makes it appear as the protector of economic interests of national and transnational companies rather than Mapuche rights. Consequently, the State has no legitimacy when it seeks to be a "mediator", who looks to promote the common good by facilitating the discussion between the mobilized communities and the private companies and landowners.

However, before it can assume the role of mediator, the State needs to demonstrate that it is neutral and capable of understanding the perspective of indigenous communities as well as the other affected groups. In the following section, we characterize the Chilean State's position as manifested in the implementation of its public policies, contrasting the government's interpretation with the perception of the Mapuche movement

PRESENT-DAY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MAPUCHE AND THE CHILEAN STATE

The Chilean's State's present position needs to be understood within its context. First, Chile has been governed by a center-left coalition for the last 19 years, assuming power after 17 years of military dictatorship, although its roots lie in the military dictatorship. One of the defining elements of the public policies of the four *Concertación* governments in the last 18 years is their desire to demonstrate that economic development and poverty reduction is compatible

---

[7] See especially the press coverage with respect to the land disputes in the town of Ercilla.

with democracy (and human rights). Additionally, the democratic transition was achieved peacefully following the Constitution put in place by the military regime, and the government has preferred incremental over systemic change and institutional channels rather than public protests (Simon 1999; International Development Bank 2006).

Most politically active Mapuche participated and/or supported the Concertation based on the agreements reached with Patricio Aylwin in Nueva Imperial prior to the presidential elections of 1989. However, some of the most important points of the agreement, as mentioned earlier, were not immediately achieved, generating discontent and deception among many Mapuche leaders. Furthermore, in conflicts between indigenous peoples and private sector companies, such as in the case of hydroelectric dam construction and forest companies, the Chilean government has protected the property rights of the private companies, arguing that this position is necessary to ensure Chile's economic development. Still, the government, together with the private sector involved, has increasingly invested money in programs targeted to indigenous populations in order redress previous grievances and to mitigate problems associated with present-day policies.

As can be observed in the brief sketch, there are two principal positions. The first position, supported by the government and the private sector, favors sustainable national economic development. The second position, supported by the Mapuche movement, argues that local populations have the right to define the kind of development desired. The following discussion briefly characterizes the different positions.

The Government's position

The government's position is complex and divided in three separate identities: national economic development, development with identity, and governability, where only the "governability" identity directly addresses the Mapuche conflict. This section describes the basic characteristics of state policy based on official documents and comments as well as the perception of indigenous communities.

National Economic Development and Corporate Social Responsibility

As mentioned earlier, economic growth and economic stability is a fundamental value for the Concertation government. Their position is based on the argument that continued democratic stability and progressive social policies depend on good economic management and continued economic growth. Indeed, the Finance Ministry (*Ministerio de Hacienda*) is considered to be the most influential ministry within the Chilean government.

For economists, Chile is considered to be a model in Latin America for how to achieve sustained economic growth. Indeed, Chile presents itself as a country with both political and economic stability for direct foreign investment. In short, the Chilean government seeks to combine economic development with both environmental and human rights concerns. Changes at the international level have also encouraged many of the transnational and national companies to incorporate corporate social responsibility into their strategic planning.

Within this context, we can understand how President Ricardo Lagos in 2002 saw no contradiction in his position when asked about the construction of the Ralco Dam in Pehuenche ancestral territory during a celebration of the 9th Anniversary of the Indigenous Law. He defended the construction of the dam indicating that "to say no to Ralco would mean an increase in the price of electricity... I know that there are problems with Ralco, but I also know that Chile needs electricity to continue to grow." (El Mostrador, 12 October 2002)

Similarly, lumber and associated products are one of the principal motors of the Chilean economy, and indigenous territory is one of the best areas for growing trees. Chile, in international economic negotiations, has prioritized the expansion of lumber plantations in order to assure future growth of this sector. Additionally, the Chilean government continues to finance research to improve the efficiency in this sector.

Due to the increased internationalization of the Chilean economy, Corporate Social Responsibility has been increasingly incorporated into the strategic planning of different national and transnational companies in Chile. In 2001, the Mininco Forestry Company developed a "Good Neighbor Plan" in order to improve their relationships with Mapuche communities, incorporating three principal values: 1) avoid actions that could damage surrounding communities, 2) promote better relations between company employees and neighbors, and 3) develop programs that will mitigate poverty in nearby areas.

In short, the government and the private companies operating in indigenous territory believe that economic development and growth is necessary and can be achieved in cooperation with surrounding communities. As a result, the private sector seeks to develop friendly" relations with surrounding communities and the government seeks to develop culturally conscious social policies that will enable the communities to fully integrate into national development. Those communities that continue to resist are considered to be "unreasonable" and destructive.

<u>Development with Identity</u>

At least in official discourse, the democratic governments since 1990 have sought to generate support for its economic and social development model and to respond to Mapuche demands for recognition and greater equality, targeting governmental action through the creation of a new institution, the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI) and new approaches with the establishment of the Indigenous Law (19.253). Despite this effort, the indigenous policies developed are considered by most actors to be insufficient, although for different reasons[8].

Indigenous policy has changed incrementally over the last 18 years, although its compensatory nature has remained a dominant. The government has introduced changes in response to the demands for more resources from indigenous populations as well as the demand for greater governability in Mapuche territory from the private sector. In short, it seeks to address grievances due to past aggression or violations of human rights, and the majority of government spending lies in the purchase of indigenous land and water rights from private landowners (57% of CONADI's 2008 budget was spent to purchase land and water rights). Even when in practice the purchase of land often occurs where there is conflict, the evaluation is principally based on the amount of time the community has existed (i.e. recognized by CONADI) rather than on the ancestral claims to that land. Since no information on ancestral claims is required, many purchases are made that have even created conflicts between communities (González-Palominos, Meza-Lopehandía Glaesser, & Sánchez Curihuentro, 2007).

A second characteristic of indigenous policies is the mitigation of problems generated by private sector activity in indigenous territory. These policies are reactive and emerge in response to the conflicts between the indigenous peoples and the private sector. Some of the most emblematic conflicts are: 1) the construction of hydroelectric dams in Pehuenche territory, 2) conflicts over land ownership with lumber companies in Arauco and Malleco, and 3) the installation of garbage dumps near indigenous communities.

Since the Chilean government is interested in the realization of these private sector activities, it designs policies and/or assures that the private sector implements policies that will mitigate the problems created by their productive activity.

---

[8] José Aylwin (2008) considers that the Mapuche conflict is a response to the incapacity of the Indigenous Law to satisfy the needs of indigenous communities. Villalobos-Ruminott (2006) argues that the conflict emerges because the Mapuche live and remain in subsistence conditions due to discrimination, the biopolitics of assimilation, and segregation.

In 2000, in an attempt to address the problems and transform the conflict, the government organized a series of public-private commissions to address the issue (such as the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples) and developed new public policies using "Development with identity" as a slogan.

Although these social programs seek to promote "development with identity", the fact that they are targeted in or near "conflictive" areas has affected the quality as well as the legitimacy of these policies. They are generally perceived to be governmental efforts to buy the support of impoverished indigenous communities. In many cases, these policies have reduced the protests, although their impact on the marginalization and poverty in the indigenous communities (reservations) is questionable[9].

Since 2000, the government has more actively targeted the indigenous population and specifically recognized ethno-cultural differences. In particular, with the program *Orígenes* financed by the Inter-American Development Bank, the government has sought to develop new instruments that promote economic development while respecting indigenous culture, although there is greater emphasis on development and less on cultural identity. Indeed, the program established that 70% of the resources assigned to the Local Planning Commissions must be used in productive activities. The financing was assigned through officially recognized indigenous organizations in the selected rural communities. The policies up to 2008 have favored rural communities over urban Mapuche, although there is now a new policy targeted to urban indigenous population.

These policies did incorporate a limited cultural element that combined an essentialist concept of Mapuche identity with a functionalist approach, often creating dissonance within the Mapuche communities. To illustrate, the implementation of intercultural health programs required a *machi* (medicine woman) to establish her healing hut next to the local public health clinic without considering the spiritual aspects of the space. Similarly, the bilingual intercultural education programs originally included teaching non-indigenous teachers Mapudungun so they could teach it to native speakers. Animal production programs required the sale of the animals when the Mapuche (and especially the Pehuenche) believe that animals (and not money) are the real wealth. Other criticisms of these programs are associated to the use of funds to promote political candidates.

Despite these problems and the many criticisms of the programs implemented, the programs seem to have strengthened the pride in being of indigenous descent and the recognition of the contributions of Mapuche culture to world culture. In-

---

[9] See for example the discussion in Yańez & Aylwin (2007).

teraction with other indigenous cultures and participation in international events has also contributed to the recognition that Mapuche culture can be financially valuable, promoting the creation of ethno-tourism and artisan products for sale.

A third characteristic of government policy has been consolidated during the government of President Michelle Bachelet (2006–2010) and refers to the recognition of past grievances. The term "recognize" has in Spanish as a double meaning: it means to recognize (reconocer) as well as get to know better (re-con-ocer). This idea seeks to promote a less discriminatory treatment towards persons of indigenous descent by non-indigenous persons. The elaboration of a document on the history of the indigenous peoples in Chile is referred to as a "New Deal" ("El Nuevo Trato") and explicitly recognizes the loss of land and the prior human rights violations, although this recognition has yet to be incorporated into the design of indigenous policy.

The Chilean equivalent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs *CONADI* rarely recognizes the existence of violence. It is not mentioned in official documents, and the government tends to suggest that it is marginal and does not to represent the Mapuche people, creating an image dual image of "good Indian" and "bad Indian". As can be seen in his evaluation of the advances made, the Commissioner of Indigenous Affairs, Rodrigo Egaña (2008) only mentions the Mapuche conflict indirectly and stated "unsatisfied demands have generated conflicts... that often lead to law breaking, generating a spiral of violence". Indeed, his evaluation identifies three principal challenges: 1) the problem of economic sustainability in indigenous communities, 2) Chilean society does not accept multiculturalism and is not working to promote integration, and 3) the present institutions (such as CONADI) dedicated to indigenous policy need to be transformed in order to be more effective. The Chilean government is presently working on addressing these challenges, although generally with indigenous members of political parties rather than in a participative manner with leaders recognized by indigenous communities.

Returning Governability to the Area

As already mentioned, state action, both positive and negative, has been concentrated principally in Mapuche territory where there are more conflicts over land ownership or there is resistance to resource extraction. Even though the government in speeches now recognizes the multicultural nature of Chilean society and the need to address past violations of indigenous rights and there is an increase of funding in many indigenous communities, there are still cases of flagrant violations of the rights of indigenous peoples, where the State is either

the violator or does not effectively protect these rights. One of the constant criticisms is that the State is only concerned with protecting the private sector rather than ensuring the rights of all. The government's position is directly related with its priority on economic development where indigenous people who resist these changes are considered to be "obstacles".

During the government of Ricardo Lagos (2000–2006), the Chilean government decided to apply two special laws (decreed by the military dictatorship but never used) the "Anti-Terrorist Law" and the "State Security Law" to prosecute members of the Mapuche movement who have used violence against people or private property. These Laws allow the use of testimony from unidentified witnesses as well as the possibility of longer prison sentences for crimes such as threats, burning private property, and being part of a "terrorist" organization. Furthermore, the press coverage of these events amplifies public opinion against the Mapuche by focusing almost entirely on the "illegal and illegitimate" nature of the violence used by the Mapuche, and little or no discussion of the declarations from the movements (Acevedo, 2007).

The Ministry of Interior is responsible for maintaining governability, and especially for protecting property rights. The position of the government is well expressed by then Minister of Interior Francisco Vidal who stated in 2006 "to govern a country, and in this case a region, and deal with complex matters such as political violence requires an even hand, which implies respect for Chilean legislation, and to respect the government's political will... In Chile, there is rule of law, and in democracy, the rule of law should be preserved and maintained, and those who do not respect it will receive the sanctions of the law" (author's translation) (Vidal, 2006).

The Minister of Justice, Maldonado, indicated on August 28, 2008 that "the government's principal concern is with the social and development aspects as well as with the general economic situation and quality of life in the territory where the conflicts are occurring. Additionally, the government needs to provide security, so that people feel that they are protected, and this is obtained with a permanent police presence. Additionally, the government has the obligation to collaborate in the investigation and sanctioning of crimes.

Under the government of Michelle Bachelet (2006–present), the position has been maintained although the discourse is less extreme. For example in April 2009 after the visit of the United Nations Special Relater for Indigenous Affairs, James Anaya, the Sub-secretary of the Interior, Francisco Rosende, indicated that the government is committed to not invoking the Anti-Terrorist Law in the Mapuche conflict, which they understand as a legitimate, just demand for ancestral territory.

However, he qualified his statement indicating that when acts are violent, such as those acts carried out by the Coordinator Arauco Malleco (CAM), the government will use the Law because this violence is considered to be terrorist even when it is performed by someone of indigenous descent (El Mercurio, 2009).

Perspective of the Mapuche Movements

From the Mapuche perspective, the conflict began with the arrival of the Spanish and intensified when the Chilean State decided that Mapuche territory was part of Chilean territory, colonizing the land and taking control of many natural resources. This historical conflict began with the invasion of Mapuche territory, and different terms have been used to describe it, including conquista, colonization, pacification, and reduction of Mapuche territory. Thus, the present conflict is actually the continuation of earlier, century-long struggles that now appear symbolized as the conflict over natural resources.

Most Mapuche perceive that the Chilean State always defends private economic interests over Mapuche rights as was clearly illustrated with the construction of two hydroelectric dams in the Pehuenche-Mapuche territory in the Andes Mountains[10]. The position of the Mapuche movement is that as culturally distinct communities, they have the right to determine the type of development that they desire in their own territory. Their demand is directly related with the earlier demand to recognize the different indigenous peoples living within Chilean territory and the right to prioritize their way of life over national economic development. This type of demand is present in most indigenous conflicts throughout the world.

The government's continuous denial to change the Chilean Constitution in order to recognize the Mapuche's right to organize as a nation within Chilean territory combined with their defense of non-indigenous property rights polarized the debate. In response, the Mapuche movement has organized to defend their autonomy, arguing that "the Mapuche do not need the dominator to officially recognize them as a people because they historically have existed as a people. Consequently, recognition is a *winka* (non-indigenous) problem... Indeed, we have rights not because we are indigenous, but rather because we are a People who are acting in self defense" (Naguil, 2007).

While the media and private sector tend to emphasize the violence[11], Mapuche activists argue that the conflict is about territory and autonomy, and not

---

[10] For more information, see Gonzalez and Simon 2007; Namancura 1998; Downing 1996.

[11] For example, Lavanchy & Foerster (2002) identify the political semiotics that highlights the reiteration of violent actions as a constant of the Mapuche problem.

only about land, poverty, and discrimination. The Coordinator of Communities in Conflict (Coordinadora de Comunidades en Conflicto, 2001) considers it to be an "ethno- and geo-political problem". Others consider it to be the renewal of the historical struggle of a People who refuse to be submissive, as represented in the words of Aukan Wilkaman, leader of All Lands Council: We haven't signed the surrender and the War of Arauco is not over ("*No hemos firmado la derrota, ni la guerra de Arauco no ha terminado*)" (El Mercurio 1992).

The Mapuche Movement uses the label "conflict" to describe their demands for autonomy that have gained visibility and validity in their active resistance to transnational companies and the Chilean police forces that seek to "return order" to these territories. Indeed, the "conflict" has become symbolic of the questioning and challenge to the Chilean State's sovereignty in Mapuche territories. Within this discourse, the Mapuche movement questions the social programs implemented by the government and the private sector because they do not address the deeper issue of territorial control. This growing demand for territorial control is present at the global level and recognized in many international agreements, including the OIT 169.

Jose Bengoa (1999) argues that there are two trends in Mapuche thought: integrationism (with V. Coñoepan as a reference) and autonomism (with M. Aburto Panguilef as a reference), and considers that the present-day Mapuche Movement is an autonomous resistance movement. Fenelon, González-Parra and Simon (2009) argue that the Mapuche Movement is not only a political act that defends and creates autonomy, but that it also offers a new way of doing politics. Indeed, it seeks to defy the concept of State sovereignty in order to establish an alternative way of life that is qualitatively different from capitalist modernity.

Both the words and acts of the Coordinator of Communities in Conflict (Coordinadora de Comunidades en Conflicto, 2001) define themselves as anti-capitalist:

> We are making definitions in the sense of reaffirming our condition as Mapuche and People-Nation; definitions that are in contraposition with a system that is not ours, that oppresses us, and that even condemns us to extermination. Consequently, we define ourselves as anti-capitalists because this system centers its action in extracting resources and placing them in the hands of a few at the cost of the majorities because they exploit people and impose their system of domination, they destroy nature, the ecosystem; situations that are absolutely opposed to our People's conception of man, life and the world, placing at risk our way of life, our culture, whose base is the maintenance of equilibrium between humans and other natural elements, where the relations are more just and more

> human. At present, the capitalist system invades our territory, and thus its advance seriously threatens our existence as a Pueblo Nation Mapuche[12].

They argue that this separation between the Mapuche and the capitalist system is fundamental in the definition of the practical and ideological definitions of the Mapuche movement to recover their lands and to reconstruction Mapuche territory.

> The sacred spaces of our ancestors are destroyed, they have stolen our valleys, hills, streams. Once we have recovered these ancestral spaces, we will be better able to express our spirituality. Once we recover our ancestral land that belongs to us and we control the territory, the people will find that life will have more meaning. We will respect each other more, we will have a better quality of life and more respect for nature because our ancestors knew that man is not the center of the world but rather only one more...[13]

We speculate that this anti-capitalist position has emerged because both the private companies and the government have denied the communities' control over their land and natural resources in the name of economic (capitalist) development.

This discourse, present in Chile and in many conflicts involving indigenous peoples, is influenced by (neo)Marxist interpretations of capitalism, but should not be reduced to this discourse due to their criticism of much Marxist thought that generally does not recognize the importance of cultural identity. And as can be seen in virtually every official statement, their movement is strongly connected to the defense not only of their physical existence but more importantly as the defense their vision of the world and the associated life styles, practices,

---

[12] *Estamos haciendo definiciones en el sentido de reafirmar nuestra condición de mapuche y de Pueblo Nación; definiciones que nos hacen contraponernos a un sistema que no es nuestro, que nos oprime y que, más aún, nos condena al exterminio. Por lo anterior, es que nos definimos de anticapitalistas, porque este sistema centra su acción en la apropiación de la riqueza en manos de unos pocos en desmedro de las mayorías, porque se explota a los hombres y se les impone un sistema de dominación, se destruye la naturaleza, el ecosistema; situaciones absolutamente contrapuestas a la concepción de nuestro Pueblo sobre el hombre, la vida y el mundo, poniéndose en riesgo nuestro sistema de vida, nuestra cultura, la que tiene como base de sustentación el equilibrio del hombre con los demás elementos de la naturaleza, en donde las relaciones resultan más justas y más humanas. En la actualidad, el sistema capitalista invade nuestro territorio y, por lo tanto, su avance pone en serio riesgo nuestra existencia como Pueblo Nación Mapuche.*

[13] *espacios sagrados de nuestros antepasados están destruidos, nos han quitado quebradas, montes, arroyos. Al recuperar estos espacios ancestrales, nuestra espiritualidad tendría más capacidad de expresión. Por eso al recuperar tierras que nos pertenecen y ejercer control territorial, la gente le encuentra más sentido a la vida. Hay mayor respeto entre nosotros, una mejor calidad de vida y respeto por la naturaleza, porque nuestros antepasados tenían muy claro que el hombre no es el centro del mundo, sino sólo uno más...*

and values. The Mapuche understand and perceive that they are part of a larger system, which is a single being that includes humans, land, and nature, and where reciprocity is the regulating force. Land is a vital, indispensable component because it is territory that defines where the Mapuche come from, where they live, and where they are going.

Despite the State's good intentions to "civilize" the Mapuche in the 19th and 20th Centuries and to recognize their cultural differences in the 21st century, the Mapuche distrust the Chilean State (even when the levels of distrust are similar to those of non-indigenous persons (Irrazaval y Morande 2007). Clearly, Mapuche resistance is related to this distrust but is also combined with the discrimination towards persons of indigenous descent still present in Chilean society (Merino 2004). In their communities (reservations) as well as in the cities, the Mapuche continue to resist even when they demand a dialogue as equals with the Chilean State, which still seeks their incorporation as Chilean citizens.

Although the Chilean press and television characterize the "Mapuche conflict" principally as the claim for more land and better living conditions, the Mapuche movements are also resisting the degradation of their land, water, flora and fauna due to the establishment of large lumber plantations surrounding and transforming their territories and communities. The problem of material poverty often divides the communities, and many community members migrate to urban areas looking for better material conditions. The government solutions of multicultural indigenous policy over the last 18 years have been unable to transform the situation, confirming Mapuche "laziness" for some.

Faced with both public and private actors who cannot understand the Mapuche world vision, the Mapuche have elaborated autonomous resistance strategies to defend and affirm their way of life, their existence. Their identity is not defined by a folkloric vision of their traditional cultural practices or even by the practice of the language, but rather by the living presence of *Ngen* and other spiritual forces that are present in their lands. A greater understanding and appreciation for their world vision by Chilean society is a fundamental first step towards a resolution of the conflict.

Reconstructing the Mapuche Conflict

As has been shown in the previous discussion, the description of the Mapuche Conflict as the struggle of isolated, violent groups with little domestic support does not accurately characterize either the motivations or demands of the Mapuche Movement. The government tends to emphasize the investment placed in land and poverty reduction/economic development programs without considering the

basic human desire to control one's way of life and to participate in the decisions that affect it. The fragmentation of the government's position between a national development project, targeted social policies, and maintenance of the rule of law has polarized the situation creating a conflict with little possibility of dialogue.

A critical point of conflict is the conceptualization of the State. For most Mapuche and non-Mapuche, the principal actors in the Mapuche conflict are the Chilean State and the communities in conflict. For most Mapuche, the State defends private sector interests, while the Mapuche are acting in self defense, justifying the use of violence. At a symbolic level, the Mapuche question the historical relations of domination established since the 19th century, arguing that the State cannot be a valid interlocutor or mediator in the dispute between Mapuche communities and private (capitalist) interests, directly questioning the State's legitimacy to represent the Mapuche. In short, Mapuche demands are linked to their right to participate in the decisions that affect their way of life.

Still, some resistance strategies are not violent. For examples, in 2006, a group of Mapuche expressed their intention to create a Mapuche political party Wallmapuwen whose objective is to "create a Mapuche political party that is democratic and autonomist so that Mapuche can participate in the democratic system and obtain representative positions through democratic elections as all parties actually do" (Wallmapuwen – Declaración de Principios). Although they also mention autonomy, they clearly state that they seek "greater participation and control over their affairs" rather than secession. Wallmapuwen is supported by the Galician Nationalist Block (Bloque Nacionalista Gallego).

Moving beyond the Mapuche Conflict

As long as the conflict is conceptualized as being based on irreconcilable differences between Western (Chilean) culture and Mapuche culture, the violence will continue because there are no common points. To create dialogue, there needs to be more than just symbolic gestures towards reconciliation and the identification of points of agreement. In short, indigenous policies need to be reconceptualized, integrating both culturally pertinent targeted social policies as well as local autonomy issues. In many countries, such as Canada and the United States, indigenous communities design and administrate government-financed social programs.

In addition to targeted public policies, the Chilean State needs to actively assure that it defends the rights of all Chileans, especially in the areas in conflict. The State's continued denial that its actions and defense of the "status quo" favor non-

indigenous interests of Mapuche rights is an important obstacle in the resolution of the conflict. The Chilean government's defense of their national development project whose cost is paid by the Mapuche has generated a questioning of modern, capitalist practices, radicalizing the discourse and the positions. As a result, the Mapuche movement has defined their desire to maintain their way of life as an alternative to capitalist modernity. The dispute for land becomes then a struggle between the dominant forms of exploitation (capitalism) and an alternative form of life where "Mapuche Territory" becomes the resistance itself, receiving support from other nationalist as well as anti-capitalist and anti-globalization movements worldwide.

As long as the Chilean State is perceived as using violence to defend and protect capitalist development, the "culturally pertinent development" programs will be accepted but will not affect the conflict until the issue of local autonomy and control of natural resources are addressed. We speculate that the fundamental problem is that the Mapuche do not have economic or political power over their lives. Some decide to obtain power by working with the government, while others work against the government. This new indigenous identity emerges as a modern force that clearly understands the nature of power in a global system and seeks to establish their sovereignty through discourse but also by obtaining political and economic power. The Mapuche movement looks to discuss their issues in global forums rather than at the national level. Indeed, the State's non-recognition of their autonomy has only increased the legitimacy of this demand at the international level.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

El Mercurio (1992, June 28).

A c e v e d o, P. (2007). El discurso de Lagos, los pueblos Indígenas y los medios de comunicación. En N. Yañez, & J. Aylwin, *El gobierno de Lagos, los pueblos indígenas y el "nuevo trato": Las paradojas de la democracia chilena* (pág. 502). Santiago: Lom.

A y l w i n, J. (2008). *Pueblo Mapuche y Estado. Reflexiones para Abordar un Conflicto Nunca Resuelto.* Recuperado el 30 de December de 2008, de Mapuexpress: www.mapuexpress.net.

B e n g o a, J. (1999). *Historia de un conflicto. El estado y los mapuches en el siglo XX.* Santiago: Planeta.

B u e n d í a, M. (2001). Entrevista "La Estrategia de la Coordinadora Arauko-Malleco: hablan sus dirigentes". *Revista Punto Final , edición 507.*

Coordinadora de Comunidades en Conflicto, A.-M. (2001). *Planteamiento Político-Estratégico.* Retrieved 2007, from Coordinadora de Comunidades en Conflicto Arauco-Malleco: http://www.nodo50.org/weftun/.

D o w n i n g, T. (1996). A Participatory Interim Evaluation of the Pehuen Foundation. Unpublished document prepared for the International Finance Corporation.

E g a ñ a, R. (2008, July). *Desafios y oportunidades de la Nueva Política Indígena.* Retrieved May 2009, from Corporacion Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena: www.conadi.cl.

E l M e r c u r i o. (2009, April 14). Rosende: "No existe un compromiso del Gobierno para no aplicar la ley antiterrorista". p. 5.

F o e r s t e r, R., & Vergara, I. (2002). Permanencia y Transformación del Conflicto Estado-mapuches en Chile . *Revista Austral de Ciencias Sociales, Nº 6.*

G o n z á l e z - P a l o m i n o s, K., M e z a - L o p e h a n d í a Glaesser, M., & S á n c h e z C u r i h u e n t r o, R. (2007). *Política de Tierras y Derechos Territoriales de los Pueblos Indígenas en Chile: el caso de las Comunidades "Carimán Sánchez y Gonzalo Marín" y "Comunidad Manuel Contreras".* Retrieved april 2009, from Observatorio de Derechos de Pueblos Indígenas: http://www.observatorio.cl/contenidos/naveg/listadoDocs.php?s=20060713112646

Indian Country Today. (2007, September) "Septembers to remember for Indigenous Peoples", (indiancountry.com).

La Tercera. (2008, August 28).

L a v a n c h y, J. (1999). Perspectivas para la Comprensión del Conflicto Mapuche. *CEME Centro de Estudios Miguel Enríquez-Archivo Chile .*

M e r i n o Dickinson, M a r i a Eugenia. (2004) Ethnic Prejudice Against Mapuche In The Discourse Of Members Of Chilean Society As A Reflection Of The Racialist Ideology Of The Spanish Conqueror. American Indian Culture And Research Journal, Vol.27 (4).

N a g u i l, V. (2007). *Reconocimiento Constitucional y Convenio 169: Un análisis crítico*. Retrieved from http://webs.demasiado.com:8080/arauko_malleko/reconocimiento.htm

N a m u n c u r a, Domingo. (1999), *Ralco: ¿Represa o pobreza?* Santiago: Lom Ediciones.

T u h i w a i S m i t h, Linda. (2006) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* London: Zed Press.

V i d a l, F. (2006, February 27). Press Conference in Temuco. (Press, Interviewer)

V i l l a l o b o s - R u m i n o t t, S. (2006). El problema Mapuche y los Límites del Pensamiento Liberal. *Revista de Crítica Cultural* (No. 33).

Wallmapuwen - Declaración de Principios. (n.d.). Retrieved April 30, 2009, from Wallmapuwen: http://www.wallmapuwen.cl

Y a ñ e z, N., & A y l w i n, J. e. (2007). *El Gobierno de Lagos, los Pueblos Indígenas y el "Nuevo trato". Las Paradojas de la democracia chilena.* Santiago: Lom Ediciones & Observatorio Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas IWGIA.

LIST OF CONTENTS