

Double reunification through the European Union's Education Policy

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Introduction

The publication represents the result of research carried out as part of the Jean Monnet project – EDUPOL Module “The European Integration Process. Double reunification through EU Education Policies (1948–2012).” The project was carried out at the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań from 2013 to 2016. The execution of the project encompassed the following tasks:

- introduction of the module as a cross-curricular course on EU integration for all the disciplines taught at AMU. The module took the form of a general course on European integration issues seen through the development of a knowledge-based Europe and the achievements of EU education policies;
- analysis of the impact of European education policies on the process of European integration and the creation of a knowledge-based Europe;
- development of students’ competence and knowledge of European integration issues for further professional growth;
- promotion of teaching, research and reflection in the field of European integration studies at the level of AMU and other higher education institutions;
- raising the general public interest in EU integration process by organising open conferences with the participation of civil servants and citizens in general.

The main objective of this publication is to draw public attention to the great impact of the European dimension of teaching. The authors deal with both theoretical and practical aspects of integration processes with regard to selected issues of the European Union’s educational policy.

Professor Zbigniew **Czachór** in his paper presents hypotheses on the interdependence between education, mobility and a knowledge-based society. Professor Agnieszka **Cybal-Michalska** discusses the significant is-

sue of pro-development and proactivity as educational categories of European society. Dr Ettore **Deodato** presents universities as actors and instruments in diplomacy and analyses the potential of soft academic power.

The aim of the essay by Professor Jarosław **Jańczak** is to overview examples of cross-border universities in Europe. The author tries to answer the question of how this concept has been operationalised and implemented in the field. He concludes that the phenomenon is framed by two processes: firstly by deboundarisation, as part of the redefinition of national borders; secondly, by the Europeanisation of higher education. Consequently, a situation has been created where state boundaries no longer limit academia and education, allowing universities to penetrate non-native systems. Cross-border academic collaboration is also the subject of considerations by Professor **Magdalena Musiał-Karg**. Her paper describes the outcomes of the academic collaboration of two neighbouring towns – Słubice in Poland and Frankfurt am Oder in Germany. The author presents Collegium Polonicum as an actual laboratory of cross-border cooperation along the borderline separating those two countries which plays an important role in the promotion of the idea of cross-border cooperation in academic terms.

The paper by Dr Tomasz **Brańka** analyses the phenomenon of MOOCs (mass open online courses) offered by the most prestigious universities in the world. The text highlights the opportunities to ‘democratise education’ created by this formula as well as the threats that have already been identified. The author stresses the dynamic evolution of MOOCs, which are trying to find their place in the complex field of higher education in Europe.

The objective of the paper by Dr Beata **Przybylska-Maszner** is to analyse the determinants of the European dimension of education introduced in Poland in the context of the changes related to Poland’s membership of the EU. The paper discusses core curricula for cross-subject paths covering European topics, as well as the forms and methods of European education offered before 2004. The topic of European education is also addressed by Daria **Hejwosz-Gromkowska**, who discusses different ways of thinking about the European dimension of education in the United Kingdom and Poland, and indicates both the discrepancies and similarities in forming the profile of a citizen of Europe.

We believe that this interdisciplinary publication, which explores only some of the broad issues related to the European dimension in education, will be of interest to those wishing to broaden their knowledge in this area.

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The European Union for the young. Between education, mobility and a knowledge-based society. Hypotheses¹

“There will be no Europe, if there are not Europeans. But what will form Europeans, if not education? Claiming that everything depends on education we claim that everything depends on educators and how they are formed. The future of a united Europe is decided by the schools that prepare teachers. As long as they are not subjected to change towards the pro-European and their results in secondary education are not experienced in our countries, there will be no firm ground for political and economic activities. For before Europe is created, the European has to be created first. And this happens in the minds first”.

Denis de Rougemont in *Open Letter to the Europeans*

1. The limited possibilities of the European Union and unlimited possibilities of member states

EU member states are in charge of the content and organisation of their internal policies addressed at young people, including educational systems, vocational education and training. The European Union respects different national legislations and priorities and has no right to align statutory laws and executive regulations of EU countries in these respects (Article 165 and 166 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (*Traktat...*, 2008)). The Treaty grants only limited authority to the EU, primarily focusing on co-ordinating, supplementing and fostering the activities of member states. Co-operation in these fields is implemented mainly

¹ The paper expresses the author's standpoint, expressed in his earlier publications.

within the framework of the Open Method of Co-ordination (*Kształcenie...*, 2014).

Given the above, an institutionalised European Union regulated by law does not have the capacity to define a detailed catalogue of regulations pertaining to the policy of the education and training as well as the policy of the young. Does this mean that the European Union is passive in this respect? Certainly not. In the European system for supporting young people, the EU takes on the role of a co-ordinator, an entity that supports the process of the education and development of youth (*Kształcenie...*, 2014).

The European Union focuses its youth policy on developing the European dimension in education, especially by means of teaching and promulgating the languages of member states, and it also fosters the mobility of students and teachers, *inter alia* by means of encouraging the academic recognition of diplomas and study periods. Additionally, the EU defines and implements the strategic framework of European co-operation in the field of education and training (including vocational training).

Young citizens of the European Union are granted numerous privileges, such as the right to free travel, ensured by the Treaty, the right to settle and receive education, study and employment across the entire EU.

On the basis of documents from the Polish Ministry of National Education, the European Union acknowledges that education (and training) is indispensable for the development of modern societies and a knowledge-based economy. The youth and educational strategies of the EU stress the role of co-operation between member states in education and training, and of learning from one another.

2. Europe 2020 – Europe of the young?

European co-operation in this field has been stimulated since the adoption of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000 and continued within the Europe 2020 strategy. European collaboration in education and training has played a considerable part in this strategy, providing young people with the foundation of knowledge, skills and innovation, especially in the light of intensifying global competition.

“In a changing world, the European Union needs an intelligent and sustainable economy conducive to social inclusion. Parallel work on these three priorities should assist the EU and member states in achiev-

ing increased employment and productivity as well as social cohesion. The EU has set a concrete agenda, encompassing five measurable targets in terms of employment, innovation, education, social inclusion and climate/energy changes that should all be achieved by 2020. In each of these areas, all member states have identified their own national targets that should respectively contribute to the overall EU targets. Concrete activities undertaken both at EU and national levels enhance the implementation of the European strategy. A measurable target which is established by the Europe 2020 strategy in respect of education, concerns the improvement of the levels of education, in particular by means of the following actions: (1) reducing the percentage of early school leavers so that it is below 10% by 2020; and (2) increasing the share of the population aged 30–34 having completed tertiary education to at least 40% (*Edukacja w UE*, 2014).”

EU Council conclusions of 12 May, 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training define additional strategic targets for European cooperation on education and training by 2020. They are as follows:

- making lifelong learning and educational mobility a reality;
- improving the quality and efficiency of education and training;
- promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship;
- enhancing creativity and innovation at all levels of education and training (*Edukacja w UE*, 2014).

3. Targets of modern European education

In her book, *Teaching about Europe*, M. Shennan stresses the importance of taking the dynamic nature of educational processes in Europe into consideration. On account of changes that are occurring in the system of European integration she suggests a new division of European education into the following (Schennan, 1991):

- teaching about Europe – through providing basic knowledge about Europe;
- teaching in Europe – through shaping basic skills young Europeans need;
- teaching for Europe – through preparing young people to living in a uniting Europe, permanent contacts and joint work.

These three aspects of European education are still topical and they should constitute a logical cycle of education comprising three stages. The

first one consists in acquiring the necessary knowledge about the Old Continent, its people and their activities encompassing contacts with other Europeans and their experience. The second stage is about shaping fundamental citizen skills that allow people to operate in civil society. The third, final stage concerns preparing people for living and working in a united Europe.

From the point of view of teaching methodology, European education of young people should entail five elements:

- getting to know Europe or learning about its history, culture and the development of the idea of integration;
- presenting integration processes from political, social and institutional perspectives;
- internalising ‘European thinking’ or learning about the fundamental values and principles of Europe;
- disseminating ‘European competences’ defined as indispensable tools necessary for individuals to operate in society. The following skills should be distinguished here: the command of foreign languages, using IT and managing difficult situations (such as loss of employment).

Learning a second or third language makes it easier to learn about other countries, their societies and different lifestyles, but it can also enable an individual to pursue education, training or volunteering abroad and enhance their potential for satisfaction and obtaining a well-paid job in the future.²

Research shows that well-qualified people enjoy twice as many employment chances and three times more chances to receive above-average remuneration than poorly qualified individuals (*Kształcenie...*, 2014, p. 3).

4. Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: The European Union guards the rights and interests of young people who are EU citizens the same as all citizens of member states.

² Since 1987, over three million university students took advantage of subsidies provided under the Erasmus programme. EU financing was significantly increased under the Erasmus+ programme. In 2014–2020 another four million young people, students and adults will be able to gain experience and advance their skills studying, attending training or working as volunteers abroad.

On the basis of the treaties establishing the European Union, young Europeans should exercise their right to high quality education. In order to achieve its educational targets, the European Union encourages the cooperation between member states and, wherever necessary, it supports them and supplements their activities, while fully respecting the responsibility of member states for the educational process, as well as the content of curricula and organisation of educational system and their linguistic and cultural diversification. The practice of different member states, however, differs considerably.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights (CFR) of the European Union adopted on 7 December, 2000 at the Nice summit states that every citizen of the European Union has the right to education and access to vocational training and lifelong education. It also provides for access to the education of children in conformity with the religious, philosophical and pedagogical beliefs of parents, and the national legislation that stipulates the rules of how this right is exercised. This is to serve the purpose of allowing Europe to achieve the highest level of education, so that it can become a global model as regards quality and social usefulness. A question can be asked, however, whether these provisions of the CFR are actually implemented by EU member states today.

Despite numerous difficulties, the European Union has set the following targets:

- ensuring the compatibility of educational system which facilitates free choice of the venue of citizen education and employment;
- recognising educational and vocational qualifications, knowledge and skills gained in individual EU states;
- ensuring Europeans the potential for lifelong learning irrespective of age;
- opening Europe to the cooperation with other European regions and states for mutual benefit.

The European Union undertakes a range of different activities aiming to foster education, such as:

- teaching and popularisation of the languages of member states,
- fostering the exchange of students and teachers;
- promoting cooperation between educational entities;
- supporting the development of the exchange of information and experience in the matters that are common for teaching systems of member states;
- fostering the development of youth exchange;

- fostering the development of distance learning;
- fostering vocational training, which is of particular importance given the necessity to adapt to economic transformation.

Hypothesis 2: Having joined the European Union, Poland consistently introduces European educational standards.

The process of economic and political transformation initiated in 1989 and named today as ‘the return to Europe’ was particularly important for the development of education in Poland. Poland’s path towards the membership of the European Union involved the adjustment of the economy and legislation and was based on the education of society, the young in particular, preparing them for this difficult and lengthy process.

When preparing for accession to the European Union, and after Poland’s joining the EU, the primary focus was on preparing young people for the requirements of integration. Beyond any doubt, the vocational structure of labour resources and the qualifications of young people were the most important aspect here. Getting ready for the membership of the European Union concerned the personnel capable of fulfilling this highly difficult and demanding task. Therefore, schooling (formal and informal teaching) and preparing young people for adapting to the rules of an integrated European market has to remain the main focus.

The system of education in Poland and the remaining states of the European Union has been facing twofold challenges. Firstly, the task of perfectly preparing societies for the mechanisms of a capitalist free market. Secondly, the adaptation of European standards to Polish conditions.

Hypothesis 3: The degree to which young people are in favour of and committed to integration varies with the degree of their mobility.³

Five types of mobility should be considered here:

- pragmatic orientation (full mobility, seizing the opportunities of European integration);
- hedonist orientation (relatively high mobility combined with disinterest in integration/Europeanness);
- openness and curiosity orientation (moderate mobility, national identification combined with openness towards Europe, acceptance for differences in others);

³ Cf.: <https://www.facebook.com/events/738476986162421/>.

- sceptical orientation towards the ‘outside world’ (lack of mobility, strong attachment to one’s country, Europe is impossible to accept even in a cognitive sense);
- orientation towards resignation and rejection (definite lack of mobility, strong attachment to one’s nation/state, Europe (the EU) is not a point of reference whatsoever, reserve towards strangers).

Active and mobile young people can play an important part in stimulating debates, and promoting the idea of active citizenship and European identity at the local, regional, national and European level. Some young people do get involved in youth organisations and other NGOs which often prove to be organisations able to reach people from the margins of society or excluded from it, and represent them. Many young people, however, are not active in any way and, unfortunately, seek the solutions to their problems by migrating to other EU member states.

Hypothesis 4: The adult world must not ignore European postulates and the expectations of young people.

Although young people account for over one third of the European electorate they continue not to be adequately and fully represented in the decision-making bodies of member states and the European Union. Young people want a Europe that is tolerant, open and avoids social exclusion. They want a Europe founded on the basic values of peace, freedom, dialogue, solidarity and respect for human rights, as well as on the principle of equity.

The European Union needs to allow young people to take advantage of mutual solidarity, gain recognition, mobility and freedom. It is necessary to continue to advance teaching curricula and programmes promoting the mobility of young people in order to access a free and open labour market. This would help overcome obstacles in recognising diplomas and vocational qualifications. Education is a crucial force for innovation, ensuring the opportunity to be active. Young people want free education for everybody.

Young people oppose all forms of discrimination at all levels of society. Regardless of whether it is a result of gender, ethnic identity or social origin, language, religion or worldview, political outlook, disability, age or sexual preferences systemic injustice must not be tolerated. In this context, the European Union has to be founded on solidarity and freedom. It has to promote the needs and rights of young people. Action plans have to

provide young people with the opportunity to be active. Mere talking, programming and planning will not suffice to solve the problems of the young generation.

Instead of conclusions. What is the response of the institutions of the European Union?

1. “The first priority of this Commission is to strengthen Europe’s competitiveness, stimulate investment and create jobs. The 315 billion euro Investment Plan can create millions of new jobs – not least for young people. But even when new jobs are created it is often very difficult for young people to successfully enter the job market. This is why the Youth Employment Initiative (YEI) focuses particularly on getting young people back into work or training. All Member States have committed to the ‘Youth Guarantee’: to provide young people under 25 with a quality job offer, an apprenticeship or training within four months of leaving school or losing a job. [...] To top up the European Social Fund in Member States with regions where youth unemployment exceeds 25%, the European Parliament and the Council agreed to create a dedicated Youth Employment Initiative (YEI). The YEI funding comprises a 3.2 billion euro specific allocation from a dedicated EU budget line (frontloaded to 2014–2015) matched by at least 3.2 billion euro from Member States’ European Social Fund allocations” (*Komisja...*, 2015). The YEI complements the European Social Fund for implementing the Youth Guarantee Recommendation by funding activities to directly help young people not in employment, education or training (NEETs) aged below 25 years, or, where the Member States consider relevant, below 30 years. The Youth Employment Initiative funding can be used to support activities including first job experience, provision of traineeships and apprenticeships, further education and training, business start-up support for young entrepreneurs, second-chance programmes for early school leavers and targeted wage and recruitment subsidies.

2. “In the past three years, an estimated six million Europeans have supported European Citizens’ Initiatives (ECI) and used their voice to bring important causes directly to the attention of European policy makers. [...] The fact that two Citizens’ Initiatives have gone through the full process shows that the Regulation establishing the ECI has been fully im-

plemented. However, the report acknowledges that there is still room to improve the process and identifies a number of possible issues for further discussion with stakeholders and institutions. [...] Under the rules set out in the Lisbon Treaty, if a Citizens' Initiative collects over one million statements of support (signatures), in an area where the European Commission has competence to propose law, then the Commission must formally discuss the issue and publish a response in the form of a Commission Communication. The Report shows that, in the past three years, 51 requests to launch an initiative have been received. From these 51 requests, 31 were in fields of Commission competence and have been registered; 3 have so far reached the threshold of one million signatures; 12 reached the end of their collection period without reaching the threshold; 3 are still collecting statements of support; and 10 were withdrawn by the organisers. Statements of support have been received from citizens in all 28 EU Member States. However, there are situations where some citizens have not been able to support Initiatives due to diverging Member States' requirements. The Commission is involved in constructive discussions with the Member States concerned to address these issues and has adopted measures today to facilitate a resolution."⁴

3. Including young Europeans in the world of adults must not be limited to education in schools and universities, but has to encompass all forms of educational activities (related to learning and socio-cultural) outside educational systems, in particular improving vocational qualifications and enhancing participation in culture and civil society.

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⁴ Cf. *Giving Citizens a Say: Commission Report on European Citizens' Initiatives*, European Commission, Press release, Brussels, 31 March 2015.

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Prodevelopment and proactivity as educational categories of the European society

Complexity and multiculturalism of the contemporary European social configuration contribute to difficulties in capturing and clearly defining factors determining changes in the social system and in the theoretical description of the social dimension of human life. In this context, we face the question about the place of European education in relation to culture, as a space of transmission and transformation. A new look emerges, a look at the quality of the European space favouring the focus of narration on the nature of the social world – interdependence between globality, Europeanness and individual dispositions. The interest of the contemporary discourse about the quality of reality, factors determining changes in the social system and the condition of a young man living in “the multiplicity of worlds” (Z. Bauman), doomed to look for their place in the reality subjected to permanent fluctuation, is focused on the problems of (self)education. And, although, remembering that educational ideas are always abstract, “they understand the thought about the education reality, the thought about education in general but they are not the education itself emerged in life” (Łukasiewicz, 1993, p. 149) – it is agency and the perspective of changes “of being a man in the world”, that constitute the (self)educational initiative, realized in the course of life of an individual and of the society. There is no doubt that education understood as “general influences on individuals [...] favouring their development, using their skills in such a way and to the maximum extent, so that [...] they are capable of active self-realization, unique and permanent identity and distinct feature; so that they are able to develop their own SELF on the way to achieve «over-personal tasks», by maintaining the continuity of one’s own SELF on the way of achieving «distant tasks»” (Kwieciński, 1995, pp. 13–14). Education understood in such a way is one of the most impor-

tant issues, both, in the context of the European education and in the context of the global education.

The humanistic discourse about the quality of education should include the context of social and cultural changes that take place on the integrating European continent, without ignoring the quality of changes taking place in the globalizing world. The most significant feature of the times “of a permanent change” is to prepare an individual to be able to process, reconstruct and use the knowledge in order to deal with the reality in an active way. It seems important to emphasize that one of the crucial features that have impact on the conditions of a contemporary man is education in a broad sense. The aim of education is to shape pro-developmental and proactive orientation among children and youth. In the context of educational needs of the European society and the globalizing world, the statement made by Z. Kwieciński has an important message: “contemporary times of a constant crisis require the type of a man, who can face up to difficult circumstances and tasks. A plenipotentiary man – with shaped competences to formulate and solve new, difficult tasks; a man who is wise, responsible, sympathetic and capable of supportive cooperation, as well as who is capable of choosing and evaluating various flickering cultural offers, according to universal values and rules. Shaping a human being in terms of complex challenges of the contemporary times depends on the education itself.” (Kwieciński, 2000, pp. 84–85).

Adaptation to the amorphous environment takes place also through the practice of learning a new context, in which ones participates, contributing to its change. The force of impact on a current situation or on social surrounding, has an individualized character and it depends on an agent’s tendency to take active measures that indirectly cause the changes in the environment. Contemporary studies on the quality of European education should include its, broadly defined, pro-developmental dimension that refer, in fact, to the level of what T. S. Bateman and J. M. Crant called the formation of an individual’s proactivity. The initiative, as a component characteristic for proactive behaviour, understood as a skill to initiate actions and gather resources and support for a process of a change, that is not limited to just the beginning of changes but it extends to being involved in the process of achieving the goal, that is bringing a given change to its end (Bańka, 2005, pp. 8–9), seems to be too important on the education level to be ignored. The sphere of education promotes and increases the chances of giving meanings to decisions relevant for the future of a given agent.

Temporal orientation on the future will allow an individual to concentrate better on “a choice”, not on “fate” or “fortuity”. This kind of thinking is closer to promoting autonomous causative agency, than to adaptation to the existing conditions. Entering the road of an agent’s activity is supported by educational influences focused on openness to new possibilities and situations, not being indiscriminately rooted in traditional, homogeneous assumptions and rules.

In general, the essence of predevelopment activities constitutes an individual’s actions focused on realizing a certain vision of an ideal state. T. Zysk, referring to W. Reykowski and J. Koziellecki, emphasized that the most crucial and characteristic feature of a human mind is a skill to formulate visions of future state of things. An agent is convinced about the excellence of a given state and takes actions to achieve it (Zysk, 1990, p. 199). Among psychological characteristics determining pro-developmental behaviours, T. Zysk listed: inner motivation, focus on the future and active coping with reality (Zysk, 1990, p. 206).

Inner motivation (defined as “growth”, “striving for...”, aspiration) is determined by a vision of an ideal state and it is most often described as an individual being involved in a certain activity because it is either pleasant for an agent or it generates an agent’s interest. Motivation is obviously related to showing and catering for the needs. According to Deci and Ryan, motivation can also be defined as a behavioural term (Zysk, 1990, p. 200). They define it, as behaviours that can occur and can be maintained, even without visible reinforcements. There are two factors underlying these behaviours: the need for competence and self-determination. The need for competence is associated with the need for competition, with cognitive curiosity and with the tendency to be a perfectionist in action. Self-determination can be identified with the feeling of agency, with the formation of an individual’s responsibility. Agents do not focus on “fate” but they focus on creating their own future themselves, that is they concentrate on “choice” (Sarapata, 1993, p. 24).

Besides motivation, the focus on the future is the second important element of the formation of pro-developmental behaviours. J. Koziellecki stresses that “the most fundamental and, at the same time, the most characteristic feature of a human mind is the skill to formulate visions of future state of things, about which individuals are convinced that they are more perfect and better in some respect than the way the things are currently. Moreover, individuals are willing to take actions to achieve those visions,

despite the presence of a lot of objective obstacles. Actions that aim at the implementation of the vision by transforming and subordinating the reality, constitute – as it seems – the essence of pro-developmental activities” (Zysk, 1990, p. 199). The author points to the transgressive nature of a human mind, to the tendency to go beyond “who a person is and what he or she has” (Zysk, 1990, p. 199). Assuming that the ideal state is correctly formulated, it is presumed that the temporal orientation gives individuals the direction towards activity, which supports creative, developmental activities. W. Łukaszewski pays attention to the fact that if the temporal orientation is to constitute an important element of pro-developmental activities of an individual, it has to have realistic and instrumental features (Zysk, 1990, pp. 201–202). In accordance with the classical understanding of time, he distinguishes three types of temporal orientation: retrospectivism, presentism (Zandecki, 1996) and futurism. There can also occur a compilation of the distinguished types of temporal orientation, then an individual is focused on the whole time horizon (Łukaszewski, 1984, p. 178). As Sarapata stresses, planning is characteristic for active people, who are in control of their own fate, who are thoughtful and far-sighted and who achieve planned aims and tasks. This category may also include individuals’ interest in the matters of their country, the continent and the world.

Active coping with the reality manifests itself in the active transforming of the current state that is aimed at implementing the visions of the ideal states. Diaz-Guerri, in his research, distinguished two styles of coping with problems: the active one (individuals make changes in the society environment, in a way they influence the reality) and the passive one (agents adapt to the changes that take place in the surrounding reality). He stresses that coping with the reality in an active way “takes place not only in the situations, when individuals are responsible for what they do and what happens around them, but also when the responsibility for what is currently happening is assigned to someone else. The essence of the active struggling also means dealing with the consequences of someone else’s actions, not only our own ones” (Zysk, 1990, p. 203). Agents deal with the surrounding reality in an active way, they are convinced that they can change any situation. They have a great sense of agency. Active individuals are also characterized by the need for achievements, which can be seen in “their constant striving to achieve the best results in the competition conditions, innovative abilities, constant willingness to take reasonable

risks that take into account also the results of their actions, constant tendency for an objective analysis and judgment of one's own actions" (Saragata, 1993, p. 24). Proactive behaviours, as an agent's intentional actions, were the subject of interest for Z. King; R. A. Noe and C. Orpen. Their research distinguished two groups of proactive behaviour components, which can be described as: cognitive components and behaviourist components (De Vos, De Clippeleer, Dewilde, 2009, p. 763). The main characteristic of proactivity is taking initiative to change the environment. This means that an individual "has an ability to shape the environment to a greater extent, than the environment is able to shape behaviours" (Bańka, 2005, p. 8).

As A. Bańka stresses, education as space to create the proactive orientation, constitutes the essence of making changes, not only anticipating them; creating the future, not only predicting it. "Proactive individuals have no one, who would conform their lives to the needs of the environment, they take active agency actions themselves" (Bańka, 2005, p. 8). Proactive personality is associated with proactive behaviour through a range of self-efficiency in a role and in flexible role orientation, which, in turn, is linked with the trust of other agents of the social life (Parker, Turner, Williams, 2006, p. 636): "Causative actions taken by agents" (T. S. Bateman, J. M. Crant) also result from the impact of the formal education on a comprehensive process of self-education, which, according to D. Jankowski, which is accomplished by: supporting agents in shaping their personality premises, necessary for the self-education process, helping with the development of self-education processes and by reinforcing in agents' minds a belief that they are causative agents, the creators of their own development and the transmission and transformation of the European culture (Jankowski, 2003, pp. 230–235).

Thus, important tasks of the European self-education include concentrating on proactive constructs. A. Bańka lists here: an agent's involvement in (personal) initiatives (Parker, Turner, Williams, 2006, p. 636), agents' definitions of their roles in order to show self-efficiency in their performance, as well as responsible commitment. According to M. Frese, in this context, personal initiative is "the measure of the behaviour pattern, within which individuals take active, self-initiating attitudes (to commitments and roles), that go beyond formal requirements of their duties, assigned tasks and obligations" (Bańka, 2005, p. 13). The sense of "self-efficiency of the scope of a role" determines, as S. K. Parker stresses,

agents' ability to perform wider range of tasks, than it is formally required from them in a given role (Bańka, 2005, p. 14). According to Gist and Mitchell, the self-efficiency of a role, also called individuals' assessment of their own potential, is the fundamental variable of agents' motivation, who, referring to the causative potential inside them, have a tendency to perform tasks more efficiently, to effectively cope with changes, to set more complex goals or to use effective goal strategies. Generalized self-efficiency, that is global competence referring to an individual's potential, who is focused on proactive integration and interpersonal task performance, contributes to the increase of the personal sense of causative control (Parker, Turner, Williams, 2006, p. 638).

The views of T. Bateman and J. M. Crant had a significant impact on the way of thinking about proactivity as personality disposition and as an attitude of commitment resulting from conditions, needs and contextual circumstances. According to the authors, proactive people are characterized by seven inter-related features. Emphasizing the personal dimension in the culture of the school reality and entering the path of self-education means focusing on creating the following features: looking for possibilities of a change, setting effective and change-oriented goals, problem anticipation and taking countermeasures. Other features include looking for ways of achieving goals, entering the path of action with responsibility and risk awareness, perseverance in the pursuit of goals and achieving them, proving one's achievements and change implementation in the environment (Bańka, 2005, pp. 9–11).

The peculiarity of people "looking for a possibility of a change" is "scanning" the environment in order to evoke changes or to achieve something. Proactive individuals enter the path of action, and if there is such need – they go beyond casual limitations of a given situation in order to get possible benefits resulting from its transformation. "Defining effective and change-oriented goals" is another feature that constitute a subject's proactivity. Motivating factors include: maximising achievements, using responsibility, looking for changes that will make a difference in the environment. As a result, proactive achievements motivate agents and their social surrounding to choose new paths of actions. Thereby, proactivity changes human perception and it constitutes "a building material" to go beyond borders, that is identified from an agent's perspective, as well as from the perspective of the environment. "The anticipation of problems and taking countermeasures" is implemented by analyzing agents'

achievements, searching for changes beyond one's own actions, using informative feedback, active participation in meetings and taking part in tasks and events that create changes. Interest in "creating new tradition" is another psychological feature characteristic for proactive people. "Creative individualism" is a permanent approach to look for ways to achieve defined goals. Entering the path of action, not settling for just an idea, being aware of the responsibility and risks is another psychological feature that proves prodevelopment. Another feature typical for proactive individuals is perseverance. It means that they can change their strategies of actions if a given situation requires taking such action. Goal achievement is the most important thing, not obstinacy about a way how to achieve a given goal. This is the attribute of perseverance of a proactive individual. Moreover, setting a goal and implementing changes, as well as taking commitments have impact on the social environment (Bańka, 2005, pp. 9–11).

(Self) educational actions, aimed at developing pro-developmental and proactive orientations and attitudes, will be also associated with the evaluation of control, orientation to change and flexible orientation to a role. Current conditions are good to make the proactivity a strategy of the European (self)education. Educational programs to support career development, that have been developed in the United States since 1960s, may set an example. These programs are focused on coaching aiming at implementing the theory of the career development in order to prepare students for the transition from the university to the job market.¹ The essence here is the awareness of career choices that will have to be made, as well as active planning, which is immanently linked with those choices. Pro-development and proactivity, as a strategy of (self)education concentrated on cognitive and behaviourist of orientations constitutes space for agency. Agents choosing from the multiplicity of possibilities, aimed at pro-developmental goals of the future that is being constructed. It has influence on the planning and construction of the future. It gives sense to that multiplic-

¹ The author discussed the narration presented in this article in detail in the work entitled *Młodzież akademicka a kariera zawodowa* (Kraków 2013). The considerations are presented in the context of change processes in the world of careers, as well as research in the subject of academic youth in the world of „boundaryless” careers. In this work, the author made youth proactivity in career the main axis of the narration. Moreover, the author discussed the problem of European dimension of education in a broad sense in her monograph *Orientacje proeuropejskie młodzieży. Stan i potrzeby edukacyjne* (Poznań 2001).

ity. As a consequence, it means taking educational actions “from below”, focusing on the proactive implementation of a role and solving problems in a pro-developmental way. It also means that agents are in control and they are ready for inside and outside exploration. They are also ready to take commitments and responsibility for agency that results from one’s own preferences (Czerepaniak-Walczak, 1994). Discovering the sense of the multiplicity of possibilities means entering the proactive and pro-development path (an agent’s abilities to initiate changes in the environment), without losing axionormative points of reference. From the educational point of view, “being an agent” is, thus, an effect of a development, taking into account the stream of changes in the surrounding constantly constructed European reality in the area of social and cultural global changes.

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Universities as actors and instruments in diplomacy. The academic soft power potential

“Battleships like those of the first decade of the 20th century” – some political leaders speak openly about the function of today’s world class universities, as indicators of national power and prestige. The difference in the average life expectancy is much in favor of the modern equivalents. Their maintenance however requires a constant upgrading of expertise and investments. It’s a serious work, education, and it is not necessary to continue speaking about it in the shipbuilding or military language. The economic or political rhetoric might be by far more adequate. The challenges the (academic) world is facing nowadays can be met and transformed into opportunities only through intensive and targeted transnational and transsectorial cooperation. Internationalization plans are built on the consideration of financial and political opportunities. They are grounded in academic and universal values, which are at the very core of the sector’s soft power. There is all the more reason for all interested parties to recognize the enormous potential that lie dormant in institutions which were so far not considered as obvious and, for whatever reason, easy partners.

European programmes are driven by instrumental logic and are used as soft power – they are modelling the preferences of partner countries and of the member countries themselves, to make them perform to the best interest of the EU. The most important achievement of EU is the culture of peace. The EU model has some limitations though: it cannot play the role of a global peace stabilizer, as the international institutions turn out not to be effective enough. Therefore, the concept of “power” is relativized against modern challenges, which no superpower can meet on its own. Universities must realize that the brand “Europe” can be more successful than “EU”, its advantage being the historical and cultural heritage of the Old Continent. In order to capitalize on it, universities on both sides

should identify and address the barriers which affect genuine and proper relations between Russia and EU.

The numbers bear out that the cooperation between Russian higher education institutions and those from EU is restricted in terms of operating partnerships. When the Erasmus+ Programme was introduced, two of its attributes were particularly highlighted: increased financing and more opportunities for collaboration with countries outside of the European Union. For many institutions this was a chance to make (more) use of the contacts already established. An increased mobility was about to follow in a climate of catching up opportunities which were not easily attainable in the past. As for the cooperation with Russia, as consequence of events and conflicts in the not academic world, the new Programme's potential could not be released to the full extent.

Academic Prestige

Why does higher educational internationalize? There are many rationales at the institutional level. In national strategies, the desire to be recognized as a nation with world class universities is one of the most important ones. Academic prestige is not attainable just by some international "reputation". "World class" means WORLD class and not "top" or "highest" and is only measurable by the international scope of an institution (attracting considerable numbers of students and scholars from abroad), and by international standards applied to the quality assurance and research. Last but not least it depends on visibility and active network and project participation. At the same time, the national approach is seen as academically less demanding and makes an institution fall behind the competition.

Europe is determined to become an attractive partner worldwide and it has a number instruments to achieve this goal. The members of the European Higher Education Area, with several of non-EU provenience, including Russian Federation, must press ahead with the standardization processes and collaboration for relevance of research and curricula, comparability within degree structures, qualification frameworks, quality assurance, the diploma supplement, etc. If not... There is evidence, that there is (academic) life out there (everywhere) and that our developments are being observed as well as that strategies are being adequately adapted. In fact, much can be learned from the reforms and innovations worldwide:

lifelong learning and quality assurance are by far not “Protected Geographical Indication” products.

**Universities surrogating diplomacy
– culture and mobility as factors in reconciliation**

International components of higher education are not new. Historians refer in this respect to medieval times or let us follow mobile students and scholars over unpaved roads on the Thirty-Years’-war-torn continent. The “infamous” war ended with a negotiated settlement, the Peace of Westphalia, was an enormous slaughter involving eight of the major future European countries, at that time as Bohemia, Bavaria, Spain, England, France and Denmark, Norway and The Netherlands. In view of the 30 years of a stalemate in the diplomatic relations (in the modern sense of the word) among these entities, it is worth noting that “Academias”, “Studia”, “Clerici vagantes (savants in mobility, students or teachers)” were steadfastly active and, contributed simultaneously as “hidden rivers”, to the reduction of multiple antagonisms in their area of influence: the community of education and culture in several regions involved in the War.

In central Germany, the Lord Abbot of Fulda, Balthasar von Bernbach, also in charge of the “Studium” of the German city was both an Inquisitor and a “magister” for Bohemians, Dutch and French savants. The Protestant Duke Heinrich Julius of Brunswick, teacher of Theology (hunted witches but the same time) travelled to Leiden, contributing to the glory of the local University, created in 1575. His presence along with the one of multi-national scholars Justus Lipsius, Joseph Scaliger, Franciscus Gomarus, Hugo Grotius, Jacobus Arminius, Daniel Heinsius and Gerhard Johann Vossius, made Leiden university become in a short time a highly regarded institution that attracted students from across Europe. The majority of them were coming from other major athenaeums in Europe, including war-torn regions. In January 1632, one of the most cruel of the years of this war, the Athenaeum Illustre was founded by the municipal authorities in Amsterdam. One of the first professors was Gerardus Vossius, who, quite significantly, 3 years before had been teaching anatomy in Salamanca, exactly at the climax of the War between catholic Spaniards and protestant Dutch.

The examples for the transcultural attitude of scholars multiply in the history of Europe’s conflicts and wars: After the Second World War, al-

ready in September 1945 the Universities of Tour and Heidelberg were exchanging students and teachers, addressing the future needs and threats, despite of the preceding life and death conflict between France and Germany. Universities, in more or less explicit terms, have a long tradition of using the “moral and cultural suasion”. The curiosity to exchange ideas and the deep understanding for the necessity of doing so, had the capacity to overcome barriers. Against this background it is no surprise that in the early 80s, 25 years before their accession to the EU, Warsaw Pact countries were invited to join the EU programmes TEMPUS and ERASMUS – best diplomacy is made by aid. With Erasmus Mundus also the Russian Federation and the other countries, created after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, were actively cooperating with their European partners. The favorable condition for diplomacy made by Academia is the high awareness and an unbiased perspective on historic, political, cultural and economic issues wherein multidisciplinary teams of independent scholars and scientists are able to position themselves. Exchange of ideas, information, arts and culture on the one hand and the cascade effect of education on the other facilitate the academic soft power performance. A positive agenda for cooperation is provided in spite of policy differences or embargos, creating a neutral platform for individual contact, and serves as a flexible, universally accepted vehicle for an approach with countries with which diplomatic relations have been strained or are suspended.

Language policies are a proven tool of diplomacy and language courses a kind of a “Trojan horse”, on which British Council provides us a brilliant example when it performed in its diplomatic role during considerable IR collapses. The British Council for Relations with Other Countries was founded in 1934, by the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom. It offered a new and alternative approach to the traditional conduct of foreign affairs, called “cultural propaganda” and widely interpreted as “dissemination of British ideas and beliefs in general” rather than in a strictly political form. The hopes put in cultural propaganda would not only serve the British influence and prestige abroad, but would also effectively promote the ideals of global peace and understanding. At the initial stage, the British Council focused on supporting for English education abroad and promulgation of British culture through expert lectures at schools and universities, cross-border road shows of musical troupes and art promotion and it became the world’s largest English language teaching organization with 70 centers in 53 countries.

Mutatis, mutandis, the European higher education, as it is declaring a deep concern about the employability of its graduates as well as striving to offer provision of new/rare but demanded skills, should be ready for an increase in the provision of Russian language courses, supported by Russian Universities, integrated into more comprehensive educational projects, and subsidies from external sources. We have been undoubtedly witnessing a period of disinterest in the Russian language in countries, where its acquisition has been imposed in some more distant past. Considering the enormous potential of the Russian speaking labour market however and the longing for a good job and an extraordinary career path, we might expect some kind of “retrovailles” ceremony. This is where EU universities and Russian universities, interested to increase their importance in the field of modern languages and intercultural communication, can come into play. A big potential in this regard is available also within the Jean Monnet Actions, which offer to Russian institutions the opportunity to develop their EU dimension and relevance, accompanied by considerable progressive financing.

The diplomacy supporting role of Universities is often defined as creating a “global citizen” and various student mobility programmes were established with the hope that cognitive enhancement would be accompanied with attitudinal change: growing “global understanding”, more favorable views of the partner country, empathy with other cultures, etc. However, given the fragmented, heterogeneous and still intransigently nation-state-based nature of the “globe”, the term “global citizen” reflects rather wishful thinking, that is, alas, often present in the HE rhetoric. It is not only detached from reality, but also dangerous, to teach unconditional “tolerance for other cultures” as there are cultures supporting values “intolerable” from the perspective of academic mission. The exposure to cultures and a conscious processing of this experience is supposed to create a “better citizen” rather than a global one. Socially involved “better citizens” could have a big diplomatic potential, be it in terms of global peace building, or as a task-oriented contribution to regional conflict solution.

Internationalization in HE and soft diplomacy

Opposite to the 17th-century’s more or less spontaneous flows of students, scholars and ideas, the diplomatic element in international higher

education was programmatically applied within the context of colonial empires, in France and the United Kingdom, and served the purpose of educating colonial elites friendly to their imperial mentors. In modern terms: capacity building and expansion in one. Another mode of diplomacy was performed during the Cold War, and was inspired by the emerging mass higher education systems and accelerating internationalization of higher education and research: the systematic recruitment of students in Africa, Asia and Latin America by the Soviet Union and its satellites in eastern Europe.

Today's diplomatic driver is attributed to the free-market globalization and the knowledge society. Higher Education Institutions more and more often admit the subordination of their internationalization strategies to market advantages. Also the political (and therefore military) objectives of countries and regions are becoming increasingly obvious. Expanding diplomatic influence remains only one of 7 main rationales from which national internationalization policies are based. The others are recruiting high-quality teachers and researchers, securing commercial advantages, reinforcing academic prestige, the reforms of higher education and, securing non-public (non-national) sources of funding.

The most significant change in modern diplomacy is the shift from "hard" forms to "soft" forms. This cultural diplomacy, scheduled and systematic puts at the disposal of education providers a very wide range of rationales, activities, channels as well as intellectual tools. In times of increased probability of war the mobilization of all "soft resources" is crucial. A deep perception of this threat is not very common in societies who lived long enough in democracy – the prevailing belief that changes cannot go backwards.

Ivory Towers. The mission of University

How universities work depends, in fact, on how their people work and on the management style applied. These factors depend on the internal perception of the University's mission. Of all the possible models, two seem to be of particular relevance for the political suitability of an institution: the idealistic and the instrumental one. The idealistic model is less popular in general but it is still pronounced in certain countries. In this approach the University demonstrates a shared involvement in research and

education as well as in the “search for truth” – notwithstanding the direct usability or applicability of scientific truths, the political convenience or economic benefits. A university understood in this way works for the sake of society at large and not for the benefits of stakeholders or just those, who are willing to pay the university for its services. This perception of university’s nature is declining in Europe, but there are still some ivory towers in Europe, institutions, detached from the needs of the economics and society. Their members claim not to be perceiving any attempt from national governments to influence university’s policies and decisions, and, more surprisingly, they feel free even from any internal pressures or incentives which might influence their professional activities or choices.

The instrumental model, in turn, is being strongly promoted and it is widely represented: it implies that a university is a tool of political agendas and has the mission to solve current social and economic problems. The influence of governments and external stakeholders on the one hand and the imperative of academic entrepreneurship on the other are two drivers of this approach.

Universities cannot avoid being just a part of the big picture, with all its economic, social, demographic and political aspects, they must react to threats adequately and seize opportunities as any other major actor. Additionally, exposed to the so called Toffler’s wave with all its implications, higher education institutions are more and more challenged to justify their existence. For this reason, if the instrumental approach is applied, there are, at all levels, only winners (prestige, income generation, visibility, promotion factors and other incentives).

Both models imply a strong commitment to the diplomatic performance, however they differ in its definition. The idealistic model expresses the utopic, organic evolution towards global understanding and peace, while the instrumental responds to current needs in a pragmatic and strategic way. The political effectiveness and the utility in terms of public good and institutional cohesion.

Institutional strategies – the international component

The European Union is executing its external and internal policies through the management of grants, as EU programmes communicate important and clear guidelines for business collaboration and constantly help

to set up priorities, just as they do for the academic international cooperation. The commitment to the latter should be guaranteed in the institutional strategy and can be focused on some of the following areas and activities:

- academic programmes (study & work mobility for students and staff, language study, innovation and internationalization of curricula, thematic study, teaching innovations, joint/double degree, cross-cultural training, virtual education, summer schools, etc.);
- research (area and theme centres, joint research and research exchange, international conferences and seminars, publications, business cooperation, networks, alliances and partnerships, etc.);
- operations and services (integration of external financing, resource allocation systems, quality assurance and communication systems, Internationalization at Home, internationalization of the HR policy, international and mobile student support services, faculty and staff training, etc.)

The reasons, why an institution wants to address international cooperation and invest in it, can be of different nature: social/cultural (national cultural identity, intercultural understanding, citizenship development, social and community development), political: foreign policy, national security, technical assistance, peace and mutual understanding, national identity, regional identity, economic: growth and competitiveness, labor market, financial incentives; academic: international dimension to research and teaching, extension of academic horizon, institution building, profile and status, enhancement of quality, international academic standards. As these rationales reveal, the potential outcomes lie clearly in the extent of the diplomatic power. Additionally, the articulation of a global view ensures that internationalization is used as an overarching management tool and that the institutional culture is constantly updated.

Strategic plans in higher education must be ahead of reality and represent a long-time horizon. Some operational objectives concerning internationalization are easily achieved, and they soon need upgrading and extension which obliges aspiring institutions to reach beyond the current comfort zone and take initiative in transnational and transsectorial collaboration.

Conclusion

Given the widespread expectations for the EU-Russia initiatives, the lesson on strategic thinking has been well learned so far. The enormous at-

tractiveness of the eastern partner doesn't escape the attention of policy makers or institutions and individual stakeholders. There is a great potential of soft power on both parts of Europe, which can still grow through synergies.

Challenges will derive from this collaboration, just as they did undermine or even discredit the efforts made even within geographically and politically less sensitive frameworks at their early stage. The political circumstances are not the only, and probably not even the most serious of all impediments to transborder cooperation. But the case of European integration demonstrates that soft power applied in and through higher education is very well suited for the middle and longtime perspective.

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Cross-border Universities as a Field of Europeanization of Higher Education in the EU

1. Introduction

The European integration process is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon strongly influencing various aspects of both the everyday lives of Europeans, but also academic reflection on its nature, forms and manifestations. One of the fields that is worthy of deeper analysis is the creation of a common, European educational space, because it transcends the limits of the European Union and of European integration, offering a much wider platform for standardization on the continent and engaging states outside the Brussels-based integration. Academic integration has led to the creation of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). This initiative resulting from Bologna process was completed in 2010. The Bologna process aimed at a higher level of coherence of academic education in Europe, by creating the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) common framework and the three cycle educational model, containing the 3+2+3 mode. This, supported by the European Union's Erasmus mobility program, not only standardized the educational model in Europe, but also contributed to the large-scale mobility of young Europeans. A multilingual education, as well as the internationalization of faculty started to become standard in many universities (Beichelt, Jańczak, 2010, pp. 51–62).

At the same time, however, in several places in the Old Continent an even more ambitious attempt was undertaken. Many universities started to consider not only the above described participation in European education space, but additionally looked at more intensive academic integration across national borders. Consequently, several initiatives can be detected in contemporary Europe where the concept of the cross-border university was invented, conceived and (sometimes) successfully implemented.

The aim of this essay is to overview examples of cross-border universities in Europe. It tries to answer the question of how this concept was put into operation and implemented in practice. The aim is to outline the way in which such universities are organized. At the same time, it is assumed that this phenomenon is framed by two processes. First of all, debourgeoisization, being a part of the redefinition of national borders. Secondly, the Europeanization of higher education. Consequently, a situation has been created where, on the one hand, state boundaries no longer limit science and education, allowing universities to penetrate non-native systems. This is possible because of the high level of standardization, where the most crucial elements of the education system in European states are similarly structured and offer high levels of transferability, both for students and scholars. At the same time, it is due to the positive overlap of academic institutions and their eagerness to become involved in this new, challenging cross-border cooperation initiative, and the support from the political environment of the national centers.

The text, consequently, begins with a short debate on border changes in contemporary Europe, signalizes the phenomenon of Europeanization and finally tests several examples of cross-border university education in an attempt to categorize them.

2. Borders and overcoming borders

The debate on cross-border universities requires a short review how the border is conceptualized and defined in academic literature.

The most basic, but at the same time the most universal understanding of borders is as a method of distinguishing “us” from “non-us”. This makes borders the most common instruments of inclusion and exclusion.

A border can, however, be structured according to one of two models, namely the *frontier* or *boundary* (Kristof, 1959).

Frontiers dominated in pre-nation state Europe, being more areal than linear. They were characterized by overlapping influences, mixing of cultures and values. Following Walters (2004, pp. 687–688) and Browning, Joenniemi (2008, p. 529) it may be presented as “a zone of contact between two entities or social systems” (Evans, Newnham, 1998, p. 185) or “no man’s land” (Alkan, 2002, p. 34). Populations that inhabit frontiers are

usually open and represent complex identities, representing elements of both neighboring structures (O'Dowd, Wilson, 2002, p. 8).

Boundaries are products of the Peace of Westphalia and started to dominate in Europe together with the creation of the modern nation-state. They were lines, precisely defined and demarcated. National centers aimed to establish "more or less strict territorial limits" (Evans, Newnham, 1998, p. 185), separating the exclusive sovereignties of neighboring states (O'Dowd, Wilson, 2002, p. 8). Boundaries "indicate certain well established limits (the bounds) of a given political unit, and all that which is within the boundary is bound together, that is, it is fastened by an internal bond" (Kristof, 1959, pp. 269–270). Borderlands are inhabited by homogeneous and alien communities on the respective sides of the border.

With regard to the academic environment, borders reveal two contradictory processes.

On the one hand, they are about the national educational system, separated from other educational systems by a clear boundary. The role of universities, especially in the field of social sciences and humanities, is consequently closely linked to the state's functions and makes possible the domestic consolidation of nation-states. States that regain independence usually re-establish their own universities to produce national elites. The process of autonomization often leads to the same. The case of Belgium shows how the emancipation of the Flemish and Walloon communities resulted in the division of Belgian universities into independent (and entirely unconnected) French and Dutch language-based institutions.

On the other hand, however, science is recognized as universal and independent from politics, states, religions and so on. Borders, in this perception, are set between the academic and non-academic environment, not between national academic systems. One could conclude consequently, that, together with boundarization processes, universities are trapped within national borders, and political constraints separate them from foreign schools. At the same time, however, they naturally attract each other across borders, tending to overcome the existing barriers in mutual contacts, especially related to research or teaching, but also to the mission of international communication, mutual understanding and openness. They then frontierize existing boundaries.

A situation that is especially interesting is the one when this eagerness to cooperate based on scientific universalism (and revealing a bottom-up pressure) meets a political window of opportunity. Such a window, due to

centrally motivated reasons (revealing top-down processes), makes it possible to weaken national control of academic organization and break with pure standardization within a national academic system. Universities operating within them are allowed, or even encouraged to collaborate across borders, or – which is of special interest to this investigation – create structures that transcend state borders and result in cross-border universities.

Before testing examples and manifestations of this process, it is still relevant to understand the logics of the change in policies of central authorities. It is claimed that the European integration process is the key factor here, and cross-border universities represent the most advanced forms of Europeanization of higher education and research. Consequently, a brief look at the concept of Europeanization seems to be helpful for further argumentation.

3. Europeanization

The concept of Europeanization is still a matter of ongoing debate. Due to the limitations of this text, it outlines only the key arguments identified in it. First of all, the concept has at least five aspects: “changes in external territorial boundaries; governance institutions developed at the supranational level; influencing and imposing supranational at the sub-national and national levels; exporting governance procedure and policy specific for EU beyond EU borders; and a project of a political nature aimed at intensifying the unification of the EU” (Howell, 2004, p. 8). In the case of all of them, the process of European integration that led to the creation of the European Union seems to be the main context of the process. Roberta Ladrech even labels it as a process where “EC political and economic dynamics [become a] part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making” (Ladrech, 1994, pp. 69–88). This top-down perspective is confronted with a bottom up explanation offered by Johan Olsen. He claims that Europeanization “[...] implies adapting national and sub-national systems of governance to a European political center and European-wide norms” (Olsen, 2002, p. 3).

Applying the presented understanding of Europeanization to the border debate, first of all the principle of cooperation and integration should be stressed. Neo-functionally understood, integration should lead to coop-

eration of universities in order to better serve educational needs and research efficiency. Additionally, one could expect cross-border contacts spilling over and creating a lively and dynamic cross-border academic environment within the European Union. An intergovernmental explanation would stress national interests and the role of national centers in creating cross-border academic initiatives for their own purposes, for example, the improvement of bilateral relations with neighbors.

The very nature of Europeanization in academic cooperation can be explained consequently as a national response to the EU's demand and implementation of new European principles (especially those based on cooperation, openness, and so on, but also formal and procedural mechanisms, like the European Credit Transfer System – ECTS). This top-down process reflects the imposition of European solutions. On the other hand, the bottom-up mechanism can be identified in universities being interested in overcoming the separating nature of boundaries in Europe and, using the new chances resulting from the integration process, eagerly employing EU provisions and getting involved in various forms of international activities and contacts. In both cases, one of the most advanced steps is to create elements of one's own academic system that crosses national boundaries.

As so far the debate presented has referred generally to academic cross-border cooperation in Europe, a more specific case seems to be worth further exploration. Cross-border universities were chosen as the most complicated, advanced but also rarest forms of cross-border academic contacts in the European Union, illustrating at the same time the main challenges of the Europeanization of higher education. The limited number of cases make it possible to explore the entire area, and to map the process within the European Union, revealing its limited character.

4. Cross-border universities

The concept of the cross-border university is still not well categorized, either in academic literature, or in practice. Literally, it refers to a higher education institution located across a border. This is, however, the case of very few cross-border education structures. More frequently, the name is applied to common initiatives of universities located on two (or more) bor-

der sides, often to university networks, common study programs or shared buildings.

Considering a university as a separate legal entity, fulfilling specific legal and functional criteria (with regard to research and didactics), cross-border universities are hardly detectable in Europe. Most of them do not have this legal and organizational form. Both networks and shared buildings are in practice only platforms of very close collaboration of universities that are settled in their respective national systems. On the other hand, some of the universities have parts located across the border, which is possible only because of the presence of a partner institution there, such as the European University Viadrina with its parts located in Collegium Polonicum (CP) and Angel Kanchev University with Bulgarian-Romanian Interuniversity Europe Center (BRIE). The University of Białystok has one of its faculties located across a state border. Finally, Selye János University was entirely exported abroad to serve a local Hungarian minority politically and culturally as a part of the Hungarian educational system. Both subcategories literally form cross-border universities, however with limited cross-border effect as they are in fact nationally oriented.

Further investigations will concentrate on the three proposed models.

4.1. Cross-border university networks

The first category of schools that very loudly announce themselves as cross-border universities are networks of institutions from neighboring states, cooperating across a common border, offering joint programs (usually implemented in one of them) and often focusing on a specific region.

The first of these examples is the Cross-Border University, a consortium created by two Finnish and five Russian universities: University of Eastern Finland, University of Tampere, St. Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg State Polytechnic University, Petrozavodsk State University, St. Petersburg State Forest Technical University and Moscow State Forest University. The list reveals, however, that not only schools from the border area are involved in cooperation here. They offer together master's degree programs in forestry, international relations and public health. Students obtain a master's degree from their home university and, addition-

ally, a certificate of the CBU or, if they participate in a double degree program they receive a degree from two universities. These are in line with the European Higher Education System. As the official website of the initiative states, one of its aims is “to implement the Bologna process and to promote the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) process in Finland and in Russia” (Cross, 2015). This can be considered to be an element of Europeanization of higher education in Russia.

Barents Cross-Border University is another example of cooperation organized on the Finnish-Russian borderland, initiated in 2005, this time in the northern part of their joint border. The group of partner universities includes the Russian International Institute of Business Education, Karelian State Pedagogical Academy, Murmansk State Humanities University, Murmansk State Technical University, M. V. Lomonosov Northern (Arctic) Federal University, Northern State Medical University, Petrozavodsk State University as well as the Finnish University of Lapland and University of Oulu. The Northern Dimension initiative framed the collaboration initially, and led to its territorial extension. Teaching in English was to lead to joint master’s degree programs and result in the wide scale implementation of the Bologna process in this part of Europe. Study programs concentrated on the fields of comparative social work, environmental engineering, information systems, circumpolar health and well-being, and law. The BCBU+ project was financially supported by the Kolarctic ENPI CBC program for years 2011–2013 aiming at the development of the Barents Sea region using academic resources (Barents, 2015).

A similar initiative is the University of the Greater Region – UniGR, a consortium of six schools: University of Luxembourg, Saarland University, University of Liège, University of Lorraine, University of Kaiserslautern and Trier University. They come from Luxembourg, Germany, France, and Belgium. This offers the possibility for the mutual use of the partners’ resources, among others, attending seminars there or participating in double degree programs, as well as collaboration in research. Additionally, travel costs between the schools can be reimbursed from the UniGR mobility fund. UNIGR itself was established in 2012 and financed by the INTERREG Iva Greater Region program. The key areas are biomedicine, border studies and material science (University, 2015).

Finally, the Franco-German University was established in 1999, based on the international Weimar agreement. It is a platform of schools from

both sides of the border (located in various parts of Germany and France and managed from Saarbrücken) with over 6,000 students enrolled in programs under this umbrella and attending over 160 courses. The project is focused on promoting Franco-German cooperation and bi-national activities using the academic environment. Its special focus is on increasing mobility of students and teachers. The university does not award its own degrees (which is however planned for the future) but allows double degree acquisition issued by partner universities from both states (Franco, 2015).

4.2. Cross-border common academic institutions

Two cases illustrate the situation where two partner institutions from both border sides aim at creating a new, common structure, existing on the border and equipped with its own resources. Despite the fact that neither of them resulted in a cross-border university in the narrow sense, they have strongly contributed to cross-border academic integration, merging elements of neighboring academic systems in one entity, functioning together spatially and on an everyday basis. They are usually located in border twin towns (Lundén, Zalamans, 2002) – towns located directly on a border and neighboring each other (Schultz, Stokłosa, Jajeśniak-Quast, 2002) and are often considered “laboratories of integration” (Gasparini, 2008).

The first of these cases is the European University Viadrina, which was re-established in 1991 after a break of 180 years in Frankfurt (Oder), Germany. One of its aims was to provide an intellectual and economic impetus to the post-communist and peripheral areas of the former Eastern Germany, located directly on the Polish border. At the same time, 30% of the students were to be from Poland (Kurcz, 2001, p. 168), becoming the first (and for several years the only) western university publicly available to them. One of the principles was to contribute to German-Polish reconciliation and Poland’s entry to the European Union by creating a platform for contacts between young Poles and Germans. The new bilingual elites were also supposed to contribute to local collaboration, supporting the local authorities, and so on.

In 1997 the next step was made: Viadrina, in collaboration with Adam Mickiewicz University from Poznań, Poland established Collegium

Polonicum in Słubice (on the Polish border side). It was planned to be a platform where both universities could locate their own resources in order to conduct research and didactics on an everyday basis and facilitate direct contact. Very soon both Viadrina and Polonicum became very successful in attracting students and scholars from Germany, Poland, but also from other states in the region. They also contributed to the creation of a non-commercial, cross-border environment (especially cultural), *frontierizing* and *deboundarizing* this part of the German-Polish border (Musiał-Karg, 2009). It is important to note that the central authorities in Berlin and Warsaw were deeply involved in creating the institutions there, making it a flagship project of German-Polish post-cold war relations and a forerunner of European integration in a micro-scale in the region (following the mayors of Słubice declaration from 2001: “we are already in Europe, despite having not entered the European Union yet” (Vinkel, Matzat, 2001, p. 83). Political support resulted in financial subsidies that were well used by both collaborating institutions.

But Poland’s entry into the European Union led to difficulties in collaboration. The political aims of both national centers were achieved, so academic collaboration on the border lost its primary importance. The eastern enlargement also opened up other western European universities to Poles. *Frontierization and border normality* (Jańczak, 2013) led to difficulties. The university had to look for a new profile, orienting itself finally on border studies, but also to re-attract the centers’ attention. Since 2015, the idea of creating a common German-Polish faculty in Collegium Polonicum has been debated.

Another example is represented by the cooperation on the Romanian-Bulgarian border which was highly inspired by the German-Polish case, as well as supported by it. In the border twin towns of Giurgiu and Ruse, similar developments are observable. Angel Kanchev University was established in Ruse in 1995 on the Bulgarian side of the border. Seven years later the Bulgarian-Romanian Interuniversity Europe Centre (BRIE) was established on the Romanian side (Bulgarian-Romanian, 2015). It was a joint initiative of Angel Kanchev University and Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies, Romania. It attracted support from numerous German universities, and also politicians (e.g. former German Bundestag Chairman Rita Suessmuth). Both universities offered joint programs (they started with European Studies and Economic IT) (Assenmacher, 2005, p. 102) addressed to both Romanian and Bulgarian students, however at-

tracting attention from other candidates, mainly from the Balkans (Kornazheva, 2007, p. 82). Bilingual education and an international academic spirit framed the cooperation here.

Similarly to the German-Polish case, the entry of both states to the European Union lowered the political and practical assistance of the national centers and external partners which resulted in lower levels of collaboration. This was exacerbated by the fact that local spatial conditions were still undermining it. Despite their territorial proximity, the free movement of students was limited by a bridge tax and the lack of public cross-border transportation (which was partly solved by a university shuttle for students and professors (Kornazheva, 2005, p. 114; Kornazheva 2004). Reports from 2005, named BRIE “still a pilot project” (Assenmacher, 2005, pp. 106–107). Eventually, the Giurgiu campus was closed. Common programs had to be redesigned.

4.3. Universities (partly) across a border

Two cases illustrate the situation where there is only one partner, but which operates partly or entirely behind the national boundary. Both are oriented towards their own national minorities located in the neighboring state, aiming at de-bordering their own nation, separated by a state boundary, and then to frontierize it.

Selye János University was established in 2003 in Slovak Komárno – a town neighboring Komárom in Hungary (Selye, 2015). As this part of the Slovak-Hungarian border is inhabited on both sides mainly by Hungarians, it was to be a center of higher education for the Hungarian minority there. Consequently, Hungarian is the main language of instruction, and 30% of students are additionally Hungarians from Hungary. Slovak approval of this school was a part of the normalization of relations between both states, as well as the new organization of the minority problem in the context of expected EU enlargement. Three faculties of the university were soon filled with 2,500 students. It is important to note, however, that the university is relatively unknown in the Slovak academic environment. It serves as a bridge between the Hungarian communities on both border sides, but it does not integrate Hungarian and Slovak system.

The University of Białystok, Poland decided to open a faculty in Vilnius, Lithuania. Since 2007, the Faculty of Economics-IT has been op-

erating, offering education in Polish to the Polish minority living in this city. Acting according to the Polish and Lithuanian law, it was a result of the entry of both states to the European Union. Its establishment was additionally an outcome of the efforts of Polish scholars from Lithuania, as well as the central authorities' negotiations on this issue. The historical, ethnic context seems important here, with Vilnius and its university being one of the main academic centers of pre-war Poland, with the exodus of Poles, especially those linked to the university, after 1945, and the city's final transfer to the Lithuanian Republic as a part of the Soviet Union. Establishment of the faculty was justified with the argument of the Polish minority's much lower education level compared to the Lithuanian average. Today, there are almost 500 students studying at bachelor and master level in the Faculty. Most of the alumni, following the school's declaration, work in the Vilnius region (Wydział, 2015).

5. Conclusions

The considerations presented here reveal three main schemes of how academic institutions collaborate with a foreign partner in creating cross-border universities. This process, in most cases, results from (but also contributes to) the border transformation, where state boundaries are gradually being replaced by frontiers. It is also a result of the Europeanization process, where top-down logic has led to the European Higher Education Area in European national education systems, and other instruments enhance cross-border collaboration. The bottom-up impulse is created by the universities themselves, who aim at collaboration in research and didactics, which reflects the very nature of academia. This materializes always where national authorities support that sort of initiative, or at least create an environment where they can be implemented.

Cross-border universities operating as networks usually involve bigger territorial units and the de-bordering effect is related to regional or national policies. They seem to be practically oriented. Those working as common institutions are usually flagships of symbolic relations between neighboring states, with a more local and regional impact. Finally, those operating as single institutions (with no partners) across a national boundary implement policies related to reconnecting the nation.

Figure 1. Models of cross-border universities

	Universities(')		
	network	common institution	behind border
examples	Cross-Border University, Barents Cross-Border University, University of the Greater Region, Franco-German University	Collegium Polonicum, Bulgarian-Romanian Interuniversity Europe Centre	Selye János University, Faculty of Economics-Informatics, University of Białystok
de-bordering	on macro-level	on micro-level	of the nation

Source: The author.

The considerations presented above should be treated more as an introduction to further studies on cross-border universities than a completed investigation. The complex nature, variety of forms and dynamic character (with new initiatives still appearing) create a niche for further reflection.

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Academic cross-border cooperation between Poland and Germany – the example of Collegium Polonicum

Contemporary international relations in Europe are predominated by integration processes, which lead to revolutionary shifts in economy, finances and technology as well as changes within culture, society and politics. The constantly developing integration and interdependencies between individual states cause their borders to fade. This phenomenon is particularly visible among citizens of states that signed the *Schengen Treaty*, which ceased control at the borders of the signatory states.

Advanced international cooperation is one of characteristic features of neighbouring states. The idea behind cross-border cooperation translates into cooperation within various fields, including all areas of daily life and development of common programmes, priorities and strategies. The primary motives for cross-border cooperation include willingness to communicate with neighbouring states, overcoming hostility and prejudice between the two co-existing nations, enhancing democracy and development of local administration structures, overcoming isolation and remoteness, quick assimilation in the integrated Europe (*Practical Guide to...*, 2000, p. 5).

As far as a longer perspective is concerned, individual cities and societies are not able to resist those processes, which is clearly visible on the examples of frontier towns located on the border between Poland and Germany: Słubice – on the Polish side; and Frankfurt (Oder) – on the German side. The two cities experience cooperation between local authorities and many other institutions operating within areas of culture, education and sport. One of important components of the cooperation is cross-border relation between universities, which adopted the form of Collegium Polonicum.

This text will concern academic cross-border cooperation between Poland and Germany, with particular attention paid to cooperation taking place within neighbouring cities of Stubice (in Poland) and Frankfurt (Oder) in Germany. However, before the cross-border cooperation is addressed, the current author will focus on illustrating a broader context.

Cross-border cooperation

It is worth mentioning that the process of statutory transformation and multiple shifts of 1990s have allowed Poland to base relationship with Germany on new principles. As far as the historical point of view is concerned, Poland's relations with Germany are very complex. The symbolic fall of the Berlin Wall and revision of mutual prejudice constitute a turning point in relations between Poland and Germany and a chance to break stereotypes. Cross-border cooperation, which the countries successfully run since the fall of communism, is a visible effect of removing the "iron curtain" and European integration. The cross-border cooperation with Germany, namely Brandenburg, Saxony and Berlin, has a key significance for the region. Brandenburg and Lubuskie Voivodship have a perfect base for Polish-German cooperation. The cooperation with Brandenburg is a partnership that affects essential elements of life. It includes regional and local self-governments, the central government, economic bodies and institutions, social organizations as well as non-governmental organizations.

The cross-border cooperation in the area of Lubuskie Voivodship and the Land of Brandenburg acquires various forms. When talking about cooperation between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany within the western border it should be noticed that the cooperation is divided into two stages: the stage before and the stage after Polish accession to the EU. In those two periods, the cooperation between Poland and Germany depended on various factors and acquired different forms. What is more, it should be emphasized that the fields of cooperation are still evolving and expanding. In general, we can divide them into three categories, which characterize three levels of mutual undertakings. Here, we can distinguish cross-border activities conducted on the national level (which are supervised by the central authorities, that is respective bodies of the Republic of Poland and respective bodies of the Federal Republic of Germany). The

second level of undertakings has regional character. Consequently, the decisions about the form of cooperation are made within the level of neighbouring regions. The third and the lowest area of cooperation is the local level. In this case, international cooperation is triggered off by local authorities, which are most often responsible for making decisions about mutual undertakings.

As it was already mentioned, the cross-border cooperation between universities is one of important areas of cooperation within the border regions. Despite relatively positive image of university cooperation at the borderline separating Poland and Germany, there are numerous obstacles that come to light at various projects. According to Krzysztof Wojciechowski, cross-border cooperation between universities often suffers from legal limitations which exist on both sides of the border. Other obstacles include differences in adopted models of scholarly institutions, inconsistencies within cross-cultural dialogue and ability to operate within a partnership as well as ability to solve problems that arise in the course of cooperation between unequal partners (Wojciechowski, 2007, p. 10). Further part of the article will address selected aspects which characterize cross-border cooperation between universities.

Cross-border cooperation between universities.

The example of Collegium Polonicum and its undertakings

Besides several other high schools in Brandenburg and Lubuskie Voivodeship (Bielawska, 2009, p. 187), Collegium Polonicum is the most characteristic symbol of academic cooperation within the borderline separating Poland and Germany and it is often perceived as an example of a local centre that develops competence in Europe (Duda, 2007, p. 77).

This scholarly institution created by the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder) is probably the most visible outcome of academic cooperation at the borderline separating Poland and Germany in the Lubuskie Voivodeship.

The idea of creating Collegium Polonicum has emerged through the “Mutual statement on cooperation”, which was signed on 6 September 1991 in the European University Viadrina by the then Polish Minister of Education Robert Głębocki and the Brandenburg’s Minister of Science,

Research and Culture – Hinrich Enderlein. In December that year, the Advisory Council adopted a resolution on establishing the Collegium Polonicum in Ślubice.

In May 1992, the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań adopted a resolution on establishing the Collegium Polonicum. In 1994, the then rectors of UAM and EUV signed a mutual statement, which specified obligations of the both parties and Collegium Polonicum's profile of operation.

Legal framework for this Polish-German academic institution was provided by an international agreement (*Agreement between Polish Minister...*) on Collegium Polonicum, which was concluded on 2 October 2002 between Polish Minister of National Education and Sport and the Ministry of Science, Research and Culture of the Federal State of Brandenburg (in German: *das Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur des Landes Brandenburg*) (Musiał-Karg, 2009, p. 250). The agreement defines Collegium as a common, cross-border academic and research centre, specifies rights and obligations of both parties and undertakes the governments of Poland and Brandenburg to provide financial contribution. The responsibility for development of the institution is held by a body referred to as the Permanent Commission of Rectors (Bielawska, 2009, p. 189).

It should be mentioned that one of the obstacles to establish Collegium Polonicum were two separate legal realities. For the reason that Germany is a federal state, all the decisions had to be made by the authorities of Brandenburg and respective Ministry in Poland. The legal basis for Collegium Polonicum has been made already after 7 years of discussion about this undertaking. Meanwhile, that is between the moment of laying the foundation stone for CP in 1992 and the mentioned conclusion of the agreement, the both parties invested about 40 million euro in this undertaking. It was all possible due to favourable political climate, alignment of interests between Poland and Germany before enlargement of the European Union as well as the principles of *fair play* (which were compromised several times posing a threat of ceasing the cooperation) (Wojciechowski, 2007, p. 11). As Krzysztof Wojciechowski (the Collegium Polonicum administrative director) aptly notices, “with a readiness to take some risk it is possible to work miracles within areas that are not covered by legal regulations” (Wojciechowski, 2007, p. 11). It should also be mentioned that the premises for Collegium Polonicum have been made available by the mu-

municipal authorities of Słubice (Musiał-Karg, 2009, p. 250). Therefore, cooperation between self-government in Słubice, the federal authorities of Brandenburg and the Polish government has resulted in establishment of this cross-border institution.

Between the years 1994 and 2000, the Adam Mickiewicz University received funds for financing the construction of Collegium Polonicum. The financial resources came from various sources. About 65% of all funds came from the central budget of the Republic of Poland, 25% from the European Phare Programme, while 10% was received from the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation. Significant contribution came from the European University Viadrina, which was receiving funds from the INTERREG programme. From the perspective of Polish-German cooperation it is crucial that Collegium Polonicum was built thanks to financial support of the Phare CBC Programme that is a part of “human resources” priority. According to a document prepared by the Marshal Office of the Lubuskie Voivodship entitled *Investments co-financed from the Phare CBC Programme in Lubuskie Voivodeship in the years 1994–1999*, the total value of projects on human resources realized in the voivodship amounted to 20.115 million euro. From among ten tasks, the largest amount of funds (16 million euro in total) has been allocated to construction of the common centre of the Polish and German universities – the Collegium Polonicum. Thanks to this investment on the borderline separating Poland and Germany, we can benefit from a valuable institution, which one of primary aims is to provide young people with higher education (Collegium Polonicum).

Hence, Collegium Polonicum constitutes a new form of cross-border cooperation in the field of scientific research and didactics. Responsibility for this institution is held together by the Republic of Poland and the Federal State of Brandenburg (due to federal structure of Germany). Collegium Polonicum is a common centre for research and development established by the two partner universities: the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (UAM) and the European University Viadrina (UEV) in Frankfurt (Oder).

The primary aim of Collegium Polonicum is to operate towards scientific and cultural cooperation between Poland and Germany. In the context of enlarging Europe, the founders of Collegium Polonicum thought of creating a meeting space for students and lecturers from the whole continent. The idea behind Collegium Polonicum is a derivative

Table 1

Graduates of the Collegium Polonicum in Stubice

Graduates	1998-2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
	Political science, 1st cycle	146	40	51	39	27	26	30	27	28	11	7
Political science; 2nd cycle (in English)		10	11	9	6	14	10	14	13	6	8	101
Cultural studies, 2nd cycle (in English)											3	3
Environmental protection, 1st cycle	110	35	47	38	34	33	18	22	16	10	8	371
Spatial planning, 1st cycle								30	32	37		99
Spatial planning (master's degree studies)			33	37	30	31	28	26	20	1		206
Polish philology; principal subject: teaching; 1st cycle		10	20	14	8	11	9	5	2	0		79
Philology, principal subject: Polish Philology for International Students								4	11	7	7	29
Physics, principal subject: Applied information technology, 1st cycle		16	16	24	21	19	4	3	2	0		105
Law	308	43	61	59	48	42	41	57	53	46	56	693
Polish philology; part-time studies; 1st cycle		18	13	9	11	1	0	0	0	0		52
Polish philology; part-time studies; 2nd cycle				16	1	1	0	0	0	0		18
Political science; part-time studies; 1st cycle		117	96	100	66	26	29	31	23	11	18	517
Political science; part-time studies; 2nd cycle				66	35	38	22	15	22	18		216
Total	564	289	348	411	287	242	191	234	222	147	107	2921

Source: Collegium Polonicum in Stubice.

of regular studies and research programmes that exist in UAM in Poznań and UEV in Frankfurt (Oder). This means that the centre offers fields of study under auspices of one or both universities. Researches and courses are developed in the following fields: comparative research of legal and constitutions systems of Western and Central-Eastern Europe; Polish language and Polish culture; transformation processes in Central European societies; intercultural communication processes; various dimensions of Polish-German borderline's development in the context of EU's enlargement; historical relations between Poland and Germany; problems of environmental protection and landscape development in the Oder basin.

Collegium Polonicum is also a conference centre. Furthermore, this institution organizes popular science events, which aim at improving and strengthening relations between Poland and Germany (*Fragments of memorandum*).

Collegium Polonicum is the only institution located in the area of Słubice County, which gives access to higher education. Fields of study available from the very beginning at the Collegium Polonicum include: political science, cultural studies, environmental protection, spatial planning, Polish philology, Polish philology for foreign students, physics with a specialization in computer science and law as well as a new field of study: national security (since 2013).

The below table presents data on the number of graduates from individual fields of study. Since 1998, the number of graduates increased from 59 persons to 411 in the year 2006. From that year, the number of graduates is constantly decreasing. The most popular fields of study were political science and law.

It is also worth mentioning that in the academic year 2014/2015 started with 196 students of the following fields: national security, Polish philology for international students (full-time bachelor's studies), German philology (full-time bachelor's studies), cultural studies with a specialization in international communication (full-time master's studies in English), law (one-cycle master's degree studies for students from the European University Viadrina). Moreover, there are two new fields of study conducted in English language. They include English Philology and International Relations (Collegium Polonicum).

Due to its location and nature, the university attracts students from other countries as well. In the academic year 2013/2014 they constituted

a total number of 134 persons. Such a number of foreign students (when compared to the total number of persons admitted to Collegium Polonicum) makes Collegium Polonicum one of the most internationalized universities in Poland. This is crucial for regional policy in terms of development of cultural offer and ways for students to spend free time as well as the policies employed by employers on the labour market (*Diagnoza...*, 2014–2015, pp. 67–68).

Table 2

**The number of foreign students
in the academic year 2013/2014**

Country	Number of students
Iraq	1
Belarus	14
China	1
France	1
Spain	1
Kazakhstan	10
Lithuania	1
Germany	36
Pakistan	1
Russia	21
Slovakia	1
Ukraine	45
Vietnam	1
Total:	134

Source: Collegium Polonicum in Słubice.

One of the most popular, “cross-border” fields of study offered in Collegium Polonicum are Master Studies on German and Polish Law.

The Faculty of Law and Administration at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań together with the Faculty of Law at the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder) offer five-year and one-cycle master’s studies in the field of law (official name at the UEV: Magister des Rechts). The programme and plan of studies have been developed by the UAM’s Law and Administration Faculty Council in cooperation with the

EUV's Law Faculty Council. Lectures of the Polish part of the study programme are conducted by professors from Poznań and take place at Collegium Polonicum in Ślubice (*Prawo studia stacjonarne...*).

As the course of studies differs between Poland and Germany, the programme has been developed according to a hybrid structure: a selection of Polish principal subjects, which are indispensable to learn Polish law. The principal subjects, such as international law, European law, commercial law, securities law, logic, are conducted by scholars from the University Viadrina. At the same time, for students of German Law those subjects are supplementary. The idea behind this field of study reflects many years of experience in providing law studies in the both universities (Bielawska, 2009, pp. 192–196).

During a five-year education students gain experiences in Poland and Germany by attending classes and internships organized by both universities (*Prawo studia stacjonarne...*). This field of study was and still is a complete novelty in terms of its programme and the university's policy. There is no other university in the region which provides the possibility to study those two courses at the same time. Those bilingual studies on legal systems of the both members of the European Union combine elements of German and Polish law and provide thorough education within the scope of European law. The European University Viadrina is by far the only university which allows students of law to achieve Polish and German diploma of higher education at the same time as well as two German and one Polish diploma.

However it is not possible to study Polish law at the Collegium Polonicum without the need to study German law at the same time. This course of study is the most advanced example of Polish-German cross-border cooperation at Collegium Polonicum (Bielawska, 2009, pp. 192–196).

As it was already mentioned, in the academic year 2014/2015 a new field of study has been created – international relations (specialization: Regional and Trans-border Cooperation). This field of study was conducted as part of an international project financed by the National Centre for Research and Development, entitled “AMU – transnational and interdisciplinary solutions of the 21st century” (project co-financed by the European Union under the European Social Fund).

This one of the recent outcomes of trans-border cooperation – MA studies (second-cycle studies) has been established in cooperation with the Department of European Culture Studies of European University

Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder). It is a pilot program attended by thirty students from Poland, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Ukraine, Slovakia and Kazakhstan. Its future graduates will certainly be prepared to promote the idea of cross-border cooperation and work for the organizations and institutions that facilitate such cooperation. It is highly beneficial for all its participants and for entire societies and states as it serves the following purposes, among other things:

- it shortens the distance between such entities by building ‘grass roots’ bonds;
- it eliminates stereotypes and prejudices which are maintained because people are not acquainted with their counterparts across the border;
- it establishes economic cooperation whose beneficial outcomes facilitate the development of border areas and, more importantly, make it possible to meet citizens’ needs at a higher level;
- it creates pressure groups to influence state authorities, or even European Union institutions whose purpose is to take care of the interests of local communities.

One of significant obstacles which came to light during the first stages of the project accomplishment was the fact that studies supposed to take place in Słubice and Frankfurt, which are perceived by young people as a periphery. As a consequence, limited interest in this course prevented from including it in the following academic year. Another difficulty consisted in financing the whole studies (Musiał-Karg, Wallas, 2015, p. 14).

An important undertaking conducted as part of cooperation between the universities of Poznań and Frankfurt (Oder) is the Polish-German Research Institute (PNIB) at Collegium Polonicum in Słubice (in German: Deutsch-Polnisches Forschungsinstitut (DPFI) am Collegium Polonicum in Słubice). The Institute is a mutual initiative of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder). The Institute has been established on 19 October 2012 as a scientific and research unit that employs specialists, professors and doctors representing various disciplines: legal sciences, culture studies, linguistics, Slavic studies, Polish philology, German philology, history of art, theology, chemistry and biology. Polish-German Research Institute has been established in order to combine scientific activities of both universities and efficiently support transfer of knowledge about the problems within national and international sphere of Poland and Germany.

The scientific and research profile of the Institute can be characterized as interdisciplinary, combining researches from various fields and scientific disciplines. The primary manifestation of scientific activities conducted by the Institute's staff includes scientific projects realized by individual scholars and their teams that involve Polish and German researchers. The scope of this institution is designated by its location – primarily by academic relations between Poland and Germany.

That is why the Institute conducts researches within the scope of European integration and cooperation at the frontiers. The research fields include: comparison of legal issues between Polish and German law, the borderline regions (legal, environmental and urban issues), national and trans-national cultural phenomena with particular attention paid to the problems concerning relations between Poland and Germany as well as issues which fall outside the relations between both countries, social implications of political discussions in Poland and Germany after 1989.

A certain weakness of the Polish-German Research Institute are disparities within the structure of employed staff. Most of them come from Poland (Polish-German Research Institute). There are too few lecturers from the European University Viadrina. However, it should be mentioned that personnel of PNIB includes scholars from the EUV.

A quite interesting research undertaking conducted in Ślubice and Frankfurt is the Pol-Int project realized by the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies about Poland of the European University Viadrina and Collegium Polonicum. The Pol-Int project is financed by the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation and the Polish-German Foundation for Science.

The Pol-Int online platform is supervised by an international team of young scholars from various disciplines. Meaningfulness of publications is verified by an international and interdisciplinary Scientific Council.

The Pol-Int project (Polish-Studies. Interdisciplinary Scholarly information and international communication) is the first online platform which allows exchange of knowledge, experiences and contacts between specialists from various scientific disciplines addressing issues connected with Poland and conducted in the form of “area studies”. Pol-Int is an international and interdisciplinary online platform. It is available in three languages: Polish, German and English.

The online platform aims at making the results of interdisciplinary researches conducted in Poland and the world internationally popular. The

platform's founders aimed also at supporting development of contact networks and international partnerships in science. The platform provides information about institutions, projects and scientific conferences, scholarships and grants as well as calls for papers and reports from various scientific events. What is more, it is a perfect source of information about world's multilingual publications on studies in Poland.

The platform is designed for researchers e.g. from the disciplines of history, cultural studies, linguistics, literature, economics, law, political science, sociology, anthropology, architecture and art history, musicology, theatre and film studies, philosophy, gender studies and geography.

The website include participation of numerous scientific editors and reviewers from Poland, Germany, Japan, Great Britain, United States, Italy, Austria, Netherlands and other countries. The quality of published content is guaranteed by international and interdisciplinary Scientific Council (Pol-Int).

Conclusions

Collegium Polonicum allows to perceive this institution as an actual laboratory of cross-border academic cooperation between Poland and Germany along the borderline separating those two countries. Currently, Collegium Polonicum and the bordering cities of Słubice and Frankfurt play an important role in promotion of the idea and initiate cross-border cooperation within scientific scope as well. Cooperation between UAM and Viadrina in Collegium Polonicum is often perceived as model and that is why the university (despite numerous difficulties in various stages of cooperation) may be considered a model for Polish-German cooperation. It seems that both universities have created a unique tool that allows intensifying cross-border cooperation, which is confirmed by the fact that the universities more and more frequently operate as a double body that takes the form of Collegium Polonicum (e.g. during accomplishment of common projects and undertakings).

From the very beginning of Collegium Polonicum this institution has aimed at integrating similar study programmes offered by the two universities and developing common Polish-German fields of study which would allow simultaneous education in both schools (Bielawska, 2009, pp. 212–213). The experiences and projects described above prove that:

- on one hand, how hard and complicated can it be to create an academic cooperation between Poland and Germany;
- on the other hand, they prove that mutual activities taking place within favourable political and legal framework and the willingness to run close cooperation allow to create interesting and unique projects, such as new, interesting and properly conducted courses of study and research activities.

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MOOCs: with universities or instead of them?

According to the data provided by the Webometrics (*Ranking...*, 2015) site, nearly 24,000 higher educational institutions were included in the 2015 ranking (*Ranking...*, 2015). In this context, the statement by Sebastian Thrun, the founder of Udacity and Stanford University Professor, gained particular significance; in an interview given to the *Wired* magazine in 2012, Thrun forecasted that only fifty higher educational institutions would globally remain in fifty years. The main reasons for such a revolution were the open and frequently free online courses offered to virtually unlimited numbers of participants. They are called Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs).

Too dynamic to define?

MOOCs are developing and evolving in an extremely dynamic way. Being not only educational but increasingly often also commercial ventures, they quickly adapt to market needs. Their name aptly stresses their key elements: massive, open and online.

In 2012, the Secretariat of the European University Association (EUA) indicated the following characteristics of such courses:

- they are provided online;
- there are no formal admission criteria;
- there are no limits on the number of participants;
- they are free of charge;
- they do not ensure any academic course credits (Gaebel, 2014, p. 5).

The last two features have already evolved: increasingly often only the access to course materials is free of charge, and some universities are beginning to recognise credits collected from MOOCs within the framework of degree studies, albeit to a highly limited degree.

In defining what MOOCs are it needs to be remembered that they are a highly dynamic and continuously evolving form. The description that follows is therefore adequate only with respect to the ‘classical’ version of MOOCs (Marques, 2013).

MOOCs meet the two most significant requirements of a university course. Firstly, when participating in a course one is required to perform tasks and undergo assessment. A majority of courses involve quizzes, discussion forums, projects and different forms of final exam. Assessment is conducted by the teacher (frequently assisted by a ‘mentor’ trained by the company that offered the course), by means of specialist software or by peers (Marques, 2013). Secondly, MOOCs are designed to be completed within a strictly determined period, typically ranging from four to twelve weeks, forcing participants to learn the course content in a relatively systematic way.

Classical MOOCs are conducted exclusively online, thereby being accessible to everybody irrespective of their location (provided that technical requirements are met). Increasingly often, however, hybrids can be observed, where materials developed for MOOCs are used in the course of traditional classes, in a way complementing them.

The open nature of MOOCs is manifested by the formula of accessibility. MOOCs can be attended by any individual interested, there are no fees¹ or admission requirements. The only indispensable element concerns access to the technical means to participate in the course (hardware, the Internet). This is not to mean, though, that the materials are accessible and open non-stop. The largest platforms offer access to materials only when a given course is running.

The formula employed by MOOCs is characterised by its massive nature: courses offered by the most renowned global universities and run by outstanding scholars, without any admission criteria and free of charge, are highly attractive. The number of participants of different courses can be enormous: up to hundreds of thousands candidates enrolled on the most popular courses. The most popular MOOC so far has been “Understanding IELTS: Techniques for English Language Tests” offered by the British Council on the Futurelearn platform. In 2015, the 6-week long course attracted 440,000 learners from 153 countries (*FutureLearn...*, 2015).

¹ See the comments on the changes to MOOCs below.

The massive reach of MOOCs resulted in one more characteristic: the instructor was unable to interact with every course participant. Therefore, some assessments were automatically generated by special software or by means of peer assessment. One of the definitions of MOOC states that it is “an educational resource resembling a class, that has assessment mechanisms and an endpoint, that is all online, that is free to use without admissions criteria and that involves hundreds of students or more” (Marques, 2013).

The origin and development of MOOCs

Distance learning is not a recent invention, although for the first time technology facilitates such a great scale of interaction. Three generations have been identified in the development of distance learning:

- 1) Correspondence study;
- 2) Multimedia;
- 3) Computer-mediated (Marques, 2013).

Correspondence studies date back to the 19th century, but they were anything but massive in scale then. They emerged after the Industrial Revolution in response to the demand for a qualified labour force. The second generation witnessed extensive use of multimedia technology. The main criticism here concerned the lack of interaction in this type of teaching. It is only the third generation that has combined self-study with active acquisition of knowledge by means of networks and online communities (Marques, 2013).

Chronologically, the first MOOC was the “Connectivism and Connective Knowledge” course conducted by two scholars, Stephen Downes and George Siemens from Canadian University of Manitoba (*MoocGuide...*) in 2008. Their project, known as CCK8, was the first instance where the name MOOC was used.² It was conducted using various platforms: Wiki pages, blogs, forums and social networks. The aim was to allow students to create their own personal learning environments (PLEs) independently

² The name is attributed to two different persons: Bryan Alexander and Dave Cormier, cf. <http://infocult.typepad.com/infocult/2008/07/connectivism-course-draws-night-or-behold-the-mooc.html>, 22 January, 2015 and <http://davecormier.com/edb/2008/10/02/the-cck08-mooc-connectivism-course-14-way/>, 22 January, 2015.

and at the same time support interconnected knowledge (Marques, 2013). Over 2,200 learners participated in CCK8. The course was offered free of charge to anybody interested; in order to get a certificate of attendance and completion of the course, however, a fee was required.

At the beginnings of this type of education, the best known MOOC was a course offered by Stanford University. In 2011, Professor Sebastian Thrun and Professor Peter Norvig started an online course “Introduction to Artificial Intelligence.” This course fully demonstrated the potential of becoming ‘massive.’ Around 160,000 participants from 190 states enrolled for it (Marques, 2013). The youngest was 10, the oldest – 70 (Chafkin, 2013). When the course ended, it turned out that the top 400 learners did not include a single Stanford student. This inspired Thrun to design a new business model for distance learning – the Udacity platform. Markets did not take long to respond. Over the following year, two start-ups emerged offering courses of MOOC type. In April 2012, Andrew Ng and Daphne Koller from Stanford University founded the Coursera platform. One month later, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University created the edX platform. In 2013, the British Open University started its own Futurelearn platform, Open2Study started to operate in Australia and iversity – in Germany.

The significance of this new wave of education can be evidenced by the fact that a New York Times headline declared 2012 the “Year of the MOOC.” “Nothing has more potential to lift more people out of poverty,” its columnist Thomas Friedman wrote, terming the new category “a budding revolution in global online higher education” (Chafkin, 2013).

The dynamic increase in the popularity of MOOCs becomes clear when investigating the data provided by different platforms. EdX courses have been participated in by a total of over 4 million learners. At present this platform offers 292 courses (as of February 2016) and 145 more are planned to begin in the weeks to come. According to Coursera, over 18 million people have taken their courses, choosing from among 1,816 different ones. Since September 2013, British Futurelearn has gathered nearly 3.2 million learners. Over eighteen months, more than 600,000 participants went for 63 courses offered by the German iversity.

The original principles of MOOCs were quickly significantly modified. These changes primarily referred to participation fees and credit points, and even included the first full MA programme offered in the MOOC format.

As early as in April 2014 Thrun announced that Udacity would no longer issue the certificates of course completion free of charge. He described this change as “one of the most difficult decisions we’ve made.” The access to course materials was still provided free of charge, but the CEO of Udacity explained that “you can’t get our credentials unless you give us a chance to find out who you are and vouch for your skills” (Udacity Blog, 2014). Coursera continues to offer a significant proportion of their courses (that is access to materials) free of charge, but a fee is required in order to get a certificate of course completion (Udacity Blog, 2014).³ EdX stresses that it is not going to offer its courses for a fee. It has started, however, a pilot programme where fees are charged for allocating academic credits.

The advocates of MOOCs were seriously disturbed by Thrun’s unexpected decision to abandon the original form of MOOCs. When speaking about the number of people who failed to complete online courses, Thrun presented a critical assessment saying that “we don’t educate people as others wished, or as I wished. We have a lousy product” (Chafkin, 2013). The head of Udacity was as harsh in his opinion about the courses: “We’re not doing anything as rich and powerful as what a traditional liberal-arts education would offer you” (Chafkin, 2013). Consequently, he announced that, starting in 2014, they would abandon free online courses in favour of paid professional courses and new type of courses called nanodegrees (Udacity..., a). These courses are offered in partnership with such giants as AT&T, Facebook and Google. The Board of Udacity explained such a radical change with the need to adapt education to labour market requirements – “a mission to change the future of education by bridging the gap between real-world skills, relevant education, and employment” (Udacity..., b). Numerous comments addressing this kind of collapse of the original assumptions of Udacity indicated the failure of the idea of MOOCs. After all, one of the creators of this trend had announced the breakdown of this teaching philosophy. There were, however, almost as frequent opinions that this was an isolated instance and that Udacity had simply gone for more profitable projects. The author of the first MOOC course, George Siemens responded to the news that Udacity had changed its profile, writing: “Make no mistake – this is a failure of Udacity and

³ It should be stressed that when introducing its new enrolment principles, Coursera also informed about its programme to offer financial assistance to participants.

Sebastian Thrun. This is not a failure of open education, learning at scale, online learning, or MOOCs. [...] Udacity is now driven by revenue pursuits, not innovation” (*Elearnspace...*, 2013).

The strength of MOOCs is certainly going to increase when credit points will be allocated for the completion of this type of courses for the sake of ‘traditional’ universities.

At the beginning of 2016, a group of universities undertook to launch a pilot programme mutually recognising credits allocated to MOOCs. This means that MOOCs taken by students could count towards their degrees. This project is being conducted by six universities from Australia, Europe, Canada and the USA.⁴ The system they are offering is based on the achievement accumulation following the model of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). Launching this system would clearly increase student interest in MOOCs. One of the project participants, Delft University of Technology offers 25 different MOOCs itself, but the whole offer of the pilot programme is to encompass nearly 200 courses (Grove, 2016). A similar project has been executed by the Open Educational Resources University – OERu since 2013. At present there are 31 universities taking part in the programme that mutually recognise MOOCs completed by their students in partner universities (OERu...). In 2013, Coursera also informed that the American Council on Education’s College Credit Recommendation Service (ACE CREDIT) had evaluated and recommended college credits for five courses on that platform (Coursera Blog..., 2013).

MOOCs have also entered the level of complete MA studies, thereby transforming into MOODs – Massive Online Open Degrees. In cooperation with Udacity, the Georgia Institute of Technology launched master studies in computer science (Online Master of Science in Computer Science – OMS CS) in January 2013. The studies in this new formula were priced at \$6,600 while full time students are required to pay around \$25,000 for similar courses. Profits on this programme are to be divided 60–40% between the University and Udacity respectively.⁵ In two years,

⁴ Delft University of Technology; Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Lausanne; the Australian National University; the University of Queensland; the University of British Columbia; and Boston University.

⁵ Interestingly, Georgia Institute of Technology did not spend almost anything to launch these studies. They were launched using the resources provided by AT&T, which spent \$2 million.

the programme received nearly 8,000 applications and enrolled more than 3,000 students from 80 countries (Georgia...).

Why are MOOCs needed?

When talking about the primary goals of such open courses, the extended access to knowledge is stressed first and foremost. This democratisation of knowledge particularly concerns people of lesser means, or people living in remote areas far from the institutions that ensure high levels of education. These are the advantages stressed by the majority of platforms that offer MOOCs. “I care about education for everyone, not just the elite,” said S. Thrun, the founder of Udacity platform. “We want to bring high-quality education to everyone, and set up everyone for success. My commitment is unchanged” (Adams, 2013).

It needs to be stressed, however, that this slogan about the democratisation of education is only wishful thinking at present. It was commonly believed that MOOCs would ensure, or at least significantly facilitate, access to higher education to people from poorer areas. A survey by University of Pennsylvania demonstrates, however, that approximately 80% of participants of such courses are holders of an academic title (Levin, 2013). Further research by Penn’s Graduate School of Education showed that the argument of the ‘democratisation of education’ cannot be defended at this stage of MOOC development. In Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, MOOCs were attended by the financial elite – 80% of course learners were from the 6% of the richest part of society (Adams, 2013; Stein, 2013).

MOOCs are also supposed to provide an attractive form of education since they are adjusted to the modern reality of professional activities. We are increasingly mobile, and technological progress forces employees to expand their knowledge and acquire new skills. Another advantage of MOOCs concerns their influence on the improved quality of education and increased attractiveness of courses. Additionally, MOOCs can become a kind of a showcase of a university as a modern and open institution.

The authors of MOOCs admit, however, that after the initial, highly promising experiences, they noticed that this type of teaching needed to be modified. The Graduate School of Education at University of Pennsylvania announced that on average only a half of course entrants took part in at least

one session, and only around 4% completed the course (Levin, 2013). Other surveys confirm low completion rates: a study by the Open University has shown that MOOCs completion rates can be as low as 7% (Parr, 2013).

The conclusions from the project launched by California State University in 2013 were a serious warning for MOOCs advocates. The University announced that Udacity would open enrolment in three subjects: remedial math, college algebra and elementary statistics, for \$150 each. The pilot programme was to encompass 300 students. Ultimately, it would be addressed at hundreds of thousands of students for significantly reduced fees (Levin, Markoff, 2013). Final student results, however, were rather disappointing: less than 25% of participants got a credit in algebra. The decision was taken to stop the project after several months (Levin, 2013).

Teaching staff have also expressed their concern with the increasing implementation of MOOCs. Scholars fear that part of their tasks will be taken over by assistants or mentors trained by the companies offering courses. It is true that some courses still prefer the active assistance and involvement of the academic staff in running the programme, but their role is bound to be curbed. The quality of courses offered also raises concerns. Professors in the philosophy department at San Jose State University wrote in an open letter: “When a university such as ours purchases a course from an outside vendor, the faculty cannot control the design or content of the course; therefore we cannot develop and teach content that fits with our overall curriculum and is based on both our own highly developed and continuously renewed competence and our direct experience of our students’ needs and abilities” (*An Open...*, 2013).

The development of MOOCs is also opposed by the “Campaign for the Future of Higher Education” (*Campaign...*). In May 2014, representatives of this organisation sent a letter to the founders of Coursera, edX and Udacity expressing concern that these companies are primarily motivated not by the “needs of [the] students, but the needs of [their] investors” (Straumsheim, 2014). The issue of the quality of knowledge conveyed during the courses continues to return. The most important players on the market of MOOCs are criticised for their aggressive promotional campaigns. “But promising more than your products can deliver can hurt our students when they are herded into huge online courses where they have little chance of success” (Straumsheim, 2014) – as explained in the letter.

It is also stressed that the same elements that laid the foundations for the success of MOOCs also account for the weaknesses of this form of teaching. Their massive character means that the target group is highly heterogeneous, calling for teaching material to meet the principle of a one-size-fits-all, vendor-designed, blended course (*An Open...*, 2013). With thousands of learners, assessment becomes a problem and, apart from peer assessment, it may be reduced to a simple formula of automatically graded closed-ended self-assessment.

Further development of MOOCs will inevitably generate a challenge for smaller and financially weaker institutions of higher education. Developing a professional MOOC is costly. What will be the future of institutions that will not possess the resources to develop MOOCs, nor the worldwide reputation to “market” them accordingly in order to promote their work? (Keramida, 2015) One more criticism made in this vein concerns the fact that combining universities with private course suppliers will transform educational offer to a mere market ‘product,’ where the issue of profit might prevail over the quality of the course.

Conclusions

MOOCs appear to offer an exceptionally flexible formula. The experience of California State University, among others, has resulted in a thorough modification of this formula, rather than its abandonment. Current MOOCs are beginning to complement the classical forms of teaching. edX is preparing video materials to enhance lectures and Coursera is working on courses that can be used within the framework of workshops. “It’s like, ‘The MOOC is dead, long live the MOOC’ ” to quote Jonathan Rees, a Colorado State University-Pueblo professor (Levin, 2013).

The Class Central website, providing MOOCs on many different platforms, has summed up the ongoing process of changes with a single statement: “Continued Growth in MOOCs fuelled by Expanding Availability, Monetization and Funding” (Class..., 2015). Class Central identified the following five Biggest MOOC Trends of 2015:

- 1) Rise of Self-Paced Courses: increasingly often, courses do not begin and end on a specified day, allowing learners to start classes at any time and continue them at their own pace;

- 2) The Death of Free Certificates: the majority of course providers have stopped issuing free certificates of course completion. The average fee for a certificate issued by Coursera is \$56; and for edX – \$53;
- 3) MOOCs Targeted at High Schoolers: learning platforms offer various introductory courses or additional offers to prepare learners for exams. MOOC providers have started targeting high schoolers with the intentions of closing the college readiness gap;
- 4) Big MOOC Providers Find their Business Models: one of the big trends last year was MOOC providers creating their own credentials: Udacity’s Nanodegrees, Coursera’s Specializations and edX’s Xseries. For Coursera and Udacity, these credentials have become a main source of revenues;
- 5) Big Funding Rounds to Accelerate Growth: MOOCs attract increasing investment which should translate into their even greater accessibility and popularity (Class..., 2015).

MOOCs are not going to replace universities, at least not over the next fifty years. Several years of experience with MOOCs clearly show the need for cooperation between universities and providers of such courses. It also suggests that universities, far from being swept away by MOOCs, are in fact the home of MOOCs. As Martin Meller said: “You see, MOOCs make sense as an adjunct to university business, they don’t really make sense as a standalone offering” (*Stop...*, 2013).

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European education in Poland 1998–2004 – objectives, expectancies and learning outcomes

Introduction

European education constitutes one of the fundamental elements of the European integration process, both in its social and economic dimensions. The transformations Poland experienced after 1989 were intertwined with processes of globalisation and integration with the European Union and intensifying civilisational progress. This required Polish society to adapt to new living conditions in a continuously evolving local environment that received stimuli generated in the nationwide, European and global dimensions. For this purpose, it was crucial to acquire knowledge about the above-mentioned processes, understand the mechanisms that govern them and develop skills allowing individuals to efficiently operate in the new reality. New skills were indispensable in order to face up to contemporary civilisational challenges, they served the purpose of developing specific competencies and, even more importantly, generating desirable attitudes and, to a significant extent, also views and beliefs concerning the changes. This resulted in society's both comprehending and approving the processes. The objective of this paper is to analyse the determinants of the European dimension of education introduced in Poland in the context of changes related to Poland's membership of the EU. The paper discusses core curricula for cross-subject paths covering European topics, as well as the forms and methods of European education offered before 2004.

Developing a definition of European education and the European dimension of teaching in the context of establishing core curricula in the Polish educational system

The experience related to European education in Polish schools should not be associated exclusively with the period of Poland's accession to regional organisations, such as NATO and the EU. European education, in the sense of teaching about Europe, among other things, its history, geography, society and culture, had always been a part of curricula in Poland. Prior to 1989, European elements in curricula were divided into two fields: geography and nature on the one hand, and history and society on the other. The content discussed in the first field was based on the canon of general knowledge, with emphasis given to Poland's positioning in the environment of cooperation within the Communist bloc. The latter field was dominated by selective teaching of those topics that were deemed politically correct and acceptable. It should be noted that schools formed an element of the system, thereby performing the task of shaping a citizen of the Polish People's Republic in line with the then current political demands. Schools organised a variety of classes intended to expand pupils' knowledge about members of the bloc, in particular about the USSR. There were numerous Polish-Soviet clubs, exhibitions, performances and assemblies to promote the culture of the USSR and the canon of historic knowledge, first and foremost concerning WWII and the period that followed. At the time of the Soviet Union, Russian was an obligatory subject taught in all states of the Warsaw Pact.

1989 and the years that followed demolished the former socio-economic order and political reality in Poland. Teachers there faced an enormous challenge of considerably modifying curricula, especially in the field of history and civics. Teachers are a crucial element of an educational system, an authority for the next generation; they explain ongoing processes, being obliged to prepare young people for life after school and teaching them about a free market economy, rule of law and democracy (Kaniuk-Jabłońska, 1997). In the 1990s, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe began a new stage of revolutionary social changes. Reforms of the educational system contributed to these changes. Ministers of Education in successive governments redirected the priorities of educational policies, created curricula and new institutional and legal frameworks, reshaping the former system to address the newly identified goals and challenges.

The transformation in the educational system required to indicate the position and role of Poland in Europe. Danuta Piróg notes that Europe and Poland were perceived separately by the educational system, which did not stress their mutual relations and similarities. This led to such statements as “we are heading towards Europe” and “Poland on the path to Europe” becoming fixed in the social consciousness, instead of “we are in Europe” and “we are Europeans” (Piróg, 2005, p. 215).

It is worth noting here that both before and after 1989, the issue of how Poland’s position in Europe was perceived was burdened by socio-political relativism and understandable ‘Polocentrism’. The political decision to follow the pro-Western path determined the changes introduced to the educational system. After 1989, the term ‘European education’ was strictly bound with a defined range of issues introduced in relation to the necessary reform of the educational system. Importantly, European education in Polish schools did not encompass exclusively a newly defined component of theoretical knowledge, but was combined with the acquisition of various practical skills, such as foreign languages – especially English, German and French, the ability to communicate by means of new technologies and a readiness to pursue vocational training and interpersonal skills, in particular team work and interpersonal communication. The former skills are relatively easy to provide, as they primarily involve a certain portion of knowledge that needs to be acquired and practiced. Speaking about the competencies related to interpersonal relations, however, we refer to the field of beliefs and attitudes, which are much more difficult to develop (Włoch, 2011). A certain behavioural standard has to be created here. Openness towards other people, tolerance and willingness to talk, elimination of stereotypes and xenophobia are related to learning about the unknown, but also, frequently, to divesting oneself of complexes and low self-esteem.

Polish literature on the subject and ministerial programme documents apply two terms: ‘European education’ and ‘European dimension’ which are frequently used interchangeably. Both of them are clearly related to Poland’s presence in the international environment and choosing to become a member of European organisations. Schools’ activities are aimed at preparing pupils to optimally participate in all fields of life of an integrating Europe.

Wiktór Rabczuk interprets the European dimension in a broader way, as activities aiming at strengthening the sense of European identity in

young people, assigning a new role to the school and teachers with respect to immigrants and ethnic minorities, and seeking an intercultural educational model. A narrower meaning of the European dimension stands for enhancing school curricula by those elements of knowledge that contribute to the development of a European consciousness (Convey 1995, Rabczuk, 1994, p. 169). The European dimension of education, related to the integration of Poland with the EU, is assumed to concentrate on three planes: education about Europe, education in Europe and education for Europe. These three planes correspond to the components of knowledge, skills and pro-European attitudes, respectively. Mirosław Sielatycki claims that European education should encompass four equal elements: learning about Europe, learning about European integration, “European thinking”, and “European competencies” (Sielatycki, 2000).

In defining European education, tasks are assigned to all levels of education, calling for teaching young people critical thinking and readiness for continuous learning, while describing the teacher’s role as that of a counsellor facilitating the development of appropriate attitudes of pupils towards the surrounding world (Kalinowska-Witek, 2000, pp. 4–6). Czesław Banach stresses that European education should be approached as teaching people to adequately perform integration tasks in practice, including “education through Europe” and to gain experience by meeting other nations (Banach 1998/1999, 1999).

European education core curriculum

The origins of the ‘European dimension of education’ in relation to Poland’s membership of the EU date back to the early 1990s. Under the Association Agreement between the Republic of Poland and the European Communities and their Member States (Europe Agreement, 1991) Poland became an associated country. In line with the provisions of the Agreement, Poland was not required to adapt its education to match the solutions introduced in EEC countries. Only the principles of cooperation were defined and educational priorities unified. Poland undertook to implement certain educational changes which were adopted by the European Council with respect to the education of society of different areas of the history, present and future of a united Europe; ensuring the teaching of the appropriate professional skills required in the European free market and in

a market economy; change of social attitudes, mentality and lifestyle due to the promotion of education for democracy and through democracy, and explaining the specific nature of European integration processes as well, thanks to the modernised teaching of history, geography and stressing foreign language teaching (Kość, 2006, pp. 323–324).

From the early 1990s, an innovative trend in teaching emerged regarding European education. Some teachers went ahead of the Ministry, having quickly realised that it was necessary to teach their pupils who were about to enter the adult life about the transforming world. This trend provided for the emergence of proprietary curricula, European classes and European clubs; international pupil exchanges were organised; schools cooperated with their counterparts abroad. Teachers were strongly stimulated by national projects of several non-governmental organisations addressed at them, such as training, internships and ready-to-use teaching materials. Some projects were financed by the PHARE programme and foreign foundations.

A reform started in September 1999 in Poland, leading to the schooling system being divided three years later into three levels instead of two, as had been the case since 1968. The reform provided for the shortening of the period of education in primary schools to six years and the establishment of lower secondary schools (in Polish: *gimnazjum*) of three years in duration. A core curriculum for comprehensive education was introduced in 1999, thereby providing a formal and legal justification for European education in the educational activities of schools. By virtue of the decision of the Ministry of National Education and Sport, on 1 September 1999, two cross-subject educational paths, named “European education” and “Polish culture against the background of Mediterranean culture,” were introduced into the curriculum of lower secondary schools. In May 2000, the proposal for its continuation – the educational path “European education” for specialised higher secondary school (in Polish: *liceum profilowane*) was presented in so called the *Blue Book*. In the following years, European education was incorporated into curricula at all levels in schools and kindergartens.

The regulation of the Ministry of National Education (Rozporządzenie..., 1999, attachment 1) defined the educational path as a set of content and skills of considerable educational significance that can be taught within the framework of different subjects – {blocks of subjects} or in the form of a separate course. In accordance with the core curriculum for com-

prehensive education, the responsibility for the implementation of educational paths to a school's curricula was borne by the school's headmaster, while teachers of all subjects were responsible for their execution, incorporating the content of different educational paths into their own respective curricula. A cross-subject path could be executed by means of different forms and methods, and be applied in the educational process of the school in multifarious ways. Designing his or her execution of the educational path "European education," a teacher had a selection of the following solutions: (1) the content of the educational path could be incorporated into the curriculum of the subject they typically taught; (2) the path "European education" could be realised during separate activities, such as interest circles, trips or meetings; (3) the educational path could be executed by means of several hours dedicated to it in a specific teaching module.

European paths entered lower secondary schools in 1999, and higher secondary schools and technical schools in 2002. The paths were liquidated in 2008, following the change of educational standards. The primary goal of the paths was to facilitate European education, in particular teaching about European integration, in the context of the accession negotiations commenced in 1998. European issues entered lower secondary school to a greater extent and were deemed an obligatory element of geography, history and civics classes, as well as of the cross-subject educational paths "European education" and "Polish culture against the background of Mediterranean culture." The "Core Curriculum..." stipulated that in lower secondary school European issues should be discussed most extensively in geography classes (*Podstawa programowa...*, 1999). Within the topic "Contemporary economic, social and political transformations on different continents and in selected countries, with particular stress on Europe," selected European countries were described. Additionally, in the third grade, the geography of Poland was discussed in relation to Europe and globally. A separate topic provided for discussing the issues related to broadly understood integration processes, including European integration, in geography classes. Here, pupils were supposed to discuss the adaptation issues Poland was struggling with during the EU accession negotiations in local and national terms.

In schools above lower secondary level, European issues were to be incorporated into geography, foreign languages, history and entrepreneurship classes. In specialised higher secondary schools the following topics were to be discussed: transition processes from isolation to integration;

cooperation between societies; integration and disintegration processes in Europe; Euroregions and twin towns (municipalities) as the example of international cooperation at regional and local levels (Konopka, 2000). The course on introduction to entrepreneurship was supposed to cover the issues of economic cooperation between Poland and abroad and EU integration.

European issues could be covered by teachers of history, geography, civics and even religion, to a smaller extent by teachers of Polish and foreign languages, and mathematics and physical education seemed to offer the least potential for it. The path was a significant element of education in lower secondary schools as it was offered to all pupils. In higher secondary and technical schools, however, the path was taken only by pupils who declared that they were taking the high school leaving exam (*matura*). There were no paths offered in elementary and vocational schools, which did not mean that European topics were not stressed in the curriculum. When the process of European integration made headlines, pupils' interest required teachers to design lessons that would answer the numerous questions pupils had about the process of integration of Poland with the EU. Other forms of providing European education were applied by those schools, including European clubs and educational projects. Pupils were encouraged to cooperate with their peers abroad under exchange programmes for young people. Children and adolescents were organised around local, regional and nationwide pro-European initiatives.

Educational paths offered in lower and higher secondary schools comprised four elements: educational goals, school tasks, teaching content and achievements. The goals referred to knowledge (including issues related to the European Union). School tasks involved the entire school as an environment rather than a selected teacher appointed to realise a given path. Importantly, school activities went beyond the school itself, and parents and local communities were frequently presented the results of projects. The content of educational projects executed in school was not strictly limited to EU issues but approached European topics in a broad context. Schools were sources of information about the European Union, both for children and for their families and local communities. Polish schools entered the framework of the pro-European campaign conducted by the central authorities. Their task was to convey knowledge and to promote certain attitudes.

**Forms and methods of European education in class,
during extra-curricular activities and outside school
in Polish schools up to 2004**

European education, in its most typical sense, referred to the promotion of concrete topics formerly discussed in the course of classes. The three main subjects that tackled European issues encompassed civics, history and geography. Historic aspects of European integration, social phenomena, cultural, musical, artistic and architectural trends in Europe were also discussed during foreign language classes, musical education, art and religious education classes. Educational paths facilitated combining this content in the form of cross-subject courses (Konopka, 2002).

The basis for conveying knowledge about Europe was provided by the general curricula and the curricula of individual subjects. Teachers were also assisted by teaching methodology centres, materials developed by the National in-Service Teacher Training Centre, the Superintendent of Schools Offices as well as information packages provided by European information centres and pro-European non-governmental organisations. The first innovative educational material devoted to European issues was a multi-media teaching package entitled “Educational package – Europe every day,” developed by the National in-Service Teacher Training Centre in Warsaw (*Europa...*, 1997). It was part of a larger project which prepared 220 trainers who were to run classes on European integration and develop teaching materials, and 1,500 teachers, methodology consultants and representatives of non-governmental organisations who used this teaching package (Sielatycki, 2001, pp. 35–45). Teachers very often designed their own ‘European’ lessons they later taught as part of their regular subjects. The idea of European cross-subject lessons is worth stressing here, which were organised for combined groups of pupils in the form of meetings with guests. This form was highly popular in smaller locations and rural schools. Pro-European activities in schools were actively supported in terms of substance and finance by local governments that supervised the work of educational institutions. Schools were also assisted by public libraries and cultural institutions (Merta, 2001, pp. 25–34).

Education of teachers constituted an extremely significant element of providing European education. The process of training teachers and methodology assistants involved studies, workshops and seminars. Teacher training was executed by the Chief Teacher Training Centre in Warsaw, re-

gional methodological centres and regional academic institutions. The reform of the educational system required teachers to climb the ladder of professional advancement, which made them more interested in post-graduate studies on European integration.

The teaching content of European classes was expanded in the course of extra-curricular activities. These most often concerned the organisation of educational projects: cultural and artistic events organised by school, pupil debates, meetings with guests, issuing pamphlets and broadcasting radio programmes on European issues, organisation of exhibitions, presentations of the national cultures and cuisines of European states. European clubs became a phenomenal achievement of European education in Poland. They provided a platform for cooperation between pupils and teachers seeking to promote knowledge about Europe. Such clubs were typically located in a classroom where teachers and pupils met outside classes, and were a kind of interest group where exhibitions, performances, school festivals and contests were organised, school newsletters designed, radio programmes prepared and artistic events planned, all aiming to learn about Europe, its cultures, history, art and literature (Roszkowski, 2003, pp. 303–313; Belard, 1994). The Department of Information and European Education of the Office of the Committee for European Integration ran a register of addresses and database of school European clubs active in Poland. There were 500 of them registered in 2001. Not all clubs were registered, though. According to the database of one NGO, the Centre for European Research and Education in Poznań, there were around 80 clubs active in the Wielkopolska region alone.

An unusual form of cooperation to foster European education in schools, teacher and pupil circles was provided by the “Young Europe” Forum (*Forum Młoda Europa...*, 1996). It was initiated by teachers from elementary and secondary schools who introduced their pupils to the issues of European cooperation, human rights and European Union integration processes during their classes. The Forum was not a classical organisation, but rather a social movement open to anyone interested in European education (Iwanowska-Maćkowiak, 2000). Movement members included NGOs, educational establishments, regional methodological centres, centres of cooperation of young people, culture centres and school European clubs. The Forum organised meetings – programme conferences: in 1992 to initiate the Forum’s activities, in 1993 the forum “European education in Polish schools,” in 1995 the fo-

rum “European clubs” and in 1996 the forum “European education via the Internet.”¹

European education was executed by schools in cooperation with other educational establishments, museums, theatres, NGOs² and local governments. A majority of events were open to local communities, especially the families of the children and adolescents involved, thereby increasing the reach of the European information conveyed. An interdisciplinary form of European education can be exemplified by pupils participating in contests and competitions on European matters. These were typically organised by regional methodological centres, universities and European NGOs that addressed their activities at regional teacher and pupil circles.

European education activities were complemented by pupil exchanges and the cooperation of teachers at the level of schools, educational establishments and NGOs facilitated by the educational programmes “Socrates” and “Youth for Europe”, after 2000 followed by “Socrates”, “Leonardo da Vinci” and “Youth”. Some schools took advantage of support provided by the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation.

Conclusions

The introduction of European topics to teaching curricula coincided with a thorough reform of the Polish educational system. Including these topics in curricula resulted first and foremost from the requirement that pupils acquire key competencies that were indispensable in order to adjust to the changes related to Poland’s future membership of European Union structures. Such competencies can be defined as a conglomerate of the knowledge, skills and attitudes required to operate in European states in

¹ After the 3rd and 4th Forums, post-conference publications discussing educational matters were issued by the Office of the Committee for European Integration, European Library series no. 5 and no. 13.

² There were over 100 NGOs active in Poland from 2000 to 2004. Primary goals stipulated in their respective regulations were as follows: to promote knowledge about Europe, to shape European awareness and to promote Polish heritage in Europe. These organisations were the engines of European cooperation in local circles. European NGOs played an important part in shaping European consciousness in Poland. Once a year their representatives met in Warsaw during the European Days organised by the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation.

conditions of deep international cooperation. The identification and defining of this new range of competencies by Poland's educational system was supposed to facilitate shaping a generation of people operating in the conditions of European integration. This purpose was achieved thanks to the extraordinary commitment of teachers and numerous grass-roots, non-governmental initiatives generated by civil involvement.

It would be difficult to associate European educational activities with a single selected group of teaching methods, as their different forms complemented one another. European clubs were clearly a unique educational phenomenon. However, the perception of integration processes by young Poles was the outcome of many different factors. In Poland, the aspect of European information was combined with European education and promotion of integration.

For many Polish teachers and instructors, the topic of European education after 1989 became a part of civic education that teaches the principles of operation of the state in the new geopolitical conditions. The changes to the Polish educational system involving the redirection of curricula played a crucial role in the process of Poland's integration with the EU. To a considerable extent, they also influenced the final social approval for the proposal to join the EU, which found confirmation in the results of the national referendum on Poland's accession to the EU and the ratification of the Athens Treaty held on 7–8 June 2003 (77.45% votes for EU membership).

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The ways of thinking about European education – between Euroenthusiasm and Euroscepticism – the experiences from the United Kingdom and Poland

The concepts of Europe and Europeanism are beyond the physical boundaries, spotted only on a map. Europeanism exceeds the political and social mindset, it also provides the way of thinking about Europe, the Europeans, their identity, culture and homogeneity, which is paradoxically constituted on the basis of heterogeneity (“unity in diversity”). Some people may perceive Europe as an exclusive club which has fulfilled the promises of freedom, unity, democracy, tolerance, well-being, safety, for the other – Europe has become the denial of these values. The latter orientation is very vivid in the British society and it is reflected not only in the words of politicians but also in the mood of the nation. In turn, Euroenthusiasm among Poles is rising and they enjoy the privilege of joining to the exclusive club. The Polish people are proud to be Europeans not only in the terms of citizenship but also of identity.

The idea of the European education in Poland has been spread in the mid of nineties and it was connected with the promotion of the EU integration in the society. The European Clubs have been setting up, the European flag have been waving proudly next to the Polish one, and since 1999 the courses about Europe have been implemented in the state schools. Polish schools have become the heart of Euroenthusiasm while not all people shared this view at that time. When Poland joined the European Union in 2004 and people saw the real profits, they changed their mindset about integration. They have felt that they finally became the part of one family finally, namely Europe – as workers, inhabitants and citizens.

What is an advantage for the Poles, is a disadvantage for the Britons. The way of thinking about Europe among the Polish people is contradic-

tory to the way of thinking of the British people. The European and citizenship education reflect these antagonistic approaches. The aim of the paper is an attempt to reconstruct and analyse the contemporary debate on citizenship education in the perspective of European way of thinking. Moreover, I will make an attempt to present two extreme approaches towards European education – the Polish case of Euroenthusiasm and the British case of Euroscepticism. I assume that the European education is an integral part of citizenship education, so I will make an attempt to reconstruct the debate on the changing notion of citizenship in the contemporary literature.

The ways of thinking about citizenship as a changing social construct

The concept of a citizenship has been widely discussed in the literature recently. We may observe cultural pluralism (or multiculturalism) in many nation states on the one hand, and growing resistance towards multicultural society on the other. We need to remember that the concept of citizenship is an unstable social construct, that is – it has been changing over the time (see Melosik, 1998; Hejwosz-Gromkowska, 2013). Religion, nature, society, nation, state have been the main base for constructing citizenship over the ages (Melosik, 1998, p. 36). Today, the cosmopolitan culture, effects of globalization, transnational institutions and the market are the baseline for the citizenship (it is worth to refer to the Barber's concept, that the contemporary citizens are consumer-oriented) (Barber, 2008).

Citizenship may be understood in various ways. In the western democracies there are two competing perspectives: liberal, in which private citizens have their rights and the expectation that “government will, in many ways, leave them alone” and republican which “emphasizes the duties or responsibilities of citizens to those in the community.” Nevertheless, as Ian Davies states “it is too simplistic to see these positions as the only possibilities in relation to characterization of citizenship” (Davies, 2012, p. 32).

Today the approach towards citizenship, as comparative studies indicate, is related to the human rights and equity. Thus, the main goals of citizenship education are strengthening democratic societies and protecting them against the rise of xenophobia, racism and injustice (Kerr, 2012, pp. 18–19). According to Derek Heater “societies and states are no longer

viewed as homogeneous; citizenship consequently must be understood and studied as mosaic of identities, duties and rights rather than a unitary concept” (Heater, 1999).

The growing diversity and pluralism brought about a new approach toward citizenship education. We need to remember that after the World War II the new wave of immigration brought completely different racial, cultural, language and religion groups in the Western European countries and as James Banks states “have challenged established notions of national identity and citizenship” (Banks, 2008, p. 57). The ethnic movements of the 1960s and 1970s challenged and changed the assimilationists’ concept of citizenship and introduced the multicultural idea of education. We may understand that one of the consequences of multiculturalism is an inclusion of the previously excluded and marginalized groups in the whole society. This groups have gained the equal status of citizenship, thus they share the same rights, duties and responsibilities. The idea of multiculturalism demands that the concept of citizenship will recognize, not stigmatize, the identities of different groups (including race, culture, gender, sexual) and accommodate, not exclude these differences (Kymlicka, 2002). It is worth to notice that idea of multiculturalism can survive only when there is a balance of diversity and unity. According to James A. Banks this balance should be the goal of democratic nation states as well as a goal of education. The aforementioned harmony means that citizens in diverse societies “should be able to maintain attachments to their cultural communities as well as participate effectively in the shared national culture” (Banks, 2008, p. 58).

The ways of thinking about the European citizenship – implications for citizenship and European education

Europe may be perceived as the highest expression of globalization and globalization is strengthened by the process of Europeization, or it might be better to say, by the European integration embodied in the institutional formula that is – the UE. The European integration is paradoxically a reaction to globalization in an advanced stage (Dale, 2009, p. 25). The main political goal of the European Union is (or used to be?) to increase competitiveness with Japan and the United States by promoting and establishing a learning society (Magalhaes, Stoer, 2009, p. 234).

The process of Europeization has been evolving for the last decades. The European Union enlargement (especially of the former communistic countries), demography changes, cultural and language diversification have dramatically influenced the contemporary shape of Europe. At the same time the Europeization is expressed by strengthening the integration in community law or accreditation and standardization of the educational diplomas (Sabour 2009, p. 194).

The idea of disconnecting the citizenship from the nation state is being perceived as a leftist ideology sometimes and it is criticized for this reason. The European Union citizenship is a good example actually, although it has gained the legitimacy in many areas for some people it is only a symbol, a semantically incoherent category. If a citizenship is related to the nation state which the UE is not, we do not have the legitimization to recognize it as a citizenship. However the citizens of the UE have the certain rights and duties.

The way of thinking about citizenship has changed dramatically for the last decades. Britain was exceptional among modern Western democracies in not having had the discourse of citizenship both in the state schools and in the society. It has changed recently and we may observe a vivid discussion about the subject in question.

I will refer to the concept of Hugh Starkey (2008) to present the dimension of citizenship as a status, feeling and practice. Status is related to the legal dimension of citizenship and it is often understood in the term of nationalism e.g. a citizen of the Republic of Poland (I am Pole, so I am the citizen of Poland), which is sometimes perceived as a source of inequality, especially in multicultural societies. The EU citizenship is automatically given to the people who hold citizenship of one of the EU country. It is additional to and does not replace national citizenship. The citizenship in terms of the status is conferred directly on every EU citizen by the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU, and was legally approved in the Treaty of Maastricht of 1993 for the first time. Although the earliest treaties, including the Rome Treaty, had taken into the account the EU citizenship, giving some rights and perhaps some duties, it was the Treaty of Maastricht which introduced the term of citizenship education as well as included the Schengen agreements, which enabled the citizens of Europe to enjoy their rights, privileges and to obey duties.

Every citizen of the EU has a right to vote for and stand as a candidate in European Parliament and municipal elections, to be protected by the

diplomatic and consular authorities of any other EU country, to petition the European Parliament and complain to the European Ombudsman. Every citizen of the UE has a right to move and reside freely within the EU, as well as to work – for an employer or as a self-employed person. The treaty also prohibits discrimination on the basis of nationality, including the discrimination on the job market. The EU has set up systems for recognising diplomas and training that enable every citizen of the UE to use acquired trainings and skill on the EU job market (<http://ec.europa.eu/justice/citizen>; Hubner, 2004, pp. 9–16).

The sense of belonging to a community of citizens is related to the feeling. Citizenship as a feeling may also be related to the identity. Przemysław Paweł Grzybowski characterizes the European citizenship as: “supranational bonds and consciousness of community of interest of the European societies, while the sense of national, territorial, regional, ethnic sovereignty exists” (Grzybowski, 2007, p. 89).

The doubts arise when feeling toward a big community such as European is taken into consideration. Today community is not only limited – like in the past – to a particular territory, inhabited by a particular group of people but mostly it is a community of interest. Thus, the assumption that the community of the Europeans exists may be controversial, at most we may see the sub-communities realizing their own goals.

In fact the goals of a particular nation (which is still imperative) are often divergent with the goals of European Union. Although there is a community of interest on the political level, on the national level the sense of helping others is not so strong, what the last crisis in Greece has revealed. However almost half of Europeans (49%) answered “yes” to the question “should member states show solidarity towards each other in the event of economic difficulties?”, while 39% gave the opposite answer. Those who took opposite view said that citizens in their country should not have to pay for the economic problems of the other EU Member States (66%) (Eurobarometr 74.1, 2010). This data suggests that the sense of belonging and solidarity inside the UE is not so strong, as some Euroenthusiasts wish.

Here the nation state still remains strong as well as it is the baseline for an identity. National identity is vivid in the crisis circumstances, and the crisis in Europe is a test not only for politics and politicians of the EU but also for its citizens. The idea of “unity in diversity” can be realized only at the expense of national identities (Smith, 2007). A question remains open whether the citizens of the EU are ready to divest themselves of national

identity? It is not clear at the moment, however, it seems that both the European citizenship and identity will not replace national one, at best it will be a supplement in some cases.

The data from the European Parliament Eurobarometer from 2014 indicate that democracy and freedom are the most important elements of the European identity. Moreover the respondents also indicate the euro currency as a factor influencing on identity. The majority of the Europeans perceive the EU membership as a good thing (Eurobarometr, 2014, 82.4).

The public opinion survey from 2013 indicates that most of the Europeans are optimistic about the future of Europe. Moreover 62% of the respondents avow that they feel citizens of the EU. The opinions of the Poles look interesting. Up to 70% of the Polish respondents admitted that they felt the EU citizens. These results may be explained in the following way, firstly, the Poles notice that they are the beneficiaries of the EU financial programmes. They see that most of the investments in Poland are supported by the EU funds. The educational and informational projects and campaigns also play a vital role in creating positive attitudes toward the EU. Thus, the European Union is present in every day experience of almost every Poles. Secondly, the Polish nation had had huge inferiority complex and the EU citizenship gave the access to the European community and did away with the complexes – we are not only the Poles, we are the Europeans as well (Eurobarometr, 2012).

The third dimension of citizenship is a practice, that is a participation in a democratic society and respecting human rights. Audrey Osler (2009) notices that it may be difficult to take action without emotional involvement. In other words, the citizens of the EU will not involve in community unless they do not bond. Moreover, a key factor – beside identity – is the feeling that people have the influence in the community like the UE. Thus, when the role of the European Parliament is limited, we cannot expect that the citizens of the EU will have a sense of influence in the community matters. Let's have a look on the Eurobarometer results from 2012. Most of the Europeans feel that their vote in the EU does not count, nevertheless we may observe a slight increase of the opposite view. The knowledge about the EU's institutions is poor among the Europeans. If we take a glance at the elections to the EP, we may notice that turnout dramatically fell between 1979–2009. Perhaps the reason is that the trust in democratic institutions has been on decline for the last few decades and the EU enlarged of new countries where democratic tradition is not so strong.

The Poles' trust in other Poles has always been low as well as the trust in the state institutions, which is highly correlated with low social capital (Gumkowska et al., 2008). The conclusions from the report of the Institute of Public Affairs from 2014 indicate low civic engagement among the Poles on local and national levels. In aforementioned report Anna Olech suggests "most of the Poles are interested in the public affairs of their local community but they do not take actions, engage and feel that they can influence or change something. The civic engagement is diminished in the gap of «interest» and «engagement»" (Olech, 2014, p. 3).

In the United Kingdom instead, the authors of the sixth Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study argue that the youth's civic engagement is related to "near environment" issues and experiences and away from the national and European community (Mason, 2012, p. 84).

The ways of thinking about the European dimension of education

The European tradition might be characterized by cultural understanding and peaceful coexistence of races, religions and nations. Tomasz Kuczur argues that the source of this vision of the world is a belief that "the one and only way to do away with the wars and conflicts is the community of values, particular universalism. There is no direct and apparent relation between culture universalization and uncompromising coexistence of the nations" (Kuczur, 2008, p. 133). Thus, a very important issue is raised in the context of multiculturalism. If these universal values are imposed on the particular communities then "the cultural resistance occurred and the latter immediately react" (Kuczur, 2008, p. 133). Jerzy Nikitorowicz presents similar standpoint, while stating that the Europeans "are not against immigration, but they are not in favor of those who don't want to accept the life – style of the community which they have chosen and belong to" (Nikitorowicz, 2007, p. 24).

It is worth noticing that the multicultural discourse was both criticized and questioned in the Western democracies. Many efforts are being made to build and restore social cohesion, especially in the local communities. Schools play a vital role in this process through the integration of individuals from different social, ethnical and cultural backgrounds.

I cannot analyze the problem of multiculturalism in Europe in a few words. However, it is worth to refer to the phenomena of Islamisation of

Europe and islamophobia while these problems are being raised especially among conservative groups. In his pessimistic prognosis made for Europe, Jerzy Nikitorowicz states “postmodern Europe gives up on its most important values, retreat from religion and Islamism as an ideology intrudes everywhere” (Nikitorowicz, 2007, p. 19). At the same time he maintains that giving up on assimilation of new citizens, followers of Islam was counter-productive because it is Islam which assimilates Europe. He recalls the case of the UK where school curricula promote cultural pluralism, instead of national values. Nikitorowicz favors the own cultural identity and the intercultural dialogue at the same time.

In the western societies there is a suspicion that the Muslims cannot be “real democrats”. The tension between the Western and Muslim worlds has increased a lot after 9/11. Islamophobia is challenging Europe including the United Kingdom especially after 7/7/2005. However, in the survey most of the Muslims living in the UK said that they didn’t experience contradiction between being loyal to *ummah* and being British. (McGhee, 2008). The 2013 BBC survey reveals that young Britons don’t trust Muslims (27%), while 44% believe that Muslims do not share the same values as the rest of population and 28% think Britain would be better off with fewer Muslims (Kotecha, 2013).

It is worth noticing that media especially tabloids whips up Islamophobia together with the ruling class. George W. Bush and Tony Blair’s attempts to be politically correct divided Islam into two groups: the bad and the good. Thus, according to this simplified approach there are “bad Muslims” who do not share the same values with the West, and the “good Muslims” who join the West in the war on terror (McGhee, 2008).

Despite the fact that the EU has not introduced the common educational system in the member states, there are many documents giving recommendations and suggestions on education in Europe. The attempts to standardize the higher education system were made and it is known as Bologna Process. The European Union educational policy emphasizes mobility of teachers and students, development of European education, cooperation between educational systems, exchange of knowledge and experience and distance learning.

On 9th February 1976 the category of European dimension of education was introduced for the first time by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of Education. The source of common educational system stem from the belief that Europe is a culturally coherent space and it is able to create

European identity among its habitants (Grzybowski, 2007, pp. 288–289). Thus, it seems to be important to implement such elements of school curricula which strengthen European identity and consciousness. Przemysław Paweł Grzybowski states “the core issue of European dimension of education is to transmit knowledge and to create the attitudes and competences necessary for fully involvement in the European society” (Grzybowski, 2007, p. 291). The European dimension of education is coherent with the contemporary discourse of citizenship education, including human rights, cultural pluralism, intercultural dialogue, tolerance, democracy, equality, freedom, brotherhood, integration, peace, universalism, ethics, secularity and solidarity (Grzybowski, 2007). These axiological assumptions influence the attitude and the way of thinking about Europe. Thus, multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue are the baseline of European integration (of course with a different effect).

The European Community has been implementing educational programs such as: Socrates, Leonardo da Vinci since the eighties, and the Youth Program since 2000. There are plenty of education programs offered by the EU institutions, therefore detailed analysis of each program is beyond the scope of this paper.

It is worth noticing that the main goals of the aforementioned programmes are students and teachers exchange in order to gain new experiences, broaden knowledge and spread intercultural dialogue. For instance, cross border cooperation programmes such as Lithuanian-Polish Youth Exchange Fund promote common activities which enable the members of two nations to bring together. The programmes supporting the development of new technologies like EPALE or ETWINNING have become very popular recently. The European School Clubs enjoy popularity, they promote the idea of European integration and spread the knowledge about European culture.

According to Przemysław Paweł Grzybowski “implementation the European dimension of education has not succeeded or hardly succeeded in forming European identity” (Grzybowski, 2007, p. 374). It is not surprising then, that the German chancellor Angela Merkel called for European education in schools across Europe, in order to do away with Euro-skepticism and to build appropriate approach toward Europe among next generations. The representatives of the European People’s Party (EPP) are convinced that such programmes would improve the public image of the EU and European integration. Jean-Claude Juncker, the presi-

dent of the European Commission, supports this idea (Waterfield, 2014). We need to remember that the last economic crisis in Europe has generated the Euro-skepticisms especially among young generation. No wonder, then, that the European politicians take care about education on European idea and its stability. Not only knowledge about the EU and Europe is important but also the opportunity to build intercultural dialogue and to bring together the citizens of Europe. It is vital to building the dialogue which enables to understand each other, to do away with stereotypes, fears and reluctance towards different cultures. The European project will work, only when we look at it from the perspective of people's experiences, problem, doubts, dreams and expectations. We need to remember that this project is still possible to be developed but we need to give up selfish motives and stop thinking only about our own benefits.

There is something very optimistic in this project called Europe. It is something beyond all educational programmes – an unexpected effect of Erasmus program. Let's take a look on a European Commission report (2014) which indicates that young people who have participated in the exchange program are better prepared for the job market and also change demographic patterns in a positive way. According to Polish newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* 27% of Erasmus students have met their longtime partner during the scholarship. The EC estimates that over one million Erasmus children have been born since 1987.¹ Thus, the aforementioned program strengthens intercultural bonds and citizens' integration and the European project is not only implemented in the economic sphere but also in the social one, positively influencing demography and mutual coexistence of the next generation of the Pan-Europeans in a positive way.

The ways of thinking about citizenship education in the United Kingdom: The Britons as the subjects rather the citizens of Europe

Among modern Western democracies Britain is an exceptional one in not having had citizenship education in public schools. After 1997 when the Labor Party came to the power the discourse of citizenship and citizenship education developed. Due to social transformation, especially grow-

¹ See http://wyborcza.pl/1,75477,16692843,Dzieki_studenckiemu_programowi_Erasmus_urodzi_lo_sie.html, 8.06.2015.

ing multiculturalism and associated social tensions, citizenship education became the core of social and a political debate. The main aim of citizenship education in state schools is to build social cohesion and to reduce social tensions throughout the dialogue (Kerr, Smith, Twine, 2008, p. 252). The consequences of bomb attacks in central London in 2005, growing number of immigrants, especially from the Eastern Europe since 2004, increasing Islamophobia are the problems which need to be tackled and discussed especially with young people. Thus, the civil renewal became the aim of citizenship policy with the goal of “shared identity through strengthened communities” (Kerr, Smith, Twine, 2008, p. 253).

When the Labour Party came to power, David Blunkett appointed David Crick to chair Advisory Group on Citizenship. The Crick Report gave a strong recommendations that citizenship education should be a core subject in the National Curriculum. The new subject of citizenship was introduced in 2002 “as a statutory Foundation Subject in secondary schools and as part of the non statutory PSHE framework in the primary sector” (Beck, 2012, p. 7).

It might be strange but the discourse of citizenship and citizenship education in state schools had been absent absent for years in the UK. John Beck suggests that “one reason for this absence may be that between 1925 and 1988 there was, in England and Wales, almost no direct central government control of curriculum content” (Beck, 2012, p. 3). Another reason may be related to British tradition. The British people regard themselves as subjects rather than citizens. Thus, Bryan Turner suggested a category of “citizen-as-subject” because national identity is creating “from above” around the Crown, Royal Family and its symbols. It is also known as “surrogate national identity” (Beck, 2012, p. 3). It is not surprising then that the discourse of citizenship was absent, the civic language is not developed and people hardly regard themselves as citizens.

In 2001, the Home Secretary David Blunkett noticed that the UK had had a relatively weak sense of political citizenship. Consequently he called then for a national debate on the rights and duties of British citizens. In September 2002 he wrote in the Guardian “an active concept of citizenship can articulate shared ground between diverse communities. It offers a shared identity based on membership of a political community, rather than forced assimilation into a monoculture, or an unbridled multiculturalism which privileges difference over community cohesion. It is what the White Paper Secure Borders, Safe Haven, called ‘integration with diver-

sity” (Blunkett, 2002). The government has started promoting a new kind of integration, a third way – between assimilationism and multiculturalism. According to Blunkett, as suggested by McGhee, society is like a mosaic and an integration is about “encouraging flexible or complex meta-loyalties above and beyond competing micro-loyalties” (McGhee, 2008, p. 84). The citizenship is understood then as common place for diverse cultures and beliefs, coherent with the core values that the British society upholds.

We need to remember that although the discourse of citizenship education was absent in the state schools, the sense of national identity has been present. For years *Britishness* has been shaped around the monarchy, the Empire, ‘glorious’ military and naval victories. The sense of national belonging has always been defined against the others those who haven’t had British features. It was important, especially during the Empire times, when the British children were socialized in the mood of national superiority. The British people were presented to the indigene people as those who gave them civilization, and they were naturally given the top of the social hierarchy (Beck, 2012, p. 4).

It is worth noticing that the Prime Minister David Cameron called for promotion of British values in every school and rejecting the idea of multiculturalism at the same time. Before he had announced the “death of multiculturalism”, the idea had been under the attack, especially after the disturbances in Oldham, Burnley, Bradford in 2001 and bombing attacks in London (McGhee, 2008, p. 83). A new strategy of integration was distinguished from assimilation and multiculturalism through “combining the concept of integration with the concept of active citizenship” (McGhee, 2008, p. 85). However, as Derek McGhee suggesting, the concept of “active citizenship” as a opposed to assimilation and multiculturalism, “is an invitation to a variety of ‘civic assimilation’, masquerading as two way (‘host’ and ‘migrant’) integration strategy” (McGhee, 2008, p. 85). The new strategy emphasizes effective engagement of responsible, active citizens in active communities (McGhee, 2008). However the threat exists that enclaves of new outsiders will be created. Thus, McGhee states “these new discourses clearly demarcate the line between tolerance and intolerance through stating who is ‘un-British’ and therefore intolerable; that is, those who are suspected of not sharing our values” (McGhee, 2008, p. 134). From this point of view the British people who “prioritize their loyalty to the *ummah* over the loyalty can be described as ‘Muslim Brit-

ons’ these are individuals who want to be British in a Muslim way, rather than Muslim in a British way” (McGhee, 2008, p. 134). The Muslims are more disciplined, they are expected to be Muslims in a correct way (a Western way). The Western world which believes in democracy, civic society and freedom, force the Muslims to prove their patriotism and loyalty to the British nation (McGhee 2008, p. 135).

Ajebgo Report (*Curriculum Review: Diversity and Citizenship*) issued in 2007 gave recommendations that the problem of identity and diversity should be included in school curricula. Thus this issue was added to the statutory specification together with the promotion of social cohesion from 2008. Students will be learning about multiple and overlapping identities in multicultural society, diverse society, political literacy and so on (Beck, 2012, p. 8). Due to the fact that the problems of identities and diversity were very often neglected in school curricula they have become the core issue of the citizenship education. Students will be “appreciating that identities are complex, can change over the time and are informed by different understanding of what it means to be citizen in the UK; exploring the diverse national, regional, ethnic and religious cultures, groups and communities in the UK and the connections between them; considering the interconnections between the UK and the rest of Europe and the wider world; and exploring community cohesion and the different forces that bring about change in communities over time” (Kerr, Smith, Twine, 2008, p. 255).

The Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition announced the idea of “The Big Society” in 2010. According to this vision citizens are encouraged to participate in local communities, to promote culture of volunteering, to create a stronger sense of community and individuals are expected to take greater personal and moral responsibility for their own actions (Beck, 2012, p. 11). In the other words, a sense of community, responsibility, civic participation is expected to be built in the local communities. According to both the left and the right – wing politicians, it enables individuals to take control over their lives. Moreover, in almost every governmental documents the key concept is a social cohesion and schools are supposed to play a leading role in introducing and keeping it.

Here, I would like to refer here to the problem of Euro-skepticism in the British society. We need to remember that the Britons have always manifested a distance with respect to European Community and European integration. The word Euro-skepticism is an euphemistic expression of

“Europhobia”. The British magazine *The Times* used it for the first time in 1985 and it has gained popularity after Margaret Thatcher’s a famous public speech at the College of Europe in Brugge.² The Euro-skepticism is vivid especially nowadays, when David Cameron announced Brexit. The comparative surveys carried out in the United Kingdom, Poland and France (2013) clearly indicate that the inhabitants of the first country are the greatest Euro-skeptics. 42% of the British people admitted that the EU is a bad thing (26% is a good thing), while in Poland only 13% of respondents perceive the EU as a bad thing, in Germany 17% and in France 34%. Only 9% of the Germans and 15% of the French people think the UK is a positive influence on the EU, and 33% of Poles share this view. When asked about Brexit 51% of Polish respondents think it would have negative effect compared with 36% of Germans and 24% of French people.³ The polls published after the victory of Conservative Party show that 39% of the Britons support the idea of leaving the EU, while 40% express the opposite view (Pickard, 2015).

British people are alarmed with the fact of a growing number of economic immigrants from the new countries of EU. According to the surveys carried out by *The Migration Observatory* at the University of Oxford, most British people think that there are too many immigrants, thus they expect the government to introduce more restricted regulations in order to admit less people out from the Britain (Blinder, 2014). Both the governing party and most Britons are in favor of reducing the privileges for the immigrants from the new member states, including Poland. According to the survey carried out by *NatCen Social Research* 50% of British people think the main reason immigrants come to the UK is work, while 24% believe the main reason is to claim benefits.⁴

The group of academics including David Abulafia and a historian David Starkey opposed against teaching about single a European identity in the British schools at the beginning of 2015. They rejected the idea of common roots, values and identity in Europe. Moreover they maintain that the history of the EU is presented in a distorted way in school curric-

² <http://www.margarethatcher.org/document/107332>, 10.05.2015.

³ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/30/shock-poll-reveals-gulf-britain-eu-france-ger-many-poland-hostile>, 12.05.2015.

⁴ <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jun/17/immigration-british-attitudes-harden-benefits>, 12.05.2015.

ula in order to promote the political aims of Euro-enthusiasts (Davies, 2015).

Here, I would like to refer here to the contents of the citizenship education textbooks. As an example I will use GCSE “*Citizenship studies*” by Joan Campbell and Sue Patrick (Nelson, Thornes, 2009). The content is compatible with the new specification and the goals of citizenship education. The following issues and problems are taken into the consideration: community action and active citizenship, democracy and identity, fairness and justice, global issues. The issues concerning Europe are included in human rights. The authors of the textbook emphasize the role of The European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights, by referring to the most important sections of the document. It is worth paying attention to the discussion activity “Chapter 4, Solidarity, gives EU citizens equal rights to employment across the European Union. Is this good thing. Discuss” (p. 102). It is worth mentioning that the main point of the discussion about human rights is limited to the equal access to the job market in the EU countries and it is coherent with social and political debate on terms and conditions of immigration policy.

In chapter 15.1 the concept of the European Union is presented, during the classes students are required to discuss the problem of Britain leaving the EU. However in this chapter we can find the benefits of the membership in the European Union. The objectives of the chapter are “to understand the United Kingdom’s role in the European Union” (p. 182). It seems that the problem of the UE is presented from the perspective of the UK and its meaning for the Community, thus the hidden curriculum may suggests a superiority of Britain, its policy and culture over the rest of Europe. Moreover, the content of citizenship education seems to be strongly correlated with the attitudes of British people and overlapped with the debate on the role of the UK in the European Union.

The attitude of British people, supported by the governmental rhetoric and some media, presents a kind of historical paradox. The nation is proud because of its acts for Europe and is proud of its unique role, especially during the World War II. Moreover, a belief about uniqueness and power dominates in the collective memory and thinking of the nation. On the other hand, the feeling and thinking about uniqueness is being diminished when confronted with the thinking about *Eurocrats* and the power of Brussels. The renegotiation of the UK’s membership in the EU, which is one of the condition of staying in the community, is

based on the new vision of the EU that is more liberal economically, so more British.

The ways of thinking about European education in Poland: affirmation of Europe and Europeanism

Before Poland joined the EU Polish citizens had been more interested in problems of the Union than today – mostly in the terms of benefits and losses. The problems of the EU integration are present both in formal and informal education and schools are playing a vital role in promoting the idea of the EU.

It is worth mentioning that the European education in Polish schools was encyclopaedic from the beginning. Przemysław Paweł Grzybowski suggests that it was a common practice to organize the UE tests in schools in order to check knowledge about institutions, but the problems of the European societies, their phobias, prejudices and stereotypes have been totally neglected (Grzybowski, 2008). Admittedly, the thinking about European integration is very limited in this kind of practice. Instead of teaching about culture, inhabitants, contemporary problems and challenges of a particular member state, shaping open and tolerant attitudes, students are taught only facts and data. Ultimately, getting closer to the “others” is about telling the stories about someone’s life and experiences because people are the stories and stories should be told.

One can see an encyclopaedic approach towards European education in the core curriculum introduced in 1999 in the lower secondary school – gymnasium (Journal of Laws, no. 14, 1999). The educational goals were divided into three categories: knowledge, skills and attitudes. After completing the course students were expected to enumerate all member states and “fathers” of Europe, stages of EU integration, explain the principles of the EU policy and regulations. Students were also expected to justify the position “I am the Pole, so I am the European” in order to achieve the goal – shaping identity with Europe. Here one can see that the core curriculum mostly emphasized the issues which were disconnected from students’ everyday experiences and from the communities where they lived in. Moreover the European education failed as the cross-curricular course. Thus, the Minister of National Education introduced European education as an integrated part of other subjects in 2008. The newest changes have been

made in 2012 (Journal of Laws, 2012, item 977) and in 2014 (Journal of Laws, 2014, item 803). European education has been implemented to all levels of education and to all types of schools. It is worth mentioning that according to core curriculum Polish pupils in the elementary school (from the first to the third year of education) are taught that Poland is in Europe, but at the level of pre-school education they receive information that Poland belongs to the European Union, without mentioning about Europe itself. One might see some kind of incoherence – younger children are taught at first about an abstract notion like European Union and then they learn that Poland is in Europe. According to the aforementioned core curriculum students should also recognize the flag and the anthem of the EU at the elementary school. However, children acquire many social skills at this stage of education as well as they are taught about tolerance and openness in the social interactions.

On the next stage of education – from the fourth to the sixth grade of elementary school – European education is a part of a subject history and society. Student is expected to “talk about participation of Poland in the European community, using words: European Union, European solidarity, international relations and he or she is able to recognize the European symbols the flag and the anthem (*Ode to Joy*)” (Journal of Laws, item 803).

At the third level of education, i. e. gymnasium, the problems of Europe and the EU are included in the course called “Knowledge about society” (Wiedza o społeczeństwie). We need to remember that the content of the course is still encyclopaedic and fact-finding. The students learn about stages of the European integration, treaties, data and names. After completing the course they will be able to explain how the most important EU’s institution work, they will know about the sources of funds in the budget and how they are spending. Students will be also able to spot every member states on the map and they will be ready to justify their position about the future EU enlargement. Moreover at this stage of education – according to the core curriculum – the students will be able to present rights and duties of the EU citizens and they will acquire skills which allow them to find information about using EU funds in Poland. I would like to refer to the last point of aforementioned document “Poland in the European Union”. Here students are expected to “justify own opinion about benefits of the EU membership referring to the examples from the local community and the country”. Paradoxically it seems that the students cannot have

their own opinion because they are expected to justify benefits only. The authors of the core curriculum did not focus on threats or negative effects. In my opinion the most important issue neglecting here is the responsibility of Poland in the EU. The guidelines of the core curriculum also ignore the ability of critical thinking.

At the fourth stage of education (upper secondary education) students are taught about the opportunities of employment and study in the member states, they learn how to write Europass-CV, they justify the role of the European Court of Human Rights. The authors of the core curriculum assume that students will be able to explain the dilemmas of the future enlargement and the EU reforms. Moreover, in contrast to the previous stage of education, students are expected to evaluate the consequences of Poland's accession to the EU (they are not expected to focus on the benefits only).

It can be stated that according to the core curriculum, Polish students learn the affirmation of the European Union, they are taught mostly about benefits without providing them wider socio-political context and knowledge is reduced to the facts only. Thus, student knows how many deputies are in the PE, how many funds Poland receives but he or she will not be able or barely able to understand and to critical analyze the process of decision making. The authors of the core curriculum ignored the social, political and economic problems of the member states which very often influence the process of decision making. We may also observe a tendency to perceive Poland only through the lens of benefits without reflection about responsibility in the EU.

It is worth mentioning about the emerging issue of migrant crisis. I cannot draw the conclusions from the opinions expressing in internet forums and social media but most of the posts suggest that Polish citizens don't want to accept refugees or immigrants from Syria and African countries. It seems that the views on migration problem in Europe are very pungent among Poles these days. It may seem strange especially when many Polish citizens are economic immigrants and beneficiary of the EU solidarity. The problems of refugees, human rights or the other world's problems have always been neglected in school curricula. Perhaps this the reason why the Poles feel that the problems of the others should be dealt by someone else. The governments in Poland have never made an educational campaign about aid to the developing countries. Moreover Poland is the lowest contributor of development aid, accord-

ing to the OECD report.⁵ The migrant crisis reveals that the urgent reform of school curricula is necessary.

It is not possible to be the member of the European community without sense of belonging and responsibility. The knowledge about the European countries is reduced to the knowledge about geography and the main facts. The European Union is presented only through the lens of its institutions. Of course we need to bear in mind that the educational process depends on teacher's creativity, passion, knowledge and attitudes. If teachers do not feel informed about European education they can find the necessary information in available publications including syllabuses.

Non-governmental organizations also provide trainings and education. Teacher's corner is an example of educational activity of the EU. On the website one can find interesting ideas for lessons addressed to different age groups. It is worth noticing then that the proposed lessons are related with the current and urgent problems of the EU e.g. migrant crisis, Greece crisis, natural environment issues.⁶

Undoubtedly the cooperation between schools and students' exchange is an important factor in the process of European education, social and cultural integration. Students' exchange, study visits, pro-European activities in local communities seem to be more effective than regular lessons in a classroom. Face to face meetings, discussions or spending time on social events bring closer everyday problems and culture of students from different European countries.

Cooperation between schools and local communities is perceived by some scholars as a key factor in citizenship education. However Polish schools are alienated from local communities. Alicja Szczurek-Boruta suggests that the bonds between schools and local communities are weak and consequently this weakness influences identity (local, national, supra-national, global) as well as readiness to civic involvement among young people (Szczurek-Boruta, 2008, p. 185).

Hence the question how to educate the future citizens of the European Union? I am convinced that education which serves for the interests of a particular nation only, groups or institutions limits individual develop-

⁵ <http://www.oecd.org/newsroom/aid-to-developing-countries-rebounds-in-2013-to-reach-an-all-time-high.htm>, 8.07.2015.

⁶ http://europa.eu/teachers-corner/index_en.htm, 8.06.2015.

ment. Citizenship education is about building sense of belonging to a particular community which leads to civic engagement and social cohesion.

The project of European education seems to be a postulate in many aspects because the particular interests of the nations are prevailing over common good very often. If we take a look at Polish way of thinking about European education, we may see that mainly benefits for Poland are presented and discussed. If we take a look at British way of thinking, then we may see that the European Union is a threat for autonomy, subjectivity and economy of Great Britain. European education should not be limited to facts only. The key to building social consensus and shared values is to understand problems of the others. The ways of thinking about Europe only through the lens of particular, national interests may lead to deeper divisions in the European society or at least to create alliances with those who support “our” national interests.

Self-exclusion from the European Community may lead to the another social tensions and conflicts, after all Great Britain has always been a part of the European project. The main goal of European education should be looking for Kant’s perpetual peace which has always been an imperative for building the idea of common Europe. If we want to achieve this goal – perpetual peace – we need to educate the future generations to understand different historical experiences, cultures and today problems of the others.

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Prof. Agnieszka Cybal-Michalska – she is an associate Dean for Planning and Scientific Reporting, Postgraduate Studies and Promotion at the Faculty of Educational Studies of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and the Head of the Department of the Pedagogical Problems of Youth. Her research and development interests are focused on social and pedagogical problems of youth. The complexity of these issues and interdisciplinary character of the way it is captured, is reflected in her research activity. The following publications are the crowning of her theoretical studies and empirical works until now: *Pro-European orientations of youth. The state and educational needs* [*Orientacje proeuropejskie młodzieży. Stan i potrzeby edukacyjne* (Poznań 2001)], *Youth identity in the perspective of the global world, Socio-pedagogical study* [*Tożsamość młodzieży w perspektywie globalnego świata, Studium socjo-pedagogiczne* (Poznań 2006)], *Academic youth and a professional career* [*Młodzież akademicka a kariera zawodowa* (Kraków 2013)], scientific editing of the following books: *An individual, society and education in the global world* [*Jednostka, społeczeństwo i edukacja w globalnym świecie* (2006)], *An identity in the educational and socio-cultural context. Between particularism and universalism* [*Tożsamość w kontekście edukacyjnym i społeczno-kulturowym. Między partykularyzmem a uniwersalizmem* (Poznań, 2011)], co-editing of the book *Studies in pedagogy and the fringe science* [*Studia z pedagogiki i nauk pogranicza* (Poznań 2011)] and *Discourses of the popular culture in the contemporary society* [*Dyskursy kultury popularnej w społeczeństwie współczesnym* (Poznań 2012)]. These publications are additionally enriched by the Author's scientific experience gained during her visits at University of London, University of Amsterdam, University of Stockholm and University of Edinburgh.

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Dr Ettore Deodato – he has graduated in Political Science and has Master Degrees obtained at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and College of Europe, Bruges. He worked as Professor at the University of Perugia (IT) and later as Vice-Rector at the College of Europe, Natolin (PL). From 1992 to 2010 he worked as Principal Administrator at the European Commission dealing with Education Programmes (TEMPUS, ERASMUS, JEAN MONNET, LEONARDO) specifically with programme drafting and their relevance to the European Education Policies and being responsible for the European Community Studies Association (ECSA). Within EDUPOL project Ettore Deodato will be assigned the role of the Module Leader.

Dr Daria Hejwosz-Gromkowska – she completed PhD in 2009 which explored the relationship between the most selective universities in the world and rising elites. The doctorate thesis “University education and elite rising” was published with IMPULS in 2010 and received the award at ACADEMIA Books Fair in 2010. She works as a associate professor at Faculty of Educational Studies at Adam Mickiewicz University. She is interested in the current problems of higher education and citizenship education.

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