Edited by

Małgorzata GRUCHOŁA
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SPECTRUM
OF NATIONAL IDENTITY
ATTITUDES AT SCHOOL

London Scientific (LS)

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TOŻSAMOŚĆ
NARODOWA
W PROCESIE EDUKACJI SZKOLNEJ

SPECTRUM OF NATIONAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES AT SCHOOL

IBE INSTYTUT
BADAŃ
EDUKACYJNYCH

NAUKA DLA
SPOŁECZEŃSTWA

IBE
ZEMISI

London Scientific LS

Table of contents

Małgorzata Gruchoła, Robert Zieliński

Introduction
The idea of a research
project versus social needs

Where do I come from**, where** am I going**, who** am I?

Perhaps in the past you have asked yourself at least one of these questions. These questions form the framework for understanding the meaning of the term 'identity'. So what exactly the 'identity' means? What associations does it bring to mind? For example, individual identity, collective identity, cultural identity, national identity, which appears in empirical studies. We also hear more and more about digital and algorithmic identity.

Identity - Erik Erikson (1968) - it is our idea of who we are. Who we are as a collective and who I am as an individual. Both of these identities are not given to us forever, they are both dynamic, developmental and variable. The formation - perhaps better the constructing of identity - is long-term and continuous. It is the result of our social relations, experiences, knowledge, feelings, aspirations and concrete actions. Its development depends on many factors:

- relationships with people that we meet directly and those we get to know from media broadcasts;
- the events in which we participate and learn about in the process of socialisation;
- the material products we use;
- the symbolic behaviours, the values we learn and adopt;
- the natural environment (Malgorzata Gruchoła: 2017).

Identity is the result of the interaction of many different elements of reality, both current and those of the closer and later past. New factors, situations and determinants are constantly emerging. Among the factors influencing the formation of collective identity, social and intellectual elites, moral authorities and politicians play an important role (Leon Dyczewski, Dariusz

Wadowski: 2009). An increasingly important role is attributed to the creators of popular culture: influencers, people from the entertainment industry. The significant events and their interpretation and presentation in the educational process are of great importance in the construction of identity.

Samuel. P. Huntington defined national identity as the result of 'a long process of historical evolution, expressed in shared concepts, shared experiences, shared ethnicity, language, culture and usually a common religion. National identity is therefore of an organic nature' (Samuel Huntington: 1981, 60). Antonina Kłoskowska based her conception of national identity on a cultural foundation, stating that it is 'the totality of the texts of a national culture, its symbols and values that make up the universe of that culture, forming its syntagma, especially its canonical core' (Antonina Kłoskowska: 1996, 100). Bhikhu Parekh considered that 'national identity is a matter of collective choice, a historical project that has to be realised by each generation in the light of its needs, aspirations and the circumstances in which it lived'. (Bhikhu Parekh: 1994, 503).

National identity is closely linked to the nation-building elements. In this context, the psychological aspect, which shapes an individual's sense of belonging to a particular national identity, is particularly important. It is worth noting that this psychological aspect can also influence the formation of other forms of identity, such as ethnic or religious, but the differences will result from the use of the aforementioned nation-building elements. Furthermore, it depends on the individual's ability to identify with a particular element. In general, these elements provide individuals with a strong sense of emotional togetherness, which in turn strengthens bonds, creates collectivities and then transforms them into communities (Robert Zieliński: 2023).

In the scientific discourse, we come across different ways of constructing national identity at school. The most commonly distinguished are those in terms of:
1. defining the 'national identity' term:
   – criteria of Polishness;
   – perceptions of national character;
   – perception of groups as their own and foreign;
   – the value of national identity;
   – celebration of national holidays;
2. methods of national identity forming:
   – classroom activities as part of the teaching of school subjects;
   – extra-curricular activities within the social life of the school;
   – methodology of the teacher's work;
3. level of staff involvement in national identity shaping.

Teaching staff's professional engagement can be considered on different levels: cognitive, emotional, activational and physical (William A. Kahn: 1990). The literature on the subject distinguishes between administrative, didactic, cognitive and emotional engagement. Usually, the literature highlights teacher engagement as functioning in an institution - playing the role of a responsible person in the educational and organisational process (Sławomir Sobczak, Tamara Zacharuk: 2021; Barbara Kutrowska: 2008). In the empirical study, engagement was assumed to mean undertaking specific professional activities aimed at identity effects in civic education.

1. factors shaping patriotic attitudes:
   – groups acting to shape attitudes;
2. the impact of staff involvement in building pupils' national identity:
   – citizenship;
   – a modern understanding of patriotism;
   – presentation of different interpretations of a view of history.

The process of creation of national identity at school includes a research project carried out under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education scheme 'Nauka dla Społeczeństwa': *National Identity in the Process of School Education* (see the project website: https://ibe.edu.pl/pl/opis-projektu-tozsamosc-narodowa). The project ran from September 2022 to the end of August 2024. The main objective of the project was to identify ways of shaping national identity in school education. Achieving the main objective required empirical, theoretical and promotional objectives. Both research based on a quantitative method (conducted among teaching staff, as well as primary and secondary school students) and a qualitative method (conducted among school directors and teachers).

There were also formulated some theoretical and axiological assumptions that guided the research team in setting up and running the project:
   – Nationality means modernity. From the beginning of the modern period, national identity began to replace state and regional ones.
   – Nationality is not lost. Contrary to the diagnoses and predictions of European and American sociologists from the second half of the 20th century, national identity in the late first and second quarters of the 21st century has not disappeared (ed. Anita Adamczyk, Andrzej Sakson and Cezary Trosiak, 2018).
   – National identity is a strategic resource. Moreover, national identity in the second decade of the 21st century is becoming a resource with implications related to the states' raison d'etre and the so-called national interest (Ilona Urych, 2023).

- Polish national identity is and is a multiplicity. The Poles have their national identity, which is not monolithic in historical terms and has been multifaceted, multi-regional, multi-ethnic and in some ways has been open to external influences.
- National identity is largely shaped by the public school. The school is one of the most important places for shaping the national identity of citizens. It is a place of meeting and getting to know people from different social (economic criterion), regional (internal migration criterion), ethnic (minority origin criterion), national (external migration criterion) backgrounds.
- Polishness can unite. The de-escalating shaping of Polish national identity at school should be based on the conviction that Polishness is a value that transcends differences in political, religious and social views. The function of Polishness is to unite and include, not to divide and exclude.
- National identity is worth exploring. The sense of national identity and the ways in which it is shaped at school is research-able and potentially of value for public policy in education.

This monograph does not answer all the research questions, as this was included in the reports presented on the website of the Educational Research Institute. Information on the aims of the project and the methodology of field research is also included there. We would like to invite all interested readers to visit the project website: https://ibe.edu.pl/pl/opis-projektu-tozsamosc-narodowa. Hereby we want to present the summaries of a scientific nature, that was one of the aims of the project.

Introduction. The idea of a research project versus social needs contains the concept of a research project and its correlation to current social needs, focusing on the role of national identity in the contemporary educational system. Wojciech Olszewski outlines the key elements of nation theory that are most important in the formation of national identity and intercultural relations. The chapter is based on the author's research and teaching experience. Małgorzata Abassy examines how cultural learning mechanisms are integrated with the theme of national identity in educational programmes, analysing their impact on students. Barbara Mielcarek-Krzyżanowska analyses the way in which folklore, both in its traditional form and in its contemporary transformation, influences the formation of national identity in music education. Małgorzata Slawek-Czochra in her chapter focuses on the role of the celebration of state and national holidays in shaping and strengthening national identity. Katarzyna Stankiewicz examines how national identity, especially Polish identity,

is shaped in the context of multiculturalism, by analysing the challenges and opportunities associated with this trend. Małgorzata Gruchoła analyses how patriotism, both emotional and active, manifests itself in the attitudes of different social groups in Poland. Robert Zieliński presents the results of a study on the perception of 'Polishness criteria' by directors, teachers and students, analysing their impact on national identity. Ziemowit Socha examines the attitudes towards national identity held by teachers and directors, oscillating between pride and shame. Monika Popielewicz-Durakiewicz and Łukasz Dembski explore how outstanding individuals (e.g. leaders, national heroes) influence the formation of national identity. The chapter written by Dariusz Tułowiecki focuses on various teaching methods and tools that support school education on national identity. Marek Zajic examines opinions on foreigners and national and ethnic minorities, analysing their impact on national identity. Finally, the Summary contains a conclusion of the main findings with recommendations emphasising the importance of national identity in educational and social contexts.

It is our great pleasure and appreciation to address our thanks to all the authors of the monograph entitled *The Spectrum of national identity attitudes*. Your work, knowledge and commitment have contributed to the preparation of a publication that raises important issues and prompts reflection on national identity at school.

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Chapter 1.

The selected elements of nation theory (most relevant to identity formation and intercultural relations). From the experience of a researcher and university lecturer

Abstract

The content refers to selected elements of Florian Znaniecki's theory of the nation and national aspirations and a group of Polish researchers of the inter-war period, classified as the 'humanist trend' in Polish ethnic philosophy. Its main features were the emphasis on the consciousness factor and the conviction that a strong national identity, resulting from conscious participation in a common culture, is more open to relations with other cultures, to mutual cultural inspirations than an identity (e.g. ethnic) based mainly on faithful replication of traditional cultural patterns, that mutual inspirations are a factor enriching culture and not threatening its existence, the identity of its bearers. The author presents these assumptions in the context of his own research and didactic experience (with Polish students, mainly of cultural anthropology and Siberian students) and in the context of scientific international cooperation. He concludes that the scientific, professional and personal successes of his students and doctoral students testify to the great scientific and interpretative potential of this trend and the rightness of including its achievements in the didactic process.

In this paper I refer primarily to Florian Znaniecki's theory of the nation and to the work of a group of Polish scholars from before the Second World War who, just as he did, I classify as belonging to the humanist trend in Polish ethnic philosophy - above all Józef Obrębski, Stanisław Orsini-Rosenberg, Leon Wasilewski. (For an extensive characterisation of this trend,

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[1]   Dr hab. Wojciech Olszewski, Prof. of the Nicolaus Copernicus University. Contact details: e-mail: wojol@umk.pl

see Wojciech Olszewski: 2007). There are several reasons for this. Florian Znaniecki created the most complete theory in Polish science, not only of the nation, but also of national aspirations (although the whole has not been fully systematised, some of his views are scattered in various works and he only hinted at some problems, which he himself emphasised). This theory is considered by many Polish and Western researchers as still retaining a huge and still unrecognised, despite many published analyses, interpretative potential (e.g. Elżbieta Hałas: 2006; Jerzy Szacki: 1983, 1990; Włodzimierz Wincławski: 2006). Elżbieta Hałas, recalling that Znaniecki planned to give his book *Culural Sciences* a subtitle such as *An Introduction to the Future of Sociology*, concludes that it would also be relevant today (Elżbieta Hałas: 2006).

All of the above-mentioned (and a few more) had in common the study of identity processes and accompanying phenomena such as cultural stereotypes, acculturation and assimilation. These were pioneering studies in world anthropology, predating the science of other countries by up to several decades. As late as 1999, Aleksander Posern-Zieliński was still very critical of Western analyses of the processes of acculturation and assimilation, excellently worked out by Polish researchers of the inter-war period (Aleksander Posern-Zieliński: 1999). Undoubtedly, one of the most important factors leading to success was the possibility of verifying theoretical findings by relating them to the exceptionally complicated ethno-national reality of the Second Polish Republic.

Referring in his book to the theoretical findings of Florian Znaniecki, Janusz Mucha wrote that he often finds similar views in contemporary researchers (from different countries) who arrived at them independently many years after Znaniecki, without being familiar with his work (Janusz Mucha: 1996). This observation is relevant also for identity studies. Precisely, the Second World War brought a brutal end to this trend of Polish research. Whenever I presented the achievements of Polish research on identity processes from the interwar period abroad, I saw a certain surprise in the eyes of my interlocutors. In Poland, perhaps under the influence of, studies from the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries (some of which I have cited above) they are returning to scientific life.

A second reason for referring to the works cited here is the lack of relevant, such complete studies in both Polish and Western anthropology. In Poland after 1945, theoretical studies of the nation were restricted to the discipline of Marxism. Posern-Zieliński observed that they did not occupy an important place in it also in the 1990s. (Aleksander Posern-Zieliński: 1995). After 1989, when we wanted to reach out to the achievements of Western

anthropology, we found to our surprise that there were no models for us (Polish ethnologists) there either. Western anthropology, by identifying the horrors of war with nationalism and imperialism, and these in turn with the nation, removed the issue of the nation from its field of research. The Ostrich method resulted in great surprise and helplessness in the face of the problems of nationhood, which manifested themselves with great force in Europe (including Western Europe) after 1989 (Edward A., Shils: 1996). Unfortunately, no theory of the nation as comprehensive as Znaniecki's (despite lively discussions, countless works on nation and nationalism) in Western or Polish anthropology has appeared so far. (This is, of course, my subjective assessment).

There is also a third reason to draw on the views of Polish interwar scholars from the humanist trend - they were all Polish patriots and at the same time (except for one) all of them had multicultural roots. This background seems to have been as important a source of their scientific success as the aforementioned possibility of verifying theoretical findings in the culturally diverse Republic of Poland. Polish identity, shaped back in the times of the Partitions, was their conscious choice. Their family background meant that their patriotism could not fail to include empathy for ethnic or national minorities, for neighbouring groups.

The latter reason seems to me to be particularly important in the context of my experience in working with Polish students (ethnology - cultural anthropology, but also - to a slightly lesser extent - history, archaeology or sociology), Russian students or experiences from my visits to several European countries and Siberia - conference discussions or field explorations. Important because I recognise the missionary nature of anthropology as a science that can, should, serve to shape a fairer world. Important because, after all, this volume is devoted precisely to how to teach about identity to make the world a better place.

After 1989, two approaches were dominant in the minds of my students. One, let's call it extreme, orthodox patriotic, and the other, orthodox tolerant and cosmopolitan, even ethnophilic (excluding completely the criticism of cultures that are the subject of the researcher's interest, apart from one's own). Both were the result of years of suppression of patriotism, of national pride. Let me just remind that students of ethnography, back in the 1970s when I was in college, usually obtained a vision of history and contemporary cultural reality such that the Polish presence in the Eastern Borderlands was a testimony to our imperialism and oppression of the indigenous population, and - in general - that Poles should be unilaterally ashamed and blamed for almost everything. Added to this was the ethnography's preferred vision of Polish Catholicism - it was 'proved' that the ignorant people only thought

they were Catholic, while in reality all Catholic festivals and all Catholic rituals had their roots in paganism. One could admire other cultures and religions, especially those that were distant, even the most cruel, one's own culture and religion was no longer so attractive. This was compounded after 1989 by the aforementioned current of Western anthropology, condemning the nation, identifying it with nationalism (in the modern, unambiguously negative sense) and with imperialism. The synthesis of both attitudes is continued by some lecturers. This is evidenced, for example, by their social media posts. One lady professor of cultural anthropology even proclaimed on this year's Corpus Christi holiday that the Church had stolen it from the pagan Slavs. (The entry thankfully quickly disappeared). Students in the first group, attached to Polishness and Catholicism, thus sometimes adopted xenophobic attitudes, stemming from a sense of threat, accompanied by inquiries into 'who is a real Pole'. The others denied everything Polish and Catholic, even the right of Catholics to their own temples in Russia. (At the same time, they believed that Orthodox Christians and Muslims had the right to build their temples in Poland and even in the Vatican.) Nowadays, I see both extreme attitudes among students, but intermediate attitudes predominate. I consider the extreme attitudes harmful, because they limit the capacity for positive intercultural relations. My answer is lectures for the first year, but also commissioned students to study a selected identity process. I encourage these to be studies of their own or their family's identity. Students have the right to disagree with me, even to argue. After all, the aim is not to unify views, but to inspire them to further independent reflection.

So what elements of cultural theory do I highlight in my lectures to my students, but also in my discussions with colleagues and students from abroad? Above all, that identity is an ongoing process, that its change is the right of every individual and cannot be treated as a 'betrayal', that it is one's own sense of identity that determines which cultural or social group one belongs to (provided, of course, that this group also accepts this). And that culture is a dynamic entity and that cultural formations such as a tribe, an ethnic group or a nation can arise from a complex ethnic substrate. These three observations were obvious to all the scholars I included in the above-mentioned 'humanist trend', the basis for its distinction, so I will not refer here to specific publications (I would have to list them all, some of which I will cite below). What is more important is to learn from them that it is completely pointless to search someone's roots in order to determine whether they are Polish, German, Jewish or something else. In the same way as lamenting that replacing one cultural pattern with another means weakening or even losing a group's identity.

The construction of identity is important for the formation of relations with other groups. Florian Znaniecki, Józef Obrębski, Leon Wasilewski, Stanisław Orsini-Rosenberg emphasised that an ethnic group is a rather not registered cultural formation, lacking a common organisation, institutions conducting an active cultural policy, undertaking conscious, purposeful actions in order to develop one's own culture, to realise cultural ambitions. Belonging to a group understood in this way is determined by a sense of familiarity and similarity to an ideal cultural pattern. The boundaries of the group are where the cultural competence of its members ends. Further away (not necessarily territorially) the foreign world begins. From this characteristic of ethnic groups stems their conservatism, since a change in the ideal cultural pattern is perceived as a threat to the hitherto status quo (Florian Znaniecki: 1935; Józef Obrębski: 1936a; 1936b; Leon Wasilewski: 1929; Stanisław Orsini-Rosenberg: 1930a; 1930b; 1933).

A nation is a cultural formation organised on the basis of the leadership principle. Belonging to a nation, however, does not require - as in the case of an ethnic group - similarity to an ideal cultural pattern. It is determined by a conscious desire to participate in a common culture, to maintain and develop it. Conscious and, of course, accepted by those around them. Ethics and national history, literature, pedagogical systems are important binders. Social opinion gives its leaders, national authorities 'positive sanctions' (to use Znaniecki's terminology) when it recognises that they are acting in the nation's interest, and fights them when, in its view, they misappropriate that interest. The nation also seeks to subjugate other institutions with which it has most of its members in common: the state, the school, the military, the church. Thanks to the institutions of cultural leaders 'implying its development', a nation can, without compromising its own identity, allow even considerable cultural diversity among its members, its institutions, be inspired by the cultures of others, creatively assimilating their elements, and willingly take advantage of this. An excellent example of this is the Polish nation, built on a multicultural substrate, its culture and language, in which we can easily find inspiration from the cultures and languages of all neighbouring groups, settler groups invited to the Republic, prisoner-of-war groups settled in the Republic, and even countries with which the Republic was at war. The nation is also interested in promoting its culture, its values to others, not necessarily assimilation. Znaniecki called such an attitude constructive expansion, emphasising that it is always accompanied by mutual cultural inspiration, enriching both cultures. This openness gives the nation an assimilationist advantage (we are, of course, talking about voluntary assimilation) when confronted with a group with an ethnic identity,

defending only the cultural status quo Florian (Znaniecki: 1935; William Thomas, Florian Znaniecki: 1967). In *Sociology of the Struggle for Pomerania* (1935), Florian Znaniecki carries out a capital analysis of assimilation and dissimilation processes in the Polish eastern and western borderlands. I will not, for lack of space, summarise it here. It leads to two conclusions. The first is that the replacement of constructive cultural expansion by destructive expansion, aiming at the forcible elimination of someone else's values, at forcible assimilation, always ends (sooner or later) in the defeat of the cultural aggressor. (The defeat of the kulturkampf is a characteristic, but not the only one of the examples discussed). This view was shared and strongly emphasised by all representatives of the trend outlined in this paper (Florian Znaniecki: 1935; cf. especially: Leon Wasilewski: 1929).

Of course, theoretical studies spoke of certain ideal states. Cultural reality always resists to all attempts of classification. The identity construction of contemporary ethnic groups in Europe is also different. Usually, we could classify it somewhere between the identity defined by interwar scholars as ethnic and the one classified as national. An observation which is still current - and which I pass on to my students - is that a strong national identity entails openness to other cultures, whereas a weak one, based on faithful, conservative copying of existing patterns for fear of disintegration, is closed to creative contact with neighbours. I would also like to add an important observation here, that even the representatives of a large nation with a strong, expansive culture, when faced with a sense, even if only subjectively, of its threat or weakening, often adopt an attitude characteristic of representatives of endangered ethnic groups, aversive to strangers. I illustrate this to Polish students with, among other things, the attitudes of the French society and state towards minorities and neighbouring nations of the last few decades (before 2015), or the attitudes of Poles towards Russians. I have repeatedly explained to colleagues at Siberian universities and students there why, in the accounts of Polish exiles, their women must have been ugly, their science, music and theatre worthless, their customs primitive, why such a view prevailed until 1989 and beyond, why Polish ethnologists write a book about Siberia after a two-week stay there, although they do not cite, because they do not know, any works by local researchers. My explanation always had been reduced to one statement: 'You were enemies, occupiers, a threat to our identity. The negative stereotype was a form of defence, it prevented us from getting too close. Now we are free and we are no longer afraid of you, now your women, music, theatre can be beautiful, we can speak Russian with you on the Polish street, and I can cooperate with you'. The attitude of some Polish ethnologists is still a remnant of previous times, when contempt for you was a form

of defence of our identity.' (We are speaking here, of course, of contacts from before Russia's invasion of Ukraine, finally broken off after 24 February 2022).

Another up-to-date, and very important, conclusion is the observation that successes in promoting one's own culture to others, assimilation successes, do not mean the encounter of a 'superior' culture with a 'inferior' one, but are related to the current construction, the strength of identity, the expansive or exclusive forces of the contacting groups. And let me emphasise this again: always - even in the encounter between a large and strong group and a small and weak one - both inspire each other (although to different degrees).

The characteristics of a nation listed here, as seen by the researchers cited above, led Znaniecki, one of the first dreamers of a future united Europe (he perceived it as a community of mutually inspiring nations with a strong identity), to formulate an opinion as early as 1921, which is worth quoting here, even though I quoted it earlier in another publication: 'for every nation, the existence of other nations equally civilised and equally specific as itself is (...) a necessary condition for the permanence and vitality of its cultural progress. This fact that modern Western civilisation (...) is a combination of numerous disparate national groups, developing more or less co-ordinately and fertilising each other, is a warranty that it will not die of exhaustion. (...) The true interest of a nation lies, therefore, not in hindering but in helping other nationalities to develop their own civilisations freely' (Florian Znaniecki: 1921, 59). I would add at this point that all scholars from the humanist current believed that it was in the interest of the nation-state to provide conditions for minorities to satisfy their cultural aspirations to the maximum extent possible, so that they would want to claim this state as their own. 'Maximally possible' here meant 'not threatening state security' (Wojciech Olszewski: 2007).

Florian Znaniecki strongly emphasised that the nation and the state (even the nation-state) are two different formations. The first is based on conscious, voluntary participation in a common culture, on moral obligation. The second is a territorial formation, based on legal compulsion. Both are in competition with each other, even if they have a majority of common members. Since for moral duty, voluntarily assumed, a person is able to do much more than for legal duty, Znaniecki believed (using, of course, relevant examples) that usually a nation is superior to its state. He saw Hitler's Germany as an exception. Anticipating, their triggering of the Second World War, he predicted that they would be defeated by the united democracies of the West, allowing the German nation to free itself from the supremacy of its state, to regain its potential for creative expansion and to take one of the leading places in the future unified Europe (Florian Znaniecki: 1935). He could not have known

that, after the Second War, a significant part of the continent would be covered by so-called 'people's democracy' states, with a definite advantage over their nations, even anti-national. These nations, however, not only survived, but regained the upper hand over their states after 1989, which admits that Znaniecki was right.

I use the example of Russia to illustrate the issue of the relationship and differences between nation and state to my students. For the vast majority, I have met, of the inhabitants of this country, regardless of ethnic or national identity, state identity definitely comes first. Most of them are also convinced that this is also how they are 'naturally' perceived externally (as representatives of the Russian state). Between 2012 and 2016, on several occasions, as part of my cooperation with Siberian universities, I brought the students there (along with myself) to Darłowo - a city where almost every resident has suffered from the Russians (Soviet Army) or is a descendant of someone who has suffered cruel persecution from that side. I explained to them that in Poland, including among the Siberians and other victims of the Soviet Union, the distinction between state and nation is a given (cf. Michal Antonowicz et al. (eds.): 2016). I saw the fear in their eyes when I had the residents questioned about the end of the war and the immediate post-war years. I also saw the shock when it turned out that all the residents of Darłowo had treated them with extreme kindness. The former deportees - to show this kindness - even tried to speak Russian. For they distinguished (as they clearly declared) between the Russian people and the Russian (Soviet) state. For my students, this was an excellent illustration of the earlier, theoretical lectures.

And two more examples, out of many discussed with my students, that provide material for discussion on the relationship between state and nation. After my lecture at Tomsk State University on the reception in contemporary Poland of the results of Polish ethnological research in Siberia prior to 1918, I was approached by several Russian colleagues (all with degrees). They were surprised that I was talking about Polish researchers, since they lived in the belief that they were Russians until my speech. For this is the message in the scientific Russian literature. Polish national identity turned out to be something completely irrelevant to Russian science when juxtaposed with the imposed Russian citizenship.

In the People's Republic of Poland, the Gypsies believed that they were victims of a national conflict. They had the right to perceive their situation in this way, as the persecution (actions of the militia, orders of the authorities at various levels and even laws) involved the entire group. The analysis of, largely secret, official and militia materials from the 1970s and 1980s, from Poznań and Toruń, led me to significantly correct this thesis. The mutual

cultural distance between Poles and Gypsies and the conflicts arising from this are an undeniable fact. Similarly, the fact that the militiamen here were no different in their individual attitudes from the Poles in general. However, the gypsies fell victim to persecution not by the nation, but by the Polish state, and not as an ethnic minority (or at least not to the main extent), but primarily as a group escaping with great effectiveness from the control of the totalitarian state (Wojciech Olszewski: 2011). (Here it is worth adding that Znaniecki in the 1930s also assessed the German-Polish conflict of the last decades as a clash between the German state and the Polish nation, and not as a conflict between two nations; Florian Znaniecki: 1935).

The three, different examples cited here, chosen from many possible examples, show that the question of sensitisation to the - sometimes very fine - differences between the nation (what is national) and the nation-state (and what is state) is important for the proper preparation of young ethnologists - cultural anthropologists for the proper interpretation of cultural reality and intercultural relations, thus - also for their active formation.

I have referred here to the basic elements of the theory of the nation discussed with beginning students, those with which I begin my didactic delivery. This is followed by the discussion of no less important problems such as buffer groups, ethnic mimicry, acculturation and assimilation or the problem of 'foreignness', which is fashionable in anthropology.

The term '*buffer group*' was introduced by Józef Obrębski to describe a group whose identity is, or has already been, decomposed and which therefore applies for assimilation into one or more other cultural groups, which, in its opinion, have a 'higher culture', but is rejected, thus aggravating the identity crisis, especially since there is no return to the old cultural patterns. This phenomenon is often accompanied by *ethnic mimicry* - impersonation, an outward resemblance to members of a group deemed superior (Józef Obrębski: 1936a; 1936b). Obrębski introduced the term buffer group to describe the Poleszuks. He did so after lengthy, in-depth field research. He saw in their fragmented identity, in their cultural frustration, a serious danger. He believed that such a group was unpredictable in its relations with others, because it was susceptible to manipulation. In order to make students aware of the importance of the problem of the existence of buffer groups (and the associated dangers), I discuss it using examples from post-war Europe: the French (Algerian?) *Pieds Noirs* and *Harki* (cf. Małgorzata Sokołowska: 2006), the *Russian Germans* (e.g. Joanna Książek: 2004) or, known to me also from my own research, the case of the so-called Russians in the Baltic States. At this point, I will share information about a case of ethnic mimicry, not yet recorded, it seems, in scientific publications. In 2011, I was awarded information

by a Polish-German ethnologist about the phenomenon of some Berlin school-children 'impersonating' the Turks (in dress, behaviour, etc.). (Unfortunately, the promised article on this phenomenon, was not written for non-scientific reasons). I also discuss this case with students. This is because it perfectly demonstrates that cultural identity is not uniform throughout society (nation, ethnic group) and that even in a nation as culturally strong as Germany there can be a group experiencing an identification crisis.

I have already mentioned the phenomenon of assimilation, obvious in intercultural relations, the essence of which is the adoption of another group's identity by the assimilating group. I always caution students not to equate it with acculturation, i.e. the adoption (for various reasons) of the patterns of another group, but without changing the identity. I discuss this issue with first-year students using the example of the encounter between expatriates from the Vilnius region and local Poles in Pomerania after the Second World War. Both, defending themselves effectively against assimilation, adopted many elements of the aggressor's culture (customs, values, language). This encounter, as a result of the failure to distinguish between assimilation and acculturation, bore all the features of a, at times turbulent and violent, ethnic conflict (although it was never described as such). For the Pomeranians, the expatriates from the east were *Russians*; for the latter, the Pomeranian Poles were *Germans*. (The authorities of the time were by no means interested in resolving the conflict). I myself come from a double borderland family: from Pomerania and Vilnius. So I don't need to refer to literature here, because throughout my childhood and even later, I was at the centre of this clash of cultures. It is therefore doubly important to me that my students do not reproduce such errors either in their academic analyses or in their attitudes to life (cf. also Jarosław Krasnodębski: 2019).

The last of the fundamental issues concerning identity and intercultural relations discussed with the first-year students is the question of 'familiarity' and 'strangeness'. It would seem that, at least after Znaniecki's *Studies on the Antagonism to Strangers* (Florian Znaniecki: 1930), talking about the self-stranger opposition as regulating intercultural relations, surveying which nationalities we like and which we don't, teaching that foreignness is a simple function of otherness should no longer take place. For no one is a stranger to anyone or their own once and for all. The qualification of someone as a stranger occurs when the dominant plane of contact is accompanied by a conflict of values (real or only imagined). Depending on the circumstances of the contact, the same person, the same group, can be qualified once as one's own and once as a stranger, which of course translates into mutual relations. (At the same time, individual people or groups can be qualified as familiar

or alien with different frequency). Surveys which ask who (which nationalities) someone likes (more or less) do not make scientific sense, because nobody has a ranked list of nations or ethnic groups. When asked, he or she responds according to his or her current contact with them or how he or she imagines such contact (which does not mean that with actual contact with a representative of a given nation, his or her assessment would be the same). At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, I took part in such studies, and I also conducted similar ones for my master's thesis. Their nonsense is brilliantly illustrated by the story of my female colleagues, who asked a Podlasie farmer to rank, according to liking, a list of ten nationalities presented to him. In response they heard: 'I had a Russian woman, I had a Belorussian woman, I had a German woman. I did not have a Hungarian, so I will not comment. A few years after defending my master's thesis, I was mature enough to throw all my material from such research into the bin.

Discussions of familiarity and alienation in anthropological literature are often accompanied by the concept of the stereotype. A stereotype, it is not clear why, usually identified with something bad and treated as some kind of autonomous entity. There are even studies on the 'nature of the stereotype' and ways to combat the bad stereotype of the stranger by promoting an idyllic image of their culture. For researchers from the current I am referring to here, it was already obvious ninety years ago that stereotypes are not erroneous judgements, resulting from ignorance, but a form of deliberate shaping of the range of acceptable forms of contact with another group; they are also positive (e.g. Florian Znaniecki: 1930; Józef Obrębski: 1936b). If, for some reason, we assume that the stereotype of the other group does not correspond to our aims, it is not enough, and will not even be effective, to present the opposite image. We need to start by recognising the values that underlie our relationship with the group in question. I conducted research in the last century among people who were frightened as children by the idea that gypsies kidnap children and among those who were frightened by the same thing for their descendants. Nobody believed it. The stereotype had a transparent practical function. It prevented children from taking too much uncontrolled interest (while their parents were busy working hard) in colourful gypsies, who were the negation of all our values, linked to the work ethos, aesthetics and a few others. It thus prevented demoralisation. The stereotype died a natural death, not because there was a de-blaming information campaign, but because it is no longer needed for anything. (I have already mentioned above the role of the negative stereotype of Russians).

I have presented those elements of the theory of the nation which, as in my opinion the most relevant for the formation of the identity of the young

(not only) anthropologist and his ability to relate to other cultures, to understand them, I analyse with first-year students. I do not hold them accountable for their perception of my message. I encourage them to check the validity of what I say, of what established authorities write, to look for weaknesses. For the formation of their own individual, professional, cultural identity cannot be the result of simple trust in the lecturer, at most of an independent search motivated by him. Those who decide to do so, in cooperation with me, deepen the issues of identity, nationality during the following years of study.

One may ask what the effects of my work, thus approached, are. After all, as a teacher, I am just a simple amateur. It would be most effective for me to write, truthfully, that all six of the PhDs I have promoted testify to an excellent understanding of identity issues and empathy for other cultures among my former students. (Their authors have successfully conducted research on four continents). I could write about the many graduates with whom I am in touch, who are excellent at resolving problems with their own identities and their relationships with others (which are related to each other) whether in Poland or abroad. I will conclude, however, with the story of a student who, a research I ordered in his first year at university, entitled: 'Why my father was a German?'. When he presented the results to the class, he expressed his thanks to me, because - as he said - thanks to this research he had regained, after many years, his German brother, and he had himself become a fully conscious Pole. For just this one case, it was worth including the issue of national identity in the teaching process. (This student later summarised his research in a mature article: Rafał Iwański: 2003).

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Chapter 2.

The mechanisms of cultural learning and the issue of national identity in education programmes

Abstract

National identity as an element of the educational process is constantly developing with both the transforming socio-political context and the increasing dynamics of the globalisation process. Research conducted on the issue as part of the project: 'National identity in the process of school education' showed a high correlation between guidelines from official documents and implemented activities in schools. At the same time, the analysis of their results has uncovered problem areas and gaps due to which the work of teaching national identity can be unsatisfactory. This article aims to identify gaps and propose research models to support the transformation of theoretical guidelines and didactic methods. Analyses of the source materials were conducted based on the theoretical foundation of linguistic anthropology and systems theory. Two main problems were defined: unclear semantics of the key words constituting the content of the core curriculum in the topic of national identity and lack of awareness of the hierarchy and interdependence of the elements involved in the educational process. Recommendations include the implementation of a systemic approach to support teachers, students, parents, school directors, education experts and policy makers in recognising the wide network of interdependencies and supplementing both school curricula and staff with subjects and specialists dealing with language as a carrier of cultural content.

1. Introduction: aims, premises, research hypotheses, theoretical foundation

The question 'Who am I?' accompanies humans both socially (Tadeusz Paleczny: 2008; Elżbieta Smolarkiewicz and Jacek Kubera (eds.): 2017; Dorota Czakon and Mirosław Boruta (eds.): 2012; Cf. Robert Zieliński, Ziemowit Socha and Dariusz Tułowiecki: 2024) and ontologically (Leon Dyczewski: 2015, 9-27; Krystyna Najder-Stefaniak, Yuriy Plyska: 2010; Robert Szwed: 1999, 145-164; Hans Mol: 1978; Ralph Linton: 1975; Gabriel Marcel: 1984; Małgorzata Gruchoła: 2017). In the former aspect, it becomes a tool for defining and shaping community bonds with members of the family, lineage, clan, peer group, professional group, ethos, nation, etc. (Irena Borowik: 2011, 13-26; Philip Gleason: 1983, 910-931). At the same time, it is linked to culture as a set of shared perceptions of reality that are derived from mentality and ethnogenesis. Already this cursory enumeration of the dimensions of defining belonging indicates the complexity and dynamism of the phenomenon. All recognitions are partial and incomplete. They do not provide the searching individual with the final satisfaction contained in the implicit or explicit conviction that his or her identity has been defined. Even if such an impression does arise, it is ephemeral in nature. This is because the question 'Who am I?' conceals another question that demands an answer: 'Why am I here?', 'What am I doing here?', 'What is the meaning of my life?', 'What will remain after my death?' Thus, it is existential in nature - it directs the notice, both of the searching individual and the researcher, towards the ontological dimension. Human life is limited in time and space, and this makes an answer to the question 'Who am I?' that takes into account only the individual perspective ultimately unsatisfactory. It is only by integrating it into a broader context - that of the community - that the temporal limitation of individual existence can be overcome. On the other hand, the intensity of the search, the multiplicity of definitions of the concept of 'identity' - also by supplementing it with adjectives such as 'national', 'cultural', 'gender', 'religious', etc. complicates the process and distances it from a clear answer rather than bringing it closer. 'National identity' would situate itself in a space born of a shared set of values between an individual and a group called a nation. It would thus be a space for negotiating the interests of a 'nation' drawing on the individual potentials of its members and of an individual wishing to give meaning to its existence by leaving a legacy of a larger and, most importantly, more sustainable whole over time.

The purpose of the considerations in this article is to propose a research model that will become a tool to structure the process of posing questions

about identity both when constructing syllabuses for school subjects and when conducting research. The rationale for constructing the model became a series of preliminary observations. Firstly, it was noted that 'identity' is more of a relationship than a fact. 'Who am I?' reveals one or more of its infinite number of dimensions in the contact of at least two subjects, remaining in relation not only to each other, but also to the current situation and to the baggage of memory. This means that the educational process should take into account systemic approaches, in which the system is the set of elements and the relations between them, while the final result is the outcome of the synergy, expressed in the laconic phrase: 'The whole is more than the sum of the parts'. The question 'Who am I?' would implicitly include the elaboration: '...in this group of people and in these circumstances'. Secondly, it has been observed that the more general the definition, the lower the possibilities of using it in research, as a theoretical tool. The lack of precision of the concepts 'nation', 'identity' requires, in the first instance, a narrowing of the research area and the selection of the elements studied, in the full knowledge that the clarity of the research results will entail a limited range of applicability of the results. Thirdly, it has been observed that the concretisation of concepts by relating them to the experience of the pupils/students and the phenomena they are familiar with leads to a deep understanding of the purposefulness of actions in a given community and historical time. It links directly to the questions 'Where do I come from?' and 'Where am I going?' and allows to associate social experiences with existential search. Finally, fourthly, the existence of cultural determinants influencing perceptions of identity was observed. Cultural determinants were identified through words, in line with the idea that culture is a special kind of language, containing key words that allow describing and modelling reality. Narratives of all kinds are attempts, on the one hand, to express identity and, on the other, to construct it in real time, when the narrative is created and its author tells his or her story.

The starting point for constructing a research model for the issue of the place of national identity in school education programmes is culture understood as language - a set of key concepts together with their semantics (John Austin: 1975, Edward Sapir: 1951, Anna Wierzbicka: 1997). The systemic approach assumes in the first place - an arbitrary selection of elements, then - the identification of those relations between them that will be subject to an in-depth examination, the next step is the emergence of patterns and rules influencing the transformation. The results of the research will allow the identification of fixed elements, supporting the processes of answering the question 'Who am I', and variable elements. The latter are influenced by the environment, ranging from media narratives to the international situation. The linking

of the social dimension of national identity with the existential dimension of the individual prompts the construction of syllabuses for school subjects and educational activities in such a way as to reinforce long-lasting elements that are resistant to the challenges of globalisation and socio-political turbulence.

2. Source material - characteristics and content analysis

The exemplification material of the theoretical propositions is provided by the research reports of the project 'National identity in the process of school education' (Robert Zieliński, cooperation: Ziemowit Socha, Dariusz Tułowiecki: 2023; Jakub Koper and Robert Zieliński: 2024, Marek Zajic: 2024a, Marek Zajic: 2024b). In the process of content analysis, we focused our attention on those aspects that relate to issues of education as a system of concepts, encoded and re-coded in the process of knowledge transmission. Guided by the age and position of the respondents in the education system, the discussion begins with the quantitative empirical research report: 'National identity of pupils in classes I-III of primary schools' (Jakub Koper, Rober Zieliński: 2024). The starting point for the research was a slogan phrase, referring to well-known phrases from the 'Catechism of a Polish child' by Władysław Bełza (Władysław Bełza, 2022). Awareness of national belonging was tested in six aspects: associations with Poland and Polishness - 'Who are you?', knowledge of the national emblem and flag - 'What is your symbol?', the content of the anthem and appropriate behaviour when singing it - 'In what country?', celebrating important anniversaries referring to history - 'With what has been won? - With blood and scars', understanding /feeling belonging to a community called homeland - 'What is this land? - My homeland', and knowledge of the region - expressed in the words 'Where do you live? - Among my neighbours'. (Jakub Koper, Rober Zieliński: 2024, 3). Due to the lack of developed abstract thinking skills in children of this age, the research was based on images, either presented graphically or induced by symbols: a white eagle, a red and white flag, associations of feelings with colours. This type of thinking is linked to the so-called semantic type of cultural coding, whose characteristic feature is the identification of the individual with a larger whole (Cf. Yuri Lotman: 2000, 400-417). In the educational process, content is acquired by imitating the attitudes of adults: teachers, parents and other close people. By recognising the symbol of the white eagle or the black-and-white flag, children affirmed their identity, in line with Ricoeur's assumption

that 'In the reading of symbols a connection is made between each of us and ourselves' (Anna Walczak: 2011, 95). State symbols and the commemoration of historical events in the form of national holidays seem to foster the concretisation of national identity. Abstract concepts such as homeland or patriotism, on the other hand, bring a multiplicity of answers, while pointing to potential difficulties in educating in these areas. The early school period deserves special notice, as it is then that the matrix - the reference point for content assimilated later - is formed. The clarity of the basic concepts of 'homeland', 'nation', 'patriotism' (love of the homeland) by linking them to the history of the family and the region in the early stages of education will condition the effectiveness of educational programmes for young people and young adults.

The second report, entitled 'National identity in the opinion of students of the last classes of primary and secondary schools' (Marek Zajic: 2024), raises questions aimed at defining key concepts, including what it means to be Polish, how to situate one's own national identity on the scale of 'familiarity' and 'foreignness', and manifestations of patriotism and involvement in celebrating the memory of historical events. A correlation is observed between the occurrence of a fact, such as residing in Poland, and a cultural factor, such as adherence to customs or proficiency in the language. The r-Pearson correlation demonstrated statistically significant correlations between self-identification as Polish and all analysed characteristics, suggesting that these factors are interrelated. All correlations were positive. The strongest correlation was observed in the case of knowledge of the Polish anthem, observance of Polish customs, knowledge of Polish literature and art, and use of the Polish language (Marek Zajic: 2024, 16). The qualities identified by respondents as characteristic of Poles were of a declarative nature, without reference to specific situations or examples. Therefore, in this instance, national identity is derived from professed values and is constructed for the specific purpose of the survey. This observation can be expressed as a generalisation: identity is constituted by a fixed set of values, while its manifestation is context-dependent. The respondents were not required to define specific concepts, nor were they provided with definitions of these concepts. It was assumed that all respondents were aware of the meanings of terms such as "patriotism" and "tolerance". The report states the following: A synthesis of the values espoused in the general education core curriculum for primary school was conducted, and students were then tasked with identifying three pivotal aspects that they deemed essential. Tolerance was the most highly rated of the selected attributes, with 58.4% of respondents indicating a positive assessment. Over half of the respondents indicated a desire to engage in collaborative endeavours. Patriotism was indicated by just under half of the respondents (49%), while

two in five focused on respect for tradition. "A specific triad of values can be observed, where tolerance and cooperation play a dominant role, while issues of patriotism and general respect for tradition have a supporting function" (Marek Zajic, 2024, p. 27). This issue will be addressed in subsequent sections of this article, wherein the importance of clarifying terminology will be demonstrated. It is erroneous to assume that tolerance equates to friendliness. Rather, it is a state of indifference, situated in proximity to the concept of the 'stranger' on the scale of emotional proximity. The prevalence of the term "tolerance" may be a contributing factor to its selection as a primary value by younger individuals. However, a closer examination of the term's denotation and connotation reveals its ambivalent nature. "Tolerance" implies a discrepancy between evaluation and action. Despite our negative evaluation of a given phenomenon, we may nevertheless commit ourselves to refraining from action or, at most, to acting with restraint (Jacek Holowka, 1995, p. 7). In regard to the concept of patriotism, the authors of the survey presented a series of questions designed to elucidate the ways in which young people conceptualise this notion. Of the various meanings ascribed to the term 'patriotism', the majority of respondents (79.6%) asserted that it entails a sense of affection for one's homeland. Furthermore, at least three-quarters of respondents identified patriotism with displaying respect for the national emblem, flag, and anthem (78.8%), upholding Polish traditions (76.2%), and commemorating national heroes (75.2%). Conversely, less than half of the students surveyed indicated that they believe patriotism entails demonstrating respect for state authorities and providing religious guidance to children within the family. Specifically, 49.6% and 46.7% of the respondents, respectively, indicated that they view these aspects as essential components of patriotism (Marek Zajic, 2024, p. 59). Attempts to define patriotism may prompt the definition of other concepts pertinent to the process of education concerning national identity. It is noteworthy that respondents appear to differentiate between patriotism as a form of service to the nation and patriotism as a demonstration of respect for the political structure of the state and its democratically elected representatives. In view of the statements concerning the significance of 'civil liberties', the discrepancy in attitudes towards 'nation' and 'state' merits further investigation.

The aforementioned conclusions of the analysis are juxtaposed with the contents of the core curricula (Robert Zieliński, Ziemowit Socha, and Dariusz Tułowiecki: 2023, 63-93). Curricula are defined as being derived from laws and official regulations that govern the objectives of education. These objectives are set out in the following way: 'Education and upbringing serve to develop in young people a sense of responsibility, love of the homeland

and respect for the Polish cultural heritage, while at the same time being open to the values of European and world cultures'. It is the duty of the school to provide each student with the conditions necessary for their development, and to prepare them to fulfil their family and civic duties based on the principles of solidarity, democracy, tolerance, justice and freedom (OJ. pos. 425 1991,OJ. 2017 pos. 59: 1). In light of the lack of precision inherent to these concepts, it would be prudent to take the following concepts, namely 'love of the homeland', 'respect for heritage', 'solidarity', 'democracy', 'identity', and 'justice', as a starting point for further clarification. It is evident from this brief passage that the question of the boundaries or demarcation between the concepts of 'native' and 'foreign' is raised. This is expressed in the recommendation to respect the Polish cultural heritage while opening up to other cultures. Moreover, actions may be either conscious or unconscious manifestations of deeply rooted values. Without investigating the underlying causes and motives that drive attitudes and actions, any interpretation may prove to be erroneous. Moreover, the comprehensive and precise nature of the anticipated educational outcomes directs the attention of the problem researcher to the practical organisation of the educational process, ensuring that the acquired knowledge of the student can be effectively verified. Once more, questions emerge concerning the distinction between acquired information, which can be evaluated through examination questions, tests, and quizzes, and its internalisation. The domain of emotions, such as the love of one's homeland and the sense of freedom, is another area that requires further investigation. It is acknowledged that the report makes reference to the guidelines of the latest core curriculum, which indicate attempts to activate the emotional sphere of the student. This is exemplified by the set of topics for Class IV, which are intended to engage with the emotional sphere in addition to other areas. It is of significant importance to consider the role of historical awareness in shaping attitudes and influencing civic and patriotic actions. Robert Zieliński, Ziemowit Socha and Dariusz Tułowiecki (2024, p. 76) posit that a pupil leaving primary school will be aware that it is impossible to build a future without historical memory, which is rooted in the past. However, attitudes are still referred to, rather than their motivations. It should be noted that these are linked to emotions and serve as the motivating force behind actions. The conjunction of values and emotions constitutes authenticity. In the absence of such knowledge, it is not possible for the researcher to ascertain whether they are dealing with an authentic attitude or a mimetic one. In the initial stages of teaching, mimicry is a typical phenomenon. Nevertheless, at subsequent stages of education, a pupil's involvement in rituals such as the celebration of national holidays may be a consequence of mimicry, a means

of directing emotions such as frustration or aggression, or it may evolve into an instrument for the deliberate expression of patriotism, or love for one's homeland.

It is therefore evident that the role of educators extends beyond the mere transmission and evaluation of knowledge. They are also tasked with fostering a sense of patriotism and national pride among their students. Such an attitude is more closely aligned with personal disposition than with pedagogical competence or the capacity to impart knowledge. The comprehension of concepts, the capacity to connect them to tangible actions, and the consciousness of one's intrinsic motivation represent the nexus where the collective and the personal converge. An illustrative example of the discrepancy between assumptions and purpose is provided by the passage concerning the teaching of history in schools, as cited by the authors of the report: In secondary school, the core curriculum is given particular emphasis. It is argued that the subject fulfils important objectives and enables students to strengthen their sense of love for their homeland. This is achieved through respect for and attachment to the traditions and history of their nation and its achievements, culture and native language. In addition, it forms bonds with the home country, fosters civic awareness, and encourages respect and responsibility for one's own country. It also serves to consolidate a sense of national dignity and pride. The fostering of a sense of respect for other people and the achievements of other nations and countries, respect for the national heritage, the development of a sense of care for historical monuments and relics, the arousal of interest in one's own past, the past of one's family and local and regional history are all fundamental aspects of the programme of general education, as elucidated in the accompanying commentary. The secondary school curriculum is designed to: In the field of history, the year 2017 saw: (11; Cf. Robert Zieliński, Ziemowit Socha, and Dariusz Tułowiecki: 2024, 75-76).

The theme of teachers' attitudes and the relevance of personal views to the educational process in the area of national identity is made apparent in reports that examine the attitudes of teachers and school directors (Marek Zajic: 2024a; Ziemowit Socha: 2024). The implementation of the core curriculum guidelines may manifest as a perfunctory fulfilment of a duty or as a personal commitment that extends well beyond the elements a teacher is obliged to account for in order to demonstrate that the subject curriculum has been met.

In examining the attitudes of the teachers outlined in the report, it is pertinent to consider the role of external influences in shaping the structural framework. National identity is a value-based phenomenon that is manifested in cultural and linguistic practices. The transmission of knowledge occurs through the content of subjects such as Polish and history, music, and social

studies. The core curriculum does not emphasise the importance of structure, which, in our opinion, results in a lack of respect for state structures. The greater the emotional intensity of the terms "freedom," "democracy," and "patriotism," the more essential it becomes to provide a conceptual framework for their interpretation. The respect for authority and the establishment of hierarchies, although a less popular trend in the contemporary era, is of significant importance for the maintenance of coherence within the diverse contents that constitute national identity, thus forming a stable foundation. The issue is clearly recognised by educators, who are in daily contact with their pupils and are therefore well placed to identify the resources they themselves require in order to provide effective patriotic education.

3. Education systems and cultural learning mechanisms

Since their inception, educational systems have been inextricably linked to the cultural norms, core values and objectives that define their distinctive character. They have evolved in conjunction with the culture, while being employed by those in positions of power as instruments to attain political objectives. An examination of the interdependence between culture, as a set of long-established paradigms, and education systems, as a tool of influence, reveals their intrinsic interdependence. Culture serves an intrinsic function of ordering human experience across decades and centuries, thereby providing a sense of continuity at both the individual and national levels. By examining the mechanisms of knowledge transmission in relation to cultural paradigms, it is possible to develop more effective methods of educating individuals in the context of values and behaviours that are aligned with the widely understood concept of national identity. The contemporary education system is shaped by a complex structure of elites. This represents the culmination of an ongoing discourse between representatives of the political and educational spheres. Given the direct contact with young people, it would be beneficial to place greater emphasis on the role of the elite group comprising teachers and school directors. The implementation of the Ministry's guidelines results in the imprinting of attitudes on the content being conveyed. This conclusion is corroborated by the findings of the survey, which indicate that: The respondents (teachers) indicated that the primary objective of school education in the field of civic topics should be to foster awareness of civic freedoms (96.1%). This indication aligns with the personal beliefs of the teaching staff,

who, when enumerating the values they hold most dear, cite civil liberties as their primary concern (95.7%) (Marek Zajic: 2024, 72). Identity is the domain of human existence wherein a sense of purpose is actualised. Teachers and school directors occupy a unique position as intermediaries between the institutional and human dimensions of education. They serve as a conduit between the directives set forth by the Ministry and the evolving needs of students. Furthermore, they are the group that determines the quality of the feedback between the 'national' and the 'individual'. The initial step in developing the system model is to define the role of the teacher in relation to the student and to the education system. It is also assumed that the teacher constitutes a principal element of the educational system. The definition of the role and level of proficiency of the teacher is contingent upon the type of culture that shapes the manner in which children and young people are educated. Cultural researchers differentiate between two principal forms of culture: the 'culture of text' and the 'culture of grammar'. They also identify the distinctive modes of knowledge transmission associated with each of these cultural forms. The former is practised when acquiring the native language at an early age. In this instance, no rules are instilled in the learner; instead, they are supplanted by textual materials. The child thus memorises a number of usages and learns to produce texts independently on the basis of these. The second case pertains to the introduction of a set of rules into the learner's consciousness, which enables them to produce texts independently (Yuri Lotman, 2000, p. 417). In the context of language learning, the two approaches are mutually reinforcing. However, in the formation of identity, they are distinct and operate through a different internalisation of knowledge about the world. The identification of these two approaches is contingent upon the observation of the relationship between the teacher and the student. In the first case, the idealised teacher is regarded as a mentor, serving as a role model, whereas in the second case, the teacher is a prescriptive authority, maintaining a distance from potential and actual students. With regard to text culture, the appropriate stance for the student is one of trust and obedience, whereas in the context of grammar culture, it is a critical approach (cf. Margaret Abassy, 2015, p. 26). The differences between the education of students in text cultures and those in grammar cultures extend beyond the teacher-student relationship and the acceptance or contestation of found knowledge. They also encompass the attitude towards tradition. In the context of the 'culture of text', tradition is regarded as an immutable set of norms, behaviours and beliefs, and as such, precedents are not permitted. In contrast, within the 'culture of grammar', the establishment of a precedent is contingent upon its adaptability to the prevailing laws and rules, and thus, the possibility of storing it in the culture's memory in the form of a text is

dependent upon its compatibility with the established norms. It is frequently the case that the subconscious selection of one of these two methods of internally ordering reality becomes evident in the opposition of custom (which may be perceived as an unchanging norm) to codified law. The intuitive and emotional approach is juxtaposed with rational thinking and cause-and-effect reasoning. A teacher's authority exerts a direct influence on their proficiency in conveying patriotic attitudes, which in turn shapes a sense of national identity. The source of authority is a specific cultural milieu that either encourages respect for tradition or allows for its contestation. The source of the 'culture of the text' element is constituted by knowledge of family history, as reflected in the biographies and experiences of ancestors. The transmission of family histories from one generation to the next can serve as a robust foundation for the formation of national identity. Historical dates linked to specific figures from family histories acquire a human face and evoke emotions that cannot be overestimated as factors motivating deeper knowledge, generating a sense of pride and prompting action to cultivate heritage in the form of concern for the present and future. The norms and concepts developed on the basis of the values of 'text culture' become imbued with content, thereby acquiring a tangible substance that transcends the realm of mere empty notions. A comprehensive understanding of what is "familiar" enables receptivity to the "other" without the necessity of categorizing it as "foreign."

4. 'Keywords' and 'calls of the age': constructing a space of meaning

The navigation of concepts such as 'nation', 'identity', 'patriotism', 'homeland', and 'freedom' necessitates a clarification of theoretical positions. Firstly, each of the aforementioned words belongs to a set of 'key words' (Anna Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 17). These concepts are distinguished by their strong emotional charge and the absence of a direct translation into other languages. It is important to bear this in mind when engaging with representatives of foreign cultures. Nevertheless, even in discussions with representatives of the native culture, misunderstandings can occur. This is illustrated by the discrepancy between parents and teachers in their approach to patriotic education in schools. Parents tend to expect teachers to refrain from modifying their child's sense of national identity (32.4%), whereas teachers often believe that they should encourage a more nuanced understanding of national identity. (Marek Zajic: 2024, 71), or between the expectations of those in positions

of authority and the visions of the teacher: 'Whenever those in positions of authority deal with the topic of patriotism in schools, the result is a negative outcome (33.9%)'. Similarly, only 31.2% of respondents indicated that they would be amenable to teaching patriotism, but not in the manner they are expected to (Ziemowit Socha, 2024, p. 91). It is therefore crucial to bear in mind the non-measurable elements of an educational strategy in the field of national identity, which require philological and psychological preparation. A second theoretical premise that must be considered when developing a core curriculum and set of values is the existence of words that can be described as the 'calls of the age' (Viktor Vingoradov, 1977, p. 74). The term is employed to describe lexical items that are particularly prevalent at a given historical juncture and occur with notable frequency. Such terms become "centres of meaning," attracting other words to themselves and modifying their meaning in the process, thus rendering them susceptible to modifications. An illustrative example is the term "tolerance," which, in conjunction with "patriotism," modifies the latter's meaning towards "living in friendship with other nations." Another concept belonging to the set of "calls of the age" is the phrase "civil liberties." It comprises the key word "freedom" used in the plural form and a derivative of the word "citizen." One pedagogical strategy that can foster independent thinking is to prompt students to combine each of these words with others, for example, "freedom" and "duty," and to observe how the meaning of both words shifts. This exercise can help students develop the capacity to think critically and independently, a quality that educators often emphasize. In discussions on national identity and educational strategies, the object of debate is frequently overlooked. It is not possible to construct an effective educational programme in the absence of clarification.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

The analysis of the core curricula reveals a clear evolution in response to the ongoing process of globalisation. In order to facilitate constructive engagement with cultural diversity at the European and global levels, it is essential to reinforce and elucidate national awareness as a foundation for constructive dialogue with those who may be perceived as "other." The Ministry's guidelines encompass all the desired outcomes of the educational process, commencing with the individual, social, national and international dimensions. The comprehensive nature of the educational concept carries the risk of losing its coherence and, consequently, the stable foundation on which the student

is able to ascertain what is 'native' to them, the reasons behind their feelings towards this quality and their willingness to engage in actions that confirm these feelings. In light of the aforementioned analyses, several conclusions may be drawn.

It is essential to establish a framework that enables the pupil and teacher to identify their respective roles, rights and responsibilities, and to engage in constructive dialogue from this foundation. The master-pupil relationship represents a conducive environment for the acquisition of knowledge and the utilisation of tools that facilitate the integration of information with personal experience. The binary relationship between pupil and teacher forms part of a broader structure, which also encompasses parents and policy makers involved in directing educational processes. It is similarly essential to facilitate dialogue between teachers and parents, founded upon mutual respect for the respective roles and contributions of each parent in their child's upbringing. Furthermore, the teacher, acting through the head teacher, serves as the conduit between the home education system and the state's educational system. While there is some overlap between the objectives of the family system and the education system, this is not a complete overlap in all cases. The delineation of competencies according to their intended purpose would significantly enhance the collaboration between parents and educators. It is also important to consider that the education system is part of a larger structure, the essence of which is beyond the scope of this discussion. Nevertheless, in addition to these considerations, it is pertinent to inquire whether the current approach to national identity education equips its beneficiaries with the capacity to articulate the essence of significant phenomena to a representative of a foreign culture, and to engage in a constructive dialogue that expands their understanding of the values associated with the 'other', without resorting to a defensive or dominant stance. Accordingly, the proposed research model comprises elements that are characterised by causal relationships and intentional actions. The aforementioned elements include policy makers, school directors, teachers, students, and parents. Each of these actors, while consciously articulating goals, is simultaneously influenced by both conscious and unconscious narratives pertaining to the meanings ascribed to the concepts of "nation," "patriotism," and "homeland" by them.

A second recommendation for those responsible for the preparation and implementation of the core curriculum guidelines for national identity formation is to supplement both the school curricula and the teaching staff with subjects and specialists dealing with language as a vehicle for cultural content. Language, as a reflection of the way reality is perceived, also functions as a powerful modelling tool (John Austin, 75, 29). The identification of pivotal

terminology and the tracing of its content, which is derived directly from a nation's historical context, can serve as a conduit for dialogue. This process entails an effort to comprehend the interlocutor's perspective and to enhance one's own understanding of reality.

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Chapter 3.

Between the formation of national identity and the joy of staying in contact with beauty. The first and second being of folklore in music education

Abstract

In the contemporary world, the promotion of activities focused on the so-called 'small homelands' has become a kind of panacea for globalisation processes. Such activities have also become the focus of interest for those responsible for organising the educational process, with the result that they have been introduced as co-creative elements in the content of teaching, including music, at various stages of education. In addition, measures have been implemented with the objective of fostering the capacity to discern similarities and differences between the various regions and their respective cultural traditions. The article's content encompasses aspects of folklore functioning and various forms of folklorism (defined in reference to Józef Burszta's concept as the first and second entity of folklore) in the context of music education. The author's intention is to highlight not only the resurgence of activities by various folklore ensembles and the reappearance of a respectful perception of traditional culture, but also the manner of conceptualising this phenomenon, which is no longer constrained by a social perspective.

1. Introduction

In the 1920s, the disappearance of traditional musical culture was predicted; however, this process has been, at least to some extent, halted. A variety

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of scientific, educational and popularisation projects initiated since the 1990s have contributed to a resurgence of interest in musical folklore, a re-evaluation of the value of local traditions and the empowerment of cultural expression. This was further facilitated by a resurgence of interest in folklore, which has been described as a 'revival movement'. This was driven by shifts in how rural heritage was perceived, a growing understanding of the intricate nature of folk culture (including music), and an increased appreciation of its artistic, educational and social potential.

In today's world, traditional music plays an integral role in the educational process. It is a prominent feature of music academies and philharmonics, showcased during monographic festivals such as the Festival of Folk Bands and Singers in Kazimierz Dolny, Wszystkie Mazurki Świata, New Tradition, and Mikołajki Folklowe, events which were designed to promote high culture, such as the International Festival of Contemporary Music, 'Warsaw Autumn', and Sacrum Profanum. Additionally, it is a subject of media coverage in publications like Ruch Muzyczny [Music Movement] and Programme II of Polish Radio and disseminated in the form of open access materials on various websites, such as the Pracownia Muzyki Tradycyjnej (Traditional Music Studio) of the National Institute of Music and Dance, as well as in databases, including those hosted by ethnofon.pl and folklorkujawski.pl. Furthermore, it is becoming an area of interest for non-governmental organisations engaged in educational and artistic activities.

Initiatives that promote the appreciation of traditional music, such as the Dance House Summer Tabors, represent a significant contribution to the preservation and dissemination of this cultural heritage. These festivals, which are held in various regions of Poland, provide an invaluable opportunity for the public to engage with the artistic traditions of local communities. In addition to observing performances by traditional musicians, attendees can also participate in learning activities, including the study of vocal and instrumental repertoire, regional dances, and even the opportunity to learn to play instruments. The Dance House Association, which is responsible for organising these events, invites local singers, musicians, dancers and storytellers to participate as masters of ceremonies. This has proved to be an effective strategy –

These tabors in Hungary, from where they were adapted (with some changes) to Poland, were considered to be 'a form[s] of entertainment in which folk music and folk dance manifest themselves as a musical and movement native language in an original form and original function' [BelaHalmos: 1996, 47],

However, as Tomasz Nowak proposes, these practices cannot be regarded as a revitalisation of folklore, given that the cultural elements are not transmitted organically from generation to generation through instruction alone. The participants do not belong to the world of rural communities; they are predominantly drawn from (multi)urban environments. Furthermore, the music performed is not representative of a specific place or region (cf. Tomasz Nowak: 2022).

Nevertheless, the continued existence of traditional musical culture is not guaranteed. In this context, it is worth recalling the words of the Polish ethnographer and sociologist Jan Stanisław Bystroń, who, in the 1920s, highlighted the alarming replacement of folk songs with ephemeral chants:

„Fewer and fewer songs are being heard, more and more short songs, created casually and fast fading into oblivion. More and more, the old songs, among which there is so much sincere and unconscious artism, are fading away; these chants, Cracovian dance, so called 'wyrwasy', or whatever they are called in various regions, may be a response to the faster pace of contemporary life, but they are an unmistakable sign of the decline of folk song" (Jan Stanisław Bystroń: 1924, 66-67).

From an artistic standpoint, he was aligned with the views of Karol Szymanowski, the proponent of the modern concept of folklorism, who identified the preservation of musical folklore in a transformed form as one of the core responsibilities of high culture. Prior to the world premiere of his ballet *Harnasie* on 10 May 1935, he granted an interview to Józef Munclinger on Czechoslovakian radio, during which he stated that:

„Unfortunately, the forms of folk, peasant culture are subject to annihilation. It is the task of us - artists to preserve them for posterity. […] one of the tasks, not the only one" (Karol Szymanowski: 1984, 464).

The cited texts indicate the presence of not only two distinct attitudes (that of the researcher and that of the composer), but also of two disparate perspectives on traditional musical culture. Bystroń, as an ethnographer, draws attention to independent phenomena belonging to the domain of verbal-musical artistic culture, which may be defined as oral literature. In contrast, Szymanowski regards this material as a source of inspiration, positioning the composer as an intermediary in the transmission of traditional elements to subsequent generations. His legacy is seen as a repository of the 'national spirit', a concept that is challenging to define. These strategies can be described as the first and second entities of folklore (Walter Wiora, 1957; Anna Czekanowska, 1997).

2. The first and second existence of folklore

The term 'folklore' was first introduced in 1846 by William John Thoms in a letter addressed to the journal Athenaeum. Thoms proposed to replace the previously used terms 'folk antiquities' and 'folk literature' with the term 'folklore', which he defined as 'knowledge of the people' (Jadwiga Bobrowska, 2000).

Since the mid-19th century, the term 'folklore' has been used in two distinct ways. In its narrower sense, it refers to phenomena in the field of literature that have been handed down in oral tradition, including legends, tales, fables, proverbs, riddles, ballads and songs. In its broader sense, it encompasses customs, rituals, music, dance and other cultural practices that are similar in nature to those studied by ethnographers. The term 'musical folklore', which focuses on the full spectrum of musical phenomena of a particular social group, i.e. its musical culture, is included in the category of 'first entity of folklore'.

The removal of the primary contextual factor from a folk culture text allows for its classification as the so-called second entity of folklore (Józef Burszta, 1974, p. 308). In the field of ethnomusicology, folklorism, which is typically associated with the style of popular and mass culture, is regarded as an exemplification of this phenomenon (Tomasz Rokosz, 2004). An exceptional variation of this is a certain significant range of artistic creativity, which is sometimes employed in a socio-political context to foster group consciousness as a means of shaping patriotic attitudes (Max Peter Baumann, 1976). The term "folklorism" is used to describe a range of musical genres and performance styles, from characteristic miniatures to large cyclic forms, which are collectively represented in the field of professional creativity. These works often refer to folk music and draw upon folk traditions as a source of inspiration for various compositional techniques. (Barbara Mielcarek-Krzyżanowska, 2021, p. 33).

Over the course of the past century, we have observed a series of relatively rapid transformations in the second aspect of folklore, which has been influenced by stylistic and geopolitical changes. This has resulted in an extremely diverse picture of twentieth-century folklorisms. The 'folkloric turn', which is the result of contemporary research in the so-called neohumanities, in particular engaged humanities, involves the analysis and interpretation of a variety of issues in sociology, politics, economics and culture (Ryszard Nycz: 2017). In relation to the subject matter presented in this sketch, it can be considered in terms of the increased presence of issues centred around folklore in literary, journalistic or historiographical fields, as well as the adoption

of a particular research perspective focused, among other things, on the search for ways to 'form' folklore. In addition, the search for methods of identity formation and the affective substrate of community ties represents a key area of interest (Ryszard Nycz: 2017).

This search is part of a series of grassroots initiatives and top-down directives undertaken in response to the convergence of a number of processes and events. The accession of Poland to the European Union, cultural transformations, the rebuilding of the educational system and social change. In response to the increasing globalisation of the modern world, a number of phenomena emerged which promoted the development of activities and strategies that celebrated the importance of the 'small homelands'. This resulted in the emergence in the fields of science and language of the antinomic concepts of 'globalisation' and 'glocalisation'. These concepts were not only shown to be inextricably linked (Roland Robertson, 2003), but also led to the sublimation of phenomena occurring at the local level without depreciating global influences.

In the field of education, initiatives have been undertaken to foster an ability to perceive the similarities and differences that characterise other regions and cultures. This has involved, for instance, the detailed study of the cultural elements of one's own region.

3. Region education in the music education programme

We shall commence our examination by recalling the salient observations of Krystyna Turek, an eminent figure in the fields of education and research pertaining to Silesian verbal and musical folklore, with a particular focus on folk song:

> „In the context of an increasingly unified Europe, the younger generation of Poles is compelled to establish a robust sense of belonging within the various communities that shape their lives, whether familial, local, regional or national. This process of forging a sense of identity is of paramount importance for this demographic. The reinforcement of one's own cultural traditions is conducive to the natural defence of identity against the processes of cultural assimilation and the loss of individuality in anonymous communities. It also enables the younger generation to make informed decisions, accept diversity and tolerate different cultures. For each individual, the local community represents a unique and emotionally significant

space, an intimate and personal enclave that serves as a foundation for the development of one's character, personality, moral principles, social and civic attitudes, and a sense of belonging. This sense of rootedness plays a vital role in the formation of one's own subjectivity" (Krystyna Turek, 2001, p. 175).

Regional education, the importance of which was so emphatically stressed, was indeed present in the educational process, but in the face of an increasingly aggressive pop culture promoting a homogeneous, amalgamated 'pap', it seemed that it would not be easy for it to gain a proper position and focus the interest of young people. At the end of the 20th century, the consequences of the communist disgust with folklore were still being felt in the field of music, and it seemed that neither Wojciech Kilar's *Krzesany* (1974), nor Henryk Mikołaj Górecki *'s Symphony No. 3 " Symfonia pieśni żałosnych" (Symphony of Sorrowful Songs,* 1976) would prove to be a panacea for this state of affairs. However, the words of the eminent conductor Jan Krenz, who - upon consulting Kilar's score of *Krzesany* - declared prophetically: 'You opened a window and let fresh air into the musty room of Polish music' (Wojciech Kilar 's reminiscence in the monograph *Cieszę się darem życia*: 1997, 57).

The observations of students attending lectures on musical folklore (now known as ethnomusicology) conducted over a period of more than twenty years at the Feliks Nowowiejski Academy of Music in Bydgoszcz have demonstrated that the attitudes and reactions initially encountered at the outset of my teaching career have now almost become a thing of the past. Previously, students displayed a negative and dismissive attitude towards folklore, as well as a tendency to be passive in their engagement with the subject. However, in recent times, these classes have evolved into dynamic discussions, where students actively engage with the material and demonstrate a keen interest in the cultural heritage of smaller communities and the origins of particular groups. The increasing accessibility of materials has also contributed to this shift in approach. As the quality of both the content and technology improves, we are able to identify regional distinctions more accurately. We also explore the music of European and non-European cultures with curiosity. Furthermore, we analyse and evaluate a range of available multimedia materials on ethnomusicology, learning a critical attitude while maintaining respect for the achievements of others. Students are eager to participate in internships at the Musical Culture and Folklore Workshop at the Faculty of Composition, Music Theory and Sound Direction. They have even collaborated in the development of an Internet database devoted to Kuyavian folk bands. This shift in perspective occurred concurrently with a transformation in the conceptualisation of regionality and folklore towards the end of the 20th century:

„The turn of the 20th and 21st centuries saw the continued popularity of [...] folklorism in new areas of music, including the emergence of folk music representing pop culture (Orkiestra Św. Mikołaja, Trebunie Tutki, Kapela ze Wsi Warszawa, Chłopcy kontra Basia). The aforementioned artists include Mikołaj, Trebunie Tutki, Kapela ze wsi Warszawa, and Chłopcy kontra Basia. By examining the successive waves of this trend throughout the 20th century, it is possible to predict the continuation of this cultural phenomenon, with similar periods of intensification or weakening of musical discourses and various cultural texts. The popularity of similar activities is undoubtedly enhanced by related musical folklorism in other cultural domains, including literature (Wiesław Myśliwski), visual arts (Władysław Hasior and the popular trend of the so-called ethnodesign, which has developed, among other things, the ideas of Zofia Stryjeńska), film (Jan Jakub Kolski) and philosophy (Józef Tischner). The widespread dissemination of these examples serves to confirm the enduring interest of creators in this area of cultural heritage. The quality of the effects of these activities must be evaluated not only in the context of 20th-century folklorism, but also in light of contemporary developments in musical culture" (Barbara Mielcarek-Krzyżanowska, 2021, p. 305).

As previously stated, the shift in attitudes towards traditional culture has been shaped by a combination of bottom-up social movements and top-down directives. The latter are related to the Recommendations of the European Parliament, which were originally decreed on 18 December 2006 and subsequently modified on 22 May 2018. The Recommendations of the European Parliament and of the Council (in the latter version, solely of the Council) pertain to the principal competencies acquired through lifelong learning. Of the eight competencies delineated, the final one, pertaining to cultural awareness and expression, is defined as follows:

„Appreciation of the importance of the creative expression of ideas, experiences and feelings through a range of media, including music, performing arts, literature and the visual arts" (European Parliament Recommendation: 2006)

and

„an understanding of, and respect for, the ways in which ideas and meanings are creatively expressed and communicated across cultures, through different types of art and other cultural forms" (Council Recommendations: 2018).

In terms of the knowledge, skills and attitudes that should be acquired, it emphasised learning about

"local, regional, national, European and global cultures and expressions, including their languages, heritage and traditions and cultural products" (Council Recommendations: 2018).

In light of the ongoing revisions to music curricula, which have been influenced by the abolition of grammar schools and the reinstatement of an eight-year primary education, it is evident that musical folklore, in its original form and subsequent artistic transformations, has become a less prominent feature in recent times. While it still exists, its presence is often diminished, functioning primarily as a supplement to information on folk customs, rituals, or themes dedicated to renowned composers. In comparison to the exclusively folk music-based curriculum developed by Karol Hławiczka, which was in force in Poland between the wars, there appears to have been a depreciation of the undeniable values inherent in folk songs. Despite the criticism levied by methodologists against Hławiczko's then-canonical four-volume *Solfeż polski*, which was deemed to exhibit a biased selection of repertoire aimed at perpetuating a major-minor tonal sensibility (misrepresenting the tonal face of Polish musical folklore), the unjustified emphasis on the ability to "sing fluent ranges and triads," and the undue prominence accorded to theoretical knowledge (Anna Waluga: In 2015, 86-87), it was a collection filled with 'vivid songs of imperishable artistic value' (Karol Hławiczka: 1928, 54), perfectly suited to the reconstruction of Polish culture and identity.

The fundamental objectives of music education in a modern primary school, based on the triadic approach (comprising understanding, creation and analysis and interpretation), facilitate the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of a set of concepts and terms that are essential for active listening and the practical realisation of musical works, according to their function and style. The terminological thesaurus acquired in the course of education should be sufficiently comprehensive to enable the amateur to recognise and discuss the characteristics of the works presented, as well as to determine their own attitude to the repertoire listened to and performed. It is of particular importance in the present era to encourage young people to articulate their musical preferences in a forthright yet cultivated manner, without fear of adverse reactions from their peers. This should be done in a way that justifies the hierarchy of qualities that they believe to be the determining factors in the value of a chosen musical style, genre, performer, etc. It is important to note that, despite the current guidelines for music curricula in public schools, which emphasise the development of cognitive activity, experience has shown that music lessons have often been reduced to a mere supplement to the educational process, and are often perceived as being among the least important classes. This illustrates a deficiency in understanding the capacity

of the arts to influence and enhance cognitive processes (Bob Snyder, 2000) and a challenge to the advancements of neuroaesthetics, particularly music neuroaesthetics (Piotr Podlipniak, Piotr Przybysz, 2013).

The aims of education and upbringing in relation to regional education are reduced to:
- acquainting pupils with the repertoire of [...] folk songs and chants,
- acquainting students with works by composers representative of particular musical eras,
- presenting to students the features of Polish folk and national culture, and culture of other nations,
- cultivating folk rites and customs,
- shaping a patriotic attitude towards Polish cultural goods and a sense of national identity,
- develop an attitude of respect towards folk culture as a source and genesis of our national culture,
- teaching respect and tolerance for the differences of other cultural circles (Teaching contents - detailed requirements: 2017).

The scope of regional education is framed by specific requirements that complement the content of the curriculum. They include the following expectations of the student:
- determines the characteristic features of Polish national dances (polonaise, krakowiak, mazur, kujawiak, oberek),
- recreates simple rhythms and rhythmic patterns with movement and gestures, performs steps, figures and dance patterns of the polonaise and krakowiak as well as folk dances of his/her own region
- recognizes the characteristic features of Polish national dances (polonaise, krakowiak, mazur, kujawiak, oberek) (Teaching content - detailed requirements: 2017).

Through the singing of traditional songs and rhythmic chants based on dance patterns (it should be noted that a chant is a verbal-musical genre which exploits the metrorhythmic properties of the regional repertoire, hence allows for the identification of local variants), pupils learn melodies from various regions of Poland (in particular: The regions of Podhale, Kashubia, Silesia and Mazovia are also included, which prompts the question of why Kurpiowszczyzna has been omitted). The patterns of Polish national dances, such as the polonaise, krakowiak, mazur, kujawiak and oberek, are also taught, with the students learning to associate them with specific regions and metrical orders, which can be either bipartite or tripartite. Additionally, pupils

are able to recreate fundamental dance rhythms through clapping or playing percussion instruments, and are able to identify a dance by hearing a specific rhythmic order. An additional avenue for exploration is the utilisation of audio and video recordings, which document the initial manifestations of folklore, namely musical expression and communal dancing. These resources are readily accessible through online databases and offer invaluable insights into the subject matter. The additional value is to demonstrate the manner in which composers engage with traditional music, thereby illustrating the functioning of folklore's second entity. Such examples may include instances of folk dances being performed on stage by folk ensembles, which, while not particularly valuable in themselves, can be highly impressive. Another possibility is the use of quotations, paraphrases and syntheses by composers referencing the folk idiom.

The initial appearance [existence] of folklore can thus be employed as a source of inspiration for pupils, encouraging them to explore the musically diverse regional map of Poland. This may include the discovery of regions whose musical traditions have been described by composers as pre-Polish, such as the misconception of the musical culture of Podhale by Karol Szymanowski, or the Polish equivalent of Gregorian chant, as exemplified by Wojciech Kilar's analysis of Kurpie musical folklore. An informed analysis and identification of the most important cultural features of this repertoire will enable the discovery of its intrinsic beauty, which lies in its functionality, naturalness and simplicity. It is also worthwhile at this juncture to present the exceptional figure of the indefatigable precursor of cultural anthropology, Oskar Kolberg. Kolberg's contributions to nineteenth-century culture were significant, as he recorded cultural practices in detailed descriptions and engravings. Additionally, he immortalised the musical repertoire he encountered through the medium of photography, effectively capturing the essence of the musical notes themselves.

Folklorism, on the other hand, should be associated mainly with the current of compositional adaptations, associated - in Polish circles - with the names of Fryderyk Chopin, Stanisław Moniuszko, Henryk Wieniawski, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Karol Szymanowski, Roman Maciejewski, Stanisław Wiechowicz, Andrzej Panufnik, Witold Lutosławski, Grażyna Bacewicz, Romuald Twardowski, Wojciech Kilar, Henryk Mikołaj Górecki, Zygmunt Krauze, Zbigniew Bargielski, etc. Mentioning the names of these composers not only guarantees the undeniable artistic value of the musical works, but at the same time makes it possible to trace the contexts in which folk material is used. While the nineteenth-century heightened interest in folk heritage, interpreted as a treasury of national values, can be traced to the popularity in

Polish intellectual circles of the writings of Johann Gottfried Herder and the post-partition political situation, the reasons for artists to turn to musical folklore, hitherto most often indicated as the primary determinant of the national (Polish) connotations of the artist and his work, are gradually changing. Karol Szymanowski already distanced himself from linking dance rhythms with the national character of music, a view also taken up and manifested by later composers, such as Witold Lutosławski ('the national character cannot be found in borrowings from folklore'; Janusz Cegiełła (op.): 1976, 7).

In a similar dichotomous way, folklorism is interpreted on the ground of ethnomusicology. On the one hand, Piotr Dahlig states that the use of musical folklore in a work of art 'specifies (nationally defines) rather than universalises' (Piotr Dahlig: 1999), while Władysław Malinowski, interpreting Witold Lutosławski's *Koncert na orkiestrę (Concerto for Orchestra)*, anchors it in the thought of Karol Szymanowski - 'Just as what is national is not exhausted by what is folkloric, so also what is folkloric does not always mean what is national' (Władysław Malinowski: 1999, 208).

4. Between the formation of national identity and the joy of staying in contact with beauty

Interviews with school music teachers indicate that contemporary young people are not only interested in learning about musical folklore and the folklore-related repertoire, but also demonstrate a strong reaction to sound examples representing traditional culture in its original and preserved forms. It is therefore important to ensure that an element of education is provided which will sensitise young people to the functions that music used to play in accompanying family and annual rituals (in which it was a constituent part) or satisfying aesthetic needs (and thus being the equivalent of today's entertainment sphere). Its emergence can be linked to the necessity to rhyme collective work, but also to the emanation of sentiments accompanying various events in family and social life. As a component of the broader folkloric tradition, folk music has served as a repository for the collective memory, history, and spirit of our nation. The transmission of this tradition from one generation to the next has not only resonated with the emotional realm but has also served to construct and reinforce cultural identity over time. Contact with traditional music, established not only during music lessons but also as a result of joining the increasingly numerous regional song and dance ensembles, enables one

to experience a unique artistic experience and allows one to deepen one's knowledge of the roots of one's culture. This, in turn, enables the shaping of one's cultural, regional and national identity in a natural and unforced manner. It is only by interpreting the first and second entities of musical folklore in this way, in recognition of the significance, complexity and subjectivity of folk culture, that it can become a value that is appreciated by students today.

A regionally profiled approach to music education can facilitate young people's engagement with culture in a conscious and informed manner, enabling them to appreciate the diverse national and global cultural heritage. This encompasses not only artistic activities and the training of musical talents, but also the cultivation of an informed consumer of music, that is to say, in the global context, the musical taste of the entire society. It is important to acknowledge the views of Zoltán Kodály, the Hungarian composer, ethnomusicologist and pedagogue, who asserted that music is a 'powerful wealth [and irreplaceable] spiritual food' (Kodály, 2002, p. 103). When effectively disseminated and presented in an appropriate manner, music can become an 'inner need' for all individuals. As Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka duly acknowledges:

> „The art of assimilation is the ability to participate in culture. This skill shapes a person as a real 'receiver' and co-creator of culture. It must be distinguished from apparent participation, which consists in consuming cultural goods without digesting them. This gives rise to the false idea that one knows culture, although such contact does not allow one to read the deeper levels of meaning of 'cultural texts' and they are thus dead." (Katarzyna Dadak-Kozicka: 2002, 11).

In conclusion, it is noteworthy that the role of musical folklore, its performance and transformation, and the process of forging one's own way of life were discussed in Hanna Szczęśniak's radio programme Kiermasz pod kogutkiem (commentary to the radio programme Kiermasz pod kogutkiem: 2024) by the winners of the Folk Music Competition, including Anna Sitko, Michał Biel, Mateusz Kowalski and Szymon Zalewski. The tradition was described as 'a mysterious book that needs to be remembered' and 'a dialogue with the ancestors'. Furthermore, the participants imbued the process of its rediscovery with an ethical dimension, employing a metaphorical description of this practice as "recalling the truth." In addition to considerations pertaining to identity, their reflections were also marked by reactions indicative of experiencing unusual aesthetic sensations, including "the joy of being with beauty," "a tingling in the heart," and "being transported to places that smell differently and where time flows differently." Indeed, the fundamental functions of folklore, as identified with the values attributed to it, remain unchanged, encompassing artistry, social utility, and historical value.

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Chapter 4.

Celebration of state and national holidays as part of national identity

Abstract

It is a fundamental aspect of human nature to engage in celebratory activities, which are inextricably linked to social interaction. Festive traditions are a pervasive aspect of every nation's cultural heritage. These holidays provide an opportunity to cultivate traditions, maintain the memory of historical events and national heroes, strengthen social ties and shape national identity. This is achieved, among other things, by including successive generations in the celebration. The objective of this chapter is to analyse and describe the celebration of state and national holidays in the school community in the context of maintaining Polish national identity. Three research hypotheses were put forth:

H1) The majority of Polish children are familiar with the most important state and national holidays celebrated in our country;

H2) Recognition of state and national holidays as important has a positive effect on participation in celebrations; and The final hypothesis was found to be unsubstantiated. Despite the current limitations on organised celebrations of national and state holidays due to social and political divisions, politicisation, and anxiety, it is possible to posit that an understanding of the essence of the holiday and the rituals associated with it will facilitate the development of a slightly different, more joyful atmosphere across political divides, which in turn will make it possible to celebrate together.

1. Introduction

In Europe, the most solemn public holidays are of a national character and are typically associated with the defence or recovery of sovereignty. The inaugural

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such holidays were established in the 18th century during the French Revolution, when the general public began to identify with the state (Iwona Jakimowicz-Ostrowska, 2007, p. 258). Subsequently, other states in Europe and beyond began to implement them. In his analysis, Kazimierz Żygulski asserts that these holidays are fundamentally expressions of the "power, strength, and significance of the state." Their programs typically encompass the veneration of symbols and emblems that symbolize the state's ideals. Typically, marches and parades are held during this period, allowing for a display of military might and the showcasing of national power, sovereignty, and international importance. Additionally, the head of state and senior government officials establish public awards for individuals and institutions that have demonstrated merit to the authority, government, and nation. Additionally, a "climate of conciliation and reconciliation" (Kazimierz Żygulski, 1981, p. 123) is fostered through the issuance of amnesty acts and the release of individuals who have been convicted and incarcerated in penitentiary units. In this manner, both the configuration and the hierarchical structure of the state group, as well as its positive attitude, are demonstrated.

The observance of festivals and the practice of celebrating them serve to differentiate nations, cultures, regions, local communities and families. In countries where religion is not a dominant force, all artistic settings, processions and spectacles are secular in nature. In countries where the government acknowledges the role of religion, public holidays often incorporate elements of spirituality, such as religious services and public prayers.

It is important to note that although the terms 'public holiday' and 'national holiday' are often used interchangeably, the latter does not necessarily have to be formally established by the authorities. This is because it commemorates events that are important for a given nation, which may not necessarily be the case for a public holiday. The concept of a public holiday in Poland is not enshrined in any legislative instrument, and consequently neither is the manner of their celebration. As Leon Dyczewski observes, it is typically the community that bears the responsibility for nurturing, commemorating, recording, preserving in images and modifying the customs and traditions associated with public holidays (Leon Dyczewski, 2012, p. 12). The list of public holidays is subject to change at the discretion of the state authorities, which formally establish them. This became evident in Poland following the transition to a new political system. The National Day of the Rebirth of Poland (22 July), which was the most significant holiday in the People's Republic of Poland, the Anniversary of the October Revolution (7 November), which was unfamiliar to Poles, and the National Holiday of Victory and Freedom (9 May), which was abolished at the latest, were removed from the official list of state and national holidays.

In today's Poland, the most important national and state holidays according to the calendar are: National Day of Remembrance of 'Cursed Soldiers' (celebrated on 1 March), Flag Day of the Republic of Poland (2 May), National Day of the Third of May, National Victory Day (8 May), National Day of Remembrance of the Warsaw Uprising (1 August), Polish Army Day (15 August), Solidarity and Freedom Day (31 August), National Independence Day (11 November).

These holidays provide an opportunity to cultivate traditions, maintain the memory of historical events and national heroes, reinforce social bonds and shape national identity. This is achieved, in part, by including successive generations in the celebrations. In the words of Edward Shils, the identity of the individual in the present day is shaped by the collective experiences of multiple generations, forming a heritage that defines the way in which the individual perceives themselves and others. The nation and its corresponding identity are not the product of a single generation; rather, they are expressions of group self-consciousness (Edward Shils, 1996, p. 14). As Radosław Zenderowski correctly asserts, the commemoration of one's own historical legacy is an indispensable component of the formation of national identity (Radosław Zenderowski, 2011, p. 160).

In the view of Elżbieta Hałas, both collective and individual identity can be understood as a complex symbolic construct. The author posits that collective identity is essentially a multiplicity of identities, including situational and role identities within the context of historical drama. In the public sphere, the calendar of festivals serves as the fundamental framework for identity, both in primitive societies and in postmodern societies. The calendar of public holidays, as posited by Elżbieta Hałas (2001a, 50-51; 2001b, 2004), serves to embody social memory transmitted through rituals of looking back.

The objective of this chapter is to analyse and describe the celebration of state and national holidays in the school community in the context of maintaining Polish national identity.

The following research questions will be addressed in the course of this research:

- Do primary school children know about Polish national and state holidays?
- How do schoolchildren perceive state and national holidays, do they participate in their celebration and how do they celebrate them?
- How do teaching staff perceive state and national holidays and do they participate in celebrating them?
- How do teaching staff celebrate the above-mentioned holidays and are they active in involving young people in the national community through participation in organised secular or religious celebrations?

H1: The majority of children who feel Polish attending primary school classes I-III are familiar with the most important state and national holidays celebrated in our country.

H2: Recognition of state and national holidays as important positively influences participation in their celebration.

H3: Both teaching staff and school children mostly participate in locally organised celebrations of national and state holidays.

2. Knowledge of national holidays among integrated education pupils

One of the fundamental conditions for the survival of a society is the transmission of its cultural heritage from one generation to the next. This function is essential because, as Władysław Majkowski (2015, p. 36) notes, 'a child, when born, brings no cultural model with him; he is culturally a tabula rasa'. It is thus imperative to instil in the individual a lifestyle that is commensurate with the society into which they are biologically born. The failure to fulfil this condition results in the disintegration of the community in question, ultimately leading to its demise. This is why the transmission of knowledge and the celebration of national and state holidays is of great importance in the process of socialisation. In contemporary societies, as children progress through the subsequent stages of their development, the family assumes a less prominent role in their socialisation, with other institutions, such as schools, church and the media, assuming greater responsibility for this process (Władysław Majkowski: 2015, 36).

The Polish education system today faces new tasks in shaping the sense of social identity of school children and adolescents due to the changes taking place within norms and values in a post-pandemic world, as well as the influx of a large population of Ukrainian and Polish origin, but rooted in an emigration perspective after Russia's aggression against Ukraine (Kinga Lisowska: 2022, 104). In the organised space of the school, the young person acquires new competences and, at the same time, transforms those already formed (Gabriela Piechaczek-Ogierman: 2016). The school, therefore, sets the course for the processes of individual and collective identity formation - doing so through various curricular and educational elements. One of the important goals of early childhood education is the formation of the ability to feel and build emotional bonds with a social group, a national community, and the formation of the ability to identify with the social groups that the

child represents, thus naming these groups and their characteristic features (i.e. a sense of national identity, history, tradition, state and national holidays).

Research conducted by the Institute of Educational Research (IBE) shows that the majority of teachers (94.8%) agree that shaping patriotic attitudes should be one of the school's tasks. Only 5.2% of the surveyed staff are of the opposite opinion.

In this perspective, it seems important to determine to what extent the children participating in the IBE survey (2023) have knowledge of the national and state holidays of the country in which they reside.

Table 1. Declarative knowledge of national and state holidays among integrated education pupils

Do you know the Polish national and state holidays?
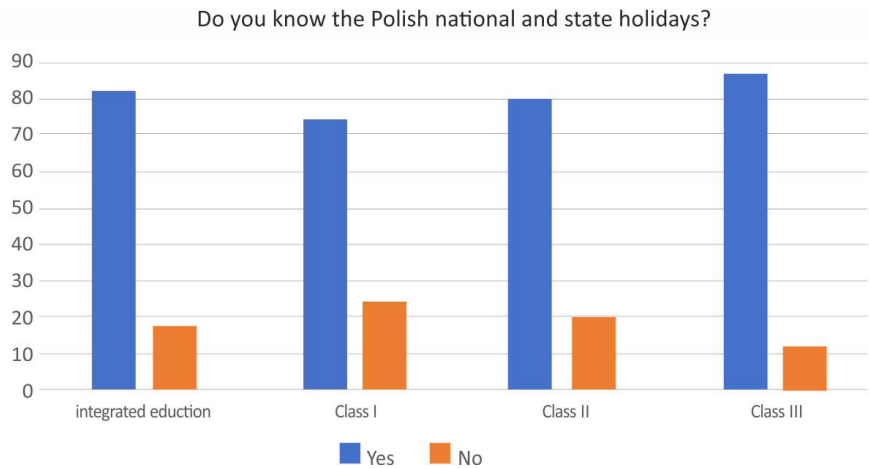
Source: Compiled on the basis of the IBE report (Jakub Koper, Robert Zieliński: 2024).

The analysis indicates that the majority of children (82.5%) in classes I-III of primary schools in Poland demonstrated knowledge of national and state holidays. A residual cohort of 17.5% of respondents indicated a lack of awareness of these holidays. It is noteworthy that awareness of these holidays increases with each successive grade, with this group demonstrating a steady decline from 25.5% among first-graders to 12.3% among third-graders. This is likely attributable to the fact that children in older classes exhibit greater cognitive, emotional, and social development. The curriculum allocates more time to this subject, and children themselves begin to demonstrate interest in the history and culture of their region and country.

Furthermore, the in-depth analysis shows that the declarative knowledge of holidays is slightly higher among girls (84%) than boys (80.7%), while

it should be noted that the highest percentage declaring a lack of knowledge of national and state holidays is found among boys (19.3%). Factors include differences in motivation (girls care more about pleasing adults - parents and teachers - with their behaviour) and the need to use different teaching techniques, which still remain the same for all children in Polish schools (Beata Ecler-Nocoń: 2015, 164-172). Nevertheless, the downward trend in the percentage of children declaring a lack of knowledge of public holidays as the class progresses suggests that curricula can effectively influence children's awareness of this topic as they develop educationally (Jakub Koper, Robert Zieliński: 2024).

The results of the correlation further indicate that among early childhood education children there is a strong relationship between a Sense of being Polish and a declaration of knowledge of national and state holidays. Among children declaring a strong Sense of being Polish, 84.1% also declare knowledge of national and state holidays, while among children who do not feel Polish or this feeling is weak, only 15.9% declare knowledge of them. The difference is significant at 68.2 percentage points. This means that children with a strong Sense of being Polish are more than 68% more likely to declare knowledge of national and state holidays than children who do not feel Polish. Based on these results, it can be concluded that a Sense of being Polish is associated with knowledge of national and state holidays already among children of early childhood education. Children who feel Polish are more involved in Polish culture and tradition, which translates into knowledge of national and state holidays. It can also be concluded that a sense of national identity is shaped through culture and tradition already at pre-school and early school age (Jakub Koper, Robert Zieliński: 2024).
In order to complete the information related to national and state holidays, an open-ended question was addressed to the youngest primary school pupils concerning the indication of which national and state holidays they know.

Table 2. Real knowledge of national and state holidays among integrated education pupils

What public national holidays do you know?
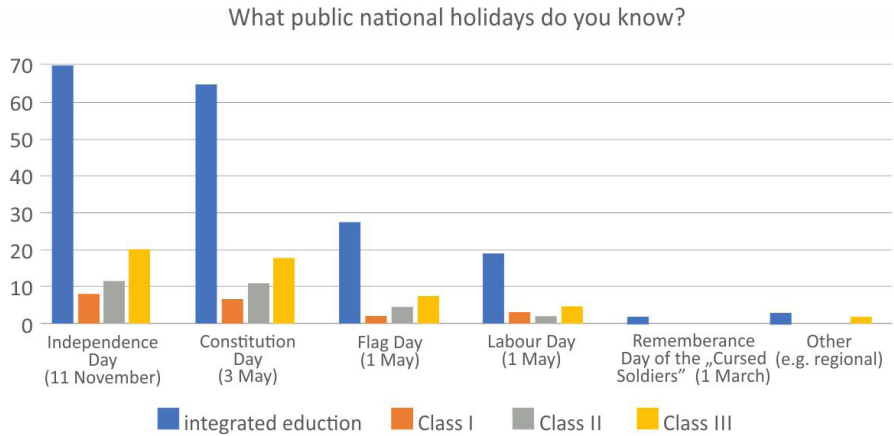
Source: Own analysis based on the report (Jakub Koper, Robert Zieliński: 2024). Data does not add up to one hundred percent, as each child indicated more than one answer.

The most frequently mentioned holiday (70.7% of responses), by integrated education students, was Independence Day on 11 November, suggesting that this holiday is well rooted both in tradition and in the consciousness of young people, although this was not always the case. High percentage scores (65.0% of responses) were also obtained for the National Day of the Third of May, which was established as early as 1919 and again in 1990 after the restoration of sovereignty.

Significantly lower results are observed for other holidays, such as Flag Day, indicated by 27.5% of children, Labour Day mentioned by 19.1% and the Day of Remembrance of the 'Cursed Soldiers', referred to by only 1.6% of responses. Clearly these holidays are not as widely present in the consciousness of children participating in integrated learning as the 3rd of May Constitution Day and Independence Day, although the reasons for this are probably different. The Day of Remembrance of 'Cursed Soldiers' was introduced by a resolution on 3 February 2011, and the Day of the Flag of the Republic of Poland came into being by virtue of a law of 20 February 2004 - so these are quite young holidays and not yet quite established in the traditions of generations. The issue of Labour Day, which is still associated by parents and grandparents with the previous system and compulsory participation in its celebrations, may look slightly different. According to a CBOS survey, in 1996 almost three quarters (73%) of the population considered 1 May to be a holiday of working people, with more than a quarter (27%) considering it a holiday of workers. Among the rest, the prevailing opinion was that it was

a communist holiday. In this category of responses, it was most often indicated that it was a communist holiday in general, but there were other expressions, such as: a holiday of the past, a holiday of former communists, the former working class, the PRL, the PZPR or the government of the day perceived as post-communist (CBOS: 1996). The importance of this holiday was indicated in 1995 by only 8% of the surveyed Poles, in 1996 by slightly more at 10%, but in 2018 by as many as 25% of compatriots (CBOS: 1995, 1996, 2018). Perhaps the next generations will give it a completely different character and its awareness and rituals will increase again.

Additionally, the IBE report indicates that 3.2% of the responses were classified as "other" holidays, which may be indicative of the diversity of local traditions. Other national and state holidays may include, for example, the Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising (1 August) or Polish Army Day (15 August), which is celebrated to commemorate the victorious Battle of Warsaw in 1920.

Additional analyses indicate a correlation between gender and actual knowledge of state and national holidays among children. The data indicates that girls demonstrate a greater familiarity with national holidays, such as Independence Day (21.2%) and the 3rd of May Constitution (20.3%), than boys (16.6% and 14.5%, respectively). A slightly smaller discrepancy between the sexes is observable with regard to the knowledge of Flag Day. The data indicates that 8.3% of girls and 6.4% of boys are aware of this holiday. In contrast, boys demonstrate a greater familiarity with Labour Day and the Day of Remembrance of 'Cursed Soldiers'. The proportion of boys who are familiar with these holidays is 6.0%, while among girls it is 4.1%. Among boys, 0.5% are familiar with these holidays, while among girls, 0.3% are. Furthermore, 0.7% of girls and 1.0% of boys are aware of other national or state holidays (Jakub Koper, Robert Zieliński, 2024).

A comprehensive analysis of the understanding of state and national holidays at various academic levels reveals a cause for concern. The proportion of primary school pupils in classes I, II and III who are aware of Independence Day is 8.0%, 10.4% and 19.4% respectively. A slightly higher proportion of students demonstrated familiarity with the National Day of the Third of May, with rates of 7.0%, 10.4%, and 17.4%, respectively. Furthermore, knowledge of the remaining holidays is even more limited. The proportion of children in Class I, Class II and Class III who are aware of Flag Day of the Republic of Poland is 2.6%, 4.5% and 7.5% respectively. The level of familiarity with Labour Day is 3.1%, 2.6% and 4.4%, respectively, while familiarity with the Day of Remembrance of 'Cursed Soldiers' is 0.4%, 0.0% and 0.4%.

In-depth analyses further indicate that there is a strong link between a Sense of being Polish and a real knowledge of national and state holidays in the primary school pupils surveyed in classes one to three. Children who feel Polish are more likely to know and remember Polish holidays. Children who feel a strong Sense of being Polish show significantly higher levels of familiarity with key national holidays. The National Independence Day (11 November) and the National Holiday of the Third of May are well known to 36.9% and 34.0% of these children respectively, compared to only 0.4% and 0.2% among pupils who do not feel Polish. Thus, one can venture to say that a strong sense of national identity correlates with a better knowledge of key historical events. In the case of Flag Day and Labour Day, the percentages of familiarity are lower, suggesting that these holidays may have less significance even for children with a strong Sense of being Polish. However, it is worth noting that these lower percentages are still higher than in the group of children who do not feel a strong connection to Polishness. Similarly, in the case of the Remembrance Day of the 'Cursed Soldiers', which is known to only 0.9% of children who feel Polish and completely unknown to pupils who do not declare a Sense of being Polish. Other various state and national holidays of 1.6% were mentioned only by children with a strong Sense of being Polish, which may reflect the diversity of local traditions or experiences (Jakub Koper, Robert Zieliński: 2024).

The above analyses confirm the first hypothesis stating that the majority of Polish-feeling children attending primary school classes I-III know the most important national and state holidays celebrated in our country.

In this perspective, it is important not to neglect the content of intercultural education in order to teach about the most important historical events from a Polish perspective, with particular emphasis on the origin and essence of the holidays to the youngest generations, who are still weakly rooted in tradition. Although already in the CBOS survey of 1996 Poles mentioned the anniversary of the 3rd of May Constitution (49%) and the National Independence Day (42%) as the most important national holidays (CBOS: 1996), initially the knowledge about them in society was small and the rituals poorly developed. According to a CBOS survey from November 1997, only 12% of respondents knew why 11 November was celebrated on this particular day and what the date was associated with, and one in three did not know what the holiday was or why it was celebrated (CBOS: 1997). These were the effects of school education during the People's Republic of Poland, which completely ignored the fact that Poles won their independence in 1918, after 125 years of partitions. Ten years later, things were much better. According to a CBOS poll conducted in 2008, three quarters of adult Poles (76%) gave a correct

answer to the question on the origins of the anniversary celebrated on 11 November. However, about one in seven respondents (15%) erroneously associated this holiday with other events, and one in eleven (9%) could not answer the question. In total, therefore, almost a quarter of respondents did not know what the anniversary commemorates. In 2017, on the 'eve' of the 100th anniversary of Poland's regaining independence, according to a report by the National Centre for Culture, it is already recognised without mistakes by 98% of the Poles questioned (NCK: 2017). Education and the fact that both the National Independence Day and the 3rd of May Holiday, considered by the communists as a holiday for opponents of the system, began to be celebrated very solemnly after regaining sovereignty and the restoration of the democratic system in 1989. The effectiveness of education is also indicated by the fact that in 2018, knowledge of the origins of the 11 November holiday is greater the younger the respondents are, with those aged 18 to 24 having the greatest knowledge in this regard (91%). In the older age groups, the percentage of respondents correctly identifying the date, while remaining high, is decreasing, and among respondents qualifying as part of the oldest generation (those aged 65 and over), correct answers are given relatively least often (70%). Knowledge of 11 November is also related to the educational level of respondents - the higher it is, the more often correct answers are given (CBOS:2018)

3. Participation in celebrations of national and state holidays

In the context of evolving social structures, educational paradigms, and the representation of the teaching profession, the authority and role of the teacher are undergoing a transformation. The challenge currently facing educators is a significant one. There is a growing tendency among children and young people to seek guidance and direction from sources other than their teachers, with the media becoming an increasingly prominent influence. One of the fundamental challenges facing educational institutions is the construction of alternative models of child and youth upbringing that diverge from the standards promoted by the media. Teacher authority can be defined as 'a complex social phenomenon that results from specific interpersonal relations and is an important element in some areas of social life' (Emilia Badura, 1981, p. 95). In the present era, pedagogy requires a master teacher who leaves a profound impression on those who observe him or learn from him, becoming an

unquestionable authority and a role model worthy of emulation (Mirosław Szymański, 2004, p. 76). A master who acts in accordance with the ideas he preaches, demonstrates kindness to his students, is a 'fulfilled' person, and is aware that his work has a moral dimension. As Maria Leśniak observes, it is for teachers themselves to decide whether they will become an authority for their pupils by setting an example with their behaviour and making an effort to understand the world, or whether they will become lost in the chaos of information surrounding the world and its complexity (Maria Leśniak, 2008, p. 48).

According to Leon Dyczewski, 'the participation of a particular individual in a celebration results from his or her membership in a social group, in a community which celebrates a given holiday' (Leon Dyczewski: 2012, 12). Participation in it is something voluntary, but it has the character of obligation and even compulsion because, by breaking out of the celebration, the individual simultaneously breaks out of the group, out of the community, and exposes himself to its sanctions. 'Customs/customs take time. The time spent together and participating in shared festive rituals plays an important bonding role, and provides the basis for the formation of responsibility for the other person' (Leon Dyczewski: 2012, 12). It is important, therefore, that in social life, no time is spared for celebration.

By participating in joint celebrations with students and other citizens, teaching staff build the school community and also integrate it into the national community.

Chart 3. Importance of state and national holidays for members of the school community
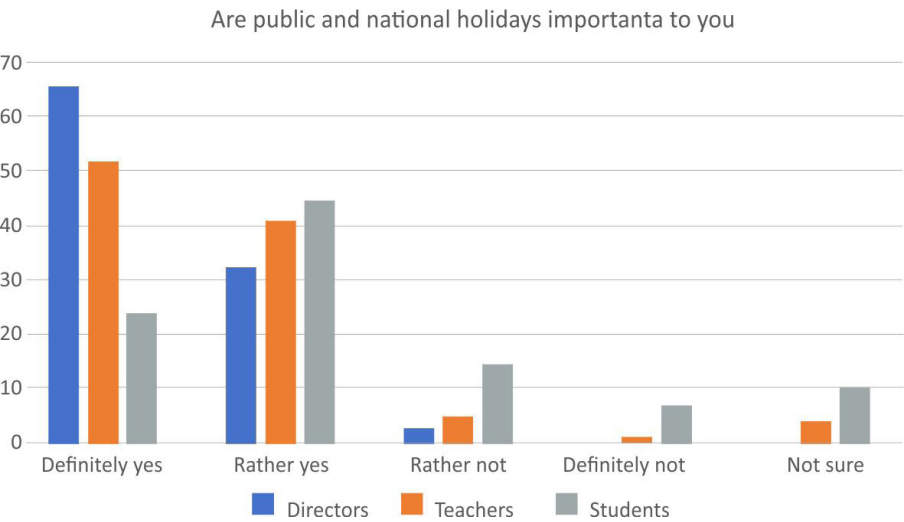
Are public and national holidays importanta to you

Source: Prepared on the basis of IBE reports (Marek Zając: 2024a, 2024b, Ziemowit Socha: 2024).

The results of research conducted in 2023 as part of the project 'National identity in the process of school education' by the IBE indicate that the overwhelming majority (97.9%) of primary and secondary school directors consider state and national holidays to be of significant importance. The former constituted more than two-thirds (65.7%) of the total number of respondents. Consequently, the proportion of directors who did not acknowledge the significance of state and national holidays was less than the margin of error, which can be interpreted as a definitive assertion by the surveyed group.

Similarly, nine out of ten (91.3%) teachers consider state and national holidays to be of significant importance. A minority of respondents (5.3%) espoused the opposite position, indicating that they do not attach significant importance to these holidays. Furthermore, 3.4% of the teachers surveyed provided an evasive response to the question.

Further analysis reveals that the opinions of directors regarding the importance of national holidays are largely consistent across different demographic groups, including gender, age, and place of residence. The distributions of responses indicating that the holidays were 'rather important' and 'definitely important' remained in very similar proportions in each of the groups surveyed. Consequently, tests (T-test and analysis of variance) showed no statistically significant differences between the groups (Ziemowit Socha:

2024). The teachers in question were more likely to be female, reside in rural areas, and not experience professional burnout. The effect of age remained statistically insignificant.

More than two-thirds of the students declared that state and national holidays are important to them - 68.1%. The opposite view was held by 21.1% of the young people surveyed. In addition, one in nine students could not answer the question clearly and did not take sides - 10.8%. Further analyses showed statistical significance for the variables gender (male), age (13-14), class (primary VII), type (technical school), place of residence (rural/rural), voivodeship (Śląskie).

Additionally, more than half of the students surveyed declared that public celebrations of national holidays (assemblies, rallies, marches, speeches, etc.) are necessary - 56% of indications. The opposite view was found to be held by 12.6% of respondents. On the other hand, 30.5% of the respondents admitted difficulties with a clear answer.

These results can be considered satisfactory, although it is worth working on broadening the group of pupils for whom national and state holidays will be 'definitely important', if they are to have a permanent character and a developed ritual. A prerequisite for this permanence is also the active participation of both staff and students themselves.

Chart 4. Participation of members of the school community in the celebration of national and state holidays

Have you participated in the celebration of national and state holidays in the last 12 months

Directors   Teachers   Students
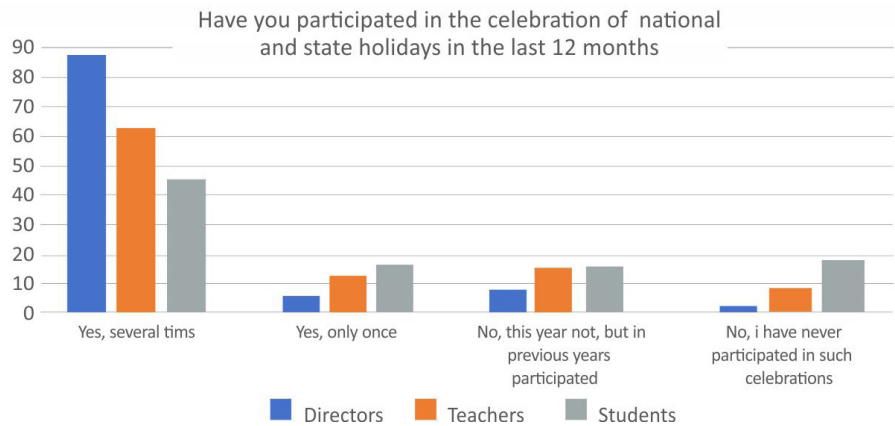
Source: Prepared on the basis of IBE reports (Marek Zając: 2024a, 2024b, Ziemowit Socha: 2024).

In the group of directors, the majority (86.7% of respondents) declared that they had participated in the celebration of national and state holidays several times in the past 12 months. Only once was indicated by 6% of those in this position, while 6.4% of respondents had attended in previous years. Only 0.9% of the directors surveyed had never participated in the celebration of the above-mentioned holidays.

Slightly less, nearly two-thirds of the teachers surveyed had participated in national and state holidays several times in the last year (62.8% of indications). Only once in the last 12 months did 12.9% of the respondents participate in them, while 16.3% of the respondents had participated in them in previous years. Furthermore, 8% of teachers had never participated in this type of celebration.

Additional comparative analyses of the variables indicate that the gender of teachers participating in national and state holidays is statistically insignificant as is seniority in the profession or level of professional promotion. These holidays are most often celebrated by people aged 51 and over, not experiencing professional burnout, living in rural areas of the Lubelskie Voivodeship (Marek Zając: 2024).

In-depth analyses showed that the r-Pearson correlation has a positive direction, indicating the presence of statistically significant relationships between the importance of national and state holidays for teachers and participation in them. Thus, the more often the surveyed teachers declared that state and national holidays were important to them, the more often they participated in them (Marek Zając: 2024).

According to the analyses of the IBE, 64.1% of the surveyed students participated in the celebration of state and national holidays in the last year. It is worth noting that 47.6% repeatedly. Nearly 20% never participated in such celebrations, probably treating public holidays as additional days off from school and devoting them to relaxation or tourism.

By carrying out an r-Pearson correlation, it was possible to demonstrate the presence of statistically significant relationships between the recognition of state and national holidays as important and participation in them. The results indicate a positive direction of the correlation, i.e. the more often the respondents declared the importance of state and national holidays, the more often they participated in them. The value of the coefficient indicates that the students' declarations are supported by their attitudes (Marek Zając: 2024b).

The above results confirm hypothesis two stating that declaring the importance of state and national holidays positively influences participation in their celebration.

Furthermore, data from CBOS surveys indicate that not only the importance of holidays but also participation in celebrations is increasing. The importance of Independence Day in 1995 was indicated by 25% of respondents, in 1996 already by 42% and in 2018: 76% of Poles (CBOS: 1995,1996, 2018). In 2008, only 49% of the percentage of Poles declared that they celebrated Independence Day in a special way but a decade later in 2018, the celebrants were already 72% - an increase of 23 percentage points (CBOS: 2008, 2018).

4. Ways of state and national holidays celebration

The manner in which these holidays are observed is of considerable importance with regard to the formation of national identity. In the view of Dyczewski, a holiday can be defined as a social institution, and as with any institution, it comprises a number of constituent elements. These include a common goal, intention or occasion; a specific time and space in which the rituals take place; appropriate dress; an organiser who includes participants in the celebration in common behaviour; joint preparation and active participation; and a gift, which can be, for example, private time devoted to the celebration. A celebration is a manifestation of social life, and thus all its elements are related to the collective being celebrated (Leon Dyczewski, 2012, pp. 9–12).

Chart 5: Modes of Observance of National and State Holidays
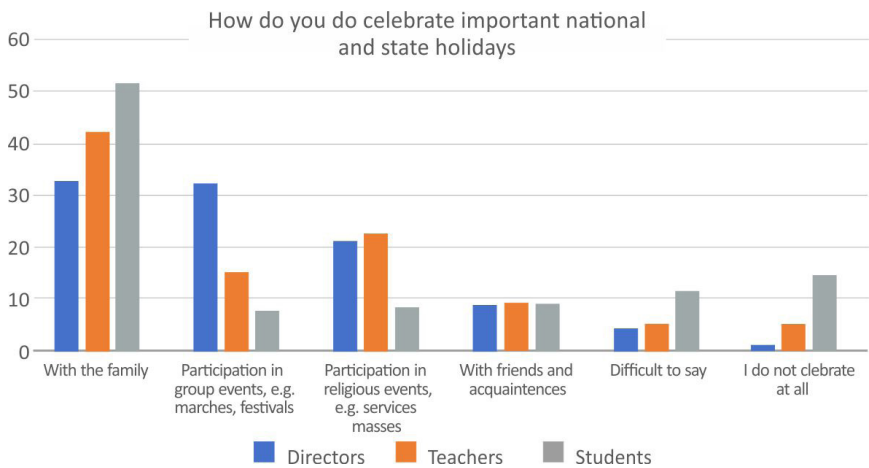
Source: Prepared on the basis of IBE reports (Zajic: 2024; Socha: 2024).

According to the IBE survey, the group of directors most often declared that the celebration of state and national holidays takes place with the family (33%), but, importantly, a comparable percentage (32.6%) indicated their participation in mass events of a secular (32.6%) and religious (21.5%) nature. Only 0.9% of the directors surveyed indicated that they were not in the habit of celebrating similar festivities.

More than 2/5 of teachers (43.5%) celebrate national and state holidays with their families. Relatively less frequently, they take part in religious events (22.8%) or collective events (14.8%). Celebrating holidays with friends and acquaintances was indicated by very few of them (8%). In addition, 5.7% of the surveyed teachers are not in the habit of celebrating such festivities at all, while 5.1% of the respondents were not able to make a clear statement on this issue.

The analysis of the IBE reports shows that 54.1% of directors participate in organised mass events of a secular or religious nature, but only 37.6% of teachers. Directors are therefore much better role models for young people than teachers, who are usually in closer contact with pupils than local authority functionaries, and thus in part representatives of the authorities.

In addition, chi-square tests showed that the ways in which head teachers celebrated public holidays were very similar for both women and men. Although men were slightly more likely to celebrate holidays by participating in collective events (40.4% of indications versus 30.2% for women) and women by participating in religious events (23.5% of indications versus 15.4% of indications from men), overall the distributions of responses were so similar that the difference between them was not statistically significant. The ways in which holidays were celebrated, however, differed by the age of the respondents. The youngest directors (aged 35-42) were significantly more likely than the others (in 52.0% of cases) to spend Christmas with their families (in the other age categories, this was about 30% of respondents each). On the other hand, the proportion taking part in group events increased with the age of the respondents (was: 16.0% in respondents aged 35-42; 29.4% in the 43-50 category; 30.0% in respondents aged 51-58 and as high as 50.0% in respondents aged 59-67) (Ziemowit Socha: 2024).

Directors also differed markedly in terms of celebrating holidays by attending religious events. Respondents in the 43-50 (25.0%) and 51-58 (27.8%) age groups were most likely to indicate this mode of celebration. Among respondents aged 35-42 years, the percentage was 16.0% and among the oldest respondents (59-67 years) only 8.3%.

In the group of teachers, the family environment was most often chosen by women between 24 and 30 years of age, residing in cities in the Pomeranian Voivodeship (between 50 and 100 thousand inhabitants) and experiencing professional burnout to a moderate degree.

More than half of the students surveyed admitted that they celebrate national and state holidays with their families - 50.8%. They celebrate them with friends and acquaintances - 7.2%, through participation in collective events, e.g. marches and festivals - 8.3%, and through participation in religious events, e.g. church services and masses - 8%. In addition, 13.5% of respondents are not in the habit of celebrating such festivities at all, while 12.3% of respondents were not able to make a clear statement on this issue.

Analysing the results of the IBE study, it should be noted that only slightly more than 16% of students in total take part in organised events and religious events connected with state and national holidays, which can be described as festive rituals. Moreover, more than 25% of the youth surveyed do not participate in national celebrations or are unable to say how they celebrate holidays of a national character, which is quite alarming if this concerns young Poles and not immigrant (Ukrainian or post-immigrant) youth.

The above data does not allow for positive verification of the third hypothesis, stating that both the teaching staff and school youth mostly participate in locally organised celebrations of national and state holidays.

Among the elements discouraging contemporary participation in organised forms of celebrations are the prominence of social and political divisions (especially in Warsaw) and media coverage emphasising this dimension of the holiday; politicisation perceived at the level of both central and local celebrations organised by local authorities; anxiety, fear of aggression evident especially in Warsaw and appearing in the context of the Independence March; the weather; individual aversion to collective events; the constancy, invariability and repetitiveness of the programme of celebrations, which on the one hand builds a sense of continuity, but on the other hand discourages some people due to its predictability (this applies primarily to official celebrations: central and local); the limited cultural offer mainly in medium-sized cities; the search for convenience, comfort on days off from work and school; the boredom, solemnity, and pathos that accompany official celebrations (NCK: 2017, 35-38).

No data is available regarding the forms of family celebrations observed by directors, teachers, or students. These forms may encompass participation in organized celebrations through media outlets or alternative avenues, such as flying the flag, singing patriotic songs collectively, or partaking in a celebratory meal.

It is noteworthy that the involvement of the Polish population in diverse forms of commemorating national and state holidays is on the rise. In 2008, 26% of the Polish population indicated that they had attended a religious service on Independence Day. A decade later, 29% of respondents had already attended a church service. In 2008, 15% of respondents indicated that they had flown the national flag, while in 2018, this figure had risen to 43%. Furthermore, the percentage of individuals engaged in public festivities demonstrated a notable increase, from 10% to 18%, representing an eight-percentage-point rise. In 2008, 9% of respondents indicated that they had a more festive home dinner, while in 2018, this figure had risen to 11%. Ten percent and 11 percent, respectively, indicated that they celebrate Independence Day in an alternative manner (CBOS, 2008, 2018).

5. Summary

The IBE research shows that the majority of teachers (94.8%) agree that shaping patriotic attitudes should be one of the school's tasks. Only 5.2% of the surveyed staff are of the opposite opinion.

The majority of integrated education children (82.5%) declared knowledge of national and state holidays. There also remains a small group (17.5%) who declare that they are not familiar with these holidays. It should be noted, however, that awareness of them increases with each successive grade, with this group steadily decreasing from 25.5% among first-graders to 12.3% among third-graders.

The detailed analysis of the real, rather than declarative, knowledge of national and state holidays in each school grade is worrying. Among first-grade children, knowledge of National Independence Day is only 8.0%, and among third-grade children it is 19.4%. Familiarity with the National Day of the Third of May is slightly higher at 7.0% and 17.4% respectively. Knowledge of the other holidays is even lower. Among first-grade children, only 2.6% know the Polish Flag Day, and among third-grade children, 7.5%. Familiarity with Labour Day is 3.1% and 4.4%, respectively, and familiarity with the Day of Remembrance of 'Cursed Soldiers' - 0,4% and 0,4%.

The vast majority of 97.9%. of primary and secondary school directors consider state and national holidays as definitely important or rather important, but they most often indicated that they spend them with their families (33%). The fact that they are important to them is evidenced by the fact that among directors, the majority (86.7% of respondents) declared that they had

participated in the celebration of state and national holidays several times in the past 12 months. A comparable proportion (32.6%) of directors indicated their participation in mass events of a secular (32.6%) and religious (21.5%) nature, making a total of 54.1% of directors taking an active part in organised celebrations of a national ritual nature.

Nine out of ten (91.3%) teachers consider state/national holidays to be either definitely or rather important and almost two-thirds of those surveyed have taken part in them several times in the last year (62.8% of indications). However, more than 2/5 of teachers (43.5%) celebrate national and state holidays with their families and only 37.6% of staff take part in organised celebrations of a secular or religious nature.

Although more than half of the schoolchildren surveyed declared that public celebrations of national holidays (appeals, rallies, marches, speeches, etc.) are necessary (56%) and that they feel proud to be Polish when they participate in celebrations of holidays 56.8%, only 8.3% of the respondents declared participation in such public celebrations. Respondents are far more likely to declare celebrating state and national holidays with their families (50.8%). The fact that the need to celebrate holidays is important to respondents is evidenced by the fact that almost half of them (47.6%) declared that they had participated in celebrating holidays several times in the year preceding the measurement. Interestingly, there is a significantly higher percentage of students admitting that patriotism consists of voluntary participation in the celebration of national and state holidays (74%) than students declaring that celebrating holidays is necessary. This 18% percentage difference may signal that there is a group of students who are aware of what is indicative of patriotism and, with this awareness, reject such activities or at least have a distanced attitude towards them.

Within each of the questions about celebrations of national holidays by primary and secondary school pupils, there was also a group of people clearly contesting a positive attitude to such activities. 12.6% of respondents do not think that public celebrations of national holidays are necessary, 20.9% do not think that celebrating national holidays is important to them, and 35.9% have not participated in the celebration of state and national holidays in the last year, including 18.8% who have no such habit at all.

Research conducted in 2023 by the IBE, within the framework of the project 'National identity in the process of school education', also shows that although only 2.1% of the surveyed directors believe that these holidays are rather unimportant and 0.9% are not in the habit of celebrating similar festivities, among teachers there are 8,7% of those who think that these festivities are rather or definitely not important or have no opinion on the matter,

8% of those who have never participated in such celebrations, 5.7% are not in the habit of celebrating such celebrations at all, while 5.1% of those surveyed were unable to express a clear opinion on the matter. Although these percentages are not yet high, it is clear that in a group that should fulfil the mark of a champion, there are attitudes that can hardly be described as patriotic.

According to Leon Dyczewski, the importance of celebrating holidays together is well realised by the family, which is the first and most important in the process of transmitting culture.

The forms of celebration in the family 'are generally more rich when children of developmental age participate in them. The solemn celebration of festivals makes clear the place in the family of its individual members, their powers and duties, and fosters rooting in the family, and through it in the local and regional community, in the culture of the whole nation and society' (Leon Dyczewski, 2003, 106). The school, which in modern societies assumes, in part, the responsibility for the socialisation of young people, should follow the example of the family, because, like the family, it is a social institution and an environment that supports and shapes pupils in their early development. Celebration, like many different skills, should and must be learned by: (a) actively participating in the celebrations of those families, local communities, social groups, nations that know how to do so; (b) learning the customs and festive customs of one's own environment and discovering the symbolic meanings associated with them; (c) observing celebrations in different cultures and adopting from them those elements that can be incorporated into celebrations in one's own family, local community, in one's own nation; (d) taking care of the quality of one's own life, the quality of life of one's family and one's environment, i.e. taking care of non-material and religious values, understanding them more and more fully and experiencing them in a richer way; (e) setting aside enough time for celebrations in the conviction that this is not time wasted, but that personal, family and social life is enriched in this way (Leon Dyczewski: 2003, 2012). Understanding what celebration and the rituals associated with it are all about, developing a slightly different, more joyful atmosphere over and above the political divisions surrounding national and state holidays and, above all, relinquishing one's own convenience in favour of the gift that each member of the community brings to the common celebration is a task for the coming years.

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Chapter 5.

Ideas of intercultural education in response to the challenges of a culturally diverse school. The context of patriotic and civic education

Abstract

The cultural diversity of Polish schools has increased significantly in recent years, which presents a number of challenges, particularly in the context of patriotic and civic education. The objectives and content of educational activities in this area must be re-evaluated. The concept of intercultural education, which entails the integration of individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds through the process of acculturation, may offer a potential solution. The objective of this article is to present the relationship between patriotic upbringing and intercultural education, and to indicate the possibilities of its use for developing a concept of shaping patriotic and civic attitudes in the course of school education that corresponds to the growing multiculturalism of society. This is based on the assumption that contact with otherness can be a value and serve to develop the sense of one's own identity. The article is theoretical in nature and based on a critical analysis of selected literature on the subject, particularly that of a pedagogical nature, from the fields of upbringing theory and intercultural education. The author begins by presenting the particular characteristics of cultural diversity in Polish schools, as well as the prevailing notions of patriotism and patriotic upbringing. They then proceed to examine the fundamental tenets of intercultural education, exploring its potential implications for the development of open and non-confrontational patriotic attitudes.

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1. Introduction

The cultural diversity of Polish society and the Polish school system has increased significantly in recent years, which presents a number of challenges, particularly in the context of patriotic and civic education. This gives rise to the question of the aims of this upbringing, as well as the content and forms of educational influence. It is important to note that the prevailing concept of patriotic and civic upbringing at a given time is contingent upon a number of factors, including the historical moment and the social, political, or cultural context. Furthermore, the prevailing definitions of key concepts such as patriotism, nation, state and citizenship also influence the content and forms of patriotic and civic education.

It seems that the content and objectives of educational activities in the field of patriotic education require reflection and redefinition in relation to the situation of multiculturalism. The ideas of intercultural education, referring to the integration of culturally different people as an acculturation strategy and supporting the process of this integration, which is supposed to help representatives of different cultures to function peacefully and harmoniously in one territory or school. Intercultural education also points to the potential of the encounter with 'otherness', inter alia in the context of shaping an individual's cultural identity.

The aim of this article is to present the relationship between patriotic upbringing and intercultural education and to indicate the possibilities of its use for the development of the concept of shaping patriotic and civic attitudes in the course of school education corresponding to the increasing multiculturalism of society (and Polish school), assuming that contact with otherness may be a value and serve to develop the sense of one's own identity. The article is theoretical in nature and is based on a critical analysis of selected literature on the subject, especially of a pedagogical nature, from the field of upbringing theory and intercultural education.

The background for further analysis is the presentation of the peculiarities of cultural diversity in the Polish school and the understanding of patriotism and patriotic upbringing in the context of the conditions of defining these concepts. Next, the main assumptions of intercultural education will be discussed, which should allow - already at the stage of conclusion - to discuss the importance of intercultural education for the reflection on the practice of shaping civic and patriotic attitudes of an open and non-confrontational character, conducive to the formation of a multidimensional identity of an individual functioning in a multicultural society.

2. Polish multicultural school

It is beyond question that the Polish school has become culturally diverse in recent years. On the basis of the assumption that multiculturalism is a given, one can speak of a multicultural school as a space and institution where representatives of different cultures meet. The intensification of the phenomenon of multiculturalism in Polish schools can be attributed to the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, which resulted in a significant influx of students from across the eastern border joining the Polish education system. The concept of multiculturalism is now applicable to the field of education in both metropolitan and smaller communities. Previously, multiculturalism was largely confined to large cities and based on a relatively small percentage of students from diverse backgrounds. However, it has now become a widespread phenomenon, affecting a larger number of schools and resulting not only from the cultural differentiation of children but also from the employment of teachers and support staff of non-Polish origin (Katarzyna Stankiewicz and Anna Żurek, 2022).

As far as the pupils themselves - members of the school communities - are concerned, we can point to the different migration experiences they face. The type of migration experience, resulting, among other things, from the reasons why the child found himself in Poland and Polish school, influences his/her school situation and adaptation process. Prior to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the largest group of foreign pupils in a Polish school were the children of labour migrants (mainly just from Ukraine). The war increased the size and importance for school communities of another group, the one experienced as refugees. Traditionally, when talking about the cultural diversity of the school, students who are representatives of national and ethnic minorities and children from multicultural families, from mixed unions in which one of the parents has a non-Polish background are also mentioned (Iwona Chrzanowska, Beata Jachimczak: 2018; cf. Krystyna Błeszyńska: 2010). Another type of migration experience is re-emigration, when a family of Polish origin returns to Poland after a period of living abroad with a child for whom 'returning' to the country (*incidentally,* the parents' country) means entering a culturally new environment (Katarzyna Stankiewicz: 2019).

It is worth noting that, according to the findings of the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK Report: 2023), in the last two years the number of foreign pupils who are in the Polish education system has increased almost fivefold, while the number of schools in which these children study has increased by more than 60 percent. Ukrainians are the most numerous group, while the next two largest groups are Belarusians and Russians. A report by the Centre

for Civic Education, based on data from the Educational Information System, states that there is now already at least one refugee pupil from Ukraine in a quarter of Polish schools, and three out of four teachers working in the Polish education system have lessons with at least one class attended by pupils from Ukraine (CEO Report: 2023). Thus, it can also be seen in the educational space that Poland - from a transit country - is becoming a destination for migration, which poses new challenges for schools.

The Polish school can be a tool for the social integration of students with a migration experience. A large proportion of them will stay in Poland for a longer period of time, perhaps even permanently. The potential of the education system to integrate both the child and his/her family is sometimes underestimated, and it is work in this area that counteracts educational exclusion and frustration of the pupil, providing the opportunity to make full use of his or her abilities and competences (Anzhela Popyk: 2021). In the context of integration efforts, which stem from the assumptions of intercultural pedagogy, questions about the formation of patriotic and civic attitudes become relevant.

3. Patriotism or patriotisms?

Leon Dyczewski examines the concept of patriotism, considering its etymological roots in Greek and Latin (Latin *patria* - homeland; Greek *patriotes* - compatriot, countryman, citizen). This indicates that the concept of patriotism is comprised of two elements: bonding and heritage. As posited by Leon Dyczewski (2013, p. 178), patriotism unites people who have something in common, which they have received and in which they participate together. This common ground should be safeguarded, developed, enhanced and preserved as a collective heritage.

A comprehensive definition of patriotism from the perspective of education and upbringing was proposed by Mieczysław Łobocki, who defines the term as follows: "A sentiment of affection for one's homeland and nation, encompassing a willingness to contribute to their collective advancement and a readiness to make personal sacrifices for their common good" (Mieczysław Łobocki, 2008, p. 276). He identified the key dimensions of patriotism, namely emotional, martyrdom and civic. In addition to the concept of 'love of the homeland', he identified sacrifice and work for it as key dimensions of patriotism. It would be erroneous to assume that all of these dimensions are applicable in educational practice with a student from another country, particularly with a child who has experienced the trauma of refugee status and who is

planning to return to their country of origin with their relatives at some point in the future. While the citizenship dimension remains a viable and developed aspect of the educational process, the emotional and martyrdom dimensions may elicit more complex responses. A pupil with a migration experience is entitled to identify with another homeland, that of their country of origin and that of their parents. The situation of war refugees will serve to intensify this identification (cf. Leon Dyczewski, 2013).

It should be noted, however, that the aforementioned understanding of patriotism is not the sole prevailing view and is not necessarily inextricably linked to educational practice. Although it is based on the insights of an educational theorist, it does not fully align with the current realities of a multicultural school. The concept of patriotism has evolved historically and has been interpreted in different ways at different times, shaped by historical events and the messages conveyed in literature and art. In this way, we can distinguish a number of different forms of patriotism, including legionary, romantic, positivist and Aka patriotism (Krystyna Chałas and Stanisław Kowalczyk, 2006; cf. Andrzej Walicki, 1991). It is noteworthy that the two fundamental models, romantic and positivist, inherent in the dynamics of the transformations of Polish culture, manifest alternately in successive eras. The former concept is associated with the notion of the nation, emphasising the emotional and sacrificial aspects, whereas the latter is oriented around the idea of the state and is driven by a desire to serve its interests. It is also important to recall the distinction between national and state patriotism (Mirosław Sobecki, 2009; cf. Michał Balicki, 2009). It is important to bear these distinctions in mind when analysing concepts of patriotic upbringing and civic education in the context of school and education.[2]

The concept of homeland can also have a specific territorial scope. It can be referred to not only in relation to the community of a nation or state, but also in the context of other geographical and cultural circles, in connection with a specific community and belonging to it. This is an extremely important approach due to the functioning of modern man in many communities at the same time (Mirosław Sobecki: 2009). On the basis of this belonging, one can distinguish - apart from patriotism of national character - also ethnic, local, European or global patriotism (Jerzy Kunikowski: 2006), and next to the homeland based on the national community - a 'small homeland' or 'private

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[2]   A number of other types of patriotism can be identified, most often functioning in the academic literature to describe specific attitudes in the form of contrasting pairs, such as patriotism of the past vs. patriotism of the future, positive vs. negative or open vs. closed, but an analysis of these approaches is beyond the scope of this text. See, for example Leon Dyczewski: 2013; Marcin Król: 2004; Mirosław Sobecki: 2009.

homeland' (Stanisław Ossowski: 1984), extremely important in the context of education and opening up patriotic and civic education and civic education to the meanings inherent in regional education (Alina Szczurek-Boruta: 2016; cf. Kazimierz Kossak-Główczewski: 2015; cf. Jerzy Nikitorowicz: 2009a).

4. Patriotic and civic education

A preliminary examination of the covers of publications pertaining to the education of children in patriotism, whether of a scientific or didactic nature, reveals the preponderance of a national model of patriotism in this pedagogical domain. The iconography evokes themes of armed struggle and national martyrdom, which may serve to foster an emotional connection with the homeland, conceived as a specific geographical space and encompassing historical and cultural heritage.

Mieczysław Łobocki, who has already been referred to, understands by the term 'patriotic upbringing' the 'implementation or training in the love of one's homeland and nation, including the readiness to make sacrifices and offerings for them' (Mieczysław Łobocki: 2008, 276). He goes on to write about consciously and deliberately influencing children in order to shape a patriotic attitude, which is to be based on attachment and love for the fatherland and national solidarity and action for the common good. As a patriotic attitude he also understands respect for 'compatriots and fellow citizens', respect for national symbols, interest in the affairs of the country and readiness to defend it in case of need (Mieczysław Łobocki: 2008, 276; cf. Paweł Tyrała: 2001). A patriotic attitude therefore contains - in addition to the national dimension - also elements characteristic of state patriotism and civic education.

Andrzej de Tchorzewski, summarising the analyses of educational theorists, explains the concept of civic education as follows: 'it [consists] of preparing adolescents to be conscious and full members of the state community' (Andrzej de Tchorzewski: 2018, 173). The tasks of this upbringing derive from the citizen's duties towards the state. It is intended to shape pro-social attitudes of the individual towards the state, treated as a community of citizens (Andrzej de Tchorzewski: 2018).

There is much conceptual confusion when it comes to defining terms such as patriotic upbringing, civic upbringing and civic education. Sometimes they are treated synonymously or civic education is seen as narrower in concept and falling within the framework of patriotic upbringing, complementing it, as it were. Citizenship education is otherwise primarily concerned with educational

practice (see e.g. Małgorzata Machałek, Janusz Korzeniowski: 2019), with the content conveyed and objectives adopted being influenced by the concept of citizenship evolving over time, depending on the arrangement of historical, political and cultural factors (Dobrochna Hildebrandt - Wypych: 2012).

The term 'patriotic-citizenship education' also appears in the literature to emphasise the presence of elements of national and state education in this approach. Academic and educational discourses on these issues evolve with socio-political and cultural changes (Monika Popow: 2015). Interestingly, the term 'education', considered to be more modern, is more often used to refer to the formation of attitudes towards the state good, while researchers like to associate the noun 'upbringing' with the term 'patriotic', referring to the tradition of educational theory and the basic domains of this process designated within its framework. It is worth recalling, that upbringing in the broad sense implies a purposeful, intentional action, involving the transmission of values and the shaping of attitudes of the upbringing. The question arises as to who decides on the purpose of patriotic upbringing, what conditions it takes into account and what educational ideal it aims at, which leaves a lot of room for politicisation of the educational process. On the other hand, the notion of education juxtaposed with the category of citizenship allows us to limit ourselves to the cognitive and behavioural sphere of education by developing the competences of the student as a future, full-fledged citizen, with an emphasis on his or her social participation. As Monika Popow writes, 'Contemporary discourses of civic education most often revolve around the study of the social competences of and civic competences of students and teachers and the competences of engaging in civic activities or social participation in the broadest sense' (Monika Popow: 2015, 29).

Such an approach leaves space for the involvement of culturally different people for the common good and the community of citizens, while at the level of school education - for building open pro-social attitudes and preparing students of non-Polish origin for active participation in social life in Poland, regardless of their sense of emotional connection to Poland and the Polish national community.

5. From multicultural to intercultural education

In the context of the increasing cultural diversity of Polish schools, the concepts of intercultural education, which entail the implementation of social integration strategies at the school level, are becoming increasingly significant.

The implementation of these ideas contributes to the transformation of the school environment into one that is intercultural, where contact with otherness is a value, and where encounter and cooperation result in a mutually beneficial situation for students of Polish origin as well as for those of different cultural backgrounds. The meeting engenders a novel quality, predicated on synergy, without compelling any individual to negate their cultural heritage.

The strategy of integration, which is one of the four basic acculturation strategies used when entering a new and different culture (John Berry: 1997), assumes that it is possible to accept the cultural norms of the country of settlement without renouncing those specific to the country of origin. It thus opens up to multiculturalism at the identity level. As Pawel Boski writes, the integration process means 'a double YES to the culture of origin and the culture of settlement. It involves adopting the culture of the host society without renouncing one's roots, values or traditions' (Paweł Boski: 2009, 534; cf. Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska: 2008). If one transfers this approach to the dimension of the functioning of a pupil with a migration experience at school, the aim of education becomes, on the one hand, the familiarisation of the pupil with the Polish language and culture and, on the other hand, the provision of opportunities to sustain and develop one's own cultural identification (Katarzyna Stankiewicz, Anna Żurek: 2023).

Cultural assimilation, on the other hand, can be linked to eradication, as the implementation of this strategy requires the culturally different person to dissociate from his or her culture of origin while engaging in learning the language and culture of the host country, which is sometimes a source of significant identity problems (Paweł Boski: 2009; cf. Marian Golka: 2010).

It is worth recalling the distinction, consistent with the pedagogical literature, between multiculturalism and interculturalism, in which multiculturalism is the fact of coexistence in physical proximity of representatives of different cultures, while interculturalism implies contact between them, interaction, exchange and cooperation that serve all parties (Przemysław Grzybowski: 2008; Bogusław Śliwerski: 2005). Going further, a multicultural school will therefore be an environment where pupils representing different cultures, coming from different countries and ethnicities come together, while an intercultural school will create for these children a cooperative and socially inclusive environment where otherness is not only tolerated, but also respected and positively valued as a certain potential, something worthy of interest and learning about (Georg Auernheimer: 2017).

The predecessor of the intercultural education model was (in some places still functioning as a valid solution, protecting the interests of the culturally dominant group) multicultural education, which was part of a strategy

of cultural assimilation, perpetuating the dominance of the host community and its culture over others in a given space. In practice, it is a form of mono-cultural education in which the presence of representatives of other cultural groups is only tolerated. Otherness is treated as a lack, a deficit that needs to be 'made up'. In such a view, all the activities of educators focus on the representatives of the minority group and on 'supplementing their deficits' (such as teaching the language of the country of migration at the expense of the language of the country of origin), i.e. on the implementation of an assimilation strategy (Bogusław Śliwerski: 2005; cf. Georg Auernheimer: 2017).

It is different with intercultural education, which is addressed to all representatives of a community or school, regardless of their origin. It serves to build a space for cooperation and the development of each individual according to his or her potential, while respecting their cultural identity. An important element of intercultural education is mediation and conflict resolution, which are inevitable in a situation of great diversity (Bogusław Śliwerski: 2005; cf. Przemysław Grzybowski: 2008; Jerzy Nikitorowicz: 2009a).

6. Intercultural education and patriotic education - a summary

One of the most compelling arguments in favour of conceptualising intercultural education as a framework for contemplating the objectives, content and structure of patriotic and civic education is the reality of individuals, including children, belonging to numerous cultural communities in the contemporary era. This phenomenon has already been discussed in the preceding section. Such belonging may be reflected in the individual's multidimensional cultural identity (Miroslaw Sobecki, 2009).

Jerzy Nikitorowicz understands intercultural education as 'a set of mutual influences and interactions (...), conducive to such human development that it becomes a a fully conscious and creative member of the family, local, regional, religious, national, continental, cultural and global - planetary community, and be capable of active self-realisation of one's own unique and permanent identity and distinctiveness' (Jerzy Nikitorowicz: 2003, 9; cf. Przemysław Grzybowski: 2008)[3]. The author points to a number of social

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[3]   This understanding of intercultural education aligns with the definition of education put forth by Zbigniew Kwieciński. In addition to the self-realisation goals, the author identifies pro-social goals of education, which he links to the active participation of the individual in communities of different scope. He emphasises the multidimensionality

and cultural circles to which the individual belongs. The national or state community is just one of them. What is characteristic of thinking in line with characteristic to thinking along the lines of intercultural education, these different identity circles do not have to be mutually exclusive or in opposition to each other; in fact, they can build on each other (Jerzy Nikitorowicz: 2003). One of the aims of education is precisely to harmonise the influences coming from the different circles and to help the child develop an integral identity, in which these different levels can allow the individual to function to the benefit of both herself and the community(ies) to which she belongs.

While patriotic education generally implies dealing with one of the identity circles indicated, intercultural education 'supports non-confrontational participation in multiple communities and the formation of non-confrontational attachments to groups of different scope, thus stimulating the creation of a multidimensional and even multicultural identity. It allows for identity interference at the national and ethnic level' (Katarzyna Stankiewicz: 2011; cf. Mirosław Sobecki: 2009). This approach allows for peaceful functioning in a multicultural society, enabling the coexistence of culturally distinct groups for whom 'homeland' may have different meanings. At school level, it facilitates the integration of students with the experience of migration and the prevention and resolution of conflicts. The goal of education becomes the formation of a non-confrontational attachment to communities of different scope and nature. Opening up to a multidimensional or even multicultural identity allows for identity interference at the ethnic, national or civic level (Jerzy Nikitorowicz: 2003; cf. Kazimierz Kossak-Główczewski: 2015). A student coming from another country my therefore take care of their cultural roots, and at the same time get to know and build a bond with the region and develop pro-citizenship attitudes in Polish society.

Jerzy Nikitorowicz also emphasises another dimension of the encounter with otherness, which is extremely important in the context of shaping patriotic and civic attitudes in the course of school education, and is inscribed in the assumptions of intercultural education. According to the author, contact with another culture allows the individual to shape his or her own cultural identity, including national identity, allows one to see one's own in confrontation with what appears to be different, foreign: 'The homeland acquires value in the context of the foreign country, and then, on this basis, we can develop civic awareness' (Jerzy Nikitorowicz: 2009b, 23).

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of the individual's identity as a member of several communities, including cultural, national or global communities. For further details, please refer to the following source: Zbigniew Kwieciński: 1995.

Intercultural learning, which is a form of didactic practice in the field of intercultural education, leads to reflection on one's own culture, awakens the desire to learn more about it and develops cultural identification. This type of learning takes place in the situation of contact with a representative of another culture, provided that both persons are open and oriented towards mutual understanding of each other's attitudes, values and beliefs, and at the same time are aware of the norms, principles and values specific to their own culture (Alexander Thomas: 1993).

Intercultural education does not exclude patriotic education, including at the national level. However, its ideas can foster a redefinition of this upbringing in terms of functioning in a multicultural society and a culturally diverse school. They open up to building a relationship with other cultural communities and constructing one's own cultural identity, also on the basis of a conscious decision to belong to these communities and to combine different cultural circles. They also open up to regional education, an interest in what is local and the building of a bond with the 'small homeland', which can be the basis for identification on a civic level, regardless of nationality and origin. They show that these two areas of education, regional and civic education, can co-create the field of patriotic education, enabling educational work to integrate pupils with the experience of migration and to foster the civic engagement of children and young people at different levels, from local.

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Chapter 6.

Affective or active: (constructive) patriotism in the attitudinal structure of pupils, teachers and school directors. The case of Poland

Abstract

The aim of this chapter is to learn about the constructive patriotism of pupils, teachers and school directors in Poland, and to investigate the correlation between declared constructive patriotism (the sense of being Polish – independent variable) of the surveyed social groups and the level of the affective component of patriotism (love for the homeland – dependent variable) as well as the level of the active component of patriotism (observing Polish customs and traditions; celebrating national holidays and traditions – dependent variables). The obtained answers made it possible to assign the respondents to the group of affective or active patriots.

The following questions were formulated: 1. To what extent do the studied social groups (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors) have a sense of Polishness?; 2. Which of the components of patriotism – affective or active – dominates in the attitudes of the study groups of teaching staff and pupils?; 3. Does belonging to a specific social group (pupils, teachers, school directors) determine the attitude towards patriotism?

Three research hypotheses were adopted, the second and third of which were confirmed. H1: Patriotism as measured by the declared sense of Polishness in the surveyed social groups (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors) remains at a high level. H2: An affective understanding of patriotism dominates in the attitudes of the surveyed groups represented by teaching staff and pupils. H3: Belonging to a certain social group determines attitudes towards patriotism.

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The results of a nationwide survey conducted in 2023 among pupils, teachers and school directors of primary and post-primary schools (N=9898) were used.

Introduction

A Centre for Public Opinion Research (CBOS) report indicates that the majority of Poles believe that it is schools that teach patriotism; this is the opinion of 66% of respondents, 19% are of the opposite opinion (CBOS: 2023, 4). Therefore, it is worth asking whether the activities undertaken in schools are actually effective, and also – what is the meaning of patriotism, the emotional and action-related self-identification with the sense of Polishness, both among pupils, teachers and school directors of primary and post-primary schools.

There are many conceptualisations, operationalisations and studies in the literature on the issue of patriotism. Patriotism can be simply defined by describing it in the dictionary as love for one's homeland. Among others, in the 1929 *Encyklopedja Powszechna* published by Dom Wydawniczy Trzaska, Evert and Michalski, the entry "patriotism" is described briefly – "love for the homeland" (Wiłkomirska: 2018). Another dictionary definition describes it "as a strong attachment, love, most often for the homeland, a sense of social bonding and a willingness and readiness to make sacrifices for one's own nation, while respecting other nations and their laws, cultures" (*Słownik języka polskiego:* 2024). Patriotism – in a general sense – "is any love for the homeland as a place of origin and/or residence" (*Encyklopedia PWN:* 2024). A homeland in this sense can be any neighbourhood or region to which an individual is particularly attached (in this case one speaks of local patriotism and private homeland), but a homeland can also be an entire country inhabited by a nation with which the individual identifies (ideological homeland), and this is how it is most often understood. In the latter case, patriotism is not only a sentiment, but also a readiness to sacrifice oneself for the homeland (e.g., sacrificing one's life during a war), but also putting the good of the country above the particular interests of self and family, party or social group (*Encyklopedia PWN:* 2024). It is also purchasing Polish products, participating in all elections, celebrating national and state holidays or observing Polish customs and traditions. In the cited definitions, which are very basic, two components of patriotism can be distinguished: affective/emotional (attachment, love, fondness, sense of connection, sentiment) and active/behavioural (undertaking specific behaviours). Which

of the cited components dominates the patriotism of Polish primary and post-primary pupils, teachers and school directors? Is it a patriotism relating exclusively to the cognitive-affective aspects of attachment to the country (affective patriotism) or taking specific actions for the benefit of the homeland, local community (active patriotism)? Are specific behaviours linked to the affective attitude of patriotism?

This chapter addresses the issue of constructive patriotism, identified as a declared sense of Polishness within the framework of belonging to a specific social group (pupils, teachers, school directors), as well as determining the correlation of the dependent variable, understood as taking specific actions, and the independent variable of the sense of Polishness. The role of the dependent variable is played by behaviour, understood as the declared taking of actions, which usually takes place through direct cooperation with other people (Cliff Zukin et al.: 2006). To measure this variable, survey questions were used relating to respondents' observance of Polish customs and traditions as well as the celebration of national holidays.

The aim of this chapter is an attempt to explore and indicate the level of the constructive patriotism of pupils, teachers and school directors in Poland, identified with the "sense of Polishness". Another aim is to try to identify the correlation between the declared constructive patriotism (self-identification of being Polish) of the surveyed social groups and the level of the affective component of patriotism ("love for the homeland") as well as the level of the active component of patriotism (observance of Polish customs and traditions; celebration of national holidays). It is also important to examine the relationship between the declared affective/emotional patriotism of the surveyed social groups and the behaviours that are part of active patriotism. The answers obtained will make it possible to assign them to the group of affective or active patriots.

Constructive patriotism (Radosław Marzęcki: 2019; Ervin Staub: 1997) is conceptualised as an affective attachment to one's country/nation, a positive identification. It signifies a type of bond with one's country characterised by a "critical loyalty" that helps to oppose discrimination and supports the desire to realise the changes being posited (Robert T. Schatz, Ervin Staub, Howard Lavine: 1999). It represents an orientation towards social change, which – objectively – is positive in nature, with its beneficiaries representing many groups and social strata (Ervin Staub: 1997). Their activities are motivated by the democratic conviction that all practices of other people (compatriots) violating fundamental national precepts or harming the long-term interests of the nation/country should be opposed (Robert, T. Schatz, Ervin Staub, Howard Lavine: 1999).

The following questions were formulated at the outset of the research process:

1. To what extent do the studied social groups (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors) have a sense of Polishness?
2. Which component of patriotism – affective or active – dominates the attitudes of the groups surveyed, represented by the teaching staff and pupils?
3. Does belonging to a particular social group (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors) determine attitudes towards patriotism?

The following research hypotheses were adopted to verify the titular problem:

H1: Patriotism as measured by the declared sense of Polishness/degree of self-identification with being Polish of the surveyed social groups (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors) remains at a high level.

H2: An affective understanding of patriotism predominates in the attitudes of the surveyed groups represented by teaching staff and pupils.

H3: Belonging to a specific social group (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors) determines attitudes towards patriotism.

1. Theoretical assumptions

The literature on this subject presents many approaches and ways of defining patriotism, which confirms the problematic nature of the term, but also the multidimensionality of the phenomenon (Radosław Marzęcki: 2019, 7-26; Philip Abbott: 2007; Gal Ariely: 2018). How patriotism is perceived as a determinant of human behaviour and how its social effects are classified depends on how the concept itself is conceptualised. This observation applies to private as well as media, political and academic discourses.

As Radosław Marzęcki (2019, 8) notes, attempts to define the notion of patriotism in Polish scholarly discourse "are reduced to citing and deconstructing its dictionary meaning and etymology, as well as [providing] explanations based on the description of historically observed attitudes of

individuals and social groups". In contrast, Western European and American discourse is dominated by theoretical reflection, which most often serves as a foundation for the operationalisation of an empirical construct (Radosław Marzęcki: 2019; Sean Richey: 2011).

Most of these approaches identify patriotism with the affective aspect of the attitude, emphasising the emotional state that accompanies the individual towards the object that is their own country, including its culture, history and national myths, values, society, territory, government and politics, political system (Elizabeth Theiss-Morse: 2009, 23). The relationship between the individual and country, homeland, nation is described using categories such as love, pride, attachment, loyalty (Daniel Druckman: 1994), and patriotic feelings are often presented as an identity indicator that helps citizens to self-categorise and assign themselves to a particular social group, including one such as the local community.

Understanding patriotism as an empirical construct presupposes the functional effects of this emotional commitment to the community, manifested in the social behaviour of individuals. The catalogue of potential positive social effects of patriotism is very broad. Gal Ariely (2018) attributes patriotism to the crucial importance of integrating minorities, strengthening social cohesion, and shaping a sense of solidarity. This is fostered by celebrating national and state holidays and purchasing local products. Patriotism stimulates citizens' responsibility and honesty by, among other things, paying taxes honestly, reinforces a sense of obligation to pay them, determines participation in all elections, fosters the establishment of cooperation with other community members, if only by cherishing customs and traditions as well as reducing social conflict, fostering active citizenship (Katharina Gangl, Benno Torgler, Erich Kirchler: 2016, cited in Radosław Marzęcki: 2019).

Daniel Bar-Tal (1993, 55-58) draws attention to the individual functions of patriotism (supports the definition of an individual's social identity, strengthens the sense of belonging) and the group functions (contributes to the integration of society, strengthens group cohesion, mobilises group members to act on behalf of the group, sacrifice time and money for the group). In this sense, it can be regarded as a kind of social capital that fosters pro-social behaviour (Katharina Gangl, Benno Torgler, Erich Kirchler: 2016, 869). On the other hand, although much less frequently, as Radosław Marzęcki (2019) notes, it is stressed that patriotism directly fuels fanaticism, chauvinism and conflict, thus becoming a tool for marginalising and excluding minorities from the "us" circle. Alongside calls to draw a clear line between patriotism and ethnocentrism (Daniel Bar-Tal: 1993), there are also opinions that the two phenomena can be closely linked and intermingle. Patriotism

(in the positive sense) can be monopolised by certain groups who use it instrumentally, subordinating it to a particular ideology, goals or means of action (Daniel Bar-Tal: 1993). These different modes of identification should, according to others, be clearly demarcated. It should be noted that a common psychological foundation can foster the spread of both "healthy" patriotism and "destructive" nationalism.

"Healthy" patriotism fits into a concept that Leonie Huddy and Nadia Khatib (2007: 63) refer to as the "broad agreement on the meaning of patriotism", which consists of: positive identification and affective attachment to one's own country (by feeling emotions: love of country and pride in one's country's achievements), also expressed by emotional reactions to national symbols (Robert, T. Schatz, Ervin Staub, Howard Lavine: 1999). The latter – "destructive" nationalism – implies a hierarchical view of the world and reflects the belief that one's own country is superior to others and should occupy a dominant position (Thomas Blank, Peter Schmidt: 2003). In contrast to attitudes and views based on ethnocentrism and referring to nationalism, patriotism is not associated with prejudice or hostility towards "foreign" groups (Daniel Druckman: 1994, 64).

According to Ewa Nowicka (1996), the difficulty in defining the concept of patriotism is implied by the emotional intensity of the term's designator and its political nature. Patriotic attitudes, as opposed to ideas, can be morally ambiguous (which is debatable), judged differently by different groups depending on their goals and methods used. Certain types of manifestations of patriotic attitudes, of an exclusive nature, may even cause serious conflicts (Anna Wiłkomirska: 2018). An analogous tension is noted by Krzysztof Michalski (2013):

> "Patriotism can be defined, I think, by an underlying tension hidden within it. On the one hand, patriotism is an emotional bond, it is an attachment to certain values, to institutions and to the history from which these values and institutions derive. Naturally, these values are not coherent or morally unambiguous; good is mixed with evil [...]. On the other hand, patriotism is a set of duties, collected, as are the corresponding rights, in the concept of 'citizen'. Feelings, senses, images have no meaning in this context [...]. It is not defined by weeping willows, pierogi, St. Mary's Basilica – only by statutes, laws, constitutions."(Krzysztof Michalski: 2013, 9)

2. Research material and method

The following part of this chapter will present selected results of the nation-wide sociological survey conducted by the Educational Research Institute in primary and post-primary schools in 2023. Due to the narrowed theme of the chapter, the focus is on selected dependent variables ("love for the home-land", celebration of national and state holidays, observance of Polish customs and traditions) and independent variables ("sense of Polishness/feeling of being Polish").

The study used a quantitative method, the survey questionnaire. The research tool was constructed by the research team for the study, conducted as part of the project "National Identity in the School Education Process". The tool was implemented by a CAWI (Computer Assisted Web Interview) panel. A stratified probabilistic method was used in the selection of the study sample due to an increase in probability in order to map the characteristics of the entire population of pupils, teachers and school directors.

The research included five target groups: pupils in grades I–III (omitted from the analyses due to a significant difference in the research tool used compared with the other survey questionnaires), grades IV–VI, grades VII–VIII, teachers and school directors of primary and post-primary schools.

The survey was conducted with 6,901 respondents aged 10-75, of whom 2,812 respondents were male (40.7%) and 4,089 were female (59.3%). Although the survey was only conducted in educational institutions, it should be noted that this distribution of the population corresponds to general trends in Polish society. The feminisation ratio has remained unchanged since 2002 and is 107 women per 100 men (CSO: 2022). School directors represent the smallest group of respondents in the surveys analysed (3.4%: 233 persons), teachers represent 24.6% (1,697 persons) and a total of 72.0% are primary and post-primary school pupils (4,971 persons). The survey was conducted in 378 schools nationwide.

3. Results

3.1. The sense of being Polish as an indicator of patriotism

Statistical analyses show that for more than half of the surveyed Poles (52.4% in total), having a sense of being Polish is an important indicator of patriotism to a "very high degree" and "high degree". At the same time, this "degree" is not perceived as very important by 35.5% of respondents (Table 1).

This indicates that the sense of Polishness, based on individual identity and historical-cultural continuity, and as an indicator of patriotism in a global society, is becoming a less attractive element of individual self-identity. The result obtained, although not comparable, is in line with the results of a survey conducted by CBOS in 2020. In answering the question about what is most important in their lives, only 4% of surveyed Poles mentioned the homeland, Poland, the good of the homeland, patriotism, peace in the country and the world (peace, no war); family and health were valued at a higher rate (CBOS: 2020, 1).

Table 1. The sense of being Polish

	The sense of being Polish					
	Study groups in %				Total Percentage	Total Frequency
	Directors	Teachers	Pupils VII+	Pupils IV–VI		
To a very high degree	70.1	56.7	2.9	51.6	54.5	3 759
To a high degree	22.5	27.6	3.5	37.4	28.7	1 983
To a moderate degree	5.6	6.9	11.2	5.4	8.3	572
To a small degree	1.3	2.2	24.0	2.2	2.7	188
To a very small degree	-	2.1	54.0	0.7	2.0	136
Difficult to say	0.4	4.5	4.4	2.7	3.8	263
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	6 901

Source: Own elaboration

Directing our attention to the fundamental independent variable of this study, that is, the sense of Polishness, we note that one group of respondents – pupils in grades VII+ (78.0% in total) – declare the sense of Polishness to a small and very small degree. Analysing the other surveyed groups, the opposite tendency is seen. 89% of the surveyed pupils from grades IV–VI of primary schools indicated a very high and high degree. Similar indications are found among the surveyed teachers, with a total of 84.3% indicating a very high and high degree, and school directors at 92.6% (Table 1). Performing significance tests based on Pearson's χ2, the asymptotic (two-sided) significance was found to be 0.01 (χ2=4928.492, df=15, p=0.000).

The research material obtained does not confirm the assumption of the first hypothesis. Patriotism as measured by the declared sense of Polishness of successive surveyed groups, with the exception of pupils in grades VII+, remains at a high, comparable level oscillating between 84.3% (teachers), and 89% (pupils in grades IV–VI of primary schools) to 92.6% (school

directors). The data obtained (average result: 88.6%) are identical to the results of cyclical surveys conducted by CBOS. The vast majority of Poles (88%) consider themselves to be patriots, with almost two in five (39%) declaring this decidedly. The percentage of respondents defining themselves in this way is identical to the results from 2016 (CBOS: 2018, 6).

The trend of a weakening sense of Polishness seen among pupils in grades VII+ is due to the changes in society brought by the global culture as well as new information and communication technologies. At the same time, it is consistent with the results of research conducted by CBOS. Comparing 2018 data with 2016 data, one sees that even though a similar percentage of respondents declare having a sense of Polishness, clearly fewer feel it "very often" (a decrease of 12 percentage points) and more feel it only "fairly often" (an increase of 9 points) (CBOS: 2018, 2). One reason for this may be a feeling of shame for being Polish, most often indicated by respondents aged 18 to 24 (19% at least "quite often") as well as pupils and students (16%) (CBOS: 2018, 4).

But why was the opposite trend recorded among primary school pupils in grades IV–VI? The answer may be found in the process of primary socialisation, during which the basic nation-forming elements are passed on (e.g., the Polish language). The secondary socialisation taking place during school attendance also emphasises patriotic education. Its subsequent stages enrich education with nation-forming elements such as history, culture, regionalism. In each of the preambles of the core curriculum (1999, 2009, 2017 and 2022), its aims focus not only on education, but also on bringing up pupils in a patriotic spirit. In the section on general education, the relevant objectives are set out, such as "to introduce pupils to a world of values, including self-sacrifice, cooperation, solidarity, altruism, patriotism and respect for traditions, to indicate models of behaviour and to build social relations conducive to the safe development of the pupil (family, friends) (point 1) and to strengthen the sense of individual, cultural, national, regional and ethnic identity" (*General education core curriculum*: 2024). As for the groups of teachers and school directors comprised of people of different ages, they were raised and grew up at the end of the communist system and in the era of early capitalism. At that time, the media were limited to traditional press, radio and television, which were not conducive to modifying the sense of Polishness developed during the socialisation process. The oldest teachers and school directors form a generation that actively participated in social and political changes. They themselves were active in one of the nation-building elements – history. And now they are part of the ongoing changes in media and digitisation. They did not grow up in a digital world, but are now experiencing it, comparing

this phenomenon with a time when information and communication technology didn't exist. Hence their patriotic upbringing has such strong roots that external factors often have no impact on changing their worldview. The oldest teachers and school directors lived a significant part of their lives during the communist era, which strengthened their patriotic spirit, leading to an intensification of nation-building elements that reinforced the sense of Polishness.

3.2. The affective component of patriotism: feeling love for the homeland

One of the key components of patriotism is the affective/emotional element, manifested in a feeling of love for the homeland as a place of birth, origin and a sense of emotional connection, which is discussed in more detail in the theoretical part of the chapter.

We asked respondents to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the statement that patriotism is about "love for the homeland".

Table 2. Degree of agreement that love for the homeland is a manifestation of patriotism in the opinions of the groups surveyed (N=6898)

| | Love for the homeland as a manifestation of patriotism | | | | | | | |
| | Pupils in Grades IV–VI | | Pupils in grades VII+ | | Teachers | | Directors | |
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	1 060	52.9	1 392	46.9	1 280	75.4	181	77.7
Somewhat agree	727	36.3	949	32.0	196	11.5	45	19.3
Somewhat disagree	42	2.1	199	6.7	59	3.5	4	1.7
Strongly disagree	22	1.1	119	4.0	29	1.7	-	-
Difficult to say	151	7.5	310	10.4	133	7.8	3	1.3
Total	2 002	100.0	2 969	100,4	1 697	100.0	233	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

I treat the question about the degree of love for the homeland as a criterion of patriotism and an indicator of self-identification as a patriot. The opinions of respondents strongly agreeing with the above opinion are divided. The responses of primary and post-primary school pupils oscillate around 50%, whereas this rate is around 75% for teachers and directors of educational institutions (77.7%). Of particular note is the high rate of respondents who somewhat agree, that is, they are unconvinced, treat a patriotic attitude

without enthusiasm (it does not have much meaning for them). At the same time, the low rate of negative responses obtained in all surveyed intervals allows us to draw the conclusion that patriotism is a rarely questioned attitude of contemporary Poles.

In order to further verify the analyses of the collected empirical material, correlations were made with cross-tabulations, based on the question about the degree of having a sense of Polishness implying love for the homeland by individual groups of respondents from the school community. Does the degree of having a sense of Polishness imply the degree of love for the home-land? Correlations for the individual study groups are provided in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Table 3. School directors: degree of love for the homeland vs. the sense of being Polish (N=233)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)					
		To a very large degree	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a small degree	Difficult to say	Total
Love for the homeland	Strongly agree	83.4	71.2	61.5	-	-	77.7
	Somewhat agree	15.3	25.0	38.5	33.3	50.0	19.3
	Somewhat disagree	0.6	3.8	-	33.3	-	1.7
	Difficult to say	0.6	-	-	33.3	50.0	1.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

In performing significance tests for the group of school directors based on Pearson's $\chi2$, the asymptotic (two-sided) significance was found to be 0.01 ($\chi2=93.707^a$, df=12, p=0.000).

Table 4. Teachers: degree of love for the homeland vs. the sense of being Polish (N=1697)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)						Total
		To a very large degree	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a small degree	To a very small degree	Difficult to say	
Love for the homeland	Strongly agree	88.6	77.1	71.7	64.8	62.9	41.6	75.4
	Somewhat agree	14.2	13.9	18.8	29.2	20.0	16.9	15.0
	Somewhat disagree	1.0	1.7	2.6	-	11.4	5.2	1.7
	Difficult to say	6.1	7.2	6.8	5.4	5.7	36.4	7.8
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance was 0.01 (χ2=170.068[a], df=30, p=0.000).

Table 5. Pupils in grades VII+: degree of love for the homeland vs. the sense of being Polish (N=2969)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)					Total
		Love for the homeland	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a small degree	To a very small degree	
Love for the homeland	Strongly agree	31.4	31.7	33.8	34.2	52.6	44.3
	Somewhat agree	26.7	37.5	36.5	43.6	33.6	36.4
	Somewhat disagree	9.3	16.3	9.9	6.0	3.6	5.6
	Strongly disagree	17.4	4.8	4.8	2.9	2.4	3.3
	Difficult to say	15.1	9.6	15.0	13.2	7.9	10.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is 0.01 (χ2=201.541, df=16, p=0.000).

Table 6. Pupils in grades IV–VI: degree of love for the homeland vs. the sense of being Polish (N=2002)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)						
		To a very large degree	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a small degree	To a very small degree	Difficult to say	Total
Love for the homeland	Strongly agree	61.8	46.0	32.4	40.9	53.3	31.5	52.9
	Somewhat agree	31.3	42.1	49.1	34.1	13.3	35.2	36.3
	Somewhat disagree	1.5	1.9	3.7	6.8	13.3	7.4	2.1
	Strongly disagree	0.4	1.5	0.9	11.4	6.7	-	1.1
	Difficult to say	5.1	8.6	13.9	6.8	13.3	25.9	7.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is 0.01 (χ2=174.687[a], df=20, p=0.000).

The analyses conducted show that in all the social groups studied, patriotism identified with the sense of being Polish correlates positively with the affective component of patriotism, that is, love for the homeland. The higher the degree of the sense of being Polish, the higher the degree of love for the homeland and vice versa. The highest degree was recorded among school directors (77.7%), followed by teachers (75.4%), primary school pupils in grades IV–VI (52.9%) and pupils in primary and post-primary school grades VII+ (44.3%).

The statistical analyses allow us to conclude that a high level of the affective component identified through the variable " love for the homeland" was recorded in all research modules. Moreover, the degree of self-identification of being Polish is directly proportional to the degree of love for the homeland. The higher the degree of self-identification with being Polish, the higher the degree of love for the homeland In all social groups studied, with a high significance of 0.01 (p=0.000).

3.3. The active component of patriotism

In addition to being an element defining the analysed attitude, the active component of patriotism manifested in specific behaviours and actions can also verify the affective component. The adopted research construct assumes

a comparison of its relevance in felt and actualised patriotism. The next section analyses examples of active patriotism: observance of Polish customs and traditions, participation in national and state holiday celebrations.

3.4. The sense of being Polish and observance of Polish customs and traditions

Everything that exists has a past. This is particularly true of cultural and social life. The present and the future are based on the past. As Leon Dyczewski states:

> "For when talking about the future, it is impossible to directly ignore the past. The past and the future are inextricably linked, and between them is the present, a kind of transmission belt, a carrier, a transmitter of what has been. We are dealing here with a double activity: the preservation of cultural heritage and the skilful transmission of this heritage. Both activities constitute the Polish tradition." (Dyczewski: 2011, 118)

Tradition is always someone's tradition – as Dyczewski emphasises. In order for the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage to be possible, a particular social group must want it and be capable of it.

This dual understanding of tradition as the preservation of content and the ability to perpetuate and transmit it is indicated by the Latin origin of the word. The Latin *traditio* in Polish means "to give away, present, transmit something to someone" (Leon Dyczewski: 2011, 118; see Stefan Czarnowski: 1956; Anthony Giddens: 1993; Karl Raimund Popper: 1999; Jerzy Szacki: 1971). In public opinion polls, respondents almost universally claim that cherishing Polish traditions is an element of patriotism (93% in 2016; 96% in 2018; CBOS: 2018, 8). In our study, we limited ourselves to examining only the first aspect.

Table 7. Observance of Polish customs and traditions (N=6898)

	Observance of Polish customs/traditions (N=6898)							
	Grades IV–VI		Grades VII+		Teachers		School directors	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
To a very large degree	364	18.2	140	4.7	476	28.0	75	32.2
To a large degree	966	48.3	258	8.7	638	37.6	102	43.8
To a moderate degree	361	18.0	724	24.4	316	18.6	37	15.9

To a small degree	150	7.5	1 070	36.0	96	5.7	10	4.3
To a very small degree	30	1.5	673	22.7	88	5.2	4	1.7
Difficult to say	131	6.5	104	3.5	83	4.9	5	2.1
Total	2002	100.0	2 969	100.0	1 697	100.0	233	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

The vast majority of respondents, with the exception of pupils in grades VII+ (13.4%), declare the observance of Polish customs and traditions to a very high and high degree as an element of patriotism. The highest level/degree was recorded among school directors (76.0%), followed by pupils in grades IV–VI (66.5%) and teachers (65.6%). The low level/index of respondents having difficulty answering the question unequivocally should also be noted, from 2.1% for school directors to 6.5% for pupils in grades IV–VI).

Active patriotism, as measured by the declared degree of observance of the traditions and customs of the social groups surveyed, remains at a high level with the exception of youth in grades VII+.

We should comment on the results obtained for pupils in the final grades of primary and post-primary schools (youth aged 14–20), in which we obtained very low rates of observing customs and traditions at a very high and high degree (13.4%). This group consists of people who were born just after Poland's accession to the European Union. This is a group "immersed" in new information and communication technologies, spending most of their time on the Internet and social media. They are characterised by a perspective of looking towards the future. This result is also surprising for another reason. It illustrates the generational change that has taken place over the past several years. In 2007, a CBOS poll asked Poles about their attitude on cultivating certain customs and traditions. At that time, the cultivation of traditions was given great importance primarily by respondents aged 18–24, pupils and students. Surprisingly, there were few such opinions among the oldest population segment (aged 65 and over) compared to other groups. In order to better illustrate this issue, it should be added that three-quarters of adult Poles (74%) claimed that preserving traditions and passing them on to future generations is important, while one in seven (14%) do not attach importance to this (CBOS: 2007, 21).

Does the degree of having a sense of Polishness condition the degree of observing Polish traditions? Correlations across the study groups are shown in Tables 8, 9, 10 and 11.

Table 8. School directors: observance of Polish customs and traditions vs. the sense of being Polish (N=233)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)					Total
		To a very large degree	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a small degree	Difficult to say	
Observance of Polish custom	To a verylarge degree	43.6	7.7	-	-	-	32.2
	To a large degree	42.9	51.9	38.5	-	-	43.8
	To a moderate degree	9.2	28.8	46.2	33.3		15.9
	To a small degree	3.1	9.6	-	-	-	4.3
	To a very small degree	0.6	1.9	-	66.7	-	1.7
	Difficult to say	0.6	-	15.4	-	100.0	2.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

Significance tests based on Pearson's $\chi2$ indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is 0.01 ($\chi2$=226.343[a], df=20, p=0.000).

Table 9. Teachers: observance of Polish customs/traditions vs. the sense of being Polish (N=1697)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)						Total
		To a very large degree	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a small degree	To a very small degree	Difficult to say	
Observance of Polish customs	To a very large degree	45.0	7.5	3.4	10.8	-		28.0
	To a large degree	34.6	56.9	20.5	16.2	11.4	5.2	37.6
	To a moderate degree	13.6	23.0	50.4	21.6	14.3	6.5	18.6
	To a small degree	3.0	5.8	15.4	40.5	20.0	-	5.7
	To a very small degree	2.9	4.9	9.4	8.1	51.4	6.5	5.2
	Difficult to say	0.8	1.9	0.9	2.7	2.9	81.8	4.9
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is 0.01 ($\chi2=1672.622^a$, df=25, p=0.000).

Table 10. Pupils in grades VII+: observance of Polish customs/traditions vs. the sense of being Polish (N=2969)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)					
		To a very large degree	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a mall degree	To a very small degree	Total
Observance of Polish customs	To a very large degree	32.9	8.9	7.4	3.3	2.8	4.6
	To a large degree	14.6	26.7	14.8	9.8	5.8	8.9
	To a moderate degree	25.6	38.6	36.7	32.4	18.4	25.0
	To a small degree	13.4	18.8	31.5	42.3	39.6	37.8
	To a very small degree	13.4	6.9	9.6	12.3	33.4	23.7
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own study.

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is 0.01 ($\chi2=378.816^a$, df=25, p=0.000).

The empirical material obtained shows that patriotism identified with the sense of being Polish correlates positively with the affective component, that is, the observance of Polish customs and traditions for all research intervals. The higher the sense of being Polish, the higher the index of observing traditions. In the opinion of the largest group of respondents, having a sense of Polishness strongly influences their observance of traditions (school directors: 43.8%; teachers: 37.6%; pupils in grades IV–VI: 48.3%). The opposite opinion was expressed by grades VII+ pupils who assessed this relationship at a small degree (37.8%) and very small degree (23.7%).

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is 0.01 level ($\chi2=481.410^a$, df=16, p=0.000).

Table 11. Pupils in grades IV–VI: observance of Polish customs/traditions vs. the sense of being Polish (N=2969)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)						
		To a very large degree	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a small degree	To a very small degree	Difficult to say	Total
Observance of Polish customs	To a very large degree	28.6	7.4	4.6	4.5	6.7	11.1	18.2
	To a large degree	45.2	58.4	32.4	22.7	6.7	29.6	48.3
	To a moderate degree	14.5	19.4	39.8	27.3	13.3	16.7	18.0
	To a small degree	5.0	8.4	10.2	27.3	26.7	14.8	7.5
	To a very small degree	0.9	0.5	4.6	9.1	26.7	7.4	1.5
	Difficult to say	5.8	5.9	8.3	9.1	20.0	20.4	6.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own study.

3.5. The sense of being Polish and actual participation in the celebration of national and state holidays

The 2018 CBOS report shows that one of the situations in which respondents feel pride in being Polish (affective patriotism) is participation in the celebration of national holidays, pride in the national colours, anthem and symbols. This answer was indicated by 8% of respondents (N=880) (CBOS: 2018, 3). The active form of patriotism manifests itself, among other things, in the voluntary participation in official ceremonies and family celebrations of national and state holidays, that is, events relating to the history of the country, its traditions and national culture. We therefore asked pupils, teachers and school directors about their actual participation in such events.

Boundary value analyses show that the largest group of respondents represented by school directors (75.5%), teachers (49.5%) and pupils of grades IV–VI (42.9%) realise the attitude of patriotism through actual participation in celebrations of national and state holidays. The response rate of those who "somewhat" celebrate holidays is also high – the highest in the group of pupils in the final grades of primary and post-primary schools (38.6%). It should

be emphasised that a significant percentage of respondents are undecided, finding it difficult to clearly answer this question.

Table 12. Patriotism as the actual participation in celebrations of national and state holidays (N=6898)

	Pupils IV–VI		Pupils VII+		Teachers		Directors	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	859	42.9	1 050	35.4	840	49.5	176	75.5
Somewhat agree	793	36.9	1 147	38.6	629	37.0	51	21.9
Somewhat disagree	127	6.3	261	8.8	94	5.5	3	1.3
Strongly disagree	40	2.0	143	4.8	47	2.8	2	0.9
Difficult to say	183	9.1	368	12.4	87	5.1	1	0.4
Total	2 002	100.0	2 969	100.0	1 697	100.0	233	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

The largest number of such respondents is among the grade VII+ pupils (difficult to say: 12.4%; negative response: 13.6%), slightly less among pupils in grades IV–VI (difficult to say: 9.1%; negative response: 8.3%), teachers (5.1% and 8.3% respectively) and less than 1% among school directors (0.4% and 0.9% respectively). The responses of the above groups are comparable to the negative responses. On average, less than 10% of respondents expressed a different opinion. Active patriotism, as measured by the actual celebration of national holidays of the surveyed social groups, remains at a high level**.**

It should be pointed out that the data obtained are significantly higher compared to the results of the nationwide survey conducted by CBOS. To the question: whether and how often do you participate in various ceremonies and celebrations of national holidays, respondents gave the following answers: very often: 8% in 2016, 7% in 2018; quite often: 17% in 2016, 17% in 2018; occasionally: 33% in 2016, 37% in 2018; very rarely: 21% in 2016, 23% in 2018; never: 20% in 2016, 16% in 2018; difficult to say: 1% in 2016, 0% in 2018 (CBOS: 2018, 9). At the same time, it should be noted that the result of 75.5% indicating very frequent participation in the celebration of holidays by the school community is twelve times higher than the result obtained in the research conducted by CBOS (8%) (CBOS: 2018).

Does the degree of having a sense of Polishness determine participation in the celebration of state and national holidays? Correlations across the study groups are shown in Tables 13, 14, 15, and 16.

Table 13. School directors: celebration of national and state holidays vs. the sense of being Polish (N=233)⁻

		The sense of being Polish (in %)					Total
		To a very large degree	To a large degree	To a moderate degree	To a small degree	Difficult to say	
Celebration of national and state holidays	Strongly agree	82.8	63.5	61.5	-	-	75.5
	Somewhat agree	16.6	34.6	23.1	66.7	50.0	21.9
	Somewhat disagree	0.6	1.9	-	33.3	-	1.3
	Strongly disagree	-	-	15.4	-	-	0.9
	Difficult to say	-	-	-	-	50.0	0.4
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is 0.01 (χ2=189.906[a], df=16, p=0.000).

Table 14. Teachers: celebration of national and state holidays vs. the sense of being Polish (N=1697)⁻

		The sense of being Polish (in %)						Total
		To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a medium extent	W Little	Very little	Difficult to say	
Celebration of national and state holidays	Strongly agree	53.1	41.2	35.9	29.7	34.3	31.2	49.5
	Somewhat agree	45.5	39.2	47.9	56.7	22.9	24.7	37.0
	Somewhat disagree	5.8	3.6	9.4	5.4	17.1	2.6	5.5
	Strongly disagree	2.4	2.6	3.4	-	11.4	5.2	2.8
	Difficult to say	3.2	3.4	3.4	8.1	14.3	36.4	5.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own study.

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is 0.01 (χ2=250.166[a], df=30, p=0.000).

Table 15. Pupils in grades VII+: celebration of national and state holidays vs. the sense of being Polish (N=2969)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)					Total
		To a very large extent	W largely	To a medium extent	W little	Very little	
Celebration of national and state holidays	Strongly agree	20.9	25.0	26.9	26.5	43.9	36.1
	Somewhat agree	24.4	35.6	39.2	46.3	36.8	39.1
	Somewhat disagree	15.1	18.3	10.8	9.8	6.7	8.7
	Strongly disagree	22.1	9.6	7.2	4.2	3.2	4.7
	Difficult to say	17.4	11.5	15.9	13.2	9.4	11.4
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 indicate that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is 0.01 (χ2=192.624[a], df=16, p=0.000).

Table 16. Pupils in grades IV–VI: celebration of national and state holidays vs. the sense of being Polish (N=2002)

		The sense of being Polish (in %)						Total
		To a very large extent	To a large extent	To a medium extent	To a small extent	Very little	Difficult to say	
Celebration of national and state holidays	Strongly agree	50.9	36.6	26.9	22.7	33.3	27.8	42.9
	Somewhat agree	35.9	44.8	46.3	31.8	40.0	31.5	39.6
	Somewhat disagree	5.3	6.6	9.3	18.2	6.7	7.4	6.3
	Strongly disagree	1.4	2.0	2.8	15.9	6.7	-	2.0
	Difficult to say	6.5	10.0	14.8	11.4	13.3	33.3	9.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Own elaboration

Significance tests based on Pearson's χ2 confirm that the asymptotic (two-sided) significance is at the high level of 0.01 (χ2=155.922[a], df=20, p=0.000).

In all surveyed social groups, having a sense of Polishness – the independent variable – is strongly positively related to participation

in the celebration of national and state holidays. The highest level was recorded among school directors (75.5%), followed by teachers (49.5%), IV–VI grade pupils (42.9%) and VII+ pupils (36.1%). At the same time, there was also a high level of "somewhat agree" responses: from more than 39.0% of pupils in grades IV–VI and grades VII+, through 37.0% of teachers to 21.9% of school directors. Youth in grades VII+ (one in nine respondents) and grades IV–VI (one in eleven respondents) found this question difficult to answer.

4. Affective patriotism versus active patriotism: conclusions and discussion

In order to solve the research problem cited in the title, a comparative analysis was made of the declared level of affective patriotism (dependent variable "love for the homeland") and the level of active patriotism (dependent variable "observance of Polish customs and traditions" and "celebration of national and state holidays"). The items selected for the analysis are: "strongly agree", "strongly disagree" and "difficult to say".

Table 17. Affective patriotism vs. active patriotism (in %)

Study groups	Affective patriotism (PAF)			Active patriotism (PAK)						PAF	PAK
	Love for the homeland (%)			Observance of Polish customs and traditions (%)			Celebration of national and state holidays (%)				
	1*	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	-	-
Pupils in grades IV–VI	**52.9**	1.1	7.5	**66.5**	1.5	6.5	**42.9**	2.0	9.1	52.9	54.7
Pupils in grades VII+	**46.9**	4.0	10.4	**13.4**	22.7	3.5	**34.4**	4.8	12.4	46.9	23.9
Teachers	**75.4**	1.7	7.8	**65.6**	5.2	4.9	**49.5**	2.8	5.1	75.4	57.5
School directors	**77.7**	-	1.3	**76.0**	1.7	2.1	**75.5**	0.9	0.4	77.7	75.7
Total	**252.9**	6.8	27.0	**221.5**	31.1	17.0	**202.3**	10.5	27.0	252.9	211.9
Averaged result	**63.2**	**1.7**	**6.75**	**55.4**	**7.77**	4.25	**50.57**	2.62	**6.75**	**63.2**	**52.9**

*Legend: 1 – Strongly agree; 2 – Strongly disagree; 3 – Difficult to say
Source: own elaboration

The average score for all surveyed groups for affective patriotism, based on the dependent variable "love for the homeland", is 63.2%. It is declared by more than two-thirds of the surveyed school directors (77.7%) and teachers (75.4%) as well 52.9% of pupils in grades IV–VI and 46.9% for pupils in primary school grades VII and VIII and post-primary school pupils.

Active patriotism was analysed by two dependent variables. The average score for pupils, teachers and school directors is 52.9%. The observance of Polish customs and traditions (55.4%) exceeds the celebration of national and state holidays (50.6%) by 5 percentage points.

Adherence to Polish traditions and customs – the first dependent variable – was declared by a total of 55.4% of respondents. Among them, the highest rate was recorded for school directors (76.0%), pupils in grades IV–VI (66.5%) and teachers (65.6%). What is surprising is the result obtained for pupils in grades VII+ (13.5%). The percentage difference with pupils not much younger is more than 50 percentage points.

The second dependent variable – participation in the celebration of national and state holidays – was indicated by half of the respondents (50.57%). The highest rate was recorded, in turn, by school directors (75.5%), teachers (49.5%), pupils of grades IV–VI (42.9%) and grades VII+ (34.4%). School directors are twice as likely as pupils in grades VII+ to celebrate these holidays.

In drawing conclusions on the issue of undertaking activities and actions that are part of active patriotism, it should be noted that grade IV–VI pupils are much more likely to observe Polish customs and traditions than to participate in national and state holidays. The difference oscillates around 24 percentage points. A similar trend was observed among teachers. The opposite trend was observed among pupils in the older grades (comparable difference: 21 percentage points). School directors engage in both behaviours with comparable frequency.

The data obtained show that the rate of affective patriotism (63.2%) exceeds the rate of active patriotism (52.9%). The percentage difference for all the groups analysed oscillates around 10 percentage points and allows us to confirm the assumptions of hypothesis two: "an affective understanding of patriotism dominates in the attitudes of the studied groups represented by the teaching staff and pupils". The highest differences were noted among grade VII+ pupils (23 percentage points) and teachers (17.9 percentage points), the lowest – 2 percentage points – in the group of school directors. However, a detailed analysis of the data by social group, in the case of school directors and grade IV–VI pupils, leads to different conclusions. The difference

of two percentage points in the group of school directors indicates a comparable level of their affective patriotism and active patriotism. On the other hand, grade IV–VI pupils are the only study group in which the opposite trend was noted: the index of active patriotism exceeds the index of affective patriotism (2 percentage points). Pupils in grades IV–VI declare comparable levels of the affective emotional component (52.9%) and the active component (54.7%). In the latter component, observance of Polish traditions (66.5%) dominates over the celebration of holidays (42.9%). The collected data confirm the assumptions of hypothesis three: "belonging to a specific social group (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors) determines the attitude towards patriotism".

Data from the CBOS survey are less optimistic. Strong patriotic self-identification, with an emphasis on the affective component, are not accompanied to a comparable extent by an active component. For example, 96% of surveyed Poles identify patriotism with showing respect for the national emblem, flag and anthem (94% in 2008; 92% in 2016; 98% in 2018), while at the same time only 25% (2018) admit that they fly the Polish flag "very often" in connection with national holidays or on other occasions (CBOS: 2018, 9).

The CBOS report of August 2018 shows a noticeable gap between declarations about behaviours that potentially constitute manifestations of patriotism and the actual forms of activity that respondents undertake. The inconsistency of citizens' opinions is apparent (Radosław Marzęcki: 2019).

The results of Radosław Marzęcki's (2019) research on patriotism as a determinant of pupils' civic activity in Poland show that patriotism is most often associated with an emotional component: the level of ties a person may have with the nation and/or country. The level of affective patriotism exceeds the rate of active patriotism. In this view, it is more often identified with experiencing than with acting. The data obtained in our research on the group of grade VII+ pupils (46.9% vs. 23.9%) and teachers (75.4% vs. 57.5%) are thus consistent with the results of the study among students by Radosław Marzęcki (2019). However, these are not comparable groups, although age-wise they are similar. This raises the question of the age range of the teachers surveyed. Are similar trends due to the young age of the teachers, and therefore short tenure, or other factors? To answer this question, the ages of the surveyed teachers should be investigated. According to Radosław Marzęcki, the problem analysed may be of a more universal nature and mainly concerns young people, as Joseph Kahne and Ellen Middaugh (2006: 603-604) also note. In their opinion, students underestimate the importance and significance of active forms of patriotism, hence – although they declare a high level of "love for the homeland" – at the same time they do not specifically actalise this.

Summary

Young people in grades VII+, aged 14–20, often referred to as generation Z, do not fit into most of the conclusions formulated for the other social groups surveyed: school directors, teachers and pupils in grades IV–VI. They are sometimes separated from the latter group by only months in their date of birth, but the results are very extreme and different. This is therefore a group that requires additional in-depth research and analysis.

The research material obtained does not confirm the assumption of the first hypothesis. Patriotism as measured by the declared sense of Polishness of the surveyed social groups (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors), with the exception of pupils in grades VII+, remains at a high, comparable level oscillating between 84.3% (teachers), through 89% (primary school pupils in grades IV–VI) to 92.6% (school directors). The data obtained (average result of 88.6%) are comparable with the results of cyclical surveys conducted by the Centre for Public Opinion Research (CBOS). In 2018, the vast majority of Poles (88%) considered themselves patriots, with almost two in five (39%) declaring this strongly. The percentage of respondents defining themselves in this way is identical to the results in 2016 (CBOS: 2018, 6).

A high level of the affective component of patriotism, that is, a high degree of love for the homeland, was noted in all groups of respondents (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors). Moreover, the degree of self-identification with being Polish is directly proportional to the degree of love for the homeland. The higher the rate of self-identification with being Polish, the higher the rate of love for the homeland.

The analysis of the collected data allows us to confirm the assumptions of hypothesis two: the attitudes of the studied groups represented by the teaching staff and pupils are dominated by an affective understanding of patriotism. The rate of affective patriotism (63.2%) exceeds the rate of active patriotism (52.9%) by 10 percentage points. The highest differences were found among pupils in grades VII+ (23 percentage points) and teachers (17.9 percentage points).

Affective patriotism as measured by the declared degree of the dependent variable "love for the homeland" remains high. The average result for all groups surveyed is 63.2% (school directors: 77.7%; teachers: 75.4%; pupils in grades IV–VI: 52.9%; primary school pupils in grades VII and VIII and pupils in post-primary schools: 46,9%).

The active patriotism of those surveyed, identified by the level of observance of traditions and customs remains at a high level (school directors:

76.0%; pupils in grades IV–VI: 66.5%; teachers: 65.6%), with the exception of pupils in grades VII+ (13.4%).

Active patriotism, as measured by the declared degree of participation in the celebration of national and state holidays, is at varying levels – from very high for school directors (75.5%), through an average level for teachers (49.5%) and grade IV–VI pupils (42.9%), to a low level for pupils in the final grades of primary and post-primary schools (35.4%). School directors are therefore twice as likely to celebrate public holidays as pupils in grades VII+.

A detailed analysis of the data by social group confirms the assumptions of hypothesis three: belonging to a specific social group (pupils in grades IV–VI, pupils in grades VII+, teachers, school directors) determines attitudes towards patriotism. The difference of two percentage points in the group of school directors indicates comparable levels of affective patriotism and active patriotism among school leaders. On the other hand, pupils in grades IV–VI are the only study group in which the opposite trend was noted: the index of active patriotism exceeds the index of affective patriotism (2 percentage points). Grade IV–VI pupils declare comparable levels of the affective emotional component (52.9%) and the active component (54.7%). In the case of the latter component, observance of Polish traditions (66.5%) dominates over celebration of the holidays (42.9%).

Patriotism, but which kind: affective or active? It seems that the best solution is to strike a balance between these two components. This has been successfully done by school directors and pupils in grades IV–VI of primary schools.

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https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12294

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Chapter 7.

„Criteria of Polishness' - in the opinions of directors, teachers and pupils

Abstract

The article examines the complex concept of Polishness and the criteria that shape national identity in Polish schools. The author examines the historical, cultural and social dimensions of the concept of Polishness, acknowledging its evolving nature and the diverse perspectives that exist around it. The article presents findings from sociological research into the criteria of Polishness and national identity, acknowledging the dynamic nature of these concepts and the influence of individual experiences and group affiliations. It establishes a foundation for a more profound comprehension of the concept of Polishness, its defining criteria, and the factors that shape national identity within the context of Polish schools. It highlights the necessity of considering a multiplicity of perspectives and the inherently dynamic nature of these concepts in shaping educational practices and fostering a sense of national belonging among Polish youth. The concept of Polishness is multifaceted, encompassing historical, cultural and social elements. The criteria of Polishness are subject to change over time and are influenced by individual experiences and group affiliations. Schools occupy a pivotal position in the transmission of the values and norms associated with Polishness. It is crucial to gain an understanding of the perspectives held by school directors, teachers and students in order to develop effective educational practices. The concepts of a "significant bond" and a "conventional bond" are complementary elements that shape national identity. The study offers valuable insights into the concepts of Polishness, national identity and the role of education in shaping these concepts.

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Introduction

Polishness, as a socio-cultural phenomenon, is an extremely important element of social, cultural and educational life in Poland. This concept, although deeply rooted in history and tradition, is subject to constant redefinition in response to dynamic social changes and global challenges. Understanding what Polishness is today requires taking into account the perspectives of different social groups, especially those directly involved in educational processes. The school, being one of the key places for shaping young minds, plays a fundamental role in transmitting values and norms related to national identity. In this context, directors, teachers and students become not only recipients but also active creators of definitions of Polishness. Their views and experiences are a valuable source of knowledge about how contemporary Polishness is understood and passed on to subsequent generations.

The analysis of the opinions of school directors, teachers and students allows us to grasp various aspects of the criteria shaping national identity that are cultivated in the educational environment. Directors, as those responsible for the leadership of educational institutions, have a unique perspective on how these institutions can influence the formation of national identity. Teachers, on the other hand, are direct implementers of the curriculum and have daily contact with students, which gives them insight into how young people perceive and interpret the values being conveyed. Students, on the other hand, who are at the stage of intensive formation of their own identity, bring their own experiences and reflections to school, which enrich and sometimes challenge traditional definitions of Polishness.

In the face of contemporary challenges, such as migration, cultural diversity or the influence of social media, the redefinition of Polishness becomes even more complex. Exploring the opinions of directors, teachers and students on the criteria of Polishness allows not only for a better understanding of these phenomena, but also for the development of educational strategies that are relevant to the needs of contemporary society. The aim of this chapter is therefore to explore these opinions and their impact on the formation of national identity in Polish schools, as well as an empirical interpretation of the criteria of Polishness influencing the modification of national identity.

1. 'Polishness' and 'criteria of Polishness'
- a theoretical study

The concept of 'Polishness' has been a subject of discussion and reflection for years, prompting a multitude of interpretations and analyses. On the one hand, it defines the concept of belonging to a national community; on the other, it is subject to constant reinterpretation and evolution. In the context of globalisation, migration and the dissolution of cultural boundaries, the question of what it means to be Polish has become increasingly complex. From a sociological perspective, the concept of "Polishness" is primarily understood at the macro-structural level, encompassing the entire nation, not merely a geographically defined territory, but also extending beyond its borders to encompass the diaspora, known as "Polonia." In this instance, it is essential to establish a collective consciousness that is firmly rooted in the fundamental tenets of national identity, the essential elements that shape a nation. It is important to note, however, that an individual's consideration of their Polish identity may result in a distinct identification with the nation, in relation to the group, at the micro-structural level. Poles develop in connection with and in interaction with their compatriots. This is a challenging process, as each individual must dedicate effort to understanding the nation and taking responsibility for it (Paweł Warchoł, 2017, p. 307). Consequently, the concept of Polishness may be interpreted in a manner that differs between the northern and southern regions of Poland. Furthermore, there are notable differences in the perception of Polishness outside the country. As Andrzej Legocki observes, Polishness is an emanation of the turbulent and often tragic fate of our nation. It is essential to recognise that the concept of Polish identity is shaped by the experiences and circumstances of each generation, shaped by the historical context in which they live. Consequently, the sentiment will vary among Poles residing in regions that formerly constituted the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and among diaspora communities dispersed across the globe (Andrzej B. Legocki: 2013, 20).

Alongside nation-building elements, the Sense of being Polish can, and even should, be included among the foundations of national identity considered in the spectrum of sociological empirical research. The sense of being Polish is a term used to describe identity, belonging and strong emotional ties to Poland, its culture, history and traditions. It represents a deep feeling of belonging to the Polish nation, which can be manifested in a variety of ways by both individuals and social groups. This is strongly influenced by, among other things, history, the Polish language, Polish culture, traditions nurtured in the family home and religion. It is worth noting that the Sense of being

Polish may be interpreted and experienced differently by and experienced by social individuals, depending on their life experiences, values and beliefs. However, for many people it is an important element of their identity and self--identification.

Polishness is a concept that is not easy to define. It is a multidimensional mosaic consisting of history, language, culture, traditions, values and shared experiences. The aforementioned elements are part of the so-called 'Polishness criteria'. 'Polishness criteria' are issues that can be discussed from many different angles, whether historical, cultural or legal and social. It can be approached from the perspective of both objective historical facts and the subjective sense of national identity - considered in terms of individual (individual identities) and collective (collective identities). These elements seek to build not only the awareness of feeling that one is Polish, but also the awareness that one is a participant in a community. 'When there is no community and no unity, the nation will not survive' (Warchol: 2017, p. 300). At this point, it is important to emphasise that the elements mentioned influence the construction of a national identity that evolves over time, shaped by the challenges, successes and aspirations of successive generations. And here, a more philosophical than sociological reflection indicated by Tomasz Szymański that 'a generation is not only a group of people, it is also its own moment in history. Better (very often underestimated when we live in peaceful times) or worse' (Tomasz Szymański: 2021, 17).

On the one hand, Polishness can be seen as a historical heritage. One thousand years of statehood, marked by both glorious victories and tragic falls, have shaped the unique character of the nation. The struggle to preserve language, culture and identity in the face of partition and occupation became the core of Polish identity. It is impossible not to agree with Francis Fukuyama's words that 'identity, previously concerned with individuals, became the property of groups, which were seen as bearers of their own cultures shaped by the lived experience of their members' (Francis Fukuyama: 2020, 142). In the case of the Polish nation, 'lived experience' was written on each of the key nation-forming elements, not omitting the Christian religion. As a result, in individuals, in the process of socialisation, patterns characterising the Polish nation were formed. These patterns, to a greater or lesser extent, may contribute to modifications in the areas of the sense of national identity and, consequently, the Sense of being Polish. On the other hand, Polishness is a rich culture, expressed in literature, music, art, film and cuisine.

It is folklore, passed down from generation to generation, uniting people and nurturing traditions. It is also the contemporary work of artists, drawing inspiration from the past and becoming part of a global context. Polishness

is also a language, beautiful and complex, carrying a wealth of meanings and history. It is a language in which feelings, ideas and identity are expressed. It is a language that unites Poles all over the world and is the foundation of national culture. This type of reasoning paints a picture moving from individual consciousness, towards a social consciousness based on patterns of thinking. 'When an exemplary consensus emerges, for each member of the collective individually, the basic argument becomes that this is how many others think, with whom, as members of our community, they identify' (Piotr Sztompka: 2021, 459). The concept of a Sense of being Polish has been shaped on elements of individual consciousness itself, but thanks to the acceptance of the social group it goes beyond the framework of individuality.

Following the scientific reasoning of Antonina Kłoskowska, the Sense of being Polish, national consciousness or national identification 'corresponds less and less to the perspective of the contemporary world, characterised by spatial and social mobility' (Antonina Kłoskowska: 1996, 137). Social, ethnic and national changes in the 21st century are significant in modifying the identification of social units already at the micro and mesostructural level. This may lead to acts of change in the national identification of individuals (ibid.: 137). Here it should be borne in mind that the Sense of being Polish (national identity) may weaken or strengthen. This depends on the correlation of nation-building elements shaped already at the level of primary socialisation and secondary socialisation, especially during adolescence, where the feeling of Polishness under the influence of many external factors (brought about by technological and digital development) may be minimised or even replaced by elements brought about by new trends of social change (consumerism, mass media, migration, etc.). The Sense of being Polish is strengthened by a common reference to tradition and history, a shared memory, a sense of common experience and the preservation of the cultural canon (Artur Wysocki: 2020, 191-192).

Values such as honour, patriotism, solidarity and hospitality are important elements of Polishness. These are values nurtured in families, schools and communities, shaping the moral compass of Poles. Polishness is also about shared experiences. The joy of regaining independence, the pride in athletes' successes, the sadness of tragedies. These experiences bind Poles together and strengthen the sense of community. However, it is important to remember that Polishness is not a monolith. There are many different visions of Polishness, often contradictory. This is natural in such a diverse society. It is important to have an open and respectful dialogue, looking for common ground and building bridges between different views. Contemporary Polishness faces many challenges. Globalisation, migration, social and technological changes are forcing a redefinition of national identity. It is important in this process to

preserve what constitutes the essence of Polishness, while opening up to new ideas and influences. Polishness is a continuous journey, a constant search for answers to the question of who we are and who we want to be. It is a journey to which all who feel part of this community are invited.

Focusing on one of the main problems contained in the subtitle, it is necessary to outline that the feeling of Polishness expresses positive social emotions, which can contribute to the strengthening of ties on a macro scale, namely national ties. However, the negative emotional aspect should also be taken into account. In this case, such feelings may intensify divisions or build resentment towards others by treating them as strangers or even enemies. Sociologists study this type of phenomenon especially at the national level, where the indicator is the identification of sympathy or antipathy for designated nations. The fact is, there is a problematic factor related to the formation of nationalistic determinants or stereotypes in individuals, influencing both the world view and image change of other nations, ethnic groups.

The manifestations of familiarity and strangeness are both emotional, i.e. closely related to emotional attitudes towards foreign groups, and intellectual, i.e. knowledge of the foreign collective. Ewa Nowicka states that 'the perception of individuals and groups as other, different or distinct from us does not necessarily determine any alienness if it is limited to a statement of fact and is not related to values. Awareness of otherness transforms into alienation only when emotions and attitudes connecting with the perceived otherness emerge. These can be positive; fascination and admiration, or negative: incomprehension, surprise, anxiety or fear having some real cause, or, in part, having no cause' (Ewa Nowicka: 1999, 16-17). What cannot be taken into account is the cultural-anthropological aspect, which contributes to the construction of divisions between 'us-versus-them', 'ones-versus-others' on a largely meso- and macro-structural scale (in terms of ethnicity and/or nationality). In the digital age, the focus should be on the micro-structural scale, where individuals, largely anonymous, can even artificially create divisions between self and stranger, if only in digital zones (internet). 'One does not have to be an Other racially, nationally, culturally, sexually, ethnically, religiously, philosophically, or spatially to fall into the cogs of a process of exclusion, alienation, stigmatisation and enemasisation, i.e. not only to be alienated from the social Matrix, to face the environment as an Other‑Alien, but to be marked with the stigma of the Other‑Enemy and to be thrown outside the framework of the existing community, while remaining a formal member of it, thus paradoxically not officially leaving the group (Tomasz Michał Korczyński: 2016, 46-47). Such divisions are acquiring new forms that can significantly influence the modification of social groups or even their destruction.

Polish society is distinguished by a high degree of homogeneity in terms of national-ethnic identification. The 2021 National Census revealed that 98.58% of respondents indicated Polish nationality (CSO: 2023). Cultural diversity is most evident in large cities, particularly in the capital, as well as in border areas, which are becoming a focus of interest for researchers from a range of scientific disciplines due to their increasing cultural diversity. A borderland is a specific area in which asymmetrical arrangements occur between the direction of an individual's self-identification and their identification by others. These arrangements may manifest in one of two ways: a) compatibility of individual and group identifications, or b) self-identification of the collective with a given individual, but partial or complete rejection by the individual (cultural similarity, but lack of self-identification with a given group). (Andrzej Sadowski, 1997, p. 48). The process of socialisation entails the formation of a term of self-identification within the context of each nation. However, changes may also occur at the individual level with regard to factors external to the determination of one's national identity. In the contemporary era, it is evident that individuals who previously regarded national or ethnic groups as alien entities, upon closer interaction and understanding, may subsequently perceive them as part of their own identity.

Over the past few decades, Polish sociologists have conducted a number of studies on the criteria of Polishness and national identity (Jerzy Szacki: 1969; Ewa Nowicka, Sławomir Łodziński: 1989, 2009, 2021; Marta Karkowska: 2019; Krzysztof Jaskułowski: 2020; Artur Wysocki: 2020, Agnieszka Bielawska: 2019; Wojciech J. Burszta: 2019; CBOS: 2015, Kantar: 1988, 2008, 2018; Paweł Ścigaj: 2012; Małgorzata Budyta-Budzyńska: 2010; Zbigniew Bokszański: 2005; Grzegorz Babiński: 2005; Krzysztof Koseła: 2003; Antonina Kłoskowska: 1990, 1992 and others).

Research on the criteria of Polishness and/or national identity has shown, that the importance of particular criteria may vary depending on the context and the group studied. For example, research among national minorities in Poland has shown that language and culture are more important criteria of Polishness for them than origin or citizenship. Research on nation and/or national identity also shows that the criteria of Polishness are becoming increasingly fluid. With increasing migration and globalisation, more and more people have mixed origins or grow up in multicultural environments. This can lead to questioning of traditional definitions of Polishness and the search for new ways of national identification. Very interesting are the longitudinal studies (every 10 years) conducted, among others, by a research team led by Ewa Nowicka and Bogdan Łozucki, as well as the studies conducted by the OBOP research studio (later TNS OBOP and then Kantar). In this case, there

is a noticeable *constant* in terms of the basic indicators indicating the image of Polish society in terms of national identity, as well as constituting a kind of national 'identification', which can be classified into several groups.

This type of classification was constructed by Artur Wysocki, where he made a segregation on the basis of a category of content criteria consisting, inter alia, of nation-building elements, bonds based on the terminology of Stanisław Ossowski, dependent and independent will/opportunities and the nation including ethnicity and political-civic aspects (Artur Wysocki: 2020). In this case, five basic elements modifying the typology of Polishness criteria can be distinguished. A self-identifying element based on a sense of both regional, ethnic and national identity. A nation-building element based on a common language, knowledge of common history, observance of Polish customs (common culture), common territory. Religious element based on the Christian religion with a focus on the Catholic faith (due to 71.3% of Poles indicating a Catholic faith according to the 2021 Census). A normative-legal element, which may include Polish citizenship, birth on Polish territory (which 'automatically' confers Polish citizenship) and a Polish surname. Ethnic-biological element, i.e. having both parents of Polish origin and white skin.

In this context, it is essential to identify the bonds that, to a greater or lesser extent, connect, influence and modify the aforementioned criteria. In this context, the term 'social bond' is used to describe the collective set of social relations that bind members of a given social group and shape their attitudes towards the group as a whole (Jan Turowski, 1999, p. 92). The reciprocal relations between individuals that define their sense of belonging to a specific group, or community, are the essence of that community. A community is constituted by the convergence of individuals who share common characteristics, including lifestyles, views, and values. Conversely, it is the consequence of the interaction between disparate individuals, resulting in a phenomenon that is greater than the mere sum of its parts. This "something more" is expressed in the words "I," "you," and "he," which create bonds that define the community, not the other way around (Anna Barska, 2020). In order to gain a deeper insight into the nature of social ties, it is essential to consider two distinct elements: the substantive and the conventional. These two elements are complementary within the context of the community that forms the nation and shapes national identity.

The substantive bond, also known as the natural or organic bond, is based on deep, often emotional and enduring relationships between people. It is characterised by: a) close relationships, where it is most often found in the context of family, close friends, and local communities. It is a type of bond that develops on the basis of daily, face-to-face interactions; b) shared

values and norms, where group members bound by the bond in question often share similar values, beliefs and social norms that are the foundation of their relationship; c) emotional support, where this type of bond is characterised by a high level of mutual concern and commitment to the well-being of other group members; d) stability and permanence, where substantive bonds are usually stable and long-lasting, as they are based on deep emotional commitment and mutual trust.

The conventional bond, also known as the formal or structural bond, is based on norms, regulations and rules that are established by social institutions. The most important characteristics indicative of this bond include: a) formal relationships, where they occur mainly in the context of institutions such as schools, workplaces, social organisations and political organisations. These relationships are often less personal and more formal; (b) rules and procedures, where members of a group bound by a conventional bond operate within a framework of specific rules, procedures and institutional norms that guide their interactions; (c) functionality, where these bonds are designed to achieve specific goals and objectives, and their functioning is subordinated to efficiencies and productivities; (d) variability and temporality, where they can be less stable and more variable, depending on the institutional context and changes in organisational structures.

'A nation is a collective with a specific culture. Limiting the key elements of national identity to ethnicity (the substantive bond - common ancestry and biological kinship) is inadequate in relation to the collectivity of the world and poses the dangers of closing off groups and excluding others. The second type of bond (conventional bond) is based on voluntary choice. Anyone, after fulfilling certain social rather than genealogical conditions, can become a member of a group (...) the bond is expressed in the acceptance of cultural rules' (Anna Wilkomirska: 2018, 33). It is emphasised that nation and national identity form a specific collective (social) bond, which adopts different types of classifications. However, the above considerations suggest that the best glue of national criteria (in this case Polishness) is the complementary two types of bonds proposed by Stanisław Ossowski.

2. Methodology of own research (characteristics of the study group)

The nationwide sociological research was conducted by the research group of the Department of Media Education and Artificial Intelligence of the Institute

of Educational Research as part of the scientific project 'National identity in the process of school education', which was funded by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. The research was conducted in primary and secondary schools between March and June 2023 using a quantitative method, specifically a survey questionnaire technique. The project employed the CAWI (Computer-Assisted Web Interview) technique to conduct the survey via the Internet. The respondents completed the survey online, with their responses automatically recorded in a database. The survey was facilitated by the Lime Survey software, which was designed for the construction and distribution of online survey questionnaires.

The research comprised five target groups: students in classes I-III (omitted from the analyses due to the research tool used, which differed significantly in terms of content from the other survey questionnaires); IV-VI; a uniform questionnaire addressed to primary schools in classes VII-VIII an d post-primary schools; teachers and directors of primary and post-primary schools. In order to corroborate and extract meaningful insights from the data analyses pertaining to the subject matter discussed in the article, the database modules from the various research groups were integrated. The result of this merging was a database comprising 6,901 records. It is also important to note that these groups represent the fundamental independent variable in the present considerations (Table 1).

Table 1. Groups representing teaching staff and students that are included in the analyses

Sample groups	Frequency	Percent
Directors	233	3,4
Teachers	1 697	24,6
Students in secondary schools	1 630	23,6
Students in primary schools (classes VII-VIII)	1 339	19,4
Students in primary schools (classes IV-VI)	2 002	29,0
Total	**6 901**	**100,0**

Source: Own study.

The dependent variables include the basic criteria of Polishness as indicated in the theoretical subsection by classifying them. Taking into account the above-mentioned research groups, 59.3% of females/girls and 40.7% of males/boys aged between 10 and 75 took part in the study. The survey was conducted in 378 schools nationwide.

There are three types of stratified sampling: proportional sampling, non-proportional sampling and optimal sampling (Władysław Skarbek: 2013). In the case of the project research, due to the varying number of schools in each province, a division of the entire general population into so-called strata (in this case, a stratum is a province, i.e. 16 strata were considered) was used and a direct draw of schools was made using proportional selection. Proportional selection was calculated using the arithmetic mean taking into account the maximum error: 5% (this tells us how much 'correction' we should take) (Earl Babie: 2004). Both the proportional selection and the further stages of the doling out were taken from the database-based operators 'SIO 2021 - 2022 unit level school summaries'. Statements of this type are available in the Educational Information System and/or in the databases of the relevant ministry (MEN). The databases contained 22488 of all schools.

Prior to the draw, filters were applied to the frame in order to eliminate non-public schools. Public primary schools, general and art secondary schools, technical schools, industry first degree schools, which form the basis of the study, were drawn from the operator. In order to observe the rules of proportionality, the total number of schools in a voivodship was taken into account. in the voivodeship in relation to the nationwide number of schools, taking into account the number of schools to build the sample. The sample is 378 schools assuming:

- – significance level: 95% (means how confident we can be in the results obtained, α = 0.95 means that at 95%) (Andrzej Stanisz: 2006).
- – fraction size: 0.5 (if we estimate that the examined characteristic occurs in 60% of the population, 0.6 should be given. If we do not know the value, 0.5 should be given).

3. Interpretation of results

The theoretical section of the chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of the various elements presented in this subsection. It is noteworthy that among the respondents, after aggregating the responses indicating "to a very high and high degree," the self-identification element, namely the sense of national identity, is ranked highest (the total percentage of the highest degrees is 83.2%, while 2.0% of the respondents considered that it is not a feature at all that determines whether one is Polish). It should be noted that the data presented in Table 2 will be discussed according to the elements that constitute the criteria of Polishness, rather than according to the sorting method

employed, whereby the highest percentage indicated by the respondents is used as a reference point. In terms of nation-building elements, it is notable that the use of the Polish language is also highly valued, with a total of 75.0% of respondents indicating this category. Subsequently, 63.2% of respondents indicated that they observe Polish customs, while 51.7% stated that they possess knowledge of Polish history. This enables a deeper understanding of the culture and facilitates the establishment of connections with other Poles. The third indicator, indicated by 46% of respondents, was residing in Poland for a longer period of time. This indicator is included in the general category of "common territory." In addition to the aforementioned indicators, those pertaining to nation-building, namely the use of the Polish language and Polish customs (culture), were also ranked. The indicator concerning Polish culture, history and territory was placed in 7th and 8th position, respectively.

Of the normative-legal elements, 'Polish citizenship' is a priority for 76.2% of respondents, followed by birth on Polish territory (55.3%). In this case, it should be taken into account that being born on Polish territory 'automatically confers' Polish citizenship (OJ. 2012, item 161, art. 14 p. 2, 2009: 4). For 40.5 percent of respondents, the 'Polish surname' does not constitute a significant feature to consider someone a Pole. In this case, it should be emphasised that 'personal proper names are linguistic signs with a special cognitive and ontological status, as they are given to people designating a central position among entities, thus the information about the social environment contained, among other things, in names is the most important' (Iza Matusiak-Kempa, 2022: 52). This is why Polish surnames are characterised on a national level especially among the Polish diaspora distinguishing it as a specific group, building a bond and thus shaping its community.

Table 2. Social criteria of Polishness in the opinion of the surveyed groups

No.		To a very high and high degree	To a very high and high degree	To a very high and high degree	To a very high and high degree	To a very high and high degree
1	Sense of being Polish	83.2	8.3	2.7	2.0	3.8
2	Polish citizenship	76.2	13.9	4.1	2.1	3.7
3	Use of the Polish language	75.0	14.7	4.6	2.6	3.0
4	Observance of Polish customs	63.2	20.8	7.4	3.9	4.7
5	Birth in Poland	55.3	18.9	13.3	7.9	4.6
6	Both parents of Polish origin	51.9	19.4	15.5	8.0	5.2

7	Knowledge of Polish history	51.7	24.7	11.7	6.7	5.2
8	Have lived in Poland for a long time	46.0	26.3	15.4	6.8	5.5
9	Polish surname	40.5	23.6	18.1	11.6	6.3
10	Special merits for Poland (cultural, scientific, sporting, etc.)	39.2	20.5	18.4	14.0	7.9
11	Catholic	30.3	21.1	16.8	21.1	10.7
12	White skin	28.3	18.4	19.9	24.8	8.6

Source: Own study.

Directing attention to the ethnic-biological element, it is noted that having both parents of Polish origin is a moderately important feature in the construction of the discussed criteria (51.9%). Having both parents of Polish origin influences the formation of a person's identity, values and experiences. Growing up in a Polish family involves close contact with rich culture, tradition and the Polish language, which often builds a strong sense of belonging and pride in heritage. Polish families value strong family ties, adherence to tradition, the role of religion, education and hard work. People with Polish roots may face discrimination and stereotyping, which affects their identity and sense of alienation. Polish ancestry also opens up educational and professional opportunities in Poland and facilitates integration into Polish communities around the world. Their experiences are diverse and depend on their place of birth and upbringing, level of identification with Polish culture and individual experiences. In general, Polish ancestry shapes an individual's identity and values in multiple ways, carrying both positive and negative aspects (Ewa Sowa-Behtane: 2021,134). An indicator that may be controversial, namely 'white skin colour', was included in this element. In this case, this indicator ranked last, with 28.3% believing that it could significantly define someone as Polish. Reference should be made to history, where, until the Second World War, the society inhabiting the territory of the Second Republic was multinational and multicultural. It was only after the war that communist policies were directed towards the monolithic construction of society (Marek Barwiński: 2016, 93-94; See Grzegorz Kucharczyk: 2022). Krzysztof Jaskułowski pointed out that 'the criterion of whiteness seems to be well rooted (although rarely recognised), in Polish society it is contextual and selective; it is only invoked in specific contexts and in relation to a certain group' (Krzysztof Jaskułowski: 2020, 1083).

Poland, a country with a rich history and culture, boasts a number of outstanding personalities who have made extraordinary contributions to the development of the country in various fields, e.g. scientific, cultural, social and sporting. These individuals are becoming national icons, of whom one can be proud. Only 32.9% of respondents perceive that this indicator plays an important role in the criteria of Polishness. A 2010 CBOS study shows that the majority of respondents (71%) indicated John Paul II as a figure bringing glory to Poles. Every sixth survey participant (16%) believes that such a person is Lech Wałęsa, and every tenth (10%) - Józef Piłsudski. For every twelfth respondent (8%), a figure worthy of pride is Frederic Chopin. A similar number of people (7%) claim that Poles can be proud of writers and poets, naming such artists as Wisława Szymborska, Zbigniew Herbert, Władysław Reymont and Stefan Żeromski. Next, respondents recalled individuals associated with groundbreaking scientific achievements - Mikołaj Kopernik and Maria Curie-Skłodowska (6% each), as well as athletes, especially Adam Małysz, but also Robert Kubica, Justyna Kowalczyk and Polish volleyball players. Every twentieth respondent (5%) believes that Poles can be proud of contemporary politicians such as Leszek Balcerowicz, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Jerzy Buzek or Lech Kaczyński. The same number of people point to Poland's former rulers (Jan III Sobieski, Kazimierz Wielki, Władysław Jagiełło) as a reason to be proud. The survey also mentioned Adam Mickiewicz as a figure bringing pride to Poles (4%) (CBOS: 2010). Research 2023 shows that still John Paul II is a person not only of whom we are proud, but and a person who built up the good name of Poland (65%). This was followed by Maria Skłodowska-Curie (31%), then Frederic Chopin (30%), Nicolaus Copernicus (23%) Marshal Piłsudski (24%). The fewest respondents named Adam Mickiewicz (12%), Jan III Sobieski (10%) and Henryk Sienkiewicz (5%). Again, 1% of respondents chose a figure outside the list, suggesting: Ignacy Łukasiewicz, Ignacy Paderewski, Juliusz Słowacki, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, Kazimierz Wielki (CBOS: 2023).

The religious element based on Christianity, in Poland mainly Catholicism (as 71.3% of Poles declared a Catholic religion according to the results of the 2021 Census), is, according to 30.3% of respondents, an important characteristic defining someone as a Pole. In Polish society, one encounters the term 'Polish Catholic'. This is constituted in Polish history and culture, which is based on Christianity and the Catholic Church. Therefore, the significance of Catholicism for Polish civilisational orientation, history, culture, statehood and everyday life is extremely important and also recognisable by Poles (Artur Wysocki: 2022). It should be emphasised that the contemporary period brings a gradual secularisation and secularisation of society, which is

also indicated by the results of the CBOS survey, where in 2005 14% of respondents indicated a Catholic denomination defining 'someone for a Pole', in 2015 only 7% indicated this answer (CBOS: 2015). Comparing the 2018 survey on the religious life of Poles to longitudinal surveys that were conducted in ten-year intervals - starting from 1988 (1988-12%, 1998-7%, 2008-6%, 2018-7%) (CBOS: 2018).

Table 3 makes a comparative study of the surveys conducted and designed in 2023 to longitudinal surveys starting in 1988 and repeated every ten years. These surveys were conducted by Ewa Nowicka and Bogdan Łoziński, as well as by a research studio that over the years, changed names and owners, which is now called Kantar Public (formerly OBOP, TNS OBOP, TNS Polska). Data shows that in 1988, 91% of respondents considered knowledge of the Polish language as a criterion of Polishness. In 1998, this percentage rose to 94% and in 2008 it reached 95%, where in 2018 it fell by 3 percentage points (it was 92%). The 2023 survey indicates that this criterion is in position 3 (75%). The feeling of being Polish was declared by 95% of respondents in 1988 and 1998, 94% in 2008 and 91% in 2018. 83% of respondents from the school environment indicated this criterion. It should be noted that in the 2023 survey, the Sense of being Polish is in first place. Knowledge of Polish culture and history in 1988 was important for 79% of respondents, in 1998 and in 2008 for 86%, in 2018 for 88%, and in 2023 for 51% (seventh position). Having Polish citizenship in 1988 was important for 82% of respondents, in 1998 for 84%, in 2008 for 81% and in 2018 for 87%. Comparing the research conducted in 2023, it is noted that 76% of respondents (second position from the extracted criteria) underline the high degree of this indicator from all criteria. Observance of Polish customs was considered important in 1988 by 78% of respondents, in 1998 by 82%, in 2008 by 79%, in 2018 by 87% and in 2023 by 63% (fourth position in terms of percentage of indications). Having at least one parent of Polish nationality in 1988 was important for 81% of respondents, in 1998 for 79%, in 2008 also for 79%, in 2018 for 84% and in 2023 for 52% (sixth position). Living permanently in Poland in 1988 was important for 66% of respondents, in 1998 for 70%, in 2008 for 69%, in 2018 for 75% and in 2023 for 46% (eighth position). Being born in Poland in 1988 was declared by 63% of respondents, in 1998 also by 63%, in 2008 by 59%, in 2018 by 74% and in 2023 by 55.3% (fifth position). Particular merits for Poland in 1988 were important for 52% of respondents, in 1998 for 53%, in 2008 for 45%, in 2018 for 60% and in 2023 for 39% (ninth position). The Catholic faith was considered a criterion of Polishness in 1988 and 1998 by 45% of respondents, in 2008 by 43%, in 2018 by 58%, and in 2023 by 30% (tenth position).

In 2023, additional criteria were introduced to the surveyed collective of pedagogical staff (school directors and teachers) and students: Polish surname (40%), white skin colour (28%). In this case, it is noticeable that the Polish surname is ranked higher than special merits for Poland, Catholic faith and white skin colour. Mateusz Grodecki's research taking into account nine indicators of the criteria of Polishness, where the highest ranked is the ability to speak Polish (88.5% after summing up the answers 'very important' and 'important'), followed by the feeling of being Polish (87.7%), and having Polish citizenship (86.1%). The researcher used a new criterion, i.e. respect for Polish political and legal institutions (84.3%), Polish origin (80.3%), living for a long time in Poland (71.6%), white skin colour (54.8%) and Catholic religion (50.8%) (Mateusz Grodecki: 2021). These indicators, especially 'white skin colour' and 'Catholic religion', are comparable to the results presented above.

The results of the longitudinal study differ in percentage terms from the 2023 study. It is emphasised that this is only a comparative study, where different cohorts (collectivities) were studied. Here, it is also important to take into account, the difficulties in longitudinal studies, which have been most influenced for more than 30 years by the broad political, social, cultural and technological context, which changes over the years. Understanding these changes and their impact on national identity is crucial for a sound long-term analysis. The years 1988-1989 saw the end of the People's Republic of Poland and the beginning of the systemic transformation, which meant a change in the political and economic system, significantly affecting national identity. The 1990s were a period of transition and democratic consolidation, with new social and economic norms emerging, especially in the context of accession to NATO in 1999. Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 opened up new perspectives and challenges for national identity in the context of European integration, and the 2010s saw a rise in nationalist sentiment and Euroscepticism. Another difficulty in longitudinal studies is demographic variation. Migration, both the departure of Poles abroad and the influx of foreigners, is changing the demographic structure of the country. The ageing of the population also affects perceptions of national identity, which may modify survey results at different times.

Table 3. Polishness criteria - a comparative study (data in %)

No.	Criteria of Polishness	1988/ OBOP	1998/ OBOP	2008/ TNS OBOP	2018/KANTAR Public	2023/IBE
1	Knowledge of the Polish language	91	94	95	92	75 (3)
2	Sense of being Polish	95	95	94	91	83 (1)
3	Knowledge of Polish culture and history	79	86	86	88	51 (7)
4	Polish citizenship	82	84	81	87	76 (2)
5	Observance of Polish c ustoms	78	82	79	87	63 (4)
6	Have at least one parent of Polish nationality	81	79	79	84	52 (6)
7	Residence in Poland	66	70	69	75	46 (8)
8	Being born in Poland	63	63	59	74	55,30 (5)
9	Special merits for Poland	52	53	45	60	39 (9)
10	Catholic	45	45	43	58	30 (10)
11	Polish surname	-	-	-	-	40
12	White skin	-	-	-	-	28

Source: Own study based on NdS research: Tożsamość narodowa w procesie edukacji szkolnej/IBE (2023); Społeczne kryteria polskości 1988-1998. (1998). Warsaw: OBOP; Społeczne kryteria polskości 1988-1998-2008. (2008). Warsaw: TNS OBOP; Społeczne kryteria polskości. (2018). Warsaw: Kantar Public.

Methodological issues pertaining to longitudinal research are particularly complex. The maintenance of consistency in the survey sample across years is a challenging endeavour, due to the impact of migration and demographic changes on the composition of the population, which can make it difficult to track the same respondents over time. The reliability of the data may be affected by changes in research tools, such as the shift from paper to online interviews, and differences in the interpretation of questions depending on the historical period and social context. Furthermore, the evolving definition of Polishness introduces additional complexity to longitudinal research. The evolving cultural values and norms may influence the criteria for national identification. Furthermore, the influence of identity politics and the discourses of the government and media have a considerable impact on how respondents define Polishness. The global context, including globalisation, exerts an influence on the local sense of identity. The processes of European Union integration and migration movements have an impact on the way that Polishness is perceived, both from within and without the country. (Ewa Nowicka and Bogdan Łoziński, 2021). Technological changes, including the advent of

digitalisation and the growing influence of social media and the internet, have come to play a pivotal role in the formation of public opinion and the shaping of national identity. The contemporary challenges of climate change, the on-going pandemic of SARS-CoV-2, and the war in Ukraine have an impact on the Sense of being Polish. It is highlighted that the findings for the primary and secondary education cohort are comparable in terms of percentage points.

The key independent variable in this chapter is the different groups in the study population. Directors, teachers and students were considered, repre-senting different generational intervals. Table 4 presents the percentage distri-bution within each included group that took part in the study. The data shows that self-identification is highest among the group of directors (92.3%) and teachers (84.3%). Among pupils indicating the criterion in question, pupils in classes IV-VI (89.0%) have the highest percentage point, followed by those in classes VII-VIII (79.4%) and those in secondary schools (76.8%). Among both directors and teachers, the high percentage point on this criterion is not surprising. Most of the people in these two groups belong to a generation that grew up during the communist regime, as a result of which they experienced political changes and many other events significant for the development of the country (e.g. leaving military bases and the departure of Soviet troops from the country, joining NATO and the EU, the death of John Paul II, the Smo-lensk tragedy). The median age in the group of directors is 52 and teachers 47. Their awareness was shaped not only in the process of primary and secondary socialisation, but also built through their own experiences and even active participation. They grew up in the era of traditional literature, where digi-tal novelties were just beginning to be talked about and the most important electronic device in the home was the television. Focusing on the youngest group of respondents (pupils in Classes IV-VI), it can be seen that 89.0% indicated the criterion 'Sense of being Polish'. This is the highest percentage point among the pupils surveyed. Pupils in this group see authorities at home, in the family and among teachers. The most important values shaping patri-otism and broadening the knowledge of Poland are conveyed in education. The age of adolescence brings choices that even lead to changes in world view. Especially among secondary school students, where they seek interests that are more attractive to themselves. National elements or patriotism is not attractive. Only significant events, especially sports, can arouse the interest of young people. Trivial patriotism is then modified, which contributes to changes in the sense of national identity.

Highly, in the percentage distribution, 'Polish citizenship' (normative-le-gal element) is included, however, it is most approved among the young-est group (classes IV-VI), where 82.9% of pupils indicated this criterion.

This is the result of the educational components at the integrated education level. This result at this educational level may be satisfactory, as it may indicate not only a good level of national but also civic education. Unfortunately, the other indicators belonging to this component are at further distances in terms of positive support. Interestingly, 'born in Poland' was most often chosen by students in classes VII and VIII of primary schools (63.2%) and secondary schools (59.7%), while the smallest percentage point is represented by the group of teachers (45.6%). There is a similar percentage distribution among those indicating the 'Polish surname', where students of VII and VIII classes indicated this criterion most frequently, of all groups, while teachers indicated it least frequently (35.7%). In this case, a certain correlation between place of birth and Polish surname is noticeable. Groups with a higher percentage of people born in Poland also have a higher percentage of people with a Polish surname. This is most clearly seen in the fourth group, where both indicators are highest. Basic significance tests indicate a significant effect of the independent variable 'place of birth' on the dependent variable at the 0.01 level.

Table 4. Statistical tests of the independent variable 'place of birth' on the dependent variable 'Polish surname "

	Chi-squared tests (χ^2)		
	Value	df	Asymptotic significance
Pearson's chi-square	3 831,618[a]	25	0.000
Reliability quotient	2 819,484	25	0.000
Linear relationship test	1 473,411	1	0.000
N valid observations	6 901	-	-

Source: Own study.

With regard to the criterion included in the nation-building element, namely the use of the Polish language, the analyses indicate that the highest percentage of respondents is comprised of students in classes IV-VI (87.6%). Subsequently, the highest percentages of respondents were found among directors (80.7%), teachers (74.6%), students in classes VII-VIII (73.1%), and secondary school students (74.6%). The percentage is notably high across all surveyed groups. Nevertheless, the highest rating for observance of Polish customs was given by school directors, who considered this criterion important in 73% of cases. The second-highest percentage of respondents is comprised of pupils in classes IV-VI of primary schools (66.4%), followed by teachers (65.6%) and pupils in classes VII-VIII (62.4%). The lowest level of importance is attributed to the observance of Polish customs by students

in secondary schools (55.7%). These findings indicate that school directors, as the administrative leaders of educational institutions, may prioritize traditional cultural values to a greater extent, whereas older youth may espouse a more liberal outlook. School directors rated knowledge of Polish history as the most important criterion (63.5%).

This is followed by pupils in classes IV-VI of primary schools (58.9%) and teachers (53.7%). Pupils in classes VII-VIII (47.5%) and secondary schools (42.6%) have the lowest scores in this category. This may indicate an increasing role of other subjects in education and a decreasing interest in history among older students. Students in classes IV-VI of primary schools (51.2%) attach the greatest importance to living in Poland for a longer period of time. This is followed by students in classes VII-VIII (47.6%) and school directors (43.3%). Teachers (41.8%) and secondary school students (43%) have similar lowest scores. These results may indicate a greater attachment to place of residence among younger students, which may be due to their lower mobility and greater connection to their families. Pupils in classes IV-aVI of primary schools attach the greatest importance to living in Poland for a longer period of time (51.2%). This is followed by students in classes VII--VIII (47.6%) and school directors (43.3%). Teachers (41.8%) and secondary school students (43%) have similar lowest scores. These data may indicate a greater attachment to the place of residence among younger students, which may be due to their lower mobility and greater connection to family and peer groups. Some emerging patterns can be seen, with directors and pupils in classes IV-VI of primary schools generally having the highest scores in most categories. Secondary school students generally have the lowest ratings, which may suggest differences in perception of Polishness between different age groups and positions in the education system.

In attempting to discuss the criteria building the ethnic-biological element the analysis shows that having both parents of Polish origin is considered a key criterion of Polishness among primary school pupils (classes VII-VIII) - 64.2% of respondents in this group indicated the importance of this criterion. Similarly high values were recorded among secondary school students (61%) and directors (59.7%). Teachers (51.6%) and pupils in younger classes of primary schools (35.5%) attributed less importance to this criterion. White skin colour as a criterion of Polishness is most highly valued by primary school pupils (classes VII-VIII) - 35.3% and secondary school pupils - 31.8%. Directors (17.2%) and teachers (19.2%) are clearly less inclined to regard skin colour as an important element of Polishness. The differences in the perception of Polishness criteria between the groups can be interpreted in several ways. Higher values among older students suggest that younger

generations may be more conservative about national identity. Directors and teachers, as groups with more life and professional experience, show more openness and inclusiveness in defining Polishness.

It is also interesting to note that the youngest group of respondents (students in Classes IV-VI) attach the least importance to having both parents of Polish origin, which may indicate changing attitudes among younger generations who are perhaps more open and less determined by traditional national criteria.

The results of this study indicate differentiated attitudes to Polishness criteria depending on social group and age. Directors and teachers seem to be more liberal in their approach to national identity, while older students show a more traditional approach. Younger students may represent more inclusive and diverse attitudes, which may suggest an evolution of national identity in the future.

This study highlights the need for further research on changing attitudes towards national identity, especially in the context of a dynamically changing global society.

Analysis of the survey results reveals significant differences in the perception of merit for Poland as a patriotic element between different groups of respondents. The highest percentage of respondents considering special merits for Poland as an important criterion of Polishness is found among directors (76%). This may be due to their professional experience and deeper knowledge of the importance of the contribution of individuals to the social and cultural development of the country. Teachers (50.6%) also attribute importance to particular contributions to Poland, which may be related to their role in shaping young people's attitudes and appreciation of various forms of patriotism, including contributions to culture, science and sport. Secondary school students (44.6%) consider special merits for Poland to be important, although to a lesser extent than teachers and directors. The lower percentage may be due to limited life experience and less awareness of the contribution of individuals to the country. Pupils in the older classes of primary schools (48.3%) attach more importance to merit for Poland than their older secondary school counterparts, which may suggest a greater role for primary education in shaping patriotism. The lowest percentage of respondents considering special merits for Poland as important is among the youngest primary school pupils (14.9%).

Table 5. Respondent groups and criteria of Polishness (data in %)

Criteria of Polishness	Directors	Teachers	Secondary school students	Primary school pupils (classes VII-VIII)	Primary school pupils (classes IV-VI)
Sense of being Polish	92,3	84,3	76,8	79,4	89,0
Polish citizenship	80,7	74,6	71,7	73,1	82,9
Special merits for Poland (cultural, scientific, sporting, etc.)	76,0	50,6	44,6	48,3	14,9
Observance of Polish customs	73,0	65,6	55,7	62,4	66,4
Use of the Polish language	71,7	71,5	68,8	69,0	87,6
Knowledge of Polish history	63,5	53,7	42,6	47,5	58,9
Both parents of Polish origin	59,7	51,6	61,0	64,2	35,5
Birth in Poland	49,4	45,6	59,7	63,2	55,5
Living in Poland for a long time	43,3	41,8	43,0	47,6	51,2
Polish surname	37,3	35,7	38,5	46,2	42,5
Catholic	26,6	28,7	19,8	29,8	40,9
White skin	17,2	19,2	31,8	35,3	29,9

Source: Own study.

This may be associated with their constrained capacity to fully comprehend and value the contribution of individuals to society. It is evident that differing attitudes towards the importance of special contributions to Poland as a criterion of Polishness are observed, contingent on the social group and age. The most experienced group, that of directors, demonstrates the greatest appreciation for the contribution of individuals to the country's development. Teachers, albeit to a lesser extent, also demonstrate appreciation for this criterion, which may be attributed to secondary socialisation processes in shaping youth attitudes. Pupils, particularly those of a younger age, demonstrate a lesser degree of comprehension and appreciation for the significance of contributions to Poland. This indicates a necessity for a more pronounced focus on patriotic education among younger age groups. It is noteworthy that older primary school students demonstrate a greater appreciation of this criterion than their older secondary school counterparts. This may be attributed

to the more intensive educational programmes typically provided at the primary level.

The religious element shows us a picture of the changes that are taking place in the Catholic Church. In this case, these changes also affect other faiths, also the Catholic Church is not "alone" in the process of secularisation. "Secularisation, which has attempted to deprive human beings of transcendent motivations, has resulted not only in the weakening of traditional religions and churches, but also in the development of new forms of spirituality that can take many shapes. As a result of modernisation processes in contemporary societies, the meaning and position of traditional and institutionalised forms of religion have changed" (Janusz Marinski: 2017, 32). The shaped "processes of de-institutionalisation of religiosity are often identified with a weakening of ties with churches (based on the self-assessment of the people surveyed), with a decrease in participation in religious practices, with negative assessments of the role of the Church in the modern world. In turn, a decrease in religious practices affects other dimensions of religiosity" (Janusz Marianski:2021, 166).

The highest percentage of people declaring Catholicism as an important criterion of Polishness is found in the group of primary school pupils from classes IV-VI, amounting to 40.9%. In the group of primary school pupils from classes VII-VIII, this percentage is 29.8%, which is similar to the percentage among teachers (28.7%) and directors (26.6%). The lowest percentage of those with a Catholic faith is among secondary school pupils at 19.8%.

The data shows that the highest percentage of adherents to Catholicism is among the younger pupils. It can be seen that the younger the group of pupils, the higher the percentage of Catholic religion. Pupils in classes IV-VI have the highest percentage (40.9%), which may indicate a greater influence of family and environment on their religious declaration. As pupils get older, there is a decrease in the percentage declaring a Catholic religion. Post-primary school students have the lowest percentage (19.8%), which may suggest a greater diversity of faiths or a decline in the importance of religion in young people's lives as they mature. The percentages among head teachers and teachers are similar at 26.6% and 28.7% respectively. This may suggest that religiosity in this group is more stable and does not fluctuate much, in contrast to students. In summary, the data shows a variation in the percentage of Catholic religion according to age and role in the school environment. It is highest among younger pupils and lowest among older adolescents, which may indicate changes in attitudes to religion as they grow up. As posited by Janusz Mariański, the initial indications of shifts in the fundamental (overarching) tenets of religious practice, including affiliation with a specific

denomination or global attitudes of faith, will manifest in youth environments. However, despite these indications, the changes will be evolutionary rather than revolutionary in nature (Janusz Mariański, 2023, p. 40). The results of the statistical analyses demonstrate that the groups under investigation (the independent variable) exert a significant influence on the individual criteria discussed (the dependent variables). The statistical tests based on Pearson's chi-square indicate a highly significant effect at the 0.01 level (Table 6).

Table 6. Testing the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable using Pearson's χ^2

Criteria	χ^2	df	p
Sense of being Polish	220.348	20	0,000
Polish citizenship	219.473	20	0,000
Special merits for Poland (cultural, scientific, sporting, etc.)	1 324.923	20	0,000
Observance of Polish customs	238.186	20	0,000
Use of the Polish language	295.906	20	0,000
Knowledge of Polish history	219.469	20	0,000
Having both parents of Polish origin	776.949	20	0,000
Birth in Poland	399.878	20	0,000
Living in Poland for a long time	264.345	20	0,000
Polish surname	403.121	20	0,000
Catholic faith	575.076	20	0,000
White skin colour	566.616	20	0,000

Source: Own study.

The analysis of the independent variable gender in the context of self-identification of national identity demonstrates that in the majority of the groups under study, the percentage of females indicates that this element is of significant importance in the criteria under discussion. In Classes VII and VIII of primary schools, the percentage is identical for both girls and boys (9.4%). With regard to the national elements, the most important among males in four groups of respondents is "using the Polish language" (directors and pupils of secondary and primary schools (73.6%, 70.4, 72.4%, 88.1%), where it is a very important criterion for 75.1% of female teachers. With regard to the criterion of 'observance of Polish customs', female directors achieve the highest score (77.2%), while male directors attain a slightly lower rating (71.7%). Teachers of both sexes have the lowest scores, with similar values (around 50.5%). Among secondary school students, girls score 56.9%, young boys 60.6%. In classes VII-VIII, girls score 60.3% and boys 64.6%. In classes IV-VI, girls score 62%, while boys have the highest score in this

criterion, at 70.8%. The criterion concerning "knowledge of Polish history" gives information that the highest percentage score is achieved by students in the youngest classes (IV-VI), both girls (87.1%) and boys (88.1%). Directors also score relatively high, especially males (67.9%). Knowledge of history decreases in older groups of students, with the lowest scores among female secondary school students (40.2%). Among teachers, females score 52.5% and males 59.9%. In classes VII-VIII, girls score 42.1% and boys 53.4%. In the criterion "Living in Poland for a long time", the results are more even. The highest values are found among directors (49.1% males) and boys in classes IV-VI (55.2%). Among directors, females score 41.7%. Female teachers score 42.4%, while male teachers have the lowest score in this category (39%). Among secondary school students, females score 43.6% and males 46.6%. In classes VII-VIII, girls score 46.2% and boys 49.1%. In classes IV-VI, girls score 47.2% and boys 55.2%.

In summary, in the criteria of observance of rules and knowledge of history, directors and younger pupils (classes IV-VI) tend to score higher. Teachers, especially in the context of observance, have lower scores compared to other groups. Gender differences are apparent, but not always significant. For example, in the category of knowledge of history, boys outperform girls in all groups, except for the youngest pupils, where differences are minimal.

The criteria included in the normative-legal element indicate that the criterion of having Polish citizenship is important in defining someone as a Pole, and importantly, it is most frequently indicated in all the groups surveyed. In the case of Polish citizenship, 80% of women and 83% of men regard it as an important criterion of Polishness in the group of directors. Among teachers, 75.1% of women and 72% of men indicate the importance of Polish citizenship. Students in classes VII-VIII also consider Polish citizenship to be important, as confirmed by 72.4% of girls and 73.8% of boys. In classes IV-VI, 79.6% of girls and 86.2% of boys regard Polish citizenship as a key criterion of Polishness. Being born on Polish territory is considered an important criterion of Polishness by 49.4% of females and 49.1% of males among directors. Among teachers, 45.7% of females and 44.7% of males indicate the importance of this criterion. Students in classes VII-VIII are more likely to consider being born on Polish territory as important, as confirmed by 60.2% of girls and 66.5% of boys. In classes IV-VI, 54.1% of girls and 56.9% of boys consider being born on Polish territory to be important. Having a Polish surname is important for 38.9% of females and 32.1% of males among directors. Among teachers, 35.6% of females and 36.2% of males consider this criterion important. In classes VII-VIII, 41.5% of girls and 51.4% of boys consider the Polish surname as an important criterion of Polishness.

In classes IV-VI, 39% of girls and 45.9% of boys indicate the Polish surname as an important criterion of Polishness.

Table 7. Gender and Polishness criteria including very high and high degree (data in %)

Criteria of Polishness	Gender	Directors	Teachers	Secondary	VII-VIII	IV-VI
Sense of being Polish	F	93.3	85.4	78.9	79.4	89.7
	M	88.7	78.7	77.0	79.4	88.3
Polish citizenship	F	80.0	75.1	72.1	72.4	79.6
	M	83.0	72.0	72.6	73.8	86.2
Use of the Polish language	F	71.1	72.7	67.5	65.9	87.1
	M	73.6	65.6	70.4	72.4	88.1
Special merits for Poland (cultural, scientific, sporting, etc.)	F	73.3	52.9	42.6	45.0	13.1
	M	71.7	45.4	50.0	51.9	16.6
Observance of Polish customs	F	77.2	50.5	56.9	60.3	62.0
	M	71.7	50.7	60.6	64.6	70.8
Knowledge of Polish history	F	62.2	52.5	40.2	42.1	87.1
	M	67.9	59.9	49.6	53.4	88.1
Birth in Poland	F	49.4	45.7	56.8	60.2	54.1
	M	49.1	44.7	65.9	66.5	56.9
Having both parents of Polish origin	F	60.6	66.3	61.0	63.4	33.3
	M	56.6	62.4	64.0	65.0	37.7
Living in Poland for a long time	F	41.7	42.4	43.6	46.2	47.2
	M	49.1	39.0	46.6	49.1	55.2
Polish surname	F	38.9	35.6	37.6	41.5	39.0
	M	32.1	36.2	46.6	51.4	45.9
Catholic faith	F	25.6	28.0	20.1	25.0	34.4
	M	30.2	32.3	28.7	35.0	47.3
White skin	F	15.6	18.1	27.9	30.7	26.0
	M	22.6	24.5	39.0	40.3	33.7

Source: Own study.

The analysis of the presented data reveals discrepancies in the fulfilment of the criteria of Polishness contingent on gender and the group under examination. It is evident that there is a discernible tendency for males in all the study groups to attach greater significance to Polish citizenship as a defining aspect of Polish identity than their female counterparts. The proportion of boys in classes IV-VI who responded in the affirmative was particularly high, at 86.2%. This may indicate that nationality will become an increasingly

important factor in younger age groups, which may in turn influence the formation of national identity among young people. The proportion of respondents who consider being born on Polish territory to be an important criterion of Polishness is relatively similar for both genders among directors and teachers. However, among the student population, there is a greater propensity for boys to indicate this criterion than girls. This may indicate that younger boys are more inclined to associate their place of birth with their identity as Polish, which could have implications for their future attitudes towards patriotism and local involvement.

Having a Polish surname is more important for males in most groups, especially among students in classes VII-VIII (51.4% of boys). This may suggest that the younger generation of men may be more likely to cultivate traditions associated with the surname, which may influence future social and cultural norms regarding national identity. Findings from this data may suggest that the younger generation, especially men, may focus more on traditional criteria of Polishness, such as Polish citizenship and surname, in the future. This may lead to an increase in the importance of these criteria in a social and cultural context. It is also worth noting gender differences, which may require additional research and activities to understand and support different aspects of national identity among young people.

Table 7 considers the ethnic-biological element as a criterion of Polishness among directors, teachers and pupils in primary (classes IV-VI and VII-VIII) and secondary schools in Polish schools, disaggregated by gender. The two main criteria analysed under this element were having both parents of Polish origin and white skin colour. In the case of having both parents of Polish origin, 60.6% of females and 56.6% of males among directors consider this criterion important. Among teachers, 66.3% of women and 62.4% of men indicate the importance of having parents of Polish origin. Among secondary school students, 61% of females and 64% of males consider this criterion important. Students in Classes VII-VIII also consider having both parents of Polish origin to be important, which is confirmed by 63.4% of girls and 65% of boys. In classes IV-VI, 33.3% of girls and 37.7% of boys consider this criterion to be crucial. "White skin" as a criterion of Polishness is considered important by 15.6% of females and 22.6% of males among directors. Among teachers, 18.1% of women and 24.5% of men indicate the importance of white skin. Among secondary school staff, 27.9% of females and 39% of males indicate a high degree in the construction of the Polishness criterion. Students in Classes VII-VIII also consider white skin as an important criterion, as confirmed by 30.7% of girls and 40.3% of boys. In Classes IV-VI, 26% of girls and 33.7% of boys consider this criterion to be crucial.

The analysis of the presented data shows some differences in the fulfil-ment of the ethno-biological criteria of Polishness depending on gender and the group of respondents. It can be seen that males in all study groups more often regard both having both parents of Polish origin and white skin as im-portant criteria of Polishness than do females. The percentage of recognition of these criteria is particularly high among boys in classes VII-VIII (65% for having parents of Polish origin and 40.3% for white skin). In the future, this may indicate a greater importance of traditional ethnic-biological criteria among younger age groups, which may influence the formation of nation-al identity among young people. The percentage of respondents considering having both parents of Polish origin as an important criterion of Polishness is relatively similar for both genders among directors and teachers, which may suggest that there is some balance in the perception of this criterion at the level of management and teaching. However, among pupils, particularly in the older classes, boys are more likely to indicate this criterion than girls, which may suggest that younger boys identify more with family background as an element of Polishness. Having a white skin is more important for males in all groups, especially among students in Classes VII-VIII (40.3% of boys). This may suggest that the younger generation of males is more likely to cul-tivate traditions associated with ethnic appearance, which may influence fu-ture social and cultural norms concerning national identity, and/or it also has a significant impact in the process of primary socialisation, or in environ-mental groups where various types of stereotypes associated with racial/eth-nic divisions are accepted. Conclusions from these data may suggest that the younger generation, especially men, may focus more on traditional ethno-eth-nic criteria such as parental origin and skin colour in the future. This may lead to an increased importance of these criteria in a social and cultural context. It is also worth noting gender differences, which may require additional re-search and activities to understand and support different aspects of national identity among young people.

As far as the Catholic faith is concerned, 25.6% of women and 30.2% of men among directors consider it to be an important criterion of Polishness. Among teachers, 28% of women and 32.3% of men indicate the importance of the Catholic faith. Among secondary school students, 20.1% of females and 28.7% of males consider this criterion important. Pupils in Classes VII--VIII also consider Catholic religion to be important, as confirmed by 25% of girls and 35% of boys. In Classes IV-VI, 34.4% of girls and 47.3% of boys regard this criterion as crucial. Analysis of the data indicates that males in all groups of respondents are more likely to regard the Catholic faith as an important criterion of Polishness than females. Nevertheless, among both

directors, teachers and students, the percentage considering the Catholic denomination as a key criterion is not dominant. In particular, among secondary school staff, the percentage recognising this criterion is relatively low, especially among women (20.1%). This may suggest that the importance of Catholicism as a criterion of Polishness is less than might be expected in a country traditionally regarded as a bastion of Catholicism. It is worth noting that among younger pupils (classes IV-VI), a higher proportion of boys (47.3%) consider Catholicism to be important, which may be due to the influence of family and environment on the formation of religious identity at a younger age. However, overall, these results may indicate a trend towards secularisation in Polish society. The lower percentage of adolescents and adults recognising Catholicism as an important criterion of Polishness may suggest that religion is playing less and less of a role in defining national identity. A further increase in secularisation can be expected in the future, which will have an impact on social and cultural norms in Poland.

Secularisation in Poland may continue, meaning that society will increasingly separate religion from public life and politics. This may lead to greater religious and worldview diversity and an increase in the number of people identifying as non-religious. In the context of education, it is possible that schools will place more emphasis on teaching universal values, such as tolerance and diversity, rather than teaching religious values. These data may suggest that Catholicism is losing its importance as a criterion of Polishness, which may herald a further process of secularisation in Poland. In the long term, this may lead to changes in the way Poles define their national and cultural identity, with a greater emphasis on secular and universal values.

Table 8 shows the results based on a non-parametric test referred to as the Moses test used to compare the variability (dispersion) of two independent samples. This test is particularly useful when the normality of the data distribution cannot be assumed, as is required in classical parametric tests. The Moses test is used in situations where one wants to check whether two groups have similar variability, regardless of their mean values (*IBM SPSS Statistics Base* 26: 2024, 98). Due to the fact that the sexes are divided into two groups, especially as there is an unequal distribution of men and women in the study groups (even comparing the feminisation coefficient), it was decided to use the test in question. All observations from both samples are ranked together, regardless of group membership. The ranks are categorised, usually based on the median. The number of observations from each group that fall into each category is calculated. The corresponding test statistic is calculated, which is then compared to the critical values or is used to calculate p-values. The result of the Moses test provides information on whether the variability in the two groups being compared is similar or significantly different.

The null hypothesis (H0) is assumed: It is assumed that the variability in the two samples is homogeneous (there is no significant difference in variability between men and women in relation to the Polishness criteria). Alternative hypothesis (H1): It is assumed that the variability in the two samples differs (there is a significant difference in variability between men and women in relation to the criteria of polishness).

Table 8. Moses test for one-sided significance

Criteria of Polishness	Directors (N=233)	Teachers (N=1697)	Students of secondary schools (N=1622)	VII-VIII (N=1504)	IV-VI (N=2001)
Sense of being Polish	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Use of the Polish language	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Knowledge of Polish history	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Observance of Polish customs	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Living in Poland for a long time	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Polish citizenship	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Birth in Poland	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Polish surname	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Special merits for Poland (cultural, scientific, sporting, etc.)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Having both parents of Polish origin	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
White skin colour	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Catholic	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Source: Own study.

After calculating the test statistic, the p-value was determined. If the p-value is less than the significance level (in this case, one-sided significance was assumed at p= 0.05), we reject the null hypothesis. This means that there is a significant difference in variability between the two groups. In this case, the table shows that the level of significance is definitely below p=0.05. Therefore, it is concluded that there are differences between women and men with respect to each of the elements classifying the criteria of Polishness. It can be said that there is a definite impact of gender divisions on statistical thinking.

The size of the locality was taken as the last independent variable (Table 9). The table shows the results of surveys on the Sense of being Polish in different sized localities by population size. Among residents of villages and settlements, 84.8% declare a strong Sense of being Polish, which is the highest result compared to other categories.

In towns with a population of up to 50 000 inhabitants, 81.4% feel a strong Sense of being Polish. In cities with a population of between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, this percentage is 82.6%. In medium-sized cities with a population of between 100 000 and 250 000 inhabitants, 81% of respondents declare a strong Sense of being Polish. In cities with a population of between 250 000 and 500 000 inhabitants, the percentage is 81.5%. The lowest level of feeling Polish was recorded in the largest cities with a population of more than 500 thousand, where it is 79.4%. Analysing the data, it can be seen that the Sense of being Polish is somewhat stronger in rural areas and smaller towns, while it is somewhat weaker in the largest cities. It is possible that in smaller communities, where social ties are often tighter, national identity is more strongly emphasised and felt. In larger cities, which are more diverse and cosmopolitan, the Sense of being Polish may be weakened by cultural diversity and global influences. These findings suggest that places of residence may influence the way people identify with Polishness. In the future, urbanisation processes and migration may influence the further formation of national identity in Poland, leading to a narrowing of differences in the Sense of being Polish between residents of different types of localities.

Interpreting the nation-building elements, it is noted that among the inhabitants of villages and settlements, 77.8% consider the use of the Polish language as an important criterion of Polishness, which is the highest result in comparison with other categories. In towns with a population of up to 50,000, this percentage is 72.5%. In cities with a population of between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, 71.5% consider the use of Polish to be important. In cities with a population of 100,000 to 250,000 and 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, this percentage is similar, at 72.5% and 73% respectively. In the largest cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants, 69.2% of people consider the use of the Polish language as an important criterion of Polishness. Another criterion, "observance of Polish customs", is considered important by 64.8% of residents of villages and settlements. In towns with a population of up to 50,000, this percentage is 61.9%. In cities with a population of 50,000 to 100,000 and 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants, 61.4% and 61.6%, respectively, consider observance of Polish customs to be important. In cities with a population of 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, 61.9% of people consider this criterion to be important. In the largest cities with more than 500 thousand inhabitants, 57.8% of people

consider observance of Polish customs as an important criterion of Polish-ness. As for living in Poland for a longer period of time, 47.1% of residents of villages and settlements consider this as an important criterion of Polishness. In towns with a population of up to 50,000, the percentage is 45.6%. In cities with a population of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, 44% consid-er living in Poland for a long time to be important. In cities with a pop-ulation of 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants, this percentage is 43.2%. In cities with a population of 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, 49.7% of people consider this criterion to be important, which is the highest result in this cate-gory. In the largest cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants, 41.3% of people consider living in Poland for a long time as an important criterion of Polish-ness. In rural areas and settlements, 53.9% of people consider knowledge of Polish history as an important criterion of Polishness. In towns with a popu-lation of up to 50,000, this percentage is 50.9%. In cities with a population of 50 to 100 thousand, 49.7% of people consider knowledge of Polish history to be important. In cities with a population of 100,000 to 250,000 and 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, this percentage is 45% each. In the largest cities with a population of more than 500,000, 47% of people consider knowledge of Polish history as an important criterion of Polishness.

The results indicate that inhabitants of villages and settlements attach greater importance to the use of the Polish language, observance of Polish customs and knowledge of Polish history as criteria of Polishness compared to inhabitants of larger cities. In larger cities, especially those with more than 500,000 inhabitants, these criteria are considered less important, which is a result of greater cultural diversity and global influences in urban agglomerations.

The survey on the criteria of Polishness depending on the size of the locality in Poland revealed differences in the perception of these elements as key to defining Polish national identity. Respondents who took part in the survey were asked about the extent to which they consider being born on Polish ter-ritory, having a Polish surname and Polish citizenship as important criteria of Polishness. In terms of being born on Polish territory, the highest percentage of people who consider this criterion important occurred in cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants, where 58.1% of respondents answered positively. In smaller towns, such as villages and settlements, the percentage was 55.8%, and in cities with up to 50,000 inhabitants - 54.4%. In towns with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, the percentage was slightly higher, at 56.4%, while in towns with 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants it was 50.5% and in towns with 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants it was 53.4%. The criterion of having a Pol-ish surname, interpreted as an important element of national identity, showed

the highest percentage in smaller towns, where 41.8% of respondents considered it important. In cities with up to 50,000 inhabitants, the percentage was 39.8%, and in cities with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, it was 40.3%. In cities with 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants, the percentage was lower, at 35.3%, and from 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, at 37.6%. The lowest percentage, 35.9%, was recorded in cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants.

Table 9. Size of locality vs criteria of Polishness (data in %).

Criteria of Polishness	village/ settlement	city up to 50,000	from 50,000 - 100,000	from 100,000 - 250,000.	250,000 - 500,000.	over 500,000
Sense of being Polish	84.80	81.40	82.60	81.00	81.50	79.40
Use of the Polish language	77.80	72.50	71.50	72.50	73.00	69.20
Observance of Polish customs	64.80	61.90	61.40	61.60	61.90	57.80
Birth in Poland	55.80	54.40	56.40	50.50	53.40	58.10
Knowledge of Polish history	53.90	50.90	49.70	45.00	45.00	47.00
Having both parents of Polish origin	51.00	52.10	55.20	48.00	53.40	55.90
Living in Poland for a long time	47.10	45.60	44.00	43.20	49.70	41.30
Polish surname	41.80	39.80	40.30	35.30	37.60	35.90
Special merits for Poland (cultural, scientific, sporting, etc.)	36.90	42.80	40.20	40.20	40.70	42.90
Polish citizenship	34.10	27.10	26.40	23.30	24.90	23.20
Catholic faith	34.10	27.10	26.40	23.30	24.90	23.20
White skin	29.10	27.20	28.50	25.40	25.90	28.90

Source: Own study.

With regard to the criterion of Polish citizenship, the majority of respondents (34.1%) considered this to be an important factor in smaller towns. In urban settlements with a population of up to 50,000, the percentage was 27.1%, while in those with a population of between 50,000 and 100,000, it was 26.4%. In cities with populations between 100,000 and 250,000, the percentage was even lower, at 23.3%, while in cities with populations between 250,000 and 500,000, it was 24.9%. The lowest percentage was recorded in cities with a population of over 500,000, at 23.2%. The analysis of these data reveals significant variations in the perception of the criteria for Polishness

across different localities. In smaller localities, which are typically more eth-
nically homogeneous, the criteria of being born on Polish territory, having
a Polish surname and Polish citizenship are accorded greater importance. In
urban areas, particularly those with a more diverse demographic and migra-
tion profile, these criteria may assume less significance in the context of na-
tional identity formation.

The patriotic element including the perception of special merits for Po-
land (cultural, scientific, sporting, etc.) as a criterion of Polishness in differ-
ent Polish localities shows how these elements are perceived in the context
of national identity. Respondents were asked about the extent to which they
consider these merits to be important in determining that someone is Polish.
In smaller towns and cities, such as villages and settlements, 36.9% of respon-
dents regard special merits for Poland as an important criterion of Polishness.
In towns with up to 50,000 inhabitants, this percentage rises to 42.8%, while
in towns with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants and 100,000 to 250,000 inhabi-
tants, it is 40.2%. In cities with 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, the percent-
age is 40.7%, while in cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants, the highest
percentage, 42.9%, considers these merits to be important for Polishness.
Analysis of this data shows that in larger towns and cities, especially those
with more than 500,000 inhabitants, merits for Poland are most often per-
ceived as an important element in defining national identity. Smaller towns
and cities also attach importance to this, although these percentages may be
slightly lower than in larger urban centres.

The study on the criteria of Polishness, such as having both parents of
Polish origin and white skin colour, which builds up the biological-ethnic
element, shows differences in their perception depending on the size of the
locality. In the case of having both parents of Polish origin, the percentages
of people considering this as an important criterion are respectively: 51% in
smaller localities (villages and settlements), 52.1% in cities with up to 50,000
inhabitants, 55.2% in cities with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, 48% in cities
with 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants, 53.4% in cities with 250,000 to 500,000
inhabitants and 55.9% in cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants. In con-
trast, white skin colour as a criterion of Polishness is perceived as follows:
29.1% in smaller towns, 27.2% in cities with up to 50,000 inhabitants, 28.5%
in cities with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, 25.4% in cities with 100,000
to 250,000 inhabitants, 25.9% in cities with 250 000 to 500 000 inhabitants
and 28.9% in cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants. Analysis of this data
highlights that having both parents of Polish origin is widely recognised as an
important element of national identity, especially in larger cities. In contrast,
white skin colour, although also important, is less important in defining Pol-
ishness, which may be due to greater ethnic diversity in larger urban centres.

The survey on criteria of Polishness, such as Catholic denomination, shows how the perception of this criterion changes depending on the size of the locality. In smaller localities, such as villages and settlements, 34.1% of respondents consider the Catholic faith to be an important element of Polishness. In towns with up to 50,000 inhabitants, this percentage drops to 27.1%, and in towns with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, it is 26.4%. In cities with 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants and 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, 23.3% and 24.9% of respondents respectively consider this to be an important criterion. The lowest percentage, 23.2%, was recorded in cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants. Analysis of this data indicates that the Catholic faith has a significant place in the perception of Polishness, especially in smaller towns and rural environments. As the size of the locality increases, the importance of this criterion decreases, which may be related to greater religious and social heterogeneity in larger urban centres. This study provides important information on the differences in the perception of national identity criteria in different social and geographical environments in Poland.

In the context of smaller towns and rural environments, the Catholic denomination plays an important role in defining Polishness for several key reasons. First and foremost, these regions often have strong Catholic traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation, highlighting their integrity with the local culture. Religiosity and regular church attendance are an important part of everyday social and cultural life. The church often acts as a focal point of social life, integrating the local community. Historically, Catholicism has had a significant impact on the formation of Poland's national identity. Many Poles identify themselves as Catholics, which is considered an integral part of Polish identity. In smaller towns, where religious minorities are less numerous, the Catholic denomination becomes the dominant element of national identity, visible and widely accepted. In the same rural communities, the tendency to adhere to traditional values and norms, including religious ones, which are seen as the cultural and moral foundation of the local community, persists. Analysing these aspects, the Catholic denomination in smaller towns and rural environments plays an important role in the formation of national identity through the preservation of traditions, social integration and shared values and beliefs, which reinforces its place as a key element of Polishness.

Table 10. Linear regression - predictor=location size

Criteria of Polishness	Fixed/ Predictor Size of locality (W/m)	R-square	Non--standardised factors		Stan-dardised ratio	t	Rele-vance	F
			B	Standard error	Beta			
Sense of being Polish	(Constant)	-	1.739	0.026	-	67.340	0.000	-
	W/m	0.037	0.034	0.011	0.037	3.081	0.002	9.493
Use of the Polish language	(Constant)	-	1.977	0.025	-	78.273	0.000	-
	W/m	0.003	0.046	0.011	0.052	4.315	0.000	18.623
Knowledge of Polish history	(Constant)	-	2.601	0.029	-	90.562	0.000	-
	W/m	0.003	0.052	0.012	0.052	4.302	0.000	18.508
Living in Poland for a long time	(Constant)	-	2.746	0.029	-	94.413	0.000	-
	W/m	0.001	0.036	0.012	0.035	2.896	0.004	8.385
Observance of Polish customs	(Constant)	-	2.396	0.027	-	87.833	0.000	-
	W/m	0.000	0.019	0.012	0.020	1.647	0.100	2.712
Polish citizenship	(Constant)	-	1.955	0.026	-	75.584	0.000	-
	W/m	0.002	0.037	0.011	0.040	3.346	0.001	11.197
Polish surname	(Constant)	-	2.977	0.031	-	97.309	0.000	-
	W/m	0.001	0.033	0.013	0.031	2.550	0.011	6.502
Birth in Poland	(Constant)	-	2.599	0.030	-	85.579	0.000	-
	W/m	0.000	0.009	0.013	0.008	0.687	0.492	0.472
Special merits for Poland (cultural, scientific, sporting)	(Constant)	-	3.212	0.032	-	99.932	0.000	-
	W/m	0.001	-0.033	0.014	-0.029	-2.402	0.016	5.771
Having both parents of Polish origin	(Constant)	-	2.699	0.031	-	86.607	0.000	-
	W/m	0.000	-0.009	0.013	-0.008	-0.661	0.509	0.437
White skin	(Constant)	-	3.466	0.032	-	106.696	0.000	-
	W/m	0.001	0.038	0.014	0.033	2.757	0.006	7.602
Catholic	(Constant)	-	3.306	0.032	-	102.062	0.000	-
	W/m	0.008	0.099	0.014	0.087	7.256	0.000	52.649

Source: Own study.

Table 10 presents the results of a linear regression analysis. The linear regression analysis conducted enables an understanding the influence of locality size (W/m) on the various criteria of Polishness. The findings indicate

that the size of the locality exerts a modest yet statistically significant influence on the sense of being Polish. An increase in the size of the locality by one unit is associated with an increase in the sense of being Polish by 0.037 units (B = 0.037, SE = 0.034, t = 3.081, p = 0.002). The coefficient of determination (R-square) is 0.037 and the F-value is 9.493. As with the Sense of being Polish, the size of the locality has a small but significant effect on the use of Polish (B = 0.003, SE = 0.046, t = 4.315, p = 0.000). The coefficient of determination is 0.052 and the F-value is 18.623. The analysis also showed that the size of the locality has a small but significant effect on knowledge of Polish history (B = 0.003, SE = 0.052, t = 4.302, p = 0.000). The R-square is 0.052 and the F-value is 18.508. The size of the locality has a minimal but significant effect on living in Poland for a long time (B = 0.001, SE = 0.036, t = 2.896, p = 0.004). The R-square is 0.035 and the F-value is 8.385. In contrast, for adherence to Polish customs, the size of the locality has no statistically significant effect (B = 0.000, SE = 0.019, t = 1.647, p = 0.100). The coefficient of determination is 0.020 and the F-value is 2.712. The results indicate that the size of the locality has a small but significant effect on having Polish citizenship (B = 0.002, SE = 0.037, t = 3.346, p = 0.001). The R-square is 0.040 and the F-value is 11.197. The analysis showed that the size of the locality has a minimal but significant effect on having a Polish surname (B = 0.001, SE = 0.033, t = 2.550, p = 0.011). The coefficient of determination is 0.031 and the F-value is 6.502. The size of locality has no statistically significant effect on being born in Poland (B = 0.000, SE = 0.009, t = 0.687, p = 0.492). The R-square is 0.008 and the F-value is 0.472. However, the size of the locality has a minimal but statistically significant negative effect on special merit for Poland (B = 0.001, SE = -0.033, t = -2.402, p = 0.016). The coefficient of determination is 0.029 and the F-value is 5.771. The size of the locality has no statistically significant effect on having both parents of Polish origin (B = 0.000, SE = -0.009, t = -0.661, p = 0.509). The R-square is 0.008 and the F-value is 0.437. In contrast, size of locality was shown to have a minimal but significant effect on white skin (B = 0.001, SE = 0.038, t = 2.757, p = 0.006). The coefficient of determination is 0.033 and the F-value is 7.602. Finally, village size has a significant effect on Catholic denomination (B = 0.008, SE = 0.099, t = 7.256, p = 0.000). The R-square is 0.087 and the F-value is 52.649. In summary, the size of the locality influences the different criteria of Polishness to varying degrees. In some cases, such as Catholic religion or use of the Polish language, the influence is statistically significant and pronounced, while in other cases, such as white skin or having both parents of Polish origin, the influence is insignificant.

Conclusions

The research conducted as part of the 'National Identity in the School Education Process' project offered a comprehensive insight into the understanding of Polishness by different groups within the Polish education system. The findings revealed a complex and multifaceted perception of Polishness, encompassing historical, cultural, linguistic and social elements. The concept of "Polishness" may appear abstract, but the empirical evidence indicates that the respondents in question demonstrate a clear and unambiguous understanding of this concept. This indicator, included in the domain of national self-identification, was identified as the most highly correlated with the other variables in all of the correlational analyses.

The most frequently identified criteria of Polishness include patriotism and love of country, knowledge of Polish history and culture, knowledge of the Polish language, respect for Polish customs and traditions and a sense of belonging to the Polish community. It is important to emphasise that the importance of these criteria varied slightly among the groups surveyed. The directors and teachers placed more emphasis on knowledge of Polish history and culture, while students often prioritised personal ties with the country and its people.

The research also highlighted the dynamic and evolving nature of Polishness. In a globalised world, traditional definitions of national identity are being challenged and reinterpreted. Younger generations are more likely to adopt a broader and more inclusive understanding of Polishness, open to different perspectives and experiences. The findings have important implications for educational policy and practice in Poland. They highlight the importance of developing a multifaceted understanding of Polishness in schools that goes beyond narrow definitions and embraces the diversity of perspectives and experiences in Polish society.

It is recommended that teachers facilitate critical thinking and open discussion about the meaning of Polishness in the 21st century, encourage students to explore their own personal connections to Polish culture and identity, celebrate the diversity of Polish experiences and perspectives, and prepare students to engage in a globalised world while cultivating a strong sense of Polish identity. Adherence to these recommendations would enable Polish schools to assume a pivotal role in cultivating a more inclusive, tolerant, and dynamic Polish identity for future generations.

However, it should be borne in mind that the survey had certain limitations. The sample of respondents, although representative of the Polish education system, may not fully reflect the diversity of views held by all Poles.

Additionally, the survey was based on *self-reported* data, which may be subject to bias. Despite these limitations, the study provides valuable insights into the criteria of Polishness adhered to by different groups in the Polish education system. The results could provide a starting point for further research and inform the development of more inclusive and effective educational practices. Future research could explore, among other things: a deeper understanding of the criteria of Polishness adhered to by different minority groups in Poland; the impact of globalisation and migration on the evolving concept of Polishness; the role of social media and other digital technologies in shaping perceptions of Polishness; and comparative studies of the criteria of Polishness with other national identities. By conducting further research in these areas, we can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the complex and multifaceted nature of Polishness in the 21st century.

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Chapter 8.

Between pride and shame. Opinions of students, teachers and directors on Polish identity and history

Abstract

National pride constitutes a pivotal aspect of national identity, exerting a profound influence on self-esteem and the perception of belonging to a nation. This phenomenon encompasses both positive and negative consequences, including manifestations such as national narcissism and xenophobia. Conversely, national shame can serve as a catalyst for introspection and personal growth. However, when employed as a tool for ulterior motives, it can erode the very fabric of the national community. The sentiments of pride and shame may be influenced by the accomplishments of other members of the nation and by industrial creations. The attitudes held towards a nation's past frequently influence the present and future, and attitudes towards patriotism vary according to political persuasion. A robust national identity, characterised by a balanced sense of pride and limited shame, engenders favourable outcomes for both individuals and groups. It fosters a commitment to sovereignty, democratic reform and international solidarity.

1. Introduction. Pride and shame as elements of national identity

National pride constitutes an essential component of national identity, along with social memory concerning the group's past, beliefs regarding the defining characteristics of national culture, the concept of a shared territory defined as the motherland (mental national geography), the conviction about the group's common ethnogenesis (national mythology), and numerous other

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features (Małgorzata Budyta-Budzyńska, 2010). From a psychological perspective, pride can be defined as a reasonable and positive form of self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-satisfaction. When the national factor is introduced, it can be stated that national pride is a positive emotional state resulting from the individual's sense of belonging to a national collective. It is characterised by a positive self-assessment of the qualities attributed to the nation and the absence of complexes resulting from perceived belonging (Manuel Castells, 2008). Pride may derive from one's own abilities or achievements, or alternatively, from one's inherent qualities (Zbigniew Bokszański, 2007). An excess of pride may result in an exaggeration of one's own value, status or achievements. This can manifest as a drastically unrealistic image of one's own national group. Such attitudes are indicative of national narcissism or even chauvinism or xenophobia. Such behaviours are observed by researchers when group identity is chosen as a means of coping with frustration, low self-esteem or a lack of control over one's life. It can thus be argued that narcissism is more akin to masked shame than to authentic national pride.

Shame is considered as the opposite of pride. It is understood as a conviction of one's own fundamental inadequacy. It is not a negative phenomenon, but is considered as an element of self-reflection and self-improvement. This is not the case if shame were to be caused by descriptive characteristics or generally evaluated as positive. For example, the strong national identity and patriotism of the Ukrainians is assessed as something positive, and similarly the criticism of the same qualities among Poles. Also, for example, criticism of the Warsaw Uprising with simultaneous apologia for the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Similarly, criticism of Poland's backwardness in terms of road infrastructure while simultaneously delighting in the untouched beauty of the lack of road investment in African countries, Romania or Russia. Then we can speak of the instrumentalisation of shame-making mechanisms as an element of weakening pride, which has the effect of weakening the national community. On the other hand, as Aleksandra Cislak and Aleksandra Cichocka write, 'a strong in-group identity brings positive results both for individuals and the group as a whole' (Katarzyna Czechowicz 2023).

Both national pride and shame can be mediated in a certain way and not only relate to one's own qualities and achievements, but also to the achievements and qualities of other members of the nation (such as athletes, politicians) and the industrial or artistic creations they have created. As Piotr Górski writes:
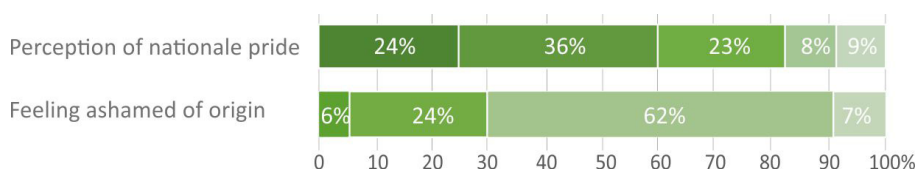
> The importance of the economic system for the national bond is expressed
> - as in the case of territory - in the desire for the economy to be subordinated to the national interest, for the nation to be able to manage it and

benefit from it. Hence, one may notice the transfer of certain national symbols (the flag or emblem) to industrial products or ship flags and the inscription of products produced by various companies with, for example, the inscription "made in Poland", which can also be taken as an expression of pride in one's own production, emphasising that the manufacturer is a Polish company (Piotr Górski: 1986, 281).

Pride cannot be treated as a mere emotional aspect of belonging to a national community. The attitude to a nation's past is always defined in relation to the present and with a view to the future. As Polish literary and intellectual life shows, this attitude cannot always be defined as pride. On many occasions in Polish history, people to whom the good of the nation was particularly important pointed out critically the shameful threads in the state of the state or the national characteristics of the Poles. This was done by Piotr Skarga in *Kazania sejmowe* (1597), Juliusz Słowacki in *Grób Agamemnona* (1840), or Stanisław Mackiewicz in *Historia Polski od 11 listopada 1918 r.* do *17 września 1939 r. [History of Poland from 11 November 1918 to 17 September 1939*] (1941) (Górski: 1986).

2. Pride and shame in surveys of Poles

This issue has been the subject of several studies, including one conducted by CBOS in 2010, which concluded that the sense of pride is more prevalent than shame. The majority of respondents (62%) indicated that they frequently or consistently experienced feelings of pride regarding their origin, while simultaneously rarely or never experiencing feelings of shame associated with it. Almost one-third of respondents (30%) indicated a lack of affinity towards their national identity, indicating that their origin was neither a source of pride nor shame for them. A minority of respondents (4%) indicated that their Polish identity evoked both feelings of pride and shame. An equivalent proportion (4%) reported experiencing feelings of shame associated with their nationality, without any concurrent feelings of pride. Furthermore, the survey revealed that a significant proportion of respondents (83% or more) indicated feelings of national pride on a regular basis, while feelings of shame were reported by a minority (31%).

Chart 1. Do you feel ashamed and proud to be Polish, and how often?

| Perception of nationale pride | 24% | 36% | 23% | 8% | 9% |
| Feeling ashamed of origin | 6% | 24% | 62% | | 7% |

(scale: 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%)

Source: CBOS 2010

In light of the CBOS research findings of 2010, it can be seen that Poles presented a constructive approach to national pride. It is acknowledged that the authors of the CBOS communiqué interpret the results as indicating a dearth of criticism directed at Poles with regard to their own society and an apologetic attitude characterised by an exclusive focus on the positive aspects of Polish identity, while failing to acknowledge any potential shortcomings. This interpretation is not accurate. A total of 31% of respondents indicated experiencing feelings of shame on a regular basis, while 30% did not perceive national belonging as a source of pride or shame. It can therefore be concluded that, although a sense of pride was more pronounced, a sense of shame and a certain kind of indifference were also present in Polish society.

However, stopping at this level of lack of detail does not allow for broader conclusions. A key question in the context of building a strong, integrated and improving national community concerns the reasons for both pride and shame. The point is to determine whether one observes both unjustified pride and shame in issues that do not generally belong to the shameful. A strong national community is devoid not only of excessive xenophobia, but above all of paternophobia[2]. Thus, in 2010, Poles particularly felt national pride because of their sporting successes (27%). Almost one in five respondents (18%) declared that this feeling of pride accompanies them all the time, regardless of the circumstances. Pride was aroused in 7% of respondents by the memory of John Paul II. In general, it can be noted that most reasons for national pride, according to the CBOS survey, are unquestionably positive issues, such as "culture, tradition, art" (5%), "Polish history" (5%), "successes, achievements of Poland and Poles in the country and abroad" (5%), "Poles' activity on

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[2]   The term paternophobia may seem alien to the reader, so it requires a definition. It was coined by Roger Scruton from two Greek words οἶκος, meaning home/family, and φόβος, meaning fear, as a concept antonymic to xenophobia (fear of strangers). Scruton defined it as the rejection of what is culturally appropriate to one's own national group (native culture) while glorifying culturally alien elements from other value systems. This rejection potentially took a variety of forms between distanced reserve and hatred (see Roger Scruton: 2004, 33-38).

the international arena" (4%) or "celebration of national and state holidays, anniversaries" (4%), or "good opinion of Poland and Poles in the world" (3%). On the other hand, when evaluating shameful phenomena, political life was indicated first (31%). Poles were also ashamed of their behaviour abroad, both as emigrants and tourists (26%) and because of the level of crime (14%). Analysing the results of the CBOS survey in a slightly different way, one can see that the majority of responses (52%) focused on issues of self-reference to one's identity and characteristics (history, culture, memory, celebration, symbols). However, slightly less, 48% of responses based their sense of national pride on external, international issues (success of athletes, presence abroad, activities and good opinions of Poles on the international arena). These categories will be used in further stages of analysis of the evoked data.

The issue of national pride was also explored in some way in the project[3] *Polishness in the 21st century. Types of national identification, their background and consequences*, respondents were segmented. Five segments of Polish society were distinguished:

1. Satisfied democrats
2. Open-minded traditionalists
3. Committed conservatives
4. Ashamed of Poland
5. Isolated pessimists.

The first three groups consist of people attached to Polishness declaring a tendency to get involved in the life of the country. Fulfilled democrats had an exceptionally strong sense of connection with other Poles. They are open to others, hold liberal views, and understand patriotism primarily as caring for the country in a broad sense and participating in political elections. Open-minded traditionalists say that Polishness is something to be proud of. They are centrist and right-wing people, sceptical of the European Union, attached to tradition, history and customs over civic activity. They are also positive towards strangers and open to other world views. Committed conservatives care about tradition, respect Poland, are ready to fight for it, but are also interested in politics and take part in elections. They are clearly negative towards foreigners and feel threatened by the influx of immigrants to Poland. In contrast, the last two groups hardly identify with their nation and nationality at all. The first was called "ashamed of Poland". People with left-wing views, very open to strangers, but at the same time homophobic, i.e. negative towards their own national group, were classified in this group. They do not

identify with Poles at all and have no sympathy for them. For them, being Polish is a source of shame and embarrassment. On the other hand, the most numerous, i.e. isolated pessimists, are characterised by a completely negative approach to life - they are hostile both towards strangers and Poles. Polishness means nothing to them. They have a sense of confusion and focus on everyday problems rather than distant and abstract issues such as Polishness.

This research context will be the focus of this text on the analysis of the issue of pride and shame in the empirical research conducted by the experts of the Institute of Educational Research as part of the project *National identity in the process of school education*, funded from 2022 to 2024 in the *Science for Society* project under a grant from the Ministry of Education and Science. The research project asked questions about values[4] and the last question of the survey questionnaire, which was open-ended[5].

# 3. Sense of national pride as a value

Additionally, respondents were queried about their sentiments regarding national pride within an evaluative framework, specifically in relation to the cultural values they hold in high regard (see footnote 7). The majority of respondents indicated that a sense of national pride is a valuable or very valuable value. The highest percentage was recorded among directors (95.3%), while the lowest was among students (72.9%). Teachers occupy a position between the two aforementioned groups, with a percentage of 87.9%. This result can be interpreted as an example of pupils' expressions of defiance against national identity, which during adolescence gives way to subcultural, peer-based identities. In contrast, it can be concluded that the glorification of national identity is more strongly embedded in the social norms and expectations directed towards the professional role of the principal, as evidenced by

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[4] Below is a list of issues/values that are more or less important to different people. Which of the following issues/values do you consider more and which do you consider less valuable? Features: sense of national pride, civic freedoms, education, unity of the nation, working for the homeland, career success, successful family life, religious practices, friendly relations with neighbouring nations. Scale: Very valuable, rather valuable, not very valuable, does not represent value

[5] Finally, we would be asked to identify people and events of which we, as Poles, can be proud and of which we must be ashamed. The answers were divided into four boxes: 1. [Persons] [of which we can be proud], 2. [Persons] [of which we must be ashamed], 3. [Event] [of which we can be proud] and 4. [Events] [of which we must be ashamed].

the values declared in the survey by this group. With regard to the professional role of the teacher, this would manifest to a lesser extent.

Chart 2. Percentage of respondents believing that a sense of national pride is valuable or very valuable
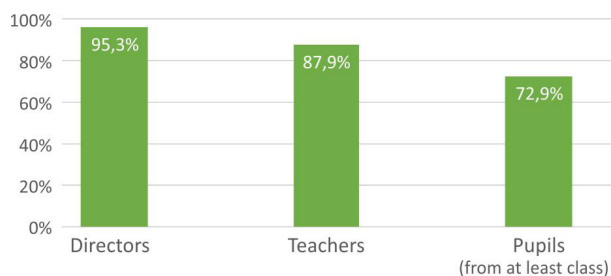
Source: Own research

Students from secondary schools and the last two grades of primary school were also asked about their reasons for feeling national pride. Their responses indicate that they feel the most important feelings of pride when Poles are successful in sports (68.3%) and when they hear good opinions about Poland coming from abroad (67.6%). Students also feel pride when they think of world-famous Poles such as Lech Wałęsa, Jan Paweł II or Robert Lewandowski (who were mentioned in the features) - 64.4%, and when Polish successes in history are mentioned (63.8%). Similarly, in the proposed features, students chose quite often (62.9%) the answer concerning Poles' successes in non-sports fields (culture, art and science). Slightly fewer respondents (61.8%) indicated pride when noticing the beauty of Polish nature. The least frequently surveyed students felt national pride in the case of three clearly visible answers, the frequency of which was as follows: no specific reason (36.5%), observing Poles' religiousness (37.7%) and staying abroad for a longer period of time (38.3%).

Chart 3. Sense of national pride of pupils above class 7 in primary and secondary schools
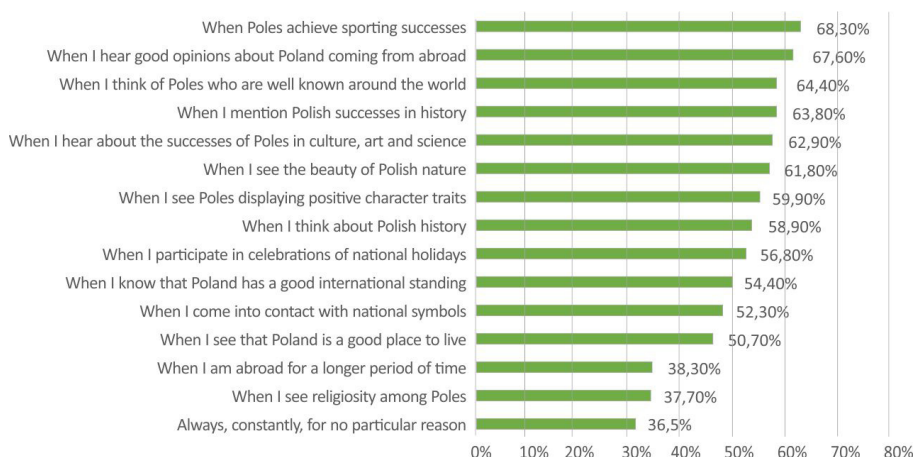
Source: Own research

The average score on the national pride question among students was 55.7%. Six out of fifteen responses did not exceed this score. Thus, it can be concluded that the feeling of national pride among students is definitely less frequent when it comes to pride without a specific reason, the religiousness of Poles, pride in Polish identity when staying abroad for a longer period of time, seeing Poland as a good place to live or when coming into contact with Polish national symbols. Students were more likely to point to a sense of pride stemming from some international rivalry (although as such, the answer concerning Poland's good international standing was not often chosen - 54.4%, below average. An important source of national pride for students is the performance of Polish athletes at international competitions. Similarly, good opinions about Poland coming from abroad, the fame of outstanding Poles and their non-sporting achievements. These are elements of national pride not originating from within the situation of the Polish mentality or economy or culture and science, but related to what comes from outside. This is an important distinction that will be further explored in the conclusion of the article.

4. A sense of pride because of Polish history

The conceptualisation of national identity directs attention to the issues of social memory associated with the pivotal events that shape the identity of a group. The evaluation of historical events is of significant consequence in the formation of national identity, influencing how individuals as members of society understand themselves, their past and their place in the world (Małgorzata Budyta-Budzyńska: 2010; Zbigniew Bokszański 2007; Manuel Castells 2008). History is frequently employed as a means of constructing narratives about a nation's past, which serves to unite people around shared values, events, and figures. Such narratives may be mythologised or idealised, yet they constitute a foundational element of national identity. Awareness of one's own nation's history serves to reinforce a sense of belonging to a national community. Such knowledge enables individuals to identify with their country's past and perceive themselves as part of a historical continuum. History is employed as a means of conveying significant values and attitudes. The analysis of historical events enables society to gain insight into the significance of values such as freedom, justice, solidarity and democracy. The transmission of historical knowledge to younger generations is of paramount importance in the formation of national identity. The collective memory, enshrined in textbooks, museums and literature, plays a pivotal role in maintaining the continuity of national identity.

In the study I asked[6] respondents whether they felt pride in the periods of Polish history listed in the selection. For analytical purposes, the statements I definitely feel and I feel were combined. The period of history of which the respondents were most proud was the participation of Poles in World War II (1939-1945). In all respondents, it was mentioned most often, but in the case of directors it was a higher level of pride by nearly 6 percentage points than teachers and nearly 22 percentage points than students. The second place was taken by the period of Poland's presence in the administrative structures of the European Union. Directors were also more often proud of this period than students and teachers (by approximately 10 and 13 percentage points respectively). The next period was the time of the struggle to establish the borders of Poland reborn after 1918, and directors were also more often proud of it. It should be noted that the second most frequently chosen period among students was that of the anti-communist underground (1944-1963), i.e. the so-called "cursed soldiers". This was indicated by 63%, which is almost the same as among teachers and almost 5 percentage points less than among

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[6]   Which period of Polish history can we be proud of? Please use the scale where: 1 - I definitely feel it, 2 - I feel it, 3 - I feel it weakly, 4 - I do not feel it at all, 5 - it is difficult to say.

directors. Among directors, the beginnings of the Polish state (up to 1138) and the reign of the Jagiellons (1386-1572) were rated better than the activities of the cursed soldiers.

On the other hand, the period of dismemberment was rated worst overall on average by teachers (13.5% proud and definitely proud) and students (35% proud and definitely proud). Directors rated the communist period worst (11.2% proud and definitely proud). Pupils, on the other hand, were less proud of the period of the Polish People's Republic than of the period of the Partitions of Poland. Thus, one can see the role of the private experience of the respondent groups. Directors who have lived in the PRL longer than teachers (higher average age of this group) know this period from their own life experience. For pupils, it is only a period they may know from the stories of older relatives and from books or films. This is also evident from the spread of responses, as the widest gap was found among directors (74.2 percentage points - 11.2% to 85.4%), followed by teachers (66.1 percentage points - 13.5% to 79.6%) and students (28.7 percentage points - 35% to 63.7%). These differences are also evident in terms of the assessment of Solidarity's activities in the 1980s, which directors rated better than teachers and students. The respondents also rated the time of the political transformation of the 1990s differently - directors highest, teachers lowest. Other information is provided in the table below.

Table 1. Pride of directors, teachers and students over periods in Polish history

	Directors	Teachers	Students
Polish participation in the Second World War (1939-1945)	85.40%	79.60%	63.70%
Poland in the European Union (after 2004)	73.80%	63.30%	60.60%
The struggle to establish the borders of a reborn Poland (1918-1920)	71.20%	66.30%	60.10%
Unification under W. Łokietek and Kazimierz Wielki (1320-1386)	72.50%	65.30%	58.90%
Activities of the anti-communist underground (1944-1963)	67.80%	63.70%	63.00%
The origins of the Polish state (until 1138)	70.80%	63.60%	57.90%
The reign of the Jagiellonians (1386-1572)	69.90%	64%	54.90%
Period from Solidarity to the Round Table (1980-1989)	67,00%	58.30%	53.20%
Second Republic period (1918-1939)	61.40%	54.50%	55.70%
Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569-1795)	57.10%	46.60%	55.40%
Transformation period of the 1990s (1989-1999)	55.80%	48.90%	51.30%
The period of the Partitions of Poland (1772-1918)	19.30%	20.30%	36.10%

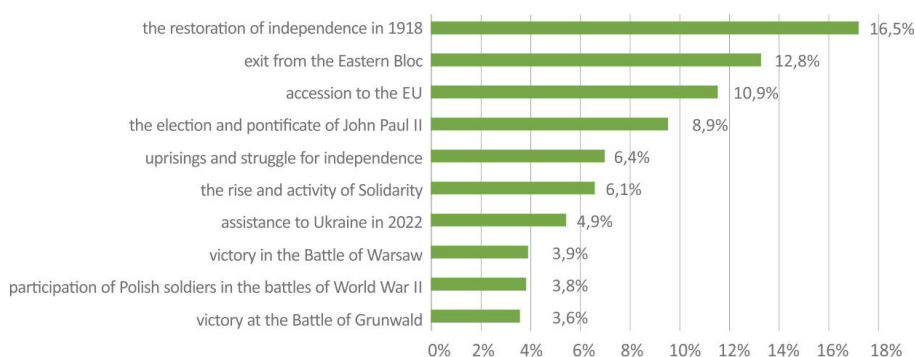| The People's Republic of Poland (1944-1989) | 11.20% | 17.20% | 43.40% |
| The period of the district split (1138-1320) | 13.30% | 13.50% | 35.00% |

Source: Own research.

5. Opinions on the events

As previously stated, the formation of social and cultural identity is significantly influenced by the interplay of national pride and shame. One of the principal components of national pride is the assessment of historical events that have occurred within the context of a particular national group. The national pride and shame associated with specific historical events represent a significant aspect of this reflection, influencing the manner in which history is taught and interpreted within the educational system. It is therefore crucial to understand this in order to assess how schools contribute to the formation of national identity in future generations. Teachers and school leaders serve not only as dispensers of knowledge but also as exemplars of attitudes that can influence students throughout their lives. It is therefore pertinent to consider the opinions of these individuals in relation to the educational process, specifically in the context of national identity formation within the school environment. The presentation will commence with an overview of opinions on national pride, followed by a discussion of potentially sensitive topics.

The largest number of teachers surveyed identified the regaining of independence in 1918 as the most important event to inspire their national pride (16.5%). This is understandable given the historical significance of this event for Poland after 123 years of partition. Above that, the 105th anniversary of independence was celebrated in 2023. Poland's exit from the Eastern Bloc (including the Round Table talks), i.e. the regaining of sovereignty and the end of the period of USSR domination in Poland, is second (12.8%). The third most frequently mentioned event is Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 (10.9%). The next event giving pride to teachers was the election of Karol Wojtyła as Pope in 1978 and his pontificate (8.9%). John Paul II played a significant role in the international arena, including Poland's exit from the Eastern Bloc and Poland's accession to the European Union. The next position concerning national uprisings and the fight for independence (6.4%) is also not surprising. The long tradition of Poles' national liberation struggles eventually led to independence, so it is also important. It is noticeable that most of the positions are occupied by events from recent Polish history, only

the struggle for independence and the victory in the Battle of Grunwald are events from before the 20th and 21st centuries.
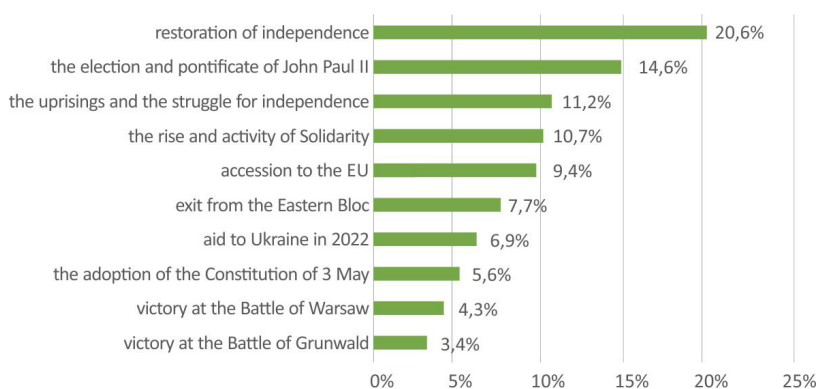
Chart 4. Events we should be proud of in the opinion of teachers (top 10)

Event	Percentage
the restoration of independence in 1918	16,5%
exit from the Eastern Bloc	12,8%
accession to the EU	10,9%
the election and pontificate of John Paul II	8,9%
uprisings and struggle for independence	6,4%
the rise and activity of Solidarity	6,1%
assistance to Ukraine in 2022	4,9%
victory in the Battle of Warsaw	3,9%
participation of Polish soldiers in the battles of World War II	3,8%
victory at the Battle of Grunwald	3,6%

Source: Own research, N=1699.

The directors' sense of pride in historical events was similar to that of the teachers. 9 out of 10 responses were repeated. Only the order of the answers indicated differed. However, the first-ranked answer among teachers, the restoration of independence, was also the most frequently selected by directors (20.6%). Directors more often drew pride from the pontificate of John Paul II, the struggle for independence or the activities of Solidarity. Less frequently, they indicated Poland's accession to the EU or exit from the Eastern Bloc.

Chart 5. Events we should be proud of in the opinion of directors (top10)

Event	Percentage
restoration of independence	20,6%
the election and pontificate of John Paul II	14,6%
the uprisings and the struggle for independence	11,2%
the rise and activity of Solidarity	10,7%
accession to the EU	9,4%
exit from the Eastern Bloc	7,7%
aid to Ukraine in 2022	6,9%
the adoption of the Constitution of 3 May	5,6%
victory at the Battle of Warsaw	4,3%
victory at the Battle of Grunwald	3,4%

Source: Own research, N= 233.

The history of any nation is full of moments of glory and pride, but also of moments that evoke shame and reflection. In this extract, we will look at the moments from Polish history selected by teachers and directors that, in their opinion, should make us feel ashamed. The chart below shows the teachers' responses. Most teachers (16.4%) indicated the period of the People's Republic of Poland as a time for which Poland should be ashamed. It was a period of communist rule, restriction of civic freedoms and dependence on the Soviet Union (more precisely, the following were indicated: martial law, sovietisation, influence of the USSR, methods of surveillance of the opposition by the Security Service/SB, forcible combating of any resistance to the authorities, etc.) The second most frequently mentioned (14.9%) period that was a reason for shame was the partitions of Poland. Respondents mentioned both the actions of the partitioners and the events leading up to the partitions themselves. It should be noted that a large group abstained from answering on the subject of shame. Combining the non-answers (13.6%), the answer "I don't know/I don't have an opinion" (13.4%) and the answer "there are no such events" (2.4%), we obtain de facto the most numerous group of 29.4% of respondents. This shows that a noticeable group of respondents is not ashamed of events from Polish history.

Chart 6. Events of which we should be ashamed in the opinion of teachers (top10)
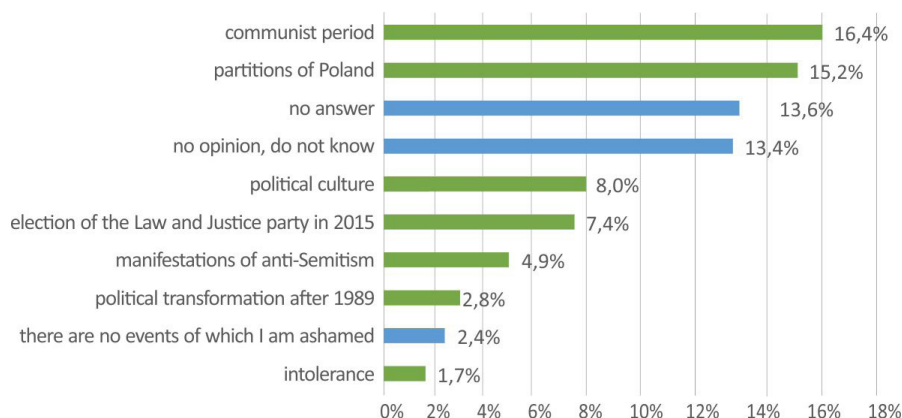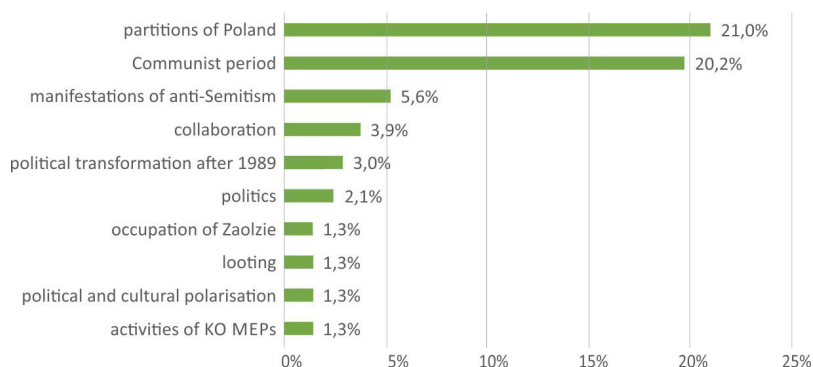
There was no group among the directors who indicated a lack of shame about events in Polish history. However, they were also most ashamed of the partitions and the events leading up to them (21%) and of the communist period, including the events creating it (20.2%). Among directors, any manifestation of anti-Semitism was quite often ashamed (the third most common

answer with 5.6%). Also ashamed among directors is collaboration with enemies during the partitions, the Second World War and cooperation with the USSR authorities before 1989.

Chart 7. Events of which we should be ashamed in the opinion of directors (top10)

partitions of Poland	21,0%
Communist period	20,2%
manifestations of anti-Semitism	5,6%
collaboration	3,9%
political transformation after 1989	3,0%
politics	2,1%
occupation of Zaolzie	1,3%
looting	1,3%
political and cultural polarisation	1,3%
activities of KO MEPs	1,3%

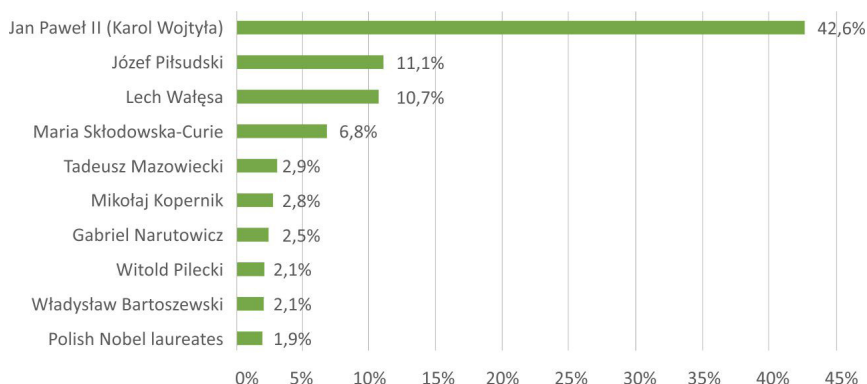**Source**: Own research, N= 233.

6. Opinions on the individual persons

Historical figures, including national heroes, reformers and individuals associated with challenging and contentious historical events, have a significant impact on educational processes. Such individuals serve as exemplars, as promoted by educators within the academic setting. Similarly, contemporary figures who exert influence over social, political and cultural life play an important role in the formation of national identity. It is therefore important to gain an understanding of how teachers and principals interpret and convey knowledge about these figures to students, in order to gain insight into the educational process and its impact on young people.

The figure of John Paul II was the most frequently cited by teachers (42.6%), with Józef Piłsudski a close second (11.1%). Lech Wałęsa was selected by 10.7% of respondents. It is noteworthy that, with the exception of Nicolaus Copernicus, all the figures mentioned lived in the 20th century. The sole collective category employed by respondents was that of Polish Nobel Prize winners, namely writers and scientists who have been awarded the Nobel Prize. This further suggests that an external endorsement of a favourable evaluation from a source external to Poland is of significant importance. It is notable that Gabriel Narutowicz, who is primarily renowned for being

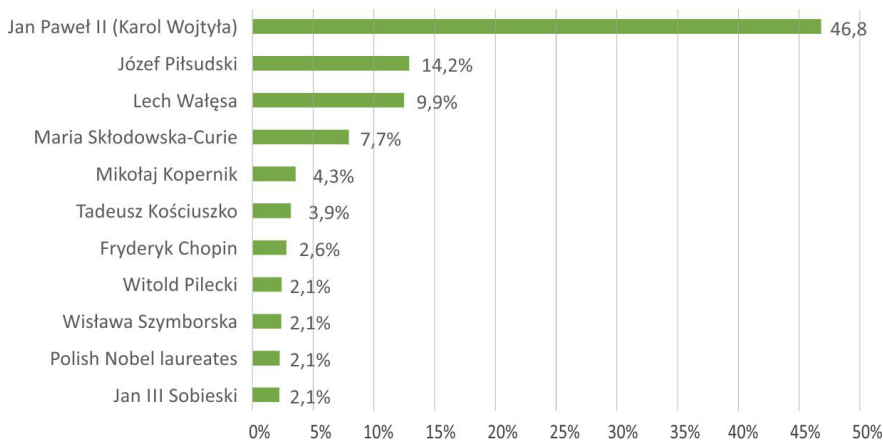the inaugural president of the reconstituted Second Republic to be assassinated, also features on the list.

Chart 8. People we should be proud of in the opinion of teachers (top 10)

Jan Paweł II (Karol Wojtyła)	42,6%
Józef Piłsudski	11,1%
Lech Wałęsa	10,7%
Maria Skłodowska-Curie	6,8%
Tadeusz Mazowiecki	2,9%
Mikołaj Kopernik	2,8%
Gabriel Narutowicz	2,5%
Witold Pilecki	2,1%
Władysław Bartoszewski	2,1%
Polish Nobel laureates	1,9%

Source: Own research, N=1699.

The result of the first three figures that teachers think we should be proud of is similar to the results recorded among principals. The difference between teachers and principals is the greater share of pre-20th century figures. - 4 (Kopernik, Kościuszko, Chopin, Jan III Sobieski).

Chart 9. People we should be proud of in the opinion of directors (top 10)

Jan Paweł II (Karol Wojtyła)	46,8
Józef Piłsudski	14,2%
Lech Wałęsa	9,9%
Maria Skłodowska-Curie	7,7%
Mikołaj Kopernik	4,3%
Tadeusz Kościuszko	3,9%
Fryderyk Chopin	2,6%
Witold Pilecki	2,1%
Wisława Szymborska	2,1%
Polish Nobel laureates	2,1%
Jan III Sobieski	2,1%

Source: own research, N= 233.

The highest proportion of respondents (13.1%) did not give an answer. Furthermore, a significant proportion of teachers (9.7%) did not have a clear opinion on who we should be ashamed of. Still another proportion of teachers (5.7%) felt that there were no people for whom we should be ashamed. A total of 28.5% of teachers did not take a position on who we should be ashamed of. This is a sizable group refraining from taking a position on the issue of shame because of specific individuals. The second highest percentage of teachers (11.5%) thought we should be ashamed of Jarosław Kaczyński. This is the person who - as party leader - channels resentment towards both the Law and Justice party as a whole and the policies of Mateusz Morawiecki's government during the research. This was followed by three presidents - Wojciech Jaruzelski (9.6%), Andrzej Duda (5.3%) and Lech Wałęsa (4.6%). Andrzej Duda is a president who hails from the Law and Justice party and may be regarded with the aversion inherent in some Poles towards that party. Lech Wałęsa, on the other hand, mentioned both on the list of pride and shame, is a figure who is a symbol of leaving the Eastern Bloc. The controversy surrounding his figure, on the other hand, concerns his activities before and after his presidency. On the other hand, Wojciech Jaruzelski, second in order of shame after Jarosław Kaczyński, is a military officer and politician with origins in the People's Republic of Poland, who is associated with martial law, Zionist purges in the army or the persecution of the Solidarity opposition. Apart from him, shame was also indicated towards Bolesław Bierut, associated with the Stalinist period (4.4%) and the PRL authorities in general (3%).
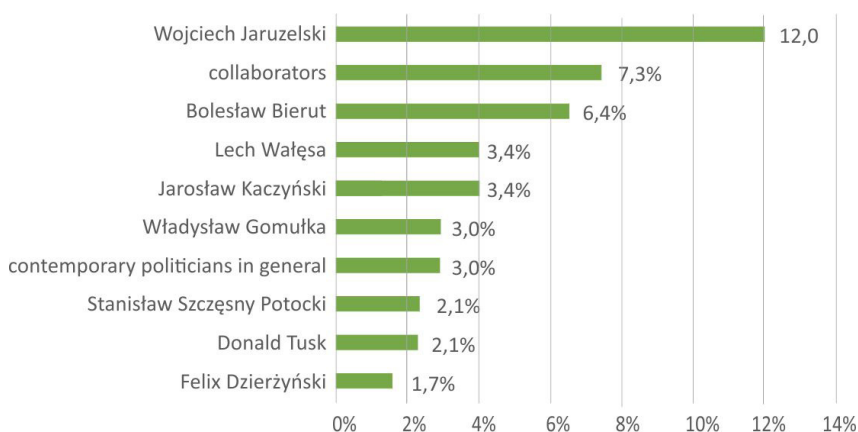
Chart 10. People we should be ashamed of in the opinion of teachers (top 12)
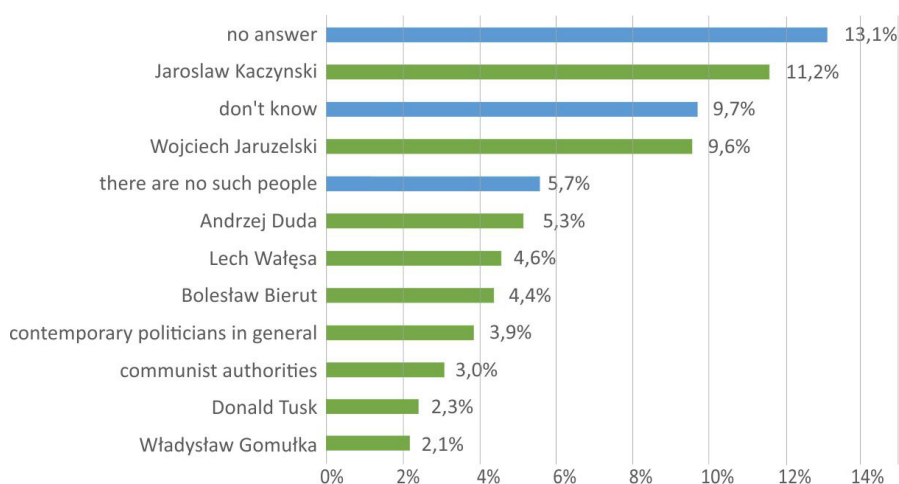
Source: Own research, N=1699.

Directors were more critical of the communist period, where they pointed to Wojciech Jaruzelski (12%) and Bolesław Bierut (7.3%) as persons deserving the greatest shame. Of communist politicians, Władysław Gomułka (3%) and Feliks Dzierżyński (1.7%) were also mentioned. A relatively high percentage of shame fell into the general category of 'collaborators' (7.3%).

Chart 11. People we should be ashamed of in the opinion of directors (top 10)

Name	Value
Wojciech Jaruzelski	12,0
collaborators	7,3%
Bolesław Bierut	6,4%
Lech Wałęsa	3,4%
Jarosław Kaczyński	3,4%
Władysław Gomułka	3,0%
contemporary politicians in general	3,0%
Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki	2,1%
Donald Tusk	2,1%
Felix Dzierżyński	1,7%

Source: Own research, N= 233.

7. Conclusions. Reasonable pride and low intra-steerability

As indicated by the research institutions and findings of the project *Polskość w XXI wieku* (see footnote 8), contemporary attitudes towards issues such as national identity, national pride and patriotism are characterised by a diversity of perspectives. The concept of '21st-century Polishness' posits that contemporary manifestations of patriotism are losing their integrative function within Polish society, instead becoming a differentiating factor. Consequently, the meaning of patriotism is evolving in the social consciousness. The model of patriotism, which is associated with national pride and a limited capacity for shame, is deemed to be more appropriate for individuals with right-wing and conservative views. Those with liberal and left-wing views are more likely to prioritise cosmopolitanism and perceive only shortcomings within the national context. The research findings presented in the article indicate that there is a notable absence of anti-apartheid sentiments among teachers and

principals. These attitudes are discernible, though not dominant. The majority of respondents expressed pride in their national affiliation. A notable proportion of respondents (6-9%) expressed feelings of shame in relation to this matter. Teachers and principals exhibited greater national pride than students. It may be surmised that a proportion of the pupils may evince a rebellious attitude towards their national affiliation and tradition. In contrast, teachers demonstrated an ability to refrain from hasty generalizations and judgments regarding the collective national shame associated with specific figures and events. A total of 28.5% of teachers did not express a position on the question of who should be ashamed. Similarly, 29.4% of the teachers surveyed did not identify events for which we should be ashamed as a nation. This shows that there is a lack of excessive shame in this group. On the other hand, principals were the most varied in their assessment of periods in Polish history, indicating the greatest pride (Poles' participation in the Second World War, accession to the EU), but also the greatest shame (the period of the People's Republic of Poland, times under the partitions).

It can also be concluded that teachers and principals were proud of issues related to Poland's independence and sovereignty. The largest percentage of teachers (16.5%) and principals (20.6%) surveyed indicated the regaining of independence as the main source of national pride. Also highly rated was the exit from the Eastern Bloc (12.8% in the case of teachers, 7.7% in the case of principals), which highlighted the importance of regaining some political independence from external influences. Events in the same catalogue are the uprisings and struggle for independence (6.4% in teachers and 11.2% in principals) and the rise and activities of Solidarity (6.1% - teachers and 10.7% - principals). These important events highlight the long tradition of Poles' struggle for freedom and civil rights. Respondents are also proud of supporting the sovereignty of the region's nations - aid to Ukraine was indicated as a source of pride by 4.9% of teachers and 6.9% of students. With these attitudes, it can be assumed that teachers and principals associate John Paul II, whose election and pontificate had not only religious, but above all political significance. It was part of the exit from the Eastern Bloc, which gave impetus to the creation of Solidarity, and during his pontificate John Paul II supported Poland's aspirations for EU membership. Joining the European Union (10.9%) is the third most important event for teachers and the fifth for principals (9.4%). The historical military victories of the Polish armed forces are also an important source of pride, exemplified by the victories at the Battle of Warsaw and the Battle of Grunwald, as well as the participation of Polish soldiers in the battles of the Second World War. This is not only about the lost September campaign, which was admittedly also mentioned by several

respondents, but above all about the participation in battles outside Poland, such as the Battle of Britain by the 303 Squadron, the victory of General Anders in the Battle of Monte Cassino or the liberation of Breda by General Maczek. Values such as sovereignty, the fight for freedom, democratic reforms and solidarity with other nations are central to Polish national pride. Poles derive pride from different periods of their history, whether it is the events of regaining independence, political transformation, integration into Europe, military successes or contemporary contributions to international solidarity.

Finally, an interpretation will be provided in relation to a corpus of sociological theories that allow the observed problems to be described with a conceptual apparatus considered at a higher level of generality. Approaches and theories can be helpful in understanding how nations manage their identity and autonomy in the face of internal values and external influences. First and foremost - as signalled above - the question of why national pride is drawn. Whether they are endogenous or exogenous, that is, whether they are internal or external. The internal causes of national pride include all issues related to Polishness as such, i.e. history, the so-called national character of Poles, the characteristics of the countryside, the quality of life in Poland or, for example, national symbols and holidays. External reasons, on the other hand, may include opinions from abroad about Poland and Poles, the international successes of athletes and scholars or the international position of Poland.

The use of the categories of intrapersonality and extrapersonality for national themes is not a common approach in the sociological literature. On the other hand, these categories can be helpful to understand some characteristics of national pride and shame in Poland. The terms were proposed by David Riesman in his book The Lonely Crowd (David Riesman: 1971). Their understanding was considered in the context of the individual's social personality orientation. Internally controlled cultures may place more emphasis on tradition, autonomy and values, symbols while externally controlled cultures will be more adaptively dependent on responding flexibly to external influences. In the case of the former, they will not make their national pride dependent on external evaluation factors - international successes or opinions from abroad. Instead, they will be proud of specific elements of their own past, symbols, holidays, traditions and culture or language. Moreover, intra-state nations will not be ashamed of what is in their interests, even though it may harm the interests of other nations. Admittedly, nations are always balancing between internal values and external influences (Clifford Geertz: 1960, Anthony D. Smith: 1998), but nevertheless, the intra-stereality of nations is the feature that is partly responsible for the persistence and reproduction of national culture and

nations in general. This is important, among other things, in the context of technological modernisation, because changes in modes of economy resulting from technological change may entail cultural change. Some nations may try to preserve their traditional values and structures (intrinsic steadiness), while others may open up more to external influences and adapt to global trends (extrinsic steadiness). In Poland, this applied to the former agrarian elites (nobility and aristocracy) functioning financially through farming. From them the army was recruited, which was weaker in the pauperisation of this stratum of society, which, according to various hypotheses, may have been one of the reasons for the partition of Poland.

Autopoietic systems, according to the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann, are self-sufficient and self-reproducing systems - able to maintain and reproduce their own structures (Niklas Luhmann: 2007). Nations can be seen as autopoietic systems in some sense, but not to the same extent as other systems described by Luhmann. Nations do have some autopoietic characteristics, such as self-reproducing structures and communicating through specific codes or, above all, setting their cultural and symbolic boundaries to distinguish themselves from other nations. However, because they are more or less dependent on interaction with other systems and the external environment, their self-pojeticity is limited. In this context, the question has to be asked regarding the functions of national pride and shame. In a partially autopoietic system such as a functional nation, shame will serve to regulate the system, to improve itself. Shame concerning the indication of negative (dysfunctional) traits, which occurs in a smaller proportion than national pride, will therefore be functional for the system. National pride, on the other hand, if it reinforces the creation of the boundaries of the autopoietic system will constitute the strength of the system.

Theoretical conclusions indicate that nations can be analysed according to the categories of internally steered and externally steered. Cultures that are intrinsically steered place a strong emphasis on tradition, autonomy and intrinsic values. In contrast, extrinsically steered cultures are more adaptable to external influences. The concept of nations as autopoietic systems maintains and reproduces their structures, with national pride playing a role in the creation and reinforcement of cultural boundaries. While less prevalent, national shame serves a regulatory function, facilitating the identification and correction of dysfunctional elements. These theories facilitate a more nuanced comprehension of the processes through which nations navigate the interplay between their internal values and external influences in shaping their identities.

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Chapter 9.

Outstanding individuals (authorities) as factors shaping national identity. Perspective of Poland

Abstract

The objective of this chapter is to examine, from a Polish perspective, the manner in which authorities influence the formation of national identity. The authors examine the concepts of authority and national identity. Subsequently, the authors illustrate the significant impact of authority on the formation of national identity through the examination of a few selected examples, both positive and negative. Furthermore, the publication demonstrates how, according to the perceptions of school students and educators, authority exerts an influence on the formation of young individuals, their attitudes towards their own history, traditions, patriotic sentiments, and national identity.

Introduction

The formation of a national identity is contingent upon a multitude of factors, including those pertaining to the natural, social, cultural, historical, and religious realms. It is evident that each individual requires inspiration to act, and that they must draw on the experience of others who have gained more experience. The necessity for role models and authorities is evident. Furthermore, this pertains to the formation of our own national identity. In essence, one of the most crucial human endeavours in the contemporary era is the pursuit of

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self-discovery, which entails the attainment of truth about the self. In regard to the world that encompasses us. The human condition is characterised by a fundamental need to identify and define oneself. To answer the questions of identity: who am I, where do I come from, what was my past, what is my present, and what will be my future? One might inquire as to the ultimate destination of the individual. What is the identity of those individuals with whom I interact on a regular basis? What, if anything, do I have in common with them? These and other questions are posed by individuals when attempting to define their identity. By examining the lives of other individuals from the same communities, ethnic groups, or nations who have achieved remarkable feats in the past, we can gain insights into our own identity and comprehend the trajectory and objectives of our personal growth. Each individual is continuously engaged in the process of identity formation. However, this process is most significantly shaped during childhood and early adolescence, particularly by the influence of authority figures, including parents, relatives, educators, public figures from the media, and historical figures. The objective of this text is to demonstrate how authority figures impact and influence the formation of national identity, with a specific emphasis on the role of the school in this process as experienced by the young person.

1. The concept of identity, national identity and the outstanding individual

1.1. Identity

The fundamental objective of scientific enquiry is to ascertain the truth about humanity and the world in which we live. In seeking to answer the question of what identity is, the researcher poses the auxiliary question of what it is to be human. One of the key objectives of her cognitive process is to ascertain the identity of the individual. Paweł Prufer in his review to „Tożsamości religijne w społeczeństwie polskim. Studium socjologiczne' by Janusz Mariański, defines for the concept of identity: "The individual, as a person experiencing within him/herself fragmentation and decomposition, also recognises some strong and constitutive unity of the elements that construct his/her existence and being. His identity and experience of himself, his will to continually deepen but also extend his own and others' existence over time, define him as a unique being' (Paweł Prufer: 2017, 143). According to Marek Drwięga, analysing the concept of identity in the philosophy of Paul Ricœur, "The question arises as to whether, when we speak of man, of his being himself

(le soi), this presupposes a form of permanence in time that is not reduced to the determination of a substrate, in a word, whether such a form of permanence in time might not be a schema of the category of substance. Putting this aspect yet another way, one can ask, following Paul Ricœur, whether a form of permanence in time can be linked to the question "who?" as not being reducible to the question "what?" if this "what" refers, and this is not so obvious, to a substance schema. In other words, what is at stake here is the form of permanence in time that would best answer the question "who am I?". Note that placing the questions of "what?" and "who?" side by side does not, of course, eliminate the question of "what?" in the human being itself, but rather juxtaposes the two poles of the problematic, which, while remaining in dynamic relation to each other, sometimes overlap, at other times exclude each other" (Marek Drwięga: 2016, 20).

The identity of the individual must be embedded in morality, which Janusz Mariański defines as follows: "We treat morality from a sociological point of view as a 'product' of social communication, which is an individual and collective process at the same time. Sociology does not define the essence of morality, it deals with morality that shows links with social life, with the socio-cultural context, it is the effect of social interactions and discourses (morality as a human phenomenon). From a sociological point of view, there is no morality in isolation from the socio-cultural context. Unlike psychology, which tries to explain the psychic structure of human actions, sociology analyses the social structure of moral attitudes and actions, and points to the empirical reasons for the formation of certain forms of human coexistence and interaction. It also examines the values and norms that co-determine human actions in an analytic-descriptive rather than normative way, i.e. as a certain objective reality" (Janusz Mariański: 2023, 7).

Just as important as morality in identity formation is spirituality. As Janusz Mariański and Stanisław A. Wargacki note: "In modern societies, known as postmodern societies, the religious landscape is changing. Religion has lost its status of cultural self-evidence; in modern and postmodern societies, it has to compete in the market of various worldview offerings" (Janusz Mariański, Stanisław A. Wargacki: 2016, 8). Respect for religion, not only Christianity, is an important element in the formation of Polish national identity.

In turn, as Robert Zieliński, sociologist Zbigniew Bokszański, notes, he suggests two possibilities for clarifying the term: "identity as an existential problem for participants in social life, demonstrating and communicating in various ways the 'problematicness' of actions and feelings associated with identity, and making this problem ailing in the colloquial, and identity as

a theoretical and methodological problem for researchers of social phenomena. 'The 'problematicness' in this case is mainly related to the difficulty of considering the rationale justifying the 'legitimacy' of a new concept in the language of theory and finding for it an appropriate area of application together with methodological directives" (Robert Zieliński, 2023, 14).

Thus, once the individual has answered the questions 'who am I', 'what/who am I', 'what is around me', there is a need for an in-depth, broad exploration of one's own and other individuals' identities. As well as others indirectly arising from these, e.g. defining others, assigning and naming. Man is a social being and can look at himself from the perspective of the individual, the social individual (psychological), as well as from the perspective of the given collectivity (sociological) (Robert Zieliński, 2023, 10). According to Anna Popielarczyk-Pałęga: "Identity enables the individual to define himself, his place in social reality" (Anna Popielarczyk-Pałęga: 2018, 17) . Almost every individual is aware of the world around them. Individuals form micro and macro groups (Robert Zieliński: 2023, 10). An individual, with proper self-development, is able to determine physical characteristics such as the colour of his or her skin, hair, eyes or body type. Then we are dealing with an ethnic collectivity. This ethnic collectivity, being different from other collectivities, produces its own culture and consequently identity (Anna Popielarczyk-Pałęga: 2018, 17-18). From this ethnic identity, a national identity is born within the structures of the state.

1.2. National identity

Identity has an interdisciplinary character and is the subject of research representing various scientific disciplines. It therefore has an interdisciplinary character due to its ability to attract the attention of representatives of many sciences (Robert Zieliński: 2023, 13).[3] Robert Zieliński classified identity into the following three categories:

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[3]   According to Robert Zieliński: "Identity focuses most of the attention of researchers in philosophy, psychology, anthropology and sociology. Most often, considerations concern the very essence of identity, what research scope identity covers, what planes of both individual and collective life fall within its boundaries." Cf. R. Zieliński, op. cit. s.13.

Diagram 1: Classifications of identity according to Robert Zieliński
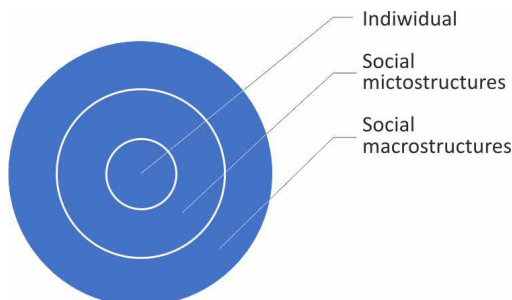
Source: Authors' own study.

Robert Zieliński classifies identity into categories:

1) "individual, i.e. concerning only the individual, or even the part of the individual that influences the totality of behaviour, interaction, social relations, etc.". It is important to remember not to cross the boundary that exists between sociological science (dealing with the coexistence of individuals in society) and psychological science (focusing attention mainly on the human interior and the study of the "nooks and crannies" of personality);

2) social microstructures, which focuses attention on social groups that produce a visible and strong social bond influencing the definition of their own identity boundaries; and

3) social macrostructures shaping their identity in large social groups that coexist in a characteristic social system created by them" (Robert Zieliński: 2023, 13).

Anna Popielarczyk-Pałęga, in turn, notes that Zbigniew Bokrzański defines national identity based on the following elements:

– The cognitive component, which consists of knowledge about 'us' and 'others', as well as the differences between 'us' and 'others',

– a set of attitudes and attitudes towards one's own nation, which is expressed in the level of satisfaction of belonging to a particular nation,

– emotional area, determining the intensity of the bond with a given nation (Zbigniew Bokszański: 2007, 80-81).

There are, of course, numerous examples of definitions of national identities, but for the purposes of this text only the above definition will be used.

In analysing the concept of national identity, Leszek Kołakowski distinguishes the following criteria: 1) the existence of a "national spirit", which is reflected in spiritual and cultural life and behaviour in the face of danger, 2) the existence of historical consciousness - common symbols, language, cultural heritage, 3) the ability to anticipate, project, secure the future (i.e. defence, education, etc.), 4) defined territory boundaries, 5) the location of one's reference group in time (Elżbieta Sktonicka - Illasiewicz, 1998, 69).

As Piotr Sztompka notes: "Identity helps to distinguish between 'us' and 'others', which is done at the individual and collective level. This participation in the interpersonal space, peculiar to each individual, dictates the sense of who I am, what my place in this space is, who I am on the road with, who I think of as 'we' " (Piotr Sztompka, 2021, 114). Thus, national identity helps 'us' e.g. Poles to distinguish ourselves from representatives of other nations e.g. Germans, Swedes, Spaniards or Hungarians. Nevertheless, all national groups living on the European continent are also linked by a supranational identity - a European identity (Renata Suchocka: 2002)[4] . The subject of the present authors' consideration, European identity, will be considered only in the context of its relation to Polish national identity.
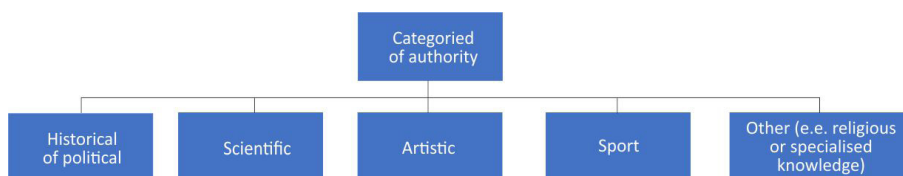
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[4]   Renata Suchocka distinguishes the following features of European identity: 1) diversity - both on a cultural, religious, ethnic and national level, but the greatest diversity in this respect is the degree of awareness of being European; 2) Europe is becoming a common and mutual environment without borders - at a given stage, from a political-legal point of view, we do not notice borders (Schengen Agreement), but from an identity-cultural point of view these borders are noticeable; 3) contemporary European identity is characterised by a social construct in which the future is linked to the fact that the traditional markers of cultural identity will not apply; 4) Europe is becoming a continent of immigration, in which the stranger is not an immigrant who arrives today to leave tomorrow, but someone who arrives today to stay tomorrow. Multiculturalism is a fundamental determinant of European culture; the sense of European identity is becoming that of the citizens and not that of the elite, due to opinions that the political structures of the European Union require the acceptance of the whole of society and the construction of a European cultural identity; persistence in the identification-integration process implies identification with the idea of citizenship; 6) there is a noticeable need to create dual loyalties - political and cultural loyalties, both at state and European level. See Suchocka, R. (2002). Between national and European identity, in Krzysztof Bondyra, Stanisław Lisiecki (eds). (2002). Varieties of Polish identities. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora, 18-20. cf. also: Zieliński, R. (2023). Tożsamość narodowa w procesie...op. cit., p.35.

1.3. The concept of the outstanding individual (authority)

The Dictionary of Polish Language defines the term 'authority' as: "the recognition with which a person is held in some group" or as "a person, institution, magazine, etc. enjoying special recognition" (Dictionary of Polish Language PWN). The phenomenon of authority stems directly from human nature. According to Mirosław Rewera: "(...)it has accompanied mankind since the dawn of time. In relations between people, there have always been attitudes of inferiority and superiority, of respecting others because of the qualities they possess and the skills they display to an above-average degree. When we delve deeper into the meaning of the concept of authority, there are problems in explaining the term and a multiplicity of interpretations between which there are some discrepancies" (Mirosław Rewera: 2022, 180). According to Przemysław Śniegowski: "The term authority comes from the Latin *auctoritas* meaning 'influence, importance, gravity'. Several types of authority can be distinguished. Among them: absolute (God) and variable (human). In the latter, there is also external authority, i.e. related to authority, function and position, and internal - personal authority, resulting from moral, spiritual and personal qualities' (Przemysław Śniegowski: 2020, 28). We can speak of authority when a person, through their actions, positive perception, experience, skills, inspires respect and obedience in a given group, whether they want it or not, influences a given collective, which consequently entails responsibility and duties. Being a leader "is first and foremost being responsible for the development of those you lead (Przemysław Śniegowski: 2020, 33). An authentic leader, or 'authority is fair to everyone, especially the vulnerable. In the family and in the community, in addition to justice and truth, authority should also be characterised by gentleness, the ability to listen, to forgive in interpersonal relationships and to inspire trust. All this does not exclude firmness, which is also necessary and can be expressed in both appropriate and inappropriate ways" (Przemysław Śniegowski: 2020, 35).

Mirosław Rewera takes a slightly different view of the role of authority, pointing out that: "Without authority it would be difficult to understand the functioning of society and the shape of culture in different historical epochs. However, the character of a civilisation depends on the method of the system of collective life and on the authorities functioning in it" (Mirosław Rewera: 2022, 180). With social development, the form of authority and the extent of its influence also change in the changing social fabric.

Authorities may also be perceived differently because of their specific characteristics, time and place of activity. We can divide authority figures into 5 categories: 1) historical-political; 2) scientific; 3) artistic; 4) sporting; 5) other (e.g. religious, specialised knowledge).

Diagram 2: Categorisation of authority

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                        ┌──────────────────┐
                        │   Categoried     │
                        │   of authority   │
                        └──────────────────┘
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Historical of political	Scientific	Artistic	Sport	Other (e.e. religious or specialised knowledge)

Source: Authors' own study.

For example, Napoleon I Bonaparte will be perceived differently by French or Polish historiography, and quite differently by British or Russian historiography. The assessment of authority as such may therefore be entirely subjective and result from political or historical premises. Assessment of authority may be different, for example in the field of sciences such as chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics or economics. These individuals build their authority through their own intellectual development and the scientific achievements they make, broadening the general transnational horizons of human knowledge and awareness of the surrounding world. Similarly, the assessment is shaped in the dimension of artistic authorities, where the authority of the creator is measured by the measure of recognition, interest or demand for a given work or piece of art. The same applies to the authority of an athlete. It is measured by the scale of their successes and victories in sporting competitions such as (the Olympics or championships). Authorities, shaping identity, can also represent religious and faith associations or represent other types of knowledge, in these areas they can build their authority.

2. Shaping the Polish national identity

The fate of each nation is the resultant of many events and factors: political, geographical, natural and positive and negative historical experiences (Kazimierz Łastawski: 2007).[5] Many factors influence the formation of

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[5]   According to Kazimierz Łastawski: "The fate of nations is very complex, they developed with changing borders, nations cooperated with each other, but also had disputes and even fights. Representatives of nations succumbed to the influence of neighbours, were subject to assimilation or emigrated outside their area of residence. Alongside the traditional national settlements, there were also borderlands where the influences of different nations clashed. Such borderlands were formed, for example, by the Polish-Lithuanian

an exceptional and unique national identity, but the primary one is culture (PWN Encyclopedia).[6] The term culture encompasses a broad spectrum of issues, in a common and broad understanding "it includes everything that in the behaviour and equipment of the members of human societies is the result of collective activity." (Encyclopedia PWN).[7] Thus, Polish culture is "the result of the collective activity" of the Polish nation. According to Kazimierz Łastawski, the greatest influence on the character of a nation is exerted by the elite, called by Stanisław Brzozowski "'cultural progenitors', i.e.: writers, historians, ethnographers, artists and scholars, as well as the centres of their activity: universities, research institutions, cultural associations, scientific societies" (Kazimierz Łastawski: 2007, 279). National identity is also shaped by cultural centres such as theatres, opera houses, state and private galleries, museums, cultural institutes or memorials. A nation will unify its identity most strongly around its heritage and cultural assets, which are most firmly embedded in people's consciousness. Events, places, and cultural assets associated with, for example, the Baptism of Poland, the Battle of Grunwald, the signing of the Union of Lublin, the regaining of independence in 1918, or the signing of the August Agreements in Gdańsk in 1980, affect the nation and its identity in a special way. Such events and the places or objects associated with them (e.g. the Act of the Union of Lublin, the Golden Chapel of the Cathedral of St Apostles Peter and Paul in Poznań, Grunwald Fields,

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Commonwealth, which brought together not only ethnic Poles, but also other nations, mainly Lithuanians and Ruthenians", cf. Łastawski K. (2007). Historyczne i współczesne wartości polskiej tożsamości narodowej, Słupskie Studia Historyczne 13, 279.

[6]   As defined by the PWN Encyclopedia: "culture [Latin], one of the most popular terms in the humanities and social sciences (referred to by some theorists as the cultural sciences as opposed to the natural sciences), as well as in colloquial language, in which, however, it usually has a different meaning and a strong valence tinge. Cf. PWN Encyclopedia, https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/kultura;3928887.html (accessed 4.07.2024).

[7]   Many definitions of culture have been formulated in science. Different authors, different scientific disciplines (e.g. cultural philosophy, cultural history, cultural anthropology, sociology, ethnography) and different scientific schools (e.g. evolutionism, functionalism, structuralism) have focused on individual aspects of culture - depending on their research objectives and overall view of social life. A reconciliation of the various theories of culture usually proves impossible, despite attempts to create a unified scientific discipline for the study of culture and to integrate all knowledge in this field (cultural studies). The differences between approaches are sometimes very large. Firstly, for some cultural scholars, the most important thing is to highlight everything that is not 'nature' and distinguishes human societies from animal societies (it is only recently that people have also begun to speak of the culture of the latter), while for others the most important thing is to highlight the differences between human societies, each of which produces its own specific beliefs, patterns of behaviour, practices, institutions (...). Cf. PWN Encyclopedia, https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/kultura;3928887.html (accessed 4.07.2024).

or the pen with the image of Pope John Paul II with which Lech Wałęsa signed the August Agreements) shape the historical continuity and persistence of Polishness. The combination of great moments in the history of the state, with its cultural heritage, history, tradition, and state pride creates the majesty of the state, "the majesty of the Republic." The creation of majesty is a long-term and historically determined process, but at the same time one of the most important elements influencing the sense of national identity.

Tomasz Orłowski wrote: "The most important sign of duration and continuity is the majesty of the Republic. (...)It derives from the Latin term *maiestas,* literally meaning superiority. It came into being as the state system solidified in the mid-16th century. The Polish state majesty manifested itself equally in: the king, the nation and the Republic. These three components combined many forms of socio-political consciousness: myths, rituals, symbols, perception of time, the sacred and the profane, and many values and emotions [...]. The Polish state majesty embodied successively: the idea of the extraordinary nature of the nation in its notion of freedom, the idea of royal power in the form of the myth of the ideal ruler, and the idea of the republican system. The passage of time, the twilight of the monarchy and the prolonged loss of independence sublimated the majesty of the Rzeczpospolita into an intangible value of which it was said, magnanimity versus dignity" (Tomasz Orłowski: 2021, 12).

National identity is also shaped by other elements, one of which is the Polish language. Many descendants of Polish political prisoners from as far back as the November Uprising feel a strong connection to Polish tradition and culture and identify with the Polish nation, despite never having been to Poland. These people were, however, brought up in Polish culture and the Polish language, which survived in their environment despite Russification and strong indoctrination with communism, thanks in large part to the Catholic Church. This is paralleled in other parts of the world such as the village of Adampol/Polonezköy (Gizem Karakose: 2018, 65-74)[8] in Turkey, Áurea in

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[8]   According to Gizem Karaköse: "Adampol/Polonezköy is one of the oldest Polish communities in Turkey. In Adampol, which is today an important centre of the Polish minority, people of different cultures and religions live side by side. The village was founded in the vicinity of Istanbul in 1842 by Michał Czaykowski, who went to Turkey at the behest of Prince Adam Czartoryski and settled there November insurgents, as well as Polish prisoners of war ransomed from Turkish and Cherkist captivity. The settlement attracts attention today primarily for tourist reasons and as a popular hunting spot." Cf. Karaköse G. (2018). Polonezköy (Adampol) in Turkish scientific literature, "Emigrantology of the Slavs" vol. 4 , pp. 65-74. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Gizem-Karakoese/publication/351090996_Polonezkoy_Adampol_in_Turkish_Academic_Studies/links/60855c0d907dcf667bc0ee27/Polonezkoey-Adampol-in-Turkish-Academic-Studies.pdf (accessed 12.07.2024).

Brazil[9] or the town of Wanda in northern Argentina in the province of Misiones[10]. Polish language, tradition and culture are cultivated in every of those places. In special cases, unity and identification with the Polish nationality are possible even without knowing the Polish language. The inhabitants of the village of Cazale in Haiti are an example (Robert Wyszyński, Karol Leszczyński: 2023).[11] The vast majority of them do not speak Polish, but bear

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[9]   According to Aicia Goczyła-Ferreira: "The presence of the Polish language in Brazil dates back to the second half of the nineteenth century, when multitudes of Europeans, among them Poles, arrived on Brazilian shores, on the one hand encouraged by the immigration policy of the local authorities and, on the other, fleeing the difficult living conditions in their homelands. In the case of Polish arrivals, the immigration wave lasted, with varying intensity, until the outbreak of the Second World War, after which it weakened considerably, being limited to a relatively small group of political immigrants. It is estimated that between 1884 and 1933 some 115,000 people of Polish nationality settled in Brazil (Kula 1981, 18). Although they constituted only about 3% of all immigrants arriving in Brazil during this period (IBGE 2000), it should be noted that the ratio was dramatically different in the region of Southern Brazil, which became the new home for the vast majority of newcomers from Polish lands. Read more: https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/pi/article/view/20959/20286 (accessed 12.07.2024).

[10]   The Polish community in Argentina, which today numbers between 120,000 and 450,000 people, arose as a result of successive waves of emigration from Polish lands. The first were of a political and military nature: veterans serving under Napoleon, the November and January insurgents and emigrants after World War II came to La Plata. The economic exodus was initiated with the settlement of fourteen families from the Lesser Poland in the province of Misiones. After the 1905 revolution, a large group of workers arrived from the Kingdom of Poland and settled in Buenos Aires. Between the two world wars, approximately 150,000 Polish citizens settled in Argentina, including many Jews and Ukrainians. The settlers, especially in the provinces, struggled with difficult living conditions. Often, contrary to their announcements and expectations, they arrived in the forest, which they were yet to clear in order to settle there. They also struggled with many diseases, insects and a harsh climate - and yet more Poles kept arriving. In 1890, the Polish Society was founded, the first Polish organisation in Latin America. In the inter-war period, the authorities of the Republic of Poland, with their support, gave impetus to the luxuriant development of Polish community life. The Polish-Argentine Chamber of Commerce, which is still active today, was established at that time. During the Second World War, the Argentine Polish community organised collections of money, sending parcels to prisoners of war and caring for refugees in aid of Polish soldiers. Even approx. 2,000 Argentines with Polish roots enlisted in the Polish Army. Read more: https://baza.polonika.pl/pl/obiekty/101903 (accessed 12.07.2024). Currently, the Union of Poles in Argentina has 34 organisations, and the centre of the Polish diaspora movement remains the province of Misiones (where the first Polish clusters were established). Since 1960, there has also been a Polish Library named after Ignacy Domeyko in Buenos Aires. Several Polish newspapers are published, including "Głos Polski: a non-partisan and independent periodical" (continuously since 1922). There is also a Polish Catholic Mission in Argentina.

[11]   "In the Republic of Haiti, a country so afflicted by cataclysms and an extremely difficult political situation, there is a small Polish community of descendants of legionaries from

Polish surnames and identify with the Polish heritage and culture they know. Thus, if the formation of a national identity is possible under conditions that can be described as 'extremely difficult', thousands of kilometres away from Poland, in a different cultural environment, at the meeting point of another or several cultures, it is also possible under natural conditions. It is also possible today, in a democratic sovereign state whose borders are secure, where the official language is Polish. At this point, it should also be added that identity formation is possible thanks to people who are around the formed individuals and who are able to exert sufficiently good influence. If the people being formed accept this influence in an open and friendly manner, and the message addressed to them is met with emotional involvement and consistent realisation of the transmitted knowledge, then we can speak of the emergence of a relationship: formed - authority.

3. The role of outstanding individuals and authorities

As already mentioned, an authority may be a person who has achieved recognition in some group, in a particular environment. An authority must have knowledge and experience, often scientific, but above all 'life' experience. Experience that he or she can describe as wisdom. However, that is not all. An authority in any field must be characterised by fidelity and loyalty to professed values, rationales or views, as well as an authority must be characterised by consistency in action[12] . Authorities that have an impact on the formation of national identity

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the Napoleonic wars. Unnecessary for Napoleon after the peace with Austria, soldiers of the Polish Legions in Italy and in the Danube Legion were sent to the island in late 1802 and early 1803 to suppress a rebellion of the black population triggered by the reintroduction of slavery. Most of the 5,300 legionaries died from tropical diseases or were killed in battle. The Poles, in their mass, showed no enthusiasm for suppressing the rebellion and some even went over to the side of the insurgents. This was noticed by the leaders of the uprising and after the proclamation of independence, an article was included in the new Haitian constitution, allowing Poles to settle on the island, which was taken advantage of by a group of about 250-300 legionaries (...) The centre of Polish settlement became the small village of Cazale, currently with a population of about 4,000, where the ninth generation of descendants of Polish soldiers still lives, still aware of their separateness and Polish roots, although completely deprived of the culture and language of their ancestors.". See Robert Wyszynski, Karol Leszczynski (2023). Atlas of Poles in the World. Warsaw: Pokolenia Institute, More: https://instytutpokolenia.pl/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Atlas-Polakow_online.pdf (accessed 12.07.2024).

12   According to Bożena Tuziak: "Authority plays an important role in triggering human activity and innovation. Entities endowed with it (representatives of local authorities,

are present in public space, as patrons of streets, squares, institutions or schools. This widespread "promotion" of authorities translates into building social awareness. A young person who lives, for example, on a housing estate named after Bolesław Chrobry, Władysław Jagiełło or Kazimierz Wielki, or attends a school named after Józef Piłsudski, may succumb to the authority of these individuals from early adolescence, which may constitute a strong element shaping the national identity of that young person. According to Kazimierz Łastawski, culture, language, customs and faith are the elements that build national identity, along with enduring material and spiritual values and national and state symbols such as: emblem, colours and the national anthem (Kazimierz Łastawski: 2007, 281). People recognised for a given community, authorities are an important factor in building the national identity of generations.

Kazimierz Łastawski notes that an authority, before becoming an authority, has to overcome a path, go through a kind of trial that will shape his character and build an experience that will become his strength. He will take the foundations of his identity from his family home, beyond language, the basics of his culture, his vision of the world around him from his parents. Later, he will be shaped by his immediate environment: relatives, friends, school, teachers, but also current natural, political and historical experiences specific to the times in which he lives (Kazimierz Łastawski: 2007, 281).[13]

entrepreneurs, social activists, etc.) effectively inspire and mobilise individuals and groups to take pro-development and modernising actions (...). The activating function of authority becomes particularly important in situations of radical change, facilitating the introduction of new solutions and dynamising development in many spheres of socio-economic life. Authority develops and confirms with its seriousness unconventional, but effective in new situations, methods and means of action. The imitation of his innovative, inventive actions promotes the spread of new, previously unused solutions." Cf. Tuziak B. (2019). Authority as an axiological basis for the sustainability and development of society and the formation, structural order, *Nierówności Społeczne a Wzrost Gospodarczy* 59 (3)", p.255. file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/text%2018%20Bo%20ena%20Tuziak.pdf (accessed 12.07.2024).

[13] Kazimierz Łastawski states: "The biggest contributors to the display of national identity are the family, the school and the military. Universities, work environments, religious organisations and the mass media also exert a certain influence. In the family home and school, young people acquire basic knowledge about their ancestors, environment and country. Facts and phenomena of national life in these environments gain emotional reinforcement through learning about national symbols, poetic works, patriotic songs, etc. The military displays national symbolism in a special way: national emblems on caps and uniforms, national colours on military flags, the cornet cap, great respect for the national flag and the national anthem (ceremonial hoisting of the national flag on the mast, ceremonial playing of the national anthem). The custom of the two-finger salute is also Polish. The army clearly refers to traditions from the period of Polish knighthood, the nobility's common rush and later Polish armed formations. It also retains traditional military ranks and a developed, established patriotic ceremonial. Polish schools also feature - modelled

All these experiences are needed by the individual, who in a later stage of development becomes an authority in order to be able to properly influence the next generations who are just forming their identity. The individual who is still in the process of forming his or her national identity should, however, exercise far-reaching caution and cognitive prudence. After all, authority can fulfil its role negatively if it acts on the basis of evil, or when the individual being formed, at a stage of his or her development, uses a vision of the world that has been formed for negative purposes. The period of communism is a case in point. The communist rule in Poland between 1944 and 1989 sought to create its own authorities, to which, by means of propaganda, attempts were made to convince society, particularly young people whose national identity was only just being formed. For example, the construction of a post-1945 Polish national identity based, for example, on the 'authority' of Joseph Stalin and a 'brotherly' relationship with the Soviet Union was a complete distortion, falsehood and deception imposed, not the result of freedom of choice.

Co-responsible for the outbreak of World War II, the criminal who signed the order to murder several thousand Polish officers in the camps at Katyń, Kharkiv, Starobielsk or Miednoye, co-responsible for the destruction of Warsaw in 1944, was presented by Polish propaganda as a friend, ally and hero. An authority to be emulated by future generations of Poles, although even in those times when he was presented as a hero, thousands of Polish officers and political prisoners died in prison. After Stalin's death, monuments were erected in his honour, streets were honoured, and the key city of Polish industry - Katowice - was renamed: "Stalinogród". All this was done in order to inscribe him permanently among the authorities shaping Polish national identity. However, this goal was not achieved and the historical truth was not permanently falsified. "The authority" of Joseph Stalin collapsed when his and the regime's crimes were revealed. Then the public perception of the person of Joseph Stalin changed and he became an anti-authority for Poles. After the narrative regarding his person changed and the deeds previously portrayed as praiseworthy turned out to be compromising, the streets and schools named after him disappeared, monuments were also toppled and 'Stalinogród' was restored to its rightful name of Katowice. An indispensable basis for building authority is morality and truth, and this was the case with the Primate of Poland Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. During the same period that Joseph Stalin's 'authority' was being built up, the good name of Primate Wyszyński was being destroyed. State propaganda portrayed the Catholic Church as

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on the military one - the ceremonial introduction of the flag during the inauguration and end of the school year, the singing of the anthem and official speeches containing civic and patriotic content." Cf. K. Łastawski, Historic and contemporary values, op. cit. 281.

a public enemy. Cardinal S. Wyszyński was arrested in 1953 and remained in solitary confinement for more than three years until 1956. He did not have the opportunity to directly influence the faithful or to contact them. Despite this, the steadfastness of his attitude, his morality and loyalty to his professed values did not deprive him of recognition as a moral authority. His readiness to sacrifice and dedicate himself for the values he professed, his life in truth, in accordance with the truths he proclaimed, built the authority of the Primate of the Millennium. The Primate's authority was not shaken in the same way that Joseph Stalin's authority was shaken, because it was built with honesty and respect for others, in freedom from violence and oppression.

The two examples given above, from the same historical period, show that true authority must have genuine and honest recognition, verified by time. It is a difficult task to assess whether an individual can become an authority or not. Jan Zimny proposes the following criterion for the construction of authority based on three dimensions/pillars (Jan Zimny: 2018, 7-8):

    I.   The ability to build relationships
    II.   Relevant competence
    III.   Morale

The authors of the present study, agreeing with Jan Zimny's proposed criteria, propose a different arrangement of them. According to the following model, namely:

    I.   Morale
    II.   Relevant competence
    III.   Ability to build relationships

Scheme 3: Criteria for building authority based on J. Zimny's proposals
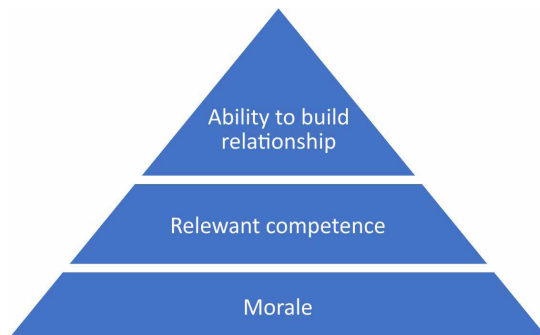
Source: Authors' own study.

At the same time, "morality" does not necessarily mean an individual's personal morality. Many political, scientific, social and cultural authorities have often not demonstrated personal morality, but cultural and national morality. Loyalty to tradition, culture, heritage and their own national identity. And in this context the authors understand morality.

An authority built on morality, relevant competences, and knowing how to build relationships will be a true authority and will serve well in shaping national identity.

4. Methodology of own research

The research was conducted by a team of researchers from the IBE[14] using a quantitative method: "using the CAWI (Computer Assisted WebInterview) technique. It assumes surveying via the Internet. Respondents fill in the questionnaire online, and the answers they enter are automatically stored in a database. In this case, the support was provided by the 'Lime Survey' tool, which is a specialised programme for creating and transmitting survey questionnaires via a designated route." The authors of the study justify the choice of this method by the development of technology and the low cost.[15]

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[14]   In the introduction, authors-researchers Jakub Koper and Robert Zieliński write: "The project National Identity in the Process of School Education aims at an in-depth analysis of the process of forming and shaping patriotic attitudes and national identification among young Poles. One of the key specific objectives is to understand the methods teachers use in the process of shaping students' attitudes towards national identity. Another aspect of the project is to analyse the attitudes of students themselves and the ways in which they are shaped, both in primary and secondary schools. In addition, the project includes an examination of the factors influencing patriotic attitudes and the formation of cultural traditions related to the national image at the local level. An important element of the analysis is also the classification of communication difficulties in the transmission of educational content concerning national identity, in the relationship between teacher and pupil. Moreover, it assumes a scientific interpretation of the research results and their dissemination, in order to stimulate a scientific discourse on the formation of national identity attitudes in Poland." Cf. Koper J., Zieliński R. (2023). Tożsamość narodowa w opinii uczniów klasy I-III szkół podstawowych. Report from empirical studies. Warsaw: Institute of Educational Research. Typescript in possession of the authors.

[15]   "This technique is popular in both academic and marketing research because it is one of the cheapest to implement. The data itself is recorded in a dedicated programme, which dramatically reduces the processing time of the information obtained and eliminates the risk of error by the person entering the data. They can be exported to any spreadsheet very quickly." Cf. Koper J., Zieliński R. (2023). Tożsamość narodowa w opinii..., op. cit.

4.1. Sampling

The authors of the study write: "For all modules (study groups) of the quantitative research, probability sampling (random), stratified sampling, was used. It consists of dividing the entire general population into so-called strata and making a direct draw of independent samples within each stratum. The division of the population into strata must be carried out in such a way that each element enters only one stratum and is located in one of them. The strata themselves should be homogeneous and differ significantly from one another. There are three types of sampling: proportional sampling, non-proportional sampling and optimal sampling[16]"[17]

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[16]   „In the case of the research carried out within the framework of our project, due to the varying number of schools in each province, a division of the entire general population into so-called strata (in this case, a stratum is a province, i.e. 16 strata were taken into account) was used and a direct sampling of schools was made by proportional selection. Proportional selection was calculated using the arithmetic mean, taking into account the maximum error: 5%, which informs us of the correction we should take. Both the proportional selection in the first draw as well as the further stages of the draw were taken from the operators based on the databases „SIO 2021 unit level school summaries - 2022". Statements of this type are available in the Education Information System and/or in the databases of the relevant ministry (MEiN). The databases contained 22,488 total schools. According to the data of the Central Statistical Office, in the 2022/2023 school year in Poland, 3.1 million pupils attended 14.1 thousand primary schools, including 5.9 thousand in towns and 8.2 thousand in rural areas. There were 2.0 million pupils in schools operating in urban areas and 1.1 million in rural areas. In the 2022/23 school year, there were 6.8 thousand secondary schools for young people, including special schools, with a total of 1,671.2 thousand pupils. In the previous school year, the number was 1547.6 thousand. In 2398 general secondary schools for young people, there were 726.4 thousand pupils, the majority of whom were women (62.7%), while 1861 technical schools had 711.1 thousand pupils, by far the majority of whom were men (61.0%). On the other hand, 1,672 lower secondary trade schools had 195.1 thousand pupils, 67.2% of whom were male. There were 11.4 thousand students continuing their education in 226 upper secondary sector schools, of whom 10.8 thousand were in urban areas and 0.5 thousand in rural areas. There were 0.9 thousand first-time graduates from these schools, which accounted for 0.3% of the total number of secondary school graduates. Educational institutions employed 512.1 thousand teachers, counting FTEs. Primary school teachers were the largest fraction, representing 51.7%. Among the staff, women predominated in kindergartens (99.1%) and primary schools (83.2%), while men were in the majority in art schools (42.4%) and lower secondary industrial schools (41.1%). The overwhelming majority of teachers were qualified teachers (56.8%). (Central Statistical Office, 2023)." Cf. Koper J., Zieliński R. (2023). Tożsamość narodowa w opinii..., op. cit. Prior to the draw, filters were placed on the operator to eliminate non-public schools. From this operator, public primary schools, general and art secondary schools, technical schools, lower secondary industrial schools were drawn, which form the basis of our study.

[17]   Cf. Koper J., Zieliński R. (2023). Tożsamość narodowa w opinii..., op. cit.

4.2. Interpretation of the results - authority as a factor shaping young people's national identity

If the Polish national identity, can survive in extreme conditions, in isolation from culture, language, or the motherland, all the more can it survive, shape and develop in Poland, where the universality of the Polish language, access to culture, thought, history, natural or intangible heritage is easily attainable. The Constitution of the Republic of Poland introduces the universal obligation of education, which is enshrined in the Basic Law in Article 70, paragraph 1, which reads: "1.Everyone has the right to education. Education up to the age of 18 shall be compulsory. The manner in which compulsory education shall be carried out shall be determined by law".[18] School should be one of the basic units for building the national identity of the young. The results of the sociological survey indicate that, according to school management and teachers, the respondents mostly believed that one of the main tasks of school should be the formation of patriotic attitudes. 92.3% of the principals and 79.7% of the teachers surveyed thought so. Fewer, 68% of directors and 55.6% of teachers declared that it should be taught that giving one's life for the fatherland is the highest act of patriotism (Ziemowit Socha: 2023). [19]

For the purposes of this study, the results of a quantitative survey conducted in 2023 by IBE researchers as part of the study "National identity in the process of school education" among pupils of classes IV-VI, VII-VIII and secondary school pupils were used, as well as a report by Jakub Kopr and Robert Zieliński[20]: "Tożsamość narodowa w opinii uczniów klasy I-III szkół podstawowych. Raport z badań emipirycznych"[21], as well as the results of research conducted among teachers and school directors, developed in the form of recommendations by Ziemowit Socha.

There are a number of opportunities for building a national identity. This identity is brought by the young person largely from the family home, but

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[18]   Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997 (i.e. Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 78, item 483) https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19970780483/U/D19970483Lj.pdf (accessed 15.07.2024).

[19]   Z. Socha (2023) Recommendations from the study "National identity in the process of school education" prepared for Dr. Maciej Jakubowski, Director of the Institute of Educational Research (unpublished internal IBE material). Copy of recommendations in possession of the author.

[20]   The authors of this paper would like to thank Jakub Koper and Robert Zieliński for sharing the results and report of this study.

[21]   Koper J., Zieliński R. (2023).Tożsamość narodowa w opinii uczniów klasy I-III szkół podstawowych. Report from empirical studies. Warsaw: Institute of Educational Research. Copy of the report in possession of the authors. Report presentation: https://www.ibe.edu.pl/pl/tozsamosc-narodowa-sympozja/2351-tozsamosc-narodowa-w-opinii-uczniow-klas-i-iii-szkol-podstawowych, (accessed 17.07.2024r.).

it is the school's task to make the citizen seriously, orderly and committed to familiarise him or her with the nation to which he or she belongs, or with which he or she lives every day in the same country. The process of identity integration can be built on many levels. Authorities play an important role in it. The process of integrating a formed human being (directly or indirectly) with an authority can take place in various ways. For example, it can be:

– meetings with people of merit to Poland or to the region;
– going to the theatre or cinema to see works promoting Polish history, culture, traditions;
– disseminating the memory of the school's patron (if the school has a patron);
– nurturing the memory of national heroes (especially those who gave their lives for the Fatherland);
– analysing what patriotism is all about;
– including patriotic education not only in the teaching of humanities subjects (Polish, social studies, history), but also in science subjects (biology, physics, chemistry).

Table 1. How often does your school organise meetings with people of merit to Poland or the region?

Answers	Cl. IV-VI		Cl. VII-VIII		Secondary school classes	
	L	%	L	%	L	%
Very often	109	5.4	79	5.1	68	4.2
Often	342	17.1	170	12.6	167	10.3
Rarely	539	26.9	341	25.4	383	23.6
Very rarely	330	16.5	230	17.1	332	20.5
Never	338	16.9	172	12.8	233	14.4
Difficult to say	344	17.2	353	26.2	439	27.1
Total	2002	100.0	1345	100.0	1 622	100.0

Source: Compilation of own research.

The survey indicates that only 22.5 percent of respondents from classes IV-VI, 17.7 percent of respondents from classes VII-VIII and 14.5 percent of respondents from post-primary school classes stated that the school creates for them the opportunity to meet persons of merit for Poland, more than 50 percent of respondents (60.3 percent of classes IV-VI; 55.5 percent of classes VII-VIII; 58.5 percent of post-primary classes) said that school does not create opportunities for them to meet such people, including an average of 15 percent of respondents (16.9 percent; 12.8 percent;14.4 percent) who said that school never creates such opportunities for them. Similarly, a high number of

respondents 17.2 percent of classes IV-VI; 26.2 percent of classes VII-VIII; 27.1 percent of secondary school classes, were not able to answer this question.

If authorities (a person of merit for Poland or the region) have any influence on the formation of a young person's Polish national identity, then only in a very limited way in direct contact.

Table 2: How often do you go to the theatre or cinema to see works promoting Polish history, culture, tradition?

Answers	Cl. IV-VI		Cl. VII-VIII		Secondary school classes	
	L	%	L	%	L	%
Very often	120	6.0	79	5.9	82	5.1
Often	543	27.1	293	21.8	305	18.8
Rarely	633	31.6	399	29.7	454	28.0
Very rarely	417	20.8	335	24.9	377	23.2
Never	129	6.4	110	8.2	157	9.7
Difficult to Say	160	8.0	129	9.6	247	15.2
Total	2002	100.0	1345	100.0	1 622	100.0

Source: Compilation of own research.

Contact with authority may not always take place directly, particularly if we are talking about historical figures. However, it can take place through contact with a legacy: works of art, writings, or stage works such as plays or operas. Therefore, respondents were asked how often they can interact with works promoting Polish culture.

Not a full third of the students surveyed (responses: "very often" and "often") have regular access to culture (33.1 percent of classes IV-VI; 27.7 percent of classes VII-VIII; 23.9 percent of secondary school classes), more than 50 percent of the surveyed youth use culture "rarely" (31.2 percent; 29.7 percent; 28 percent) and "very rarely" (20.8 percent; 24.9 percent; 23.2 percent). On average, 8 percent of respondents never use access to culture. Contact with Polish culture remains much more difficult for young people, which makes it difficult to identify with authorities and hinders influence on the next generation.

Table 3. Many schools have patrons. If your school has a patron, what forms of dissemination of the school's patron's activities are carried out at the school?

Answers	Cl. IV-VI		Cl. VII-VIII		Secondary school classes	
	L	%	L	%	L	%
[Art competitions] Many schools have patrons. If your school has a patron, what forms of dissemination of the school's patron's activities are carried out at the school?	1 099	57.9	634	48.7	532	33.9
[Recitation competitions] Many schools have patrons. If your school has a patron, what forms of dissemination of the school's patron's activities are carried out at the school?	636	33.5	420	32.2	368	23.5
[Patron knowledge competitions] Many schools have patrons. If your school has a patron, what forms of dissemination of the school's patron's activities are carried out at the school?	788	41.5	569	43.7	623	39.7
[Trips to places connected with the life of the patron] Many schools have patrons. If your school has a patron, what forms of dissemination of the school's patron's activities are carried out at the school?	373	19.7	291	22.3	281	17.9
[Articles in the school newspaper] Many schools have patrons. If your school has a patron, what forms of dissemination of the school's patron's activities are carried out in the school?	404	21.3	265	20.3	318	20.3
[Visits to museums, galleries] Many schools have patrons. If your school has a patron, what forms of dissemination of the school's patron's activities are carried out in the school?	288	15.2	187	14.4	204	13.0
[No forms of dissemination of the school patron's activities are implemented] Many schools have patrons. If your school has a patron, what forms of dissemination of the school patron's activities are implemented at the school?	199	10.5	222	17.0	385	24.5
[Not applicable, school does not have a patron] Many schools have patrons. If your school has a patron, what forms of dissemination of the school's patron's activities are carried out at the school?	207	10.9	162	12.4	197	12.6

Source: Compilation of own research.

Schools with a long tradition usually have a patron (sometimes even patrons) and at the same time developed methods of remembering him and his heritage ("patron day", excursions, competitions). Newly established schools have to build up certain traditions. This takes time. The very process of a school choosing a patron is a lengthy one, nowadays often involving the whole school community, but also involves a number of administrative formalities. Most schools in Poland, however, have their own patron(s).

The most popular forms of commemorating a school patron in Poland remain art competitions (57.9%; 48.7%; 33.9%) and patron knowledge competitions (41.5%; 43.7%; 39.7%). Slightly less popular are recitation competitions (33.5%; 32.2%; 23.5%). Less popular are articles in school newspapers (21.3%; 20.3%; 20.3%) and visits to places associated with the patron (19.7%; 22.3%; 17.9%). The organisation of competitions is associated with relatively low costs (both finance and time) compared to, for example, the organisation of school trips. The survey shows that it is also easier to involve young people in projects carried out at school as part of activities than in projects carried out in leisure time outside school.

In the present study conducted on a selected sample of N = 1697 primary and secondary school teachers were asked, among other things, how the individual subjects taught in schools (not only humanities, but also natural sciences) influence the formation of patriotic attitudes, as well as to what extent the students manifest patriotic attitudes such as, love of the homeland, readiness to defend the country, respect for Polish history, remembrance of national heroes, interest in Poland's international standing, showing respect for state authorities, showing respect for national symbols, a positive attitude to Polish tradition, voluntary participation in the celebration of national holidays.

Table 4. To what extent do your current students display the following attitudes?

	Readiness to defend the homeland		National heroes		The role of national symbols	
	L	%	L	%	L	%
To a very large extent	103	6.1	247	14.6	758	44.7
To a large extent	227	13.4	456	26.9	649	38.2
Medium	465	27.4	539	31.8	203	12,0
Little	298	17.6	229	13.5	20	1.2
Very little	127	7.5	104	6.1	15	0.9
They do not manifest at all	93	5.5	27	1.6	-	0
Difficult to say	384	22.6	95	5.6	52	3.1

Source: Compilation of own research.

The vast majority of the teachers surveyed (37.5%) said that they manifested love of the homeland only to an average degree. A similar total number (37.9%) of the respondents assessed that students manifest love of the homeland to a high (27.3%) or very high (10.6%) degree. The percentage "very little" (3.5%) or "do not manifest at all" (1.7%) indicates that the teacher-respondents believe that the pupils identify with their own nation, culture and state. There is therefore the potential to present young people with appropriate authority figures. The surveyed teachers mostly rated the readiness of their students to defend the country to a medium degree (27.4%) of the surveyed teachers answered this way. However, the second and third highest scores in order were: "to a small extent" (17.6%) and " to a large extent" (13.4%) of the respondents. The response rate is also high: "Difficult to say", which amounted to 22.6%. Teachers therefore do not know whether their students are ready to defend the national identity of Polish culture and heritage. Therefore, they do not know whether the process of education strengthening patriotic identity is effective. According to the surveyed teachers, national heroes have a significant impact on the formation of national attitudes among young people. The result was "to a very large extent" (14.6%) and "to a large extent" (26.9%). The answer "do not manifest at all" was given by only 1.6% of the respondents. The result of this survey shows that in the opinion of teachers, pupils have a need for authority figures in the form of national heroes, whom they want to remember and whose memory they want to honour.

In the opinion of the teachers interviewed. The role of and respect towards national symbols occupies an important place among students. More than 62% of the surveyed teachers stated that it is an important issue for the students, respectively to a "very large extent" (28.2%) and to a "large extent" for 33.8%. National symbols, or also the authorities who guarded them, are - according to the teachers - of significant importance to pupils, so they can be an important element in the construction of pupils' national identity.

The responses given by respondents as 'very large' (44.7%) and 'large' (38.2%) together represent: 82.9% of all responses. Thus, historical identity occupies a key role in the formation of a young person. It is therefore important to point him or her to appropriate authorities. Several research examples show that outstanding individuals and the opportunity to interact with their thought, heritage, works, can have a significant, often even key, influence on the formation of a young person's personality and national identity.

Conclusions

The objective of this text is to examine the role of authority in the formation of national identity from a Polish perspective. It is evident that authorities have played and continue to play a significant role in the educational process. The appropriate selection of these individuals plays an instrumental role in the formation of national identity, particularly for young people who are confronted with a multitude of challenges and threats in the present era.

In the initial section, entitled "The concept of Identity, National Identity and the Outstanding Individual," the authors present an overview and reflection on key concepts, including "identity," "national identity," and the notion of the "outstanding individual" as represented by the concept of "authority." The analysis demonstrated a multifaceted and often intricate understanding of these matters.

The next part: "Shaping the Polish national identity", is devoted to considerations of the discussed issue taking into account the fact that the fate of each nation is a resultant of many events and factors, as well as positive and negative historical experiences. The formation of a unique national identity is influenced by many factors: political, geographical, natural. The fundamental factor that builds national identity seems to be culture. The authors analysed, using selected examples, how Polish national identity was formed and how national identity survived in difficult conditions (in distant corners of the globe, far from the motherland).

"The role of outstanding individuals and authorities" were the issues addressed in the third part of the text. An important element was an attempt to identify what role in shaping and strengthening the Polish national identity is played by authorities and outstanding individuals in their respective fields: art, science, literature or politics.

In the last part, with reference to the results of the quantitative research conducted by IBE researchers in 2023, within the framework of the project: "National identity in the process of school education", the authors analysed how the role of authority in the formation of national identity is perceived, how young people identify with Polish identity and how much this influences the understanding of the word "Polishness" by young generations of Poles. The authors analysed to what extent teachers identify patriotic attitudes among their students by determining, among other things, whether they are ready to defend the homeland, what role Polish national heroes play in shaping their national identity, and what role national symbols play in shaping this identity.

The research has clearly shown that authorities play a significant role in shaping the national identity of the young generation of Poles. It comes

as a surprise to the authors that the study found that the memory of Polish authorities, for example school patrons; promoted in the traditional way, i.e. competitions, trips or patron days; turned out to be the most popular form of learning about the achievements, thoughts and life stories of Polish outstanding individuals (authorities). Therefore we should not give up on the forms of popularising authorities shaping the Polish national identity, which are proven and permanently inscribed in the canon of Polish education. The contemporary school educates in many dimensions. Patriotic attitudes can be created within the framework of various school subjects and in various circumstances of the school community. The easiest tasks to implement are those that are carried out as part of pupils' and teachers' duties and do not involve high financial outlays.

However, this does not change the fact that the presented research results are a contribution to the continuation of research in the direction of the development of innovative forms of propagating knowledge about authorities and their influence on "forging" the national identity of subsequent generations of Poles.

The authors recommend that teachers and directors of Polish schools should act with passion and inspire their students towards the development of their national identity. This will not succeed without the activity and involvement of the students themselves and their attitude of openness to acquiring knowledge to build their national identity.

Continued research in the future will be able to help understand processes such as the integration of Polish national identity with other identities (e.g. national minorities) or the increasing number of foreigners emigrating to Poland.

The prudent shaping of the next generations will allow our national identity to continue to develop so that the next generations of Poles will be proud of their heritage.

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Chapter 10.

Didactic discussion and school ceremonies in education towards national identity

Abstract

This text is an excerpt from the analyses of empirical material (qualitative research conducted in a nationwide group of 60 school principals) obtained as part of the project 'National identity in the process of school education', which was carried out between 2022 and 2024 on education towards national identity in Polish schools. The text presents an approach according to which the institution of the state, through an appropriately shaped educational policy, bears responsibility for national education. Furthermore, it indicates the categorisation of types of national identity education. In examining one of the most anticipated types, namely the one that integrates intellectual, axiological, and behavioral elements, shaped on the foundation of involvement, choice, decision-making, comprehension, argumentation, the diversity of judgments, self-reflection, global, European, and regional perspectives, an analysis of the opinions of the principals was conducted in the context of two didactic methods that fall within this category. These are: educational discussion and school ceremonies marking Polish national holidays.

The phenomenon of the 21st century is becoming a kind of antinomy. On the one hand, it is defined by a return to ethnic and national ties. On the other, consumption inspired by transnational corporations and digital networks seeming to lose nationality, patriotism and citizenship along the way. However, the national component seems to take on value in the context of attitudes towards the 'other': both in the context of emigration and foreignness (Nikitorowicz: 2009; Kozak, Fel, Wódka: 2021) and the migration of the 'other' to countries with a hitherto established national identity (Bozzolo, Costamagna, Fontana: 2014). In the context of change, the question of the educational policy of the state and the ways to implement this policy through specific teaching

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methods and tools to achieve the expected state becomes topical. Assuming that the Polish state wants to support the creation of students' national identity (Tchorzewski: 2009), this text presents ways and goals towards national education and two selected educational methods: didactic discussions and school celebrations of national holidays. The analysis is based on the results of qualitative research in the project 'National identity in the process of school education' through interviews with 60 school principals conducted nationwide.

1. Education towards a national identity

Since the establishment of education systems in modern nation-states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, school education, especially at the level of culture and memory, has played a key role in consolidating citizens around the idea of nation (Habsbawn, Ranger: 2008). During this time, national education and even national education, acquired an official character, becoming an officially sanctioned doctrine (Konopka: 2005). Teachers, especially teachers of national history and language or of the imperial nation, not infrequently acted essentially as civil servants whose work legitimised the imperial processes of one nation or the emerging new national order of awakening national identities. To this end, for example, a mythical past was created in which some groups were subordinated to others - imperial - or the origins of nascent nations were set in this mythologised past (Berger, Lorenz: 2010; Lawrence: 2007; Jaskułowski: 2009; Majewski: 2013). School teaching and upbringing was designed to create in students the belief that, despite their social, regional, cultural and sometimes even linguistic diversity, they had a single, common, almost eternal national identity (Carretero: 2011). The creation and sometimes outright imposition of this identity has most often required the minimisation or elimination of cultural dissimilarities, such as linguistic, mental, axiological, religious or regional ones, the erasure or diminution of economic and social dissimilarities, the forgetting of traditions, cultural patterns, the reconstruction of myths and narratives of local collective memories. These activities were subordinated to the imaginative construction of the titular nation (Kamusella: 2009). Education shaping the personality of students had an ideologically and politically defined direction (Gutek: 2003), it was supposed to shape identity through participation in the socialisation process pursuing the following goals: (a) to create a positive evaluation of the social situation of one's own nation, both locally and nationally/nationwide as to the past, present and future; (b) to create a positive attitude towards

the political evolution of the national community and the country; (c) to identify with the characteristics, events and characters of the past, i.e. to continue the cultural continuity of the nation (Carretero: 2011).

The construction of the national culture, formed on the basis of shared historical processes, was unified through the establishment of an education system. These processes were and continue to be informed by educational policy, which implements the historical policy of the state. At various points in history, politicians have devised and repeatedly revisited a well-known formula for nation-building. This formula comprises a narrative of a shared past and a common heritage, which are used to instill a sense of citizenship and a perception of a shared national destiny (Symcox & Wilschut, 2009, p. 5). The apparatus of the state, through its educational policy, strives to "guarantee order" and symbolic "stability." Culture serves not only as the foundation of national identity, but also as the foundation of political citizenship. It is through the educational sphere that a historically constituted axiology is transmitted (Levy, 2002).

This purpose was served by the creation or reconstruction of a national cultural canon: a set of fundamental facts, dates and events (Burszta, Dobrosielski, Jaskułowski, Majbroda, Majewski, Rauszer: 2019). Cultural canons are 'a set of indigenous or supreme values for a given society. One of the most important constitutive factors of most nations remains the national language. In some collectivities, religion, a set of relatively enduring national myths and especially a sense of historical continuity may also play such a role. Acceptance of these values provides national collectivities with a sense of community and forms the basis of national identification of individuals' (Tułowiecki: 2021, 103-104). The basic building blocks of national identity are considered to be 'cultural symbols: both those recorded in living historical memory and those relating to contemporary events' (Boski: 1991, 140). A breach of these foundations raises the risk of a breach of cultural security (Tułowiecki: 2016).

Education towards a national identity was supposed to be a guarantee for the preservation of the cultural canon: children will speak one national language if religious homogeneity is inscribed in the identity - adhere to one common religion, have a similar idea of the past constructed as the history of the nation. Sharing a common national trajectory of history was to result not only in thinking in terms of belonging to the titular nation, but also in displaying a behavioural attitude - a readiness to act adequately for the nation according to the situation and needs. "The school was supposed to produce loyal citizens of the nation-state who owe devotion to it, and at the slogan: 'homeland in danger' will be ready to kill its supposed or real enemies" (Burszta, Dobrosielski, Jaskułowski, Majbroda, Majewski, Rauszer: 2019, 35).

Socialised through upbringing and education, identification with the nation was supposed to make members of a given national group 'see themselves in a sacred community of national memories, myths and rituals. The nation is treated as a chosen community with a mission to survive and reproduce itself in the future" (Poniedziałek: 2019, 12).

It should be recalled at this point that the terms national upbringing or national education have never had a clear and well-defined definition. Most often they were ideologically linked to political options, which either formulated and supported these forms of education, or - for ideological reasons - denied and categorised them, giving them strongly negative emotional connotations. The diversity of approaches has been observable since the beginning of the Second Republic (Konopka: 2005). Also in the global education space, there have been various transformations of national education and the existence of a multiplicity of currents (Macintyre, Clark: 2003). Researchers from the University of SWPS measuring the links between history education and the category of the nation in Polish school proposed in the 2019 research report to distinguish four forms of the history teaching course. They typologised them on the basis of analyses of two important international works (Seixas: 2018; Van Nieuwenhuyse: 2018). It is worth looking at these types, as they can be transferred knowing the goals of all education towards national identity and provide a useful background for the search among teachers and school leaders for new, effective methods of working with students and conveying content with national connotations.

The first way of teaching is to subordinate education to the construction and consolidation of the nation (nationalistic function). The aim is to form a common identity in the students. The cognitive functions play a secondary role here. This is because it is not so much about exploring what happened in the past and how national cultural resources were shaped as it is about participating in those values that have been, are and will be most important for a given national community. "The past is only a pretext to speak of national imponderables that rise to the status of a timeless norm. In this respect, history is likened to mythology: children are taught sacred and canonical stories that have an identity function, constructing and legitimising national thinking and narrative schemas" (Burszta, Dobrosielski, Jaskułowski, Majbroda, Majewski, Rauszer: 2019, 36). This trend is not free from an idealisation of one's own past; on the contrary, it seems to assume it: "What reaches us from the past is pre-selected (often biased), idealised, distorted in the process of remembering and interpreted by mediating generations" (Szacki, 2005, 68). Some scholars see this path as the simple creation of a kind of intellectual ghetto in which nationalist narratives dominate, marked by provincialism and marginalising

the European and global perspective (Burszta, Dobrosielski, Jaskułowski, Majbroda, Majewski, Rauszer: 2019) . Others - see in such national education the task of the state and the training necessary for a modern society (Gellner: 2006). These researchers situate education towards national identity strictly in the area of national socialisation: an automatic and self-propelled introduction, as it were, to the life of the nation, its traditions, cultural peculiarity, the essence of bonds and distinctiveness. At the same time, they see possible pathologies: on the one hand, an overemphasis on the nation as a supreme value leading to nationalism and chauvinism, on the other hand, an underemphasis - leading to uprooting from national bonds (Jaworska-Matys: 2001).

The second strand of education towards national identity focuses primarily on educating critical and informed citizens who value democratic values and civic engagement. Education in this stream focuses on the promotion of universal, democratic, civic values such as commitment, tolerance, responsibility, criticality, concern for the environment. This type of education emphasises transnational themes and is even global in nature. In this context, the terms 'global citizenship education', whose prototype was 'development education', are often used. This model has some characteristics of a nationalist and even legitimising imperialist approach to personal history. Like the nationalist current - it subordinates cognitive functions largely to other goals, namely the process of shaping the identity of the citizen and the transmission of a specific axiological system dependent on the goal of education. The model of global education also tends to turn history into mythology, while the past is only of interest here insofar as it can teach certain values, considered to be universal, and shape the expected identity of a citizen aware of the global dimension of contemporary socio-political life. This model places more emphasis than the previous model on critical thinking, on discussion and on the student's independent work. It also emphasises pluralism of identities, and is characterised by greater openness than the nationalist model, as it is not so narrowly and strictly focused on national identity (Burszta, Dobrosielski, Jaskułowski, Majbroda, Majewski, Rauszer: 2019).

The third model is disciplinary in nature, although scholars argue that a gentler and easier label would be: methodological. It involves the training of national thinking modelled on academic historiography. The teaching is designed to familiarise students with the foundations of the various disciplines that analyse national identity. There is no question here of instilling a coherent story of the past to serve an identity function. Nor is there looking at the culture shaped by the past as a reservoir of examples that confirm the importance of timeless values. Instead, education focuses on the processes of creating and acting on a community's story of the past, explaining why these stories

have the characteristic of diversity, learning the principles of source criticism, developing the ability to verify facts. National education in this dimension focuses on the scientific research workshop, on developing critical thinking, on freedom from presentism and anachronism. The nation and nationalism, in this approach, are not natural axes of educational narrative, immutable social entities or timeless imponderables, but as a specific historical and cultural phenomenon, demanding explanation, with a justifiable genesis, meaning and consequences through dispute. It is certainly not the unquestionable axis of the story, but merely one of many categories by means of which the existing state of affairs is attempted to be described. Conceived in this way, education does not teach nationalism or patriotism, but teaches about nationalism or patriotism. It treats both phenomena as one of the contemporary ideologies, to which students have to form their own attitude (Burszta, Dobrosielski, Jaskułowski, Majbroda, Majewski, Rauszer: 2019).

The last, fourth type of education, is situated between the above-mentioned three models. On the one hand, it aims at familiarising students with the foundations of the individual disciplines that make up education towards national identity, at developing national thinking and consciousness in them; on the other hand, it refers to various myths related to the students' founding identities. The starting point of education towards national identity is the mythologised past, diverse legitimising parables, which nevertheless provide a basis for critical analysis with the tools of modern science. This approach does not abandon the formation of students' identities, but they are enabled to understand these identities more critically. The teaching does not focus solely on the past or on the consolidation of identities, but also on the interrelationships between the past and the present. "In other words, students develop an awareness of how stories about the past function in social life, what tasks they fulfil and for what purposes they are sometimes used and abused" (Burszta, Dobrosielski, Jaskułowski, Majbroda, Majewski, Rauszer: 2019, 39).

2. Education for national identity and well-chosen teaching methods and tools

Nationwide survey research has shown that, in the opinions of teachers and school principals, school education should shape students' patriotism and national identity (Burszta, Dobrosielski, Jaskułowski, Majbroda, Majewski, Rauszer: 2019, 39). The qualitative research, which, through a partially

standardised interview, included 60 school principals [in brackets the number of the school surveyed and the symbol of the province] in all provinces (in proportion to the population, with an overrepresentation in the border regions and in Warsaw) revealed a clear, main type of opinion dominant among the teachers surveyed, that national identity should be one of the goals of school education at all stages and is realised by Polish educational institutions. "For sure we consolidate and for sure we develop by discussing this belonging of ours to Poland, to culture, by talking about symbols all the time, that's for sure" [1_DŚ - Lower Silesian voivodship]. "Yes, as much as possible. The school should deal with students' attitudes concerning national identity" [4_DS]. "I think that the school is a state school and it should transmit some things that are kind of inalienable and that are permanent..., and that national identity is important in school" [17_MP - malopolskie]. "As much as possible yes" [22_Wawa]. "It seems to me that this core of patriotism and identity has to stay... It has to be embedded in the tradition of this school" [25_Wawa]. "Yes, as much as possible. As much as possible. In what way? First of all, to instil the basic things, that is, national belonging" [57_PK - Podkarpackie]. 'It is inherent in some subjects' [24_M - Mazowieckie]. "I can't imagine separating school from education... national education in general" [29_OP - Opolskie].

Education towards national identity has the characteristics of historical fluidity, depending on social conditions, the mentality of youth and state policy. "I see it changing a lot" [50_W - Greater Poland]. Inclusion in the European Union has provided new educational perspectives - on the one hand European: "we are Poles, but also Europeans" [28_M], on the other - regional: "when we entered the European Union, we also talked a lot about national identity, about regionalism, about a small homeland, in the context of also belonging to the European Union, that it is important and important to remember..., precisely about these roots" [50_W]. There are also dangers of extremes in this education: on the one hand, nationalism and chauvinism, on the other hand, the lack of national bonds and the grasping of the national category when defining one's identity. "There are environments where this national identity is emphasised very strongly, even with a tendency towards nationalism, or it doesn't function at all and we forget about it. And it is probably important to find this middle ground somewhere, so that it is neither nationalism nor such a pathetic approach to identity" [50_W]. Both approaches do not provide a basis for a socially adequate account of one's identity: "It is important to know who I am" [50_W].

In the opinions of school principals, the view that education towards national identity is the primary "task of the family" [38_PM - Pomeranian]

is quite clearly situated. The school continues this education or - in situations of deficiencies - supplements it. "On the other hand, the first cradle of patriotism was and should be, I believe, the family" [54_W]. "The school is a certain supplement or sometimes performs the function of such a kind of... making up... for certain deficiencies... which result from family life, from upbringing in the family in terms of nationality..." [10_L - Lublin].

The teachers' opinions also allow for a cautious indication that there is a varied approach to education towards national identity clustered in the four categories outlined previously.

1. The nationalistic function - is evident in the directors' views on education towards national identity. "We certainly perpetuate and certainly develop by discussing this belonging of ours to Poland, to the culture, by talking about symbols all the time, that's for sure" [1_DŒ]. This education implies a kind of "compulsion" as "strenuous encouragement" to participate in diverse forms of education. "Sometimes you even have to ..., sometimes you have to coerce the learner". [14_Ł - Lodz]. The goal is important and this coercion legitimises - the identity of the students: "This is the important thing and as long as we know who we are and we will transmit it" [14_Ł]. The loss of a sense of identity and individual national identification can pose threats to the security of the nation: "we are a nation..., we have to talk about it..., we have to remember it..., otherwise another moment and we might not be, in fact, true...". [14_Ł].

For some of the respondents, education towards national identity directly implies a component of school coercion: "I think [school] should shape it [national identity]. To shape it necessarily means that it has to intervene in some way, because you can't let it go. There has to be interference, but it has to be reasonable, and you have to have knowledge of what that interference has to be. Interference can be on the side ..., not directly ..., but it must be effective, purposeful and conscious. But one cannot certainly impose everything and convince that my attitude and my conviction is the only right thing, because then the effect is probably quite the opposite. On the other hand, there undoubtedly has to be interference, only that it has to be conscious, so as not to hurt anyone, so as to include everyone's interests" [35_PD - Podlaskie].

Identity formation should be based on internalised knowledge: "But there must also be a great deal of knowledge about what the nation, patriotism, identity actually is. It has to be knowledge, not some conviction, not an intuition that 'it seems to me...'" [35_PD]. Knowledge is the foundation of identification with Poland, as a country and as a national community: "In general, identifying with Poland, as a country to which we belong, is as

much as possible ... [is the purpose of school]. Yes. All our values are here". [15_L]. "We need to maintain this Polish national identity for children, to teach them ..." [36_PD].

2. The second mode of education towards national identity - universal national-citizen education - is also reflected in the opinions of the school principals surveyed nationwide. Education in this dimension, transcends the classical goals of constructing and consolidating the nation, and moves towards the postulate of educating critical, conscious citizens with a regional and transnational perspective of their existence and identity. "The word nation cannot be understood in 19th century, nationalist terms, that one nation towers over others and is entitled to an expanded living space of its own. Because, unfortunately, definitions of this kind are often smuggled into public discourse, which is, I believe, unacceptable in the 21st century and gives rise to hate speech" [6_KP - Kujawsko-Pomorskie]. The concept implies strongly emphasised transnational themes based on European values developed in the European system [not specified in the opinions]: "It should be clearly emphasised in the programme bases precisely that we are part of a community that works for each other, for each other's benefit ..." [6_KP]. This concept places tolerance, multiplicity, diversity, criticality and mutual responsibility at the centre of the axiological system. "And the question of nation should of course be..., the question of tradition and respect for one's own tradition... in the context of the European Union as a whole, a community of equal nations, each of which has its own identity and must nurture it, but at the same time live side by side and respect each other. And this diversity should be understood as such: unity in diversity. This is the slogan we are trying to instil in our children so that they understand it, that this is what a modern nation is all about. It is no longer Social Darwinism, as it was once said, that one nation devours the weaker, the stronger devours the weaker, because that is nationalism, which we see, for example, in Russia now... [...]. Only a nation in this modern, European form, a nation that has its traditions at the same time, feels part of a larger, equal collective" [6_KP]. 'The centring of the fact that we are Polish, but also European' [28_M].

Regional education has an important place in this educational stream. National identity is shown in the context of local diversities and embeddings, traditions and differences, and at the same time cultural connectivity and common identity: "... pointing out similarities and differences in this way, so that we can function together in a given environment, is important to me... In our country there is such a separation... precisely... between this Silesian identity and the Polish identity, noticeable. We have had regional education in general for many years, [as] a compulsory subject for our students." [44_Ś - Silesian].

3. The third trend - referred to by the researchers as methodological, i.e. the study of national patriotism - is not confirmed very widely in the opinions of the directors surveyed. The existence of this approach can be inferred residually, incompletely. It is not clearly reflected in the views of the school leaders. The existence of this may be indirectly evidenced by opinions on the ways of correcting national identification: "when someone already has a formed attitude...,right..., we can correct him..., right..., according to... this... or, for example, argue with him...". [32_PK]. This approach can be evidenced by one director's demand that the school should give ways to shape national identity, build patriotism, clarify concepts and their designations: "[the school] should give a clear interpretation of what such an identity is, but also present a possible attractive identity approach to one's own country, to one's own nation... [The school should help to understand ways of defining] a concept like Pole, identity..., [...] what such an identity is [...]. For example, if today we criticise Dmowski's famous phrase 'I am a Pole and I have Polish duties', this should be said to the young, but with all the connotations of his understanding of the nation, as a political entity, the people, as something that is the basis for the functioning of the state and so on... These are difficult concepts for them today, because they are very fuzzy. But if we name it, define it, they can accept it and the choice should be left" [39_WM - Warmian-Masurian]. Another in the respondents pointed out an example of education on types of nationalisms and how they arise and are realised in society: "we discuss such concepts" [42_WM].

4. The fourth trend, which does not abandon the construction of pupils' identities, but allows them a more critical understanding of the national reality as their own, clearly seems to dominate the principals' approach. There is a strong personal identification in it: "This is Poland. Because no matter where we live, Poland is the most important" [7_KP]. This approach implies a legitimate shunning of extremes - chauvinism and lack of identification, an awareness of national flaws - and at the same time this identification gives rise to a behavioural capacity for specific types of activity in favour of the national community: defence, work, capacity development. pride: "Poland needs to be loved [...] so that it does not simply dissolve. Because our history, our achievements, derive from the fact that we are Polish. If we were to dissolve, it doesn't mean that we would be better. Because I believe that Poles have many positive qualities. Because people there talk about us in various ways: that we are straw men, that we are drunkards, but this is not true... Because Poles... I mean, the aforementioned fire to a certain extent, yes..., but the readiness to make sacrifices, to break off - that is one thing, but they are also hard-working people. This is particularly visible in Pomerania...

[We are] a great, good nation, a hard-working nation, with potential, all sorts of data show this. And of course I tell the kids all the time to be proud to be Polish" [7_KP]. "We are going to keep that relay going". [32_PK].

In this approach, the construction of identity is based not on the empty and incomprehensible rituals of school academies, but on learning about specific figures that mark the trajectory of the course of the nation's destiny: "for me it is important [....] that we do not associate the experience of history and tradition only with rituals... well that will be empty... we will be easily manipulated... Then we will participate in something, but like puppets, and that cannot be the case. That's why what's more important to me in this education of national identity is not whether we're going to clap at the rally, but whether I've learnt, whether I know the history of at least the man to whom the oak tree [under which the academy is held] was dedicated" [10_L]. School ceremonies are meant to be "not off-putting", but to evoke "a more personalised experience for these young people. Knowledge combined with experience, is how I would say it [12_L].

Traditional forms of identity construction - for example, remembering monuments or memorials - are important, but it is important that they are marked by content and given a commonly understood meaning: "we will not tear down monuments, we are Poles" [11_LU - Lubuskie]. Then, too, they will be protected, as carriers of identity and markers of the symbolic space of the local community: "If I'm going for a walk with my dog and I see a plaque dedicated to someone there, commemorating someone's action or someone's experience, I won't let the dog raise its paw to pee on that plaque... For me, these are such normal elements of understanding my responsibility precisely for the nation, for history... And a sense of... And this is exactly this identity: I identify with this experience" [10_L].

An integral component of a national identity constructed in this way is the experience of one's own identity with the experience of tolerance for other identity perspectives and dimensions: "I try to do it this way ... with an approach in terms of tolerance. We as a school have, for example, Polish and Lithuanian class students at our school. They present a plan, at the moment we are in the process of approving the plan and discussing it, and in this plan there are all national holidays, both Polish and Lithuanian. And all these national holidays are attended by young people from all classes, so we have a lot of them. We commemorate historical events, Independence Day, the 3rd of May, we also celebrate all their Lithuanian holidays, the 16th of February, the 11th of March, and so on... So there is a lot of it, but we try to combine it, and we try to present it to all students, regardless of which department they attend...". [13_PD].

An important element that builds this type of education, is a lively dialogue, with elements of difficult questions, doubts, diversity of views, different interpretations of facts and figures: "I would like us to be able to talk to them about different, difficult topics [...] , so that they have the opportunity to, as it were, express their opinion, and so that we can guide this discussion in such a way, [...] so that they want to continue to look for it [...] and simply reach for certain things... So that they want to find out, so that it is not just so dry, [...] so that they simply have the opportunity to learn about it in a different way". [17_MP]. The school - in the opinion of the principals - is supposed to create a space for active creation of one's own identity, a critical approach and identification, to the extent that the young find the content worthy of internalisation: "The school should create opportunities for some kind of self-inquiry by students into such a national identity, to deepen national identity in students... To create, as I said, conditions, to enable choice... And this is the direction I would go in. However, I would absolutely not want to do something by force in general. That's how I approach it, we give pupils opportunities, the pupil makes his or her own decisions. Whereas our goal is, or our task is to do everything so that this goal is [achievable]." [46_SW Świętokrzyskie].

Identity-building in this type of education presupposes student activity, freedom, cognition, experience, freedom of interpretation and the practice of interiors and experience rather than imitation. "I have the opinion that identity cannot be taught, that identity has to be practised to a certain extent. If we organise some assemblies, academies dedicated to national holidays for students, I don't really know if that's what it's all about... It's more about practising it, experiencing it, preparing for it. And this is how we organise different kinds of celebrations at school, which are not really celebrations in the sense of "standing at attention", singing the national anthem, tapping out rhymes, singing a song and that's the end of it. We do it more by design. This is usually done by the history teacher, who works with teachers of other subjects. Very often, we record films or broadcasts with some interesting people, be it an insurgent from the Greater Poland region or someone who took part in the Warsaw Uprising. So we go out more in the direction of the kids experiencing it. But also, for example, when it's 11 November, we remember to go out onto the school field and sing the national anthem, or to bring it closer to the kids through educational games. Because it's the only way kids can remember and feel that they are part of this big Motherland. So for me, national identity is important and important, and we need to remember that. On the other hand, I think today's times are such that it just needs to be conveyed to young people a little differently, I think" [50_W].

National education requires, in the words of the school directors themselves, new forms, marked by emotional experience, even experience, activity, participation, cognition, involvement. The once effective methods, based solely on transmission and reception, are not applicable nowadays, both due to changes in the mentality of the younger generation and the overall different social conditions: "in order to effectively shape this national identity, I think that in addition to such normal methods that are used in lessons, i.e. more or less active working methods [...], they should first of all be encouraged to participate in various celebrations and organise them on the school premises, but also organise them for the community they live in, so that they can show how they get involved in these celebrations and how they experience them" [17_MP].

The goals of education determine the search for specific ways to reach these goals. Since it is undeniable that the school has not only the function of transmitting knowledge, but also social and educational functions (Harklau: 2010), in didactics situated within the framework of socialisation and upbringing towards national identity, effective and adequate to the aims and possibilities of the pupils and the social conditions, educational ways are sought. The aim of the following presentation is not only to seek and create a proposal for an ideal teaching methodology within education towards national identity. The aim stems from the recognition of student problems in education, the search for causes and ways to respond according to the principle of student well-being (Delpit: 2010). For the purposes of this text, the two teaching approaches most frequently indicated by the respondents - school principals - leading to the achievement of the goals set by the fourth strand of education towards national identity described above were selected.

3. Didactic discussion - dialogue and creative exchange of ideas

In the opinions of the interviewed school principals, the basis for the formation of a student's national identity is conversation, dialogue, listening and the ability to argue with each other in situations of doubt and questions, i.e. didactic discussion. This problem-oriented activating practice is often taken up in the interviews by the principals themselves: "very often I have the opportunity to talk to young people also about issues of national identity" [10_L]. "The very conversation between teacher and student, this is the highest level [of relationship] that somewhere appears as contact, [...] personal contact"

[33_PK]. This conversation implies attentive listening, mutual respect and the exchange of positions. "They are able to ask a question and expect an insightful answer from me" [10_L]. Going towards the students, towards their expectations, interests, doubts, questions, thinking patterns and assimilable arguments, is a condition of modern education: "the teacher directly enters the children ... well ... and ... we are able to pass on this knowledge to them ...". [18_MP], for pupils as well as their families and entire local environments may not understand particular national themes and topics and need additional legitimate educational initiatives: "it was the residents [...] who asked the question: what is this today anyway?"[19_MP]. When, on the other hand, students are given a broad spectrum of knowledge, creative discussion and active polemics are possible: 'I leave it to them to judge. They evaluate it. They discuss among themselves. They have different opinions about it, but it's very good, because that's what learning history is all about and I think that's the most important thing" [25_Wawa]. These discussions can take place in groups or individually, they can take place in lessons [25_Wawa], during parenting hours [57_PK], also in specific dedicated areas of the school: in the library [33_PK], the memorial chamber [25_Wawa], the common room [43_Ś], or online, using school communicators for example for the reconciliation of study teams [33_PK] or the student council [10_L].

Through dialogue, understanding will arise, it is a condition for the internalization of the axiology forming the core of culture, the discovery of the sense of national identity, the motivation for common participation, further environmental transmission. There is a special dimension in intergenerational dialogue and didactic discussion on the basis of meetings "with older people" [46_ŚW - Świętokrzyskie]: "As a school we are also involved in organising [in our locality] association celebrations or so-called Patriotism Fires, where we connect young people with the local environment, with grandparents, with parents... This is such a community and intergenerational contact. It's called Fires of Patriotism. We do them in two schools and we do them on the occasion of 3 May 11 November. [The last one, which was in November [...] we had, excuse the expression, half a village come together, and we sang patriotic songs, the youth [...] recited... However, this contact between youth and seniors is extremely important. [...] Here, the essence is that the flow should be between generations... [...] Thanks to this exchange, these meetings, the accompanying conversations, at some point young people find these activities natural... I mean... we try to lead to a point where these activities are not school activities, but natural. Young people later ask their elders..., us..., at school... We talk... I know there are conversations about it at home... Anyway, we had, for example, such a beautiful situation at the last Patriotism Campfire

that our graduates who are in technical school [....] so they no longer have much in common with us in the educational sense, but are in military class, simply of their own free will, I didn't call them, I didn't ask them, they of their own free will put on their uniforms and came, and showed up at the Patriotism Campfire for the guard of honour... I mean... This shows that such activities make sense... Because we want to look for, I think in our activities [...] these meanings. [...] In this way, a young person, on his own, not forced by a parent, puts on this uniform in a military class and comes because I think it's the right thing to do... These are, in my opinion, these meanings precisely..." [19_MP]. As these types of meetings and discussions fulfil their educational role, the directors assume their contumacy: "we will keep this relay going". [32_PK].

Talking is the basis of didactic work. Also in the field of joint school-wide or class activities, for example the preparation of school celebrations with a national theme: "Such a presentation prepared by the pupils under the guidance of the teacher is also something that cannot take place without contact, without conversation, without dialogue, [...] without listening to each other" [16_Ł]. Joint work with pupils should always be preceded by a conversation, listening, presentation of positions. When one starts working together, one should "start some kind of discussion" [17_MP]. Such a conversation is a prerequisite for the work, including that of the director, towards new initiatives or ideas: "I always try to talk it through, so that, because it's not like anyone is infallible, yes..., and in relation to the above, if there is an idea to be implemented related precisely to such patriotic things, we always try to talk it through, whether it would be good, whether it would be bad, and whether anyone has a different idea on the subject...[17_MP]. The mutual exchange of views, doubts, arguments, positions, is the natural way in which 'this is how you form a worldview' [19_MP].

Dialogue and the opportunity to ask questions can give rise to difficult situations for teaching staff. Students may pose difficult, uncomfortable questions that go beyond the knowledge or views of the principal or teacher: "Professor but tell me, what was the uprising for in the first place? Wasn't it some kind of tempo slaughter? So... Well maybe... It sounds uncomfortable, but it is a high school question. I have faced such questions. I faced such questions as a teacher' [19_MP]. But difficult questions can also be asked of students, for example about their acceptance of or even participation in events that are in opposition to Polish identity, about the wearing of (counter)national symbolism, about the possession of gadgets with axiological significance: "How they wore, for example, I don't know, T-shirts with the logos of the National Armed Forces from World War II. You had to... I immediately asked: do you even know what logo you are wearing and why? There were some individuals

among the students who were somehow able to explain this in a, I would say, quasi-scientific way. Whereas to a large extent you had to lean on others and explain what it meant and what [the symbolism] implied' [19_MP].

The principals' opinions, spoken from their teaching experience, suggest that discussing with a student and especially with the whole class requires courage because of the need to justify one's positions, the risk of not being able to defend one's position or the low level of justification of the initiative: "it is also a question of our courage, whether we can talk to this student" [17_MP]. It also requires the knowledge to determine that the view expressed in the course is not one's own, internalised view, but one imposed by, for example, media or political pressures. "Once a student told me that we know to a large extent that [a certain image of reality we accept] is also a matter of media pressure" [19_MP]. The identification of manipulative processes, in turn, raises new topics of conversation with students and new questions about verifying the veracity of publicly available messages: "They also wondered and they also once asked me a question that I can't answer, probably no one can answer: how much of the media information regarding [...] is verifiable? [19_MP]. This level of mutual enquiry, the transmission of cognitive limitations, the exchange of knowledge leads to the formation of awareness - this is the most accurate way to "make students aware" of the processes of modernity [22_Wawa]. And learning about these processes and being able to define oneself and one's opinions in the midst of difficult questions is the goal of education: "so that we know how to talk to them about different, difficult topics, the ones that are happening at the moment, so that they have the opportunity to sort of express their opinion" [17_MP].

Dialogue and participation are rated as the teaching methods with the highest effectiveness: "if the student has a sense of such co-participation, however, co-participation, yes..., in some process of reaching [...] conclusions, yes... Because it seems to me that such methods are the most effective... certainly... Not some such imposition..., because that's the way it is..., because he's a hero, he's a traitor and that's the end, and nothing in between, right. It just seems to me that [...] where the student is such an active participant, and the teacher is just the one who somehow guides him, shows him the various possibilities, various options, and the final choices or conclusions have to be made by the young man, and then he has a sense of agency, right, that nothing is imposed on him, he discovers something there, he comes to something there, without simplification, [...] this works most effectively in education, especially in terms of issues" [24_M]. This orientation of pupils towards independent judgement, while presenting them with the fullest possible spectrum necessary for judgement, is possible from the older primary school grades

onwards: "Children analyse very well. Children have their own opinions. I also always, in the lesson, ask, tell, present the facts, and leave the interpretation to them. [...] I just ..., that is, I don't bend in terms of such private ..., absolutely. I've never done that' [25_Wawa]. Students are very keen to participate in such discussions when they are listened to, but also when they are met with serious substantive treatment: "they want to discuss a lot, and they listen a lot, and they observe a lot" [43_WW], " and they are curious" [45_WW].

The basis for the didactic discussion is the knowledge and conviction of the teacher and the curiosity of the pupil. Faced with new phenomena, also related to national education, students "show a certain attitude of such curiosity" [10_L]. The more interesting the discussion problem, the more the teacher is prepared in terms of content and shows interest in the student and his/her opinion, the students' curiosity and interest increases: "I see the youngsters getting more and more involved" [10_L]. Participation in the didactic discussion intensifies engagement and gives a sense of participation in a collective event: "National identity cannot be taught alone. It has to be interacted with and felt alongside... the other person... [10_L]. Increased interest can be stimulated by the participation of interesting guests or 'witnesses to history' [46_WW; 38_PM; 60_Wawa].

However, not all teachers want to participate in such teaching initiatives. Their students' discussion skills do not always allow them to do so, sometimes their own lack of patience and deficits of courage: "most [kids] have defined views, so to speak, and it's hard to convince them, because it's a tragedy..., yes..., and there are such conversations, there are discussions... Some get into them too much, because they can't... They can only cut off the topic quite quickly" [57_PK].

However, the school is able not only to conduct such educational discussions within the framework of its chosen teaching methods, but to institutionalise them, for example in the form of a school, inter-school or local oxford debate. This is possible with a competence match between students, teachers and the local environment [17_MP]. Such debates take place in various forums: "I am after such a rather large debate of academically my young people with young people from another school" [44_W]. They can also be a component of a widely prepared plan for national, state or regional celebrations: "There are often just such debates" [23_M]. Incorporating didactic discussions, especially discussions with externally invited guests with school ceremonies due to national or regional holidays are, in terms of effectiveness, rated very highly by educators, as they engage the intellectual and emotional sphere of the student's personality (Dudel: 2009). The next section will analyse the principals' views on school ceremonies and ceremonials.

4. Celebrating of the national and state holidays - a form of practical didactics

The celebration of national and state holidays is categorised by the surveyed principals as an important form of practical didactics in education towards national identity. In the declarations of respondents, the most frequently mentioned are: 3 May - National Day of the Third of May, 11 November - National Independence Day, 1 March - National Day of Remembrance of "Cursed Soldiers", 1 September - the anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War - Veteran's Day of the Struggle for Independence of the Republic of Poland, 2 May - Flag Day of the Republic of Poland, 4 June - Freedom and Civil Rights Day, 17 September - Siberian Day, 1 May - Labour Day, 13 April - Day of Remembrance of the Victims of the Katyń Massacre, 13 December - Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Martial Law.

Holidays during the holiday season no longer have the character of school celebrations: 15 August - Polish Army Day; 1 August - National Warsaw Uprising Remembrance Day; and 14 October - National Education Day is celebrated more as a teachers' holiday than a public holiday marking national identity. In some situations, National Education Day can take on more of a national holiday character when it is combined with the swearing-in of first graders [18_MP]. In addition to these holidays, there are school patronal holidays, regional and local holidays (harvest festivals), as well as those that do not have a national character but are part of Polish tradition (26 December - Christmas, Easter, 22 January - the anniversary of the outbreak of the January Uprising, 29 November - the anniversary of the outbreak of the November Uprising, 19 April - the anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, 21 February - International Mother Language Day, 8 March - Women's Day, 26 May - Mother's Day, 23 June - Father's Day, 1 June - Children's Day, 21 January - Grandmother's Day, 22 January - Grandfather's Day), or enter very slowly into the Polish cultural calendar (14 February - Valentine's Day - Day of Lovers, 22 April - Earth Day, 16 October - Pope John Paul II Day, 16 November - International Day of Tolerance, 24 March - the day on which the Ulma family was murdered - National Day of Remembrance of Poles who rescued Jews under the German occupation).

Not all of the above-mentioned holidays are celebrated in schools, due, for example, to the holiday time, but sometimes school delegations participate at the local level. Due to the need to narrow down the scope of the study, the analysis will be limited to the didactic forms used in relation to national holidays, leaving out school patron saint and regional events, church holidays and new holidays from the Polish cultural calendar.

In the opinion of the respondents, national and state holidays as well as holidays that are part of the Polish cultural calendar should be celebrated at school: "By all means they should be, this should continue" [37_PD]. No views to the contrary were expressed by any of the principals surveyed in the qualitative study. However, these celebrations cannot be based on ceremonies which, although rooted in historically proven didactics, are not accepted by contemporary students and educators [19_MP]. In order for them to have an educational effect, the way they are celebrated at school should be free of artificial pathos, not artificially inflated or politicised: "it is wrong if the shaping of such a national identity is done only through pompous celebrations" [10_L], at which local politicians play a key role. The presence of politicians and local government officials adds a higher dimension to school ceremonies [45_WW], but it cannot be exclusively subordinated to them: "we look for our own way how to solve it" [34_PD]. Celebrations must be well prepared, multifaceted consultation between teachers and students [34_PD], which requires cooperation [33_PK] and time: "there are huge such time costs of preparing such a celebration" [35_PD].

Individual principals declared the great importance they attach to this dimension of education towards national identity: "I even have to praise my staff, because all patriotic celebrations are really very decently, aesthetically prepared. With us it's not like... 'oh there'." [36_PD]. The aim is not a protracted celebration of themselves [57_PK], but the well-being of the student and their national identification: 'There is no [celebration] offshoot, but [we want to be effective] precisely through such a more personalised experience for these young people' [10_L]. To ensure that festivities are not reduced to the level of ritualism, principals with teachers prepare students for the celebrations not only by fine-tuning the forms of celebration, but also by educating students in terms of content - students are taught about the content of the celebration and its message: "In my opinion... yes... everything can be celebrated, only the ground for this celebration has to be prepared first, so that everyone in this school knows what it is for and why, and how it should be" [35_PD]. The lack of preparation, the lack of a proper form does not so much fit in with national education as it discourages students from the national category in general [59_Wawa].

Various groups of pupils are involved in the celebrations: theatre groups: "they were supposed to dress up as these characters" [33_PK], poetry circles [32_PK], musically talented pupils [29_OP] and dance [48_WM]. School festivities are thus extended both by the participation of school musical ensembles [19_MP], orchestras [44_WM] and soloists [43_WM]. If there is such a commitment from pupils or teachers, (school) re-enactment groups

[38_PM] also participate in the school celebration or pupils witness field re-en-actments: "We have a thriving reconstruction circle 'Czwartacy' at school. They also prepare various historical reconstructions: the November Night, the Attack on Belvedere" [24_M]. At this school, the circle takes an active part in a local event in honour of the November Uprising and General Joseph Bem: "reconstruction of the Battle of Ostrołęka" [24_M]. They also have meetings with a reconstructed one of the heroes of Polish history, in order to make his message more contemporary: "one student dresses up as the school's patron, later the Prime Minister of the Second Republic. [During] they can ask him questions" [59_Wawa]. It is also about "using students' skills and also show-casing students' skills". [42_Ś].

But reconstructions go beyond local events. One school in Małopolska reconstructed the Battle of Grunwald: "I remember how [...] in 2010 we came up with such an idea. because it was the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald. And the knighthood from here [our village] took part: two knight-ly families took part in the battle. [To commemorate this event] there was a plaque erected in the collegiate church in honour of the Bialoni family. So we made such a parade. We dressed up. I was still [...] a history teacher at the time. I dressed up as a grand master, a bit provocatively, so to speak... [...] And, of course, the art studio of the Communal Cultural Centre [...] made Teutonic banners, which they reproduced from the "Banneria Prutenorum". We went through [...] with such a procession, let me tell you, it was such a novelty. People reacted with some interest, so to speak, [...] a new form of his-torical celebration. There was a colourful procession with banners, with sing-ing on the lips. We invited an early music band, which sang something on the occasion. Later [...] there was a kind of historical picnic with a competition, in a modern context. [...] young people answered questions. So..., so..., it seems to me that young people are very open in this respect. [...] At least here in Gali-cia there is such a sense of *the sacred* when it comes to patriotism, right, you don't joke with *the sacred*" [19_MP]. In fact, reconstructions are not only re-spected and not joked about in the Małopolska region, but also in other regions [45_ŚW; 38_PM] they arouse keen interest in local communities, children, young people, whole families: "the historical re-enactment is always [...] it is such a moment where actually these families with their children participate" [21_M], while the pupil-participants feel a great excitement resulting from their involvement and active participation: "armour, uniforms are rented, so as to put the youngsters in the mood, to make it interesting" [23_M].

In many schools, especially outside big cities and primary schools, the form of celebration is the assembly. However, principals are fully aware that the effectiveness of such appeals depends primarily on their formula.

Formulas according to the canon from the principals' own youth are proving ineffective [49_WM]. Therefore, they want to give these meetings "a slightly different, more attractive form" [49_WM]. However, there are certain canons [3_DS] of these appeals: they have a solemn form, they introduce a solemn mood [27_Z]: "And it's really solemn and momentous. Because the children know that it's a celebration, that you have to really... here... respect [show] [1_DWM].

The content of the assembly is, depending on the age of the students, decided with the students themselves through the student council, through dialogue: "it is prepared..., some kind of performance..., we talk to the students..., by the teacher involved" [27_Z]. With large mental differences among pupils, the assemblies are differentiated by age target: "each age group experiences it just... differently... because it is an adjustment... an adjustment to the audience... This is extremely important" [25_Wawa]. Sometimes the division of the audience is also due to the premises: "we divide [the students] into groups because the school is very big, the premises conditions are not favourable. We then divide vertically the classes, first come the first classes for example, then the second and so on. And there is a ceremonial assembly' [27_Z - West Pomeranian].

A form accompanying the assembly is the decoration of the school: "school newspapers are made" [34_PD], students prepare "exhibitions, decorate the school" [55_W], "wall newspapers yes... with different anniversaries" [28_Wawa], "flags are hung on the school building" [34_PD]. The presence of flags - in the opinion of the respondents - has a clear educational meaning: it reminds us of the importance of displaying flags on houses on the occasion of national holidays: "Every holiday I fly a flag [...] and I encourage the children to fly flags by their houses" [36_PD].

Children are encouraged to wear elegant dress: white shirt or blouse: 'Children come in elegant dress, cotillions' [1_D]. "We just have days where there is compulsory elegant dress" [8_L]. Gala dress on national holidays is confirmed by a very large number of principals surveyed: "children dress beautifully in gala attire" [29_OP], "pupils come dressed festively, gala attire is obligatory" [27_Z], "even [...] dress [emphasises] the national holiday" [37_PD], in gala attire [one] should come, because this is the tradition of the school" [56_Z], "we require, for example, attire from pupils.... yes... during certain ceremonies" [43_Ś], "students are instructed about proper gala attire, about proper behaviour during at least the singing of the anthem" [40_PM]. In addition to the white shirt, there are other variations of expected festive attire: "we put on these T-shirts with the emblem" [46_Ś], "young people come dressed in red and white" [34_PD]. None of the directors declared

the participation of students in regional costumes, although there are such traditions in selected regions[2] . Regional elements were declared in the form of regional languages, which are embedded in school ceremonies: "Such performances in Kashubian language... They like it" [38_PM].

However, ceremonial dress to emphasise the festive atmosphere of the school is not entirely common in school communities, and teaching staff have various problems in introducing or maintaining this custom. In the course of the research, possible sources of such difficulties were identified: a lack of attachment on the part of the parents - "the parents don't feel it" [19_MP], "in general I see such a tendency that patriotism, a sense of pride in one's homeland, the achievements of one's nation, history, is very weak... This is not developed absolutely at home" [6_KP]; a lack of parental attachment to the national celebration linked to the economic difficulties of families: "it's hard for me to believe that they don't have a few zlotys for a white, even used, shirt for the child..., I understand that you don't go in it every day, but... [6_KP]; low attractiveness of the gala outfit: "they wore red and white ... it's for them ... it's not so attractive [18_MP]; gala dress does not allow the expression of students' individuality: "it doesn't interest them ..., it doesn't allow - as they say, to express themselves" [22_Wawa]; it doesn't fit in with the students' fashion and pragmatism, so they don't own it at all and don't want to wear it: "I have a big problem collecting three students in a jacket for the school flag" [59_Wawa].

But difficulties exist not only on the side of the pupils and their families. A not-too-high ranking of school ceremonies in the educational formula of celebration by the principals themselves was observed: "some sort of roll call" [3_DS] or an attitude of disregard for dress by (some) teachers, for example: "if teachers don't set an example with their look, what's the wonder the students do the same". [35_PD].

During the roll call, national symbols are a ritual element: the emblem, the flag, the anthem: "at attention ... when we sing the anthem there is always the emblem, there is always the national flag and there are also additional decorations in the national colours" [29_OP], "everyone sings the anthem" [25_Wawa], "we sing the four stanzas of the anthem, there is no mercy, this is the basis". [1_DŚ], "the emblem and [...] our national symbols" [1_DS], "flags are displayed" [3_DŚ], "we have the Polish flag pasted on all the windows" [28_Wawa], "the flag should appear" [15_L]. If the school has a flag,

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[2]   In Kurpie, for example, Kurpie costume is a kind of standard for national, religious and state ceremonies, an exemplary account of school celebrations on 11 November: https://myszyniec.pl/szkoly/336-konkurs-%E2%80%9Cdo-hymnu%E2%80%9D-w-publicznej-szkole-podstawowej-w-wykrocie.

it is a permanent feature of school assemblies: "the flag post" [48_WM], "the kids in this flag post are so neat and cool looking" [56_Z]. Sometimes the anthem becomes the protagonist of the ceremony itself. Appeals as part of a nationwide campaign serve this purpose: School to the Anthem [19_MP; 22_Wawa].

The presence of national symbols also requires education, according to the directors. Without this, they may not be understood and become empty rituals. The work with the students is primarily done by the teachers: "The emphasis here is on making sure that, thanks to the [previously conducted] lessons, everyone learns [to] sing the entire anthem, and the proper attitude, and its meaning [...]. Also I do not see that there is too much of this [education towards national identity]" [56_Z].

Many of the principals surveyed in the qualitative study declared that school celebrations do not limit their reach to the school itself. Often they become a component of regional celebrations, in other cases the school initiative extends its reach and becomes the core of community celebrations. In the first case, the school community or its representatives are invited to join the wider celebrations: "with a delegation we participate in all the town celebrations" [32_PK]; "there happen to be celebrations outside this town, just in another place, just within our district". [3_DŚ]; "these are programmes of each school or kindergarten when they perform for the local community" [9_LB]; "at the polonaise dance in the main square of the town..., we joined this event..., it was municipal...., proposed by several people from several institutions" [48_WM]; "we usually participate in celebrations already outside the school, as a smaller or larger delegation; rather in our case it is not so small precisely because of these military classes, because these students are asked to march, so more people go". [3_DŚ]; "students from the re-enactment group prepare such city events" [24_M]; "there are sometimes requests to us from various state institutions, often local government, for us to add splendour to some important ceremonies with a performance or concert. So we involve the students then, or we also involve the teachers then" [42_M], "we prepare here together [with the other school]..., we always take part in these commune celebrations at the monuments. Also it's such a collaboration" [36_PD]; "but [not only on stage], also these students of mine [during the municipal festivities] give out pea soup, we always have some for free from one stand...". [49_WM].

In the second case - the school invites other local actors to collaborate and celebrate together: "from regional ideas we have with the locals such a mass and the laying of flowers in a place related to the Second World War" [15_L]; "an assembly, an academy..., we usually repeat it in the parish church.... for the local community here" [9_LB]; "from the regional ideas

we have with the inhabitants such a mass and the laying of flowers at a place related to World War II" [15_L]. Religious and national elements are more often combined in small local communities, there is no such relationship in big cities [60_Wawa; 59_Wawa; 25_Wawa]: "as far as the historical ones are concerned the religious ones are not". [22_Wawa]. It is in rural and small town environments that a common ritual is built out of them, and it is there that school elements are transferred to churches. Perhaps this is due to the locality-specific incorporation of religious components into the local system and even the construction of locality from religious elements as integral, or perhaps to the fact that in small towns it is the school and the parish that are the only cultural centres (Tułowiecki: 2012). During services, which are elements of celebration, some pupils actively participate in religious rituals: "they join in actively, yes, whether through singing or through liturgy" [23_M]. In small local communities it is natural to combine the religious part - in the church, with the school-local part at the memorial, in the town square or in the cemetery: "at the beginning there is going to the church, [...] there is a ceremony. There is also [...] an artistic setting [during] the ceremony [...]. The young people sing. [...] First there is a mass, and then there is a meeting at the 'Eagle' or at the monument" [24_M]; "going out to the cemetery, for honour guards ... at the graves of soldiers who took part [...] in the liberation, in the restoration of independence" [14_£]; "we have in the cemetery [...] a monument to the Golgotha of the East. [...]. We are with the youth [there] at the roll call of the fallen. We are the ones organising it. It is the schools that organise it. It's the schools that go there, lay flowers. [The students] learn by example" [19_MP].

However, this does not imply an extremely high and widespread involvement of students in the religious component. Sometimes it is only possible to gather the most religiously committed pupils and put up a delegation to the banner: "the youngsters do not participate [willingly] when, for example [...] the teacher suggests going to church" [24_M]. Much depends on the local religiosity of the residents and the person of the catechist priest. One respondent indicated that with the arrival of a new, charismatic catechist priest, there is no problem with pupils participating in parish celebrations, as "lessons with the priest are among the best ones I would say" [29_OP].

Ways of practical education through the celebration of national events is also adopting new formulas, as part of the search to celebrate the so-called 'new patriotism' allowing national celebrations to be combined with creativity and fun [19_MP], [21_M]: regional independence rallies - 'we organised an Independence Rally' [19_MP]; Patriotism Fires - 'where we connect young people with the local environment, with grandparents, with parents.

It's such a form of [intergenerational] contact. It's called Fires of Patriotism. We do them in two schools' [19_MP]; outdoor games - 'an educational game' [23_M], [60_Wawa]; 'some kind of run, a run-up' [52_W]; art workshops to prepare for outdoor art competitions: "various kinds of art workshops" [29_OP], [60_Wawa], "our school participates in art workshops... yesterday we had such a gala ceremony at the school to sum up the photo competition...". [23_M]; educational art events under the auspices of the IPN [23_M] or the finals of these events: "at the History Stop of the IPN Educational Centre my students took part, they created such a comic book, and now we got the information that they are in the group of winners" [23_M]; sports competitions - "a sports competition in basketball" [23_M]; art competitions or finals of competitions[9_LB], [14_³]; educational competitions under the patronage of companies - "recently it is fashionable to make films. [...] Because my school is a railway school, [students participate in an art competition]... PKP Intercity, organised such a competition [for a film] about a place in Poland". [23_M]; "a bonfire meeting" [11_LU].

Interesting practical education initiatives are National Reading and National Singing and any initiatives derived from this. National Reading is carried out both on a school level [55_Z] and on a local, out-of-school level in which schools actively participate [53_W]: "The National Reading as I say, every year it takes place here in the school. We all meet in the gymnasium. We read, and the teachers and students are all involved, so to speak" [29_OP]. The Kraków initiative, National Singing, has also been transferred to the atmosphere of Warsaw on 1 August, but has also found its way to the provinces, to schools and municipalities. "Singing patriotic songs" involves the school community [14_Ł], [23_M], [28_Wawa], but expands to the local environment and becomes an intergenerational initiative: "one that is more inclusive..., with the community... And it works out nicely because a lot of people just come". [17_MP], 'we try to make it more attractive' [49_WM].

Many principals find it hard to imagine that school is not a space for national celebrations and that they themselves would have to give up this dimension of practical education: "I've been working for so many years and celebrating them for so many years that if they suddenly disappeared now, I would be surprised and somehow I would miss it. Because over the years I really don't remember anyone ever not celebrating this holiday, whether May or November. They were always with us, so even the May ones were somewhere in there with us. Because I remember myself, when I went to primary school, where the 3rd of May wasn't there yet, and there were already such leaks [that it would be reinstated], the history teacher brought a flag, put an emblem in the middle... So, of course, he was fired after the incident, but I remember

a little bit from primary school just such situations, when the 3rd of May was celebrated somewhere quietly, although it wasn't allowed yet." [1_DW].

National holidays have a special aspect that goes beyond pure didactics, let alone the transmission of knowledge and skills - in the opinion of principals, they create identity. The task of the school, in the directors' opinion, is to help young people to build their identity. Without this, they will know the world, they will be aware of their rights and opportunities, but they will not know who they are: "And that's the role of the school, that's the role of the teachers, that's the chief role, precisely to systematise the child to say: Great! Great! There are all sorts of wonderful holidays! But there are also holidays that make you walk on this earth! You are Polish - it would be appropriate for you to know that there are certain things..., there are certain values..., which are important in your life..., where they came from..... And you are not the only one who carries them within you..., they are also carried and carried by others who think the same way... Some have sacrificed a lot in their lives for them..." [18_MP].

School celebrations include not only typically Polish elements, but also elements that define Polish multiculturalism and the national and religious identity of pupils of other national groups. From the declarations of the principals, it can be concluded that the celebration of the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising on 19 April through participation in the social and educational campaign Daffodils is increasingly becoming part of Polish school traditions: "young people prepared yellow daffodils for the anniversary of the ghetto uprising" [24_M]. The Daffodils action is not only being carried out in the schools of Warsaw or Mazovia, it is taking on a nationwide scale, where not only do the yellow daffodils become a visual element, but they symbolise the presence of the Jewish people in Polish history, which was interrupted by the Second World War and the crimes of the German Nazis: "We are participating in the Daffodils campaign, right, [...] this is the anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising [...] Our children know why they are making these daffodils, they are learning about history. [...] It's important to remember that many Jews were Poles [...] At the same time, it's also, you know, teaching children tolerance. [...] It's important to remember this so that such hate crimes are never repeated" [32_PK]. "Then I go with my students to the wall of the ghetto" [60_Wawa], "We always go there with the oldest classes of our school, because we are very close. I then tell them ..." [25_Wawa].

With the presence of pupils - war refugees from Ukraine - at the Polish school, Ukrainian elements have been included in the celebration of Polish national anniversaries or initiatives to celebrate Ukrainian national holidays have begun. The first step is getting to know each other: "Yes. Yes. They also

talk about their holidays' [8_L]. The aim is to identify with Poland as a (temporary) place of residence: "to make these Ukrainian students feel better". [28_Wawa]. Ways of celebrating and displaying Ukrainian themes are varied: from the presentation of Ukrainian history and language, to diverse aspects of Ukrainian culture and religion: "We have [at school] both a Polish and a Ukrainian flag, precisely because of the fact that there are these children..., so that they also feel here... yes... that they are at home, that they are acceptable" [30_OP]. "We asked [Ukrainian students] to present, for example in the form of a presentation to other students, their history, important events, holidays..." [28_Wawa]. "[Students from Ukraine] told what traditions are in their country, what it looks like." [30_OP]. Cases of Ukrainian students' behavioural involvement in celebrations of Polish holidays were also described: "[One Ukrainian student] took part in our patriotic performances. My class prepared an assembly for 11 November, so she played the [Polish] anthem on the piano, because she was a pianist" [42_Ś]. In this particular case, however, this did not imply a high level of student involvement in the celebration: 'but yes you didn't see that much involvement' [42_Ś]. Involvement in the Polish school is clearly varied and, according to the directors, may depend on the issue of the parents' permanent settlement in Poland or their intended departure from Poland: "whereas there are a few children who we know will stay and they feel such a strong bond with our nation. They are, when you talk to them, they are also delighted with the attitudes of Poles, the hospitality and friendliness. [...] We can't say that we feel that they are somehow foreign culturally to us, or nationally' [42_Ś]. The principals look at the Ukrainian student community through the prism of the children entrusted to them. They try to treat them all as 'ours': "they are simply part of the school, our part" [43_Ś] and they care about their acclimatisation: "they just [...] acclimatise" [57_PK].

However, integration and cooperation are not always easy or even possible: "Imagine, we have such a class, one class, that all the students are from Ukraine. And they all say they don't understand Polish. They understand at different levels, but they say they don't understand anything. How is the teacher supposed to teach the lesson? One girl..., coming from the Lviv region shyly declared that she understands Polish... Sir, what is the lesson like for them? The teacher says, this girl translates into Ukrainian... It takes time because she has to think... They [other students] say they don't understand everything.... She asks the teacher questions, the teacher answers, she translates for the class... How to work in such conditions?" [59_Wawa].

Integrating Ukrainian students is also difficult due to contentious historical topics: "For me, as a historian, it is a difficulty to talk about the Volhynian lash in class" [60_Wawa]. "Volhynia is a difficult topic even now.

When I have students from Ukraine in my class, I think a lot about how to talk about it. [25_Wawa]. One director noted that there is too little emphasis, instead, on events that connect: "But there are connecting elements: for example, the January Uprising" [60_Wawa], but they are not developed in Polish education in this sense. It seems, therefore, that an important aspect of Polish historical education, besides the regional and European contexts, is the multinational history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with common initiatives and goals such as: the 3rd of May Constitution - as a work of three nations, the Lublin Union of 1 July 1569, the Hadziacka Union of 16 September 1658, the January Uprising of three nations.

In addition to Ukrainian students, there is an emerging situation of multiculturalism in the multicultural environments of the big cities: "we have children, for example, from Ukraine, Belarus, Russia. Very many from Belarus. There are children were from Tajikistan. There were from Uzbekistan. There were and are children from America" [28_Wawa]. "We have students from different countries, most from Ukraine, but also from the States and Arab countries" [60_Wawa]. In such multicultural conditions, multiculturalism and tolerance days are celebrated alongside Polish national holidays for mutual understanding. Their regular feature is "assemblies, during which the children simply prepared a presentation about their country. They would bring food that was specific to their country... And at the assembly, they would talk in their language [about their country]. I have children now, let me give you an example, I think in the sixth grade, who are of the Islamic faith, so if there was a lesson on Islam, one girl put on this women's dress, this..., a burka... so-called, and told the other children about Islam, how she prays, what traditions there are" [28_Wawa]. Incorporating multiculturalism into the life of Polish schools, however, is not so common. It depends on the demand, the recognition of the teaching staff and the actual multiculturalism of the pupils and the environment around the school.

National holidays, like most school events, are documented. The classic means of documentation indicated by the principals is the school chronicle. Nowadays, principals confirmed the archiving of events in chronicles, among others. These are being expanded to include school newspapers, wall newspapers in school, material on local and parish showcases, websites or Facebook spaces [56_Z]. "Nowadays, you can make some videos of what happened throughout the day, then edit the whole event and post them somewhere so that we can see for ourselves later... that in this studio there was this, in this studio there was that, in this studio there was that. And everything had a programme, a purpose. And it wasn't all chaotic, it was all planned" [35_PD]. "The school after remote education [has changed and] there is a lot of this

information technology, different possibilities, innovations. So they are introducing it now together with the tutor of the local government. Together they have launched the school's tik tok. Different videos of school activities are uploaded" [23_M]. "[Students] fly the flag or take photos with the flag ... It was in the form of such a collage presented on Facebook" [40_PM].

Celebrating national holidays and anniversaries in schools has become a canon embedded in the educational calendar. "Once a month something happens for sure, if not more" [2_DŒ]. "In our case it has to be in the school work plan every year. There is no option for something not to be there." [4_DS]. The commitment of principals is key here, even with less or different approaches from teachers: "It varies, some are enthusiastic, some are not, but they always do something, they always come up with something" [35_PD]. Pupils' attitudes also vary: from full and creative to complete passivity and indifference. The principals distinguish different categories of involvement stretched between the above-mentioned extreme approaches in their schools. They point to indifference, which directly dominates in some schools: "it's my students who are rather uninterested" [59_Wawa], to mobilisation coming from teachers: "It is the teachers who mobilise them to take part in these celebrations, to make them willing. There is a need for something like this'[6_KP]. This mobilisation on the part of the teachers is all the more important as the importance of the national category in defining one's own identity is clearly culturally declining: 'they don't see the need for it. I am generalising at the moment, [...] but in general I see such a tendency, that patriotism, the sense of pride in one's own homeland, the achievements of one's own nation, history, is very weak" [6_KP]; "my students are only interested in getting a profession and leaving and going to Poland, because they earn more there" [59_Wawa]. This mobilisation does not exclude strenuous incentives taking the form of compulsion: "if there was no compulsion, nobody would come" [11_LU].

Pupil involvement increases with their co-participation in the festivities, their involvement, their contribution, the benefit of creating their own image in the local field. Then 'they participate willingly. Yes. Yes' [17_MP]. Engagement is higher in terms of students who share the national axiology: "it's cool for young people to get involved" [23_M; 60_Wawa] or activity is embedded in a local axiology shared by young people: "When I asked young people in eighth grade: Listen are we going to the cemetery? [...] It was they who did not ask, they simply: Yes, we are going in a set" [19_MP]. However, such behaviour does not, according to the respondents' declarations, carry an indicator of universality. There was even an attempt at an estimate: "one-eighth of all students". [23_M], which would coincide

with other declarations: "There are [...] 500 students in the school. [Those involved] are 32 [people], so we can see..., it shows how many enthusiasts we have in the school" [44_Ś].

The way national holidays are lived has been affected in some ways by the pandemic. The imposed restrictions on remote education and the ban on public gatherings have disrupted traditions that had been developed: "The pandemic destroyed everything for us. Before the pandemic we had always sung, so to speak, [...] under the cathedral, at our place. It was the place where the celebrations started. We sang patriotic songs there. And this went on for many, many years" [44_Ś]. The pandemic also halted initiatives that had been started, the reactivation of which requires more work than a simple continuation: 'We always emphasise events related to the anniversary of Katyń, that is, in this moment, this month of April, the month of national remembrance. [...] In the pandemic it was once the case that teachers participated instead of students [...]. Now we want to make up for it" [49_WM]. "Well I don't know if it will ever recover...". [44_Ś]. There were also declarations of online celebrations. In a situation of remote education and many artistic initiatives undertaken remotely, schools also celebrated national holidays remotely: "Even when we had remote teaching, it was through webcams, there was a singing of the anthem and the older classes recited poems. We also maintain 100% of this tradition regarding school celebrations" [36_PD].

4. Summary and didactic recommendations

The shape of national education at the school level is contingent upon a multitude of contextual factors. The state and European education policy, social changes and the mentality and sensibilities of pupils are significant factors that influence the shape of national education at school. This text assumes that the state has set and continues to set the directions and goals of national education. However, in contemporary European conditions, these are subordinated to or directly dependent on European policy assumptions (Dakowska: 2019; Vukasovic, Huisman: 2018; Cankaya, S., Kultu, Ö., Cebeci). E. (2014) and Grzybowski (2005) posit that national education is a state-led endeavour, a view that is also espoused by Habsbawn and Ranger (2008).

In their search, those responsible for national education make specific analyses of the quality of the state of affairs, the changes and look for solutions that are appropriate to the situation. A stage and element of such a search and diagnosis is the project carried out in 2022-2024 at the

Educational Research Institute 'National identity in the process of school education'. Within the framework of the conclusions developed by the project's researchers on the basis of the collected empirical material (this text is only a narrow analysis of this material limited to a qualitative route narrowed down to nationwide in scope interviews with school principals), it is possible to make certain generalisations and indicate recommendations for further education and state educational policy.

1. School principals generally see national education as an integral and inalienable component of school education.
2. This education should neither be ideologised in the direction of chauvinism nor in the direction of weakening ties with the community of the nation.
3. This education should include intellectual, axiological and behavioural elements, shaped on the basis of commitment, choice, decision, understanding, argument, diversity of judgements, self-distance, global, European and regional perspectives. This type of education in the text is described as the fourth of four types of possible history and identity education - as education towards national identity.
4. Education towards a national identity is linked to the education of the family home, sometimes complementing and necessarily developing it.
5. An integral path to education towards national identity is educational discussion. It presupposes getting to know different positions, different argumentation of individuals (directors, teachers, family members, heroes of history), a critical approach to them, getting to know the justifications of individual positions, the limiters of these justifications, and all with the aim of individual construction of individual identity by the national component in the context of the many antinomies co-creating collective Polish identity.
6. Educational discussions can range from group and community (school, local) meetings to one-to-one discussions with a teacher or story hero.
7. National holidays celebrated at school are an important way of educating towards national identity.
8. A school ceremonial formula adapted to the social conditions and the level of pupils' reception is extremely important. Ceremonies that are unadapted, unprepared, not discussed and not accepted by the school community have a discouraging effect on the pupils not only as regards themselves but the national category in general.

9. The ceremonies practised in Polish schools are characterised by a specific canon (anthem, emblem, flag, school decoration), but this canon requires constant education as to its symbolic value and new methods of presentation (ways of performing the anthem, ways of decorating the school, involvement of pupils in decoration, understanding of the gala costume, de-formalisation of the costume towards an acceptable one for pupils: T-shirt with emblem, white and red costume).

10. School ceremonies are not limited to the school community alone; they often become an integral way of celebrating the local community.

11. Schools use human and symbolic resources in the construction of ceremonies: artistic talents of pupils, uniform profiles of schools.

12. Schools are expanding the ceremonies to include new elements that reach beyond assemblies: sporting events, competitions, intergenerational meetings, reconstructions.

13. In building national world ceremonies, schools make use of initiatives proposed by national educational institutions (e.g. the IPN), or join national educational initiatives (e.g. School to the Anthem, National Reading).

14. The religious component of Polish identity seems to be of declining importance. This component is almost disappearing in the school ceremonies of the big cities, and is maintained by tradition and strong mobilisation in the communities of rural areas and small towns.

15. In celebrations of national worlds, cultural components of other nations (Israel, Ukraine, Lithuania), which are historically or contemporarily part of Polish society, are increasingly being introduced, depending on the social conditions of the pupils' national profile.

16. School ceremonies are often embedded in media education, through digital archiving, electronic presentations and online recording.

17. The didactic discussion and school ceremonies of the national world combine the key elements of education: knowledge, emotion, action. Such initiatives are more readily taken up by pupils, reinforce commitment, and increase the interest rate of young people and the community.

18. Interest in forms of education towards national identity among young people does not have a universal dimension. There is a distinct category of pupils not at all interested in the category of nation, who do not define themselves through this component.

19. In a situation of lack of identification with the national component, school principals either feel helpless not seeing ways to counteract

this (they are not indifferent to this), or they feel helpless in the face of the ineffectiveness of their actions, or they take a kind of mobilising action close to coercion rather than encouragement.

20. Despite varying social conditions, the changing mentality of the young, despite political changes, school principals express the opinion that education towards national identity should be inscribed in Polish schools. The shape of this education may take on dynamic, changing forms, but the education itself and the building of students' identity in the perspective of participation in the life of the nation should be preserved.

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Chapter 11.

Opinions on foreigners, national and ethnic minorities in the context of nationalidentity formation in Polish schools

Abstract

The study undertook a review of the concepts of identity and national identity. Subsequently, an analysis was conducted on the opinions pertaining to foreigners, national and ethnic minorities, within the context of the aforementioned notions, based on the selected findings of research laboratories and research institutions. The objective of this chapter was to examine and contrast the attitudes of Polish society, teachers and students towards the formation of national identity, and to elucidate the interrelationships between these groups

Introduction

Under the concept of *national identity* there are numerous theories and interpretations of this phenomenon. They cover various fields of science, for which concepts evolve depending on the perspective of their author (Katarzyna Skrzypczak: 2010). Many of them boil down to some kind of belonging, awareness or distinctiveness. Like the concept of *identity* itself, which in the classic dictionary definition means sameness and self-consciousness, as well as distinctive characteristics or information to identify a person. In the context of community, on the other hand, identity is understood as a sense of shared characteristics and unity (SJN PWN: 2024).

The division and consideration of identity in two spheres - the individual and the collective - is often used by researchers. The identity of a subject, according to the Polish sociologist Antonina Kłoskowska, is a person's reflexive attitude towards himself or herself (Antonina Kłoskowska: 2005). The term

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identity itself, despite its long history, was only introduced into the social sciences and public debate in the 1960s. Identity considered as a collective phenomenon refers to the similarity of the members of a given collectivity (Katarzyna Skrzypczak: 2010). The evolution of identity is a manifestation of a person's desire precisely to belong to a given group (Hanna Mamzer: 2002).

Returning to the notion of national identity, Antonina Kłoskowska defines it as the collective self-knowledge and self-definition of the national collective (Antonina Kłoskowska: 2005). National identity consists of a nation's cultural heritage, language or awareness of national distinctiveness. It is also tradition, the emotional bonds of the inhabitants and national symbols. They therefore combine material and spiritual values (Kazimierz Łastawski: 2006-2007). The development of national identity takes place gradually through various socialisation processes. The essence of this phenomenon is evidenced by the fact that in the last century, the education of children and adolescents has always included elements related to the construction of students' national identity (Agnieszka Rypel: 2020).

National identity is also a common collective memory of good relations and conflicts, especially in the case of Polish national identity. For centuries, it has been exposed to the influence of stronger neighbours through, among other things, numerous attempts at Germanisation, Russification or Sovietisation (Kazimierz Łastawski: 2007). Undoubtedly, negative as well as positive historical issues have an impact on the perception of other nations and ethnic minorities, as well as their categorisation in terms of 'one's own-foreigner' (Dariusz Wojakowski: 2007). Issues of perception of other national, ethnic or minority groups are therefore an important issue related to the construction of national identity. On the other hand, they seem relatively easy to conceptualise and interpret, as evidenced by the rich empirical material in cyclical studies conducted in Poland. Thanks to the surveys conducted among pupils and teachers as part of *Tożsamość narodowa w procesie edukacji szkolnej*, the rich empirical material collected in nationwide surveys can be supplemented with those key to the construction of group identity.

1. Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to analyse and compare the opinions of teachers, students and Poles in general about foreigners, national and ethnic minorities in the context of national identity formation. To this end, a number of social surveys conducted in the last three years (and one survey conducted in 2005)

by research laboratories and academic institutions among Poles, as well as professional groups or students, were reviewed.

In this context, an attempt was made to grasp whether the attitudes of Poles, teachers and pupils differ and whether issues of national identity formation can be presented in the form of a process of transmission of attitudes and opinions between teachers and pupils, and then the evolution of these attitudes in pupils in relation to the point of reference which is the general population of Poland.

The research problem was therefore the question: *what is the relationship between the attitudes of students, teachers and Poles towards foreigners, national and ethnic minorities in the context of national identity?*

Accordingly, the following research hypotheses were chosen:

H1: National identity determines sympathy or lack thereof towards foreigners.

H2: There is a link between cultural or ethnic proximity and sympathy for a particular nation.

H3: There is a relationship between sympathy towards foreigners and the student-teacher relationship.

The research basis for the analysis undertaken was the research carried out in 2023 as part of the project *National Identity in the School Education Process.* The first of these, entitled *National Identity of Pupils in Grades VII-VIII of Primary Schools and Secondary Schools*, was aimed at understanding and analysing the sense of national identity of pupils in the last two grades of primary schools, as well as secondary school pupils. The research was carried out using a quantitative method with the CAWI (*Computer Assisted Web Interview*) technique. This involves conducting surveys over the Internet, with respondents completing the questionnaire online, while their answers are automatically recorded in a database. A total of 2,969 pupils in classes VII-VIII of primary schools and young people attending secondary schools took part in the survey. The sample area included 378 schools, for which, in order to determine the minimum number of students who should participate in the survey, proportionality ratios were calculated on the basis of the number of particular year groups of students in a given voivodship. The sampling was probabilistic (random) stratified, i.e. dividing the entire general population into so-called strata and carrying out independent sampling within each stratum (Marek Zajic: 2024b).

Another survey as part of the *National Identity in the School Education Process* project was conducted among teachers of primary and secondary

school pupils. The research method and technique used was identical to the survey conducted among pupils, i.e. a quantitative CAWI technique was used. Similarly, the selection of the sample - was random, but the final number of teachers taken into the sample was based on the subject they taught. In the end, 1,697 teachers from all over Poland were surveyed (Marek Zajic: 2024a).

Surveys conducted by the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) and Ipsos also served as a point of reference. The former research agency conducted a quantitative study in 2005 among adult Poles using the CAPI technique entitled *The national identity of Poles and the perception of national and ethnic minorities in Poland.* The survey covered 1100 persons (CBOS: 2005).

Another CBOS survey used in this study is the project entitled *Poles about Ukrainians*. Its implementation took place between 27 June and 5 July 2023 in the form of a qualitative (focus) study on a sample of 8 groups of respondents from 4 cities (Wrocław, Rzeszów, Warszawa and Łowicz). In each of the urban centres, one interview was conducted with a younger group (20-30 years old) and an older group (50-65 years old) (CBOS: 2023).

Another CBOS survey, the results of which were used in the present study, was the project entitled *Work of foreigners in Poland* and was part of the survey *Current problems and events* (402). The survey was conducted using a mixed-mode procedure on a representative personal sample of adult Poles drawn from the PESEL number register. Each respondent independently chose the technique that suited him or her from among the three available options - a face-to-face interview with an interviewer (CAPI), a telephone interview with an interviewer (CATI) or a self-administered survey questionnaire (CAWI). The survey was conducted between 2 and 11 October 2023 on a sample of 1110 people, of which 61.5% of the interviews were conducted using the CAPI technique, 25% using CATI and 13.4% using CAWI (CBOS: 2023).

The study also uses the results of the CBOS survey entitled *Attitudes towards other nations one year after the outbreak of war in Ukraine.* Like the previous surveys described, the project was part of a series entitled *Current Issues and Events* (394). This time, it took place from 6 to 19 February 2023 on a sample of 982 people, of whom 58.4% of the interviews were carried out using the CAPI technique, 25.9% using CATI and 15.7% using CAWI (CBOS: 2023).

Another survey on which the following analyses were based was the Ipsos survey on Poles' attitudes towards selected nations and countries. It was conducted on a representative sample of 1,000 adults between 27 March and 10 April 2024 using the Knowledge Panel, an Ipsos probability panel (IPSOS: 2024).

During the analysis, the CSO results from the latest National Population and Housing Census conducted from 1 April to 30 September 2021 were also used, as well as statistics on up- to-date information on the number of foreigners working in Poland (data for November 2023) (CSO: 2023-2024).

2. Foreigners

Poland after the Second World War, compared to earlier periods, became a homogeneous country in terms of nationality. This does not mean complete homogeneity in this respect. An opportunity to learn more about the real number of foreigners living in our country is the general population census. In the last survey carried out in 2021, just as 10 years ago, the respondents' affiliation to a given national or ethnic community was determined by a free declaration of nationality. The results of the survey indicate that the population with Polish nationality identifications comprised a total of 37149.5 thousand people (97.7% of the total Polish population), while those with non-Polish identifications comprised 1339.6 thousand (3.5%); (Preliminary results of the Census 2021...: 2023).

Poland is therefore one of the European leaders in terms of national homogeneity. In Greece, for example, 98% of the population is Greek, while in Bulgaria it is already 84% native (Andrzej Rykała: 2014).

Formally, *a foreigner* is understood as any person who does not have Polish citizenship (Act of 12 December 2013 on foreigners: 2013). Slightly more lenient criteria in this respect are adopted by Poles themselves. In one survey conducted by CBOS (2005), respondents were asked about the determinants of the consciousness of the Polish nation (respondents' choice was made from among 6 given criteria).

In the opinion of the majority of respondents (nearly 70% of indications), in order to consider someone a Pole, it is necessary for him or her to feel Polish. Having Polish citizenship is the second most important criterion, but this is the opinion of one in three Poles surveyed (34% of responses). Nearly three quarters of respondents (71%) also believe that it is possible to have two homelands and to feel connected to two countries. On the other hand, every fifth Pole (20% of respondents) is of the opposite opinion (CBOS: 2005).

The criteria of Polishness were also the subject of research by Ewa Nowacka and Sławomir Łodziński in *Długie trwanie narodu. The social dimensions of Polishness.* The table below compares the results of measurements in this area

for 2018 with the results of research conducted among students and teachers as part of the project *National Identity in the School Education Process.* It should be borne in mind that the following data were collected through different data collection techniques and the values of the variables attributed to them, but it provides an interesting illustrative comparison of the opinions of students and teachers with those of Poles(Marek Zajic: 2024a).

Table 1. To what extent, in your opinion, do the following characteristics help to determine that someone is a Pole/Polish - frequency distribution for the highest responses: "To a very great extent" - 2023 and "very important" - 2018.

Criteria	Teachers 2023	Students 2023	Poles 2018	Criteria
Sense of being Polish	57	54	51	The feeling of being Polish
Use of the Polish language	35	35	54	Knowledge of the Polish language
Polish citizenship	44	40	55	Polish citizenship
Having both parents of Polish origin	22	37	42	Having at least one parent of Polish nationality
Knowledge of Polish history	19	17	38	Knowledge of Polish culture and history
Observance of Polish customs	28	23	37	Observance of Polish customs
Living in Poland for a long time	12	21	43	Permanent residence in Poland
Birth in Poland	19	32	35	Being born in Poland
Special merits for Poland (cultural, scientific, sporting, etc.)	19	20	16	Special merits for Poland
Catholic faith	9	9	22	The Catholic faith

Source: Based on compilation of 2023 measurement data in reports: Marek Zajic: 2024a, 2024b and 2018 measurement results in: Nowacka, E., Łodziński, S. (2021).

A common point for the above measurements is the similar order of the most frequently indicated criteria. The percentage differences may be due to the fact that at one time the formulation of the indicators differed, which may have influenced the final response. For students and teachers, the most important criterion of Polishness is the feeling of being Polish (54% and 57% respectively). For surveyed Poles, a similar formulation is the third most important feature of Polishness (51%), while the most important, in their opinion, is having Polish citizenship (55%). Among students and teachers, this feature was also highly rated (40% and 44%). The Polish language also proved to be important - here, however, the different formulation of these characteristics made the differences in the responses of Poles and students and teachers already clear (54% and 35% each for students and

their teachers, respectively). The 2018 survey assumed 'knowledge of the Polish language', while the survey of students and teachers assumed use of the Polish language.

3. Foreigners in Poland

Attitudes towards foreigners are often determined by contact with them; of course, one may have perceptions, dislikes or sympathies towards representatives of nations one has never encountered. However, communing in a common space is a kind of catalyst, of attitudes and attitudes. Poland as a migration destination is a relatively new phenomenon. After the end of the Second World War, our country was not an attractive and easy migration destination. This changed after Poland's accession to the European Union and entry into the Schengen area. These memberships significantly raised the attractiveness of our homeland internationally. At the same time, the free movement of the population was facilitated thanks to the opening of borders (Bohdan Rożnowski, Tomasz Sieniow: 2013). Another milestone of migration in Poland became the Russian aggression against Ukraine, which continues to this day. As one of its neighbours, we became a place where a large number of migrants from Ukraine temporarily or permanently took refuge.

Poland is also a place of work for a large group of foreigners. According to the latest data from the Central Statistical Office (CSO), more than one million foreigners from over 150 countries work in Poland, which accounts for 6.6% of the total number of those performing work. Most of them come from Ukraine - at the end of November 2023, there were 701.8 thousand people. However, their share in the total number of foreigners working in Poland decreased by 4.5 percentage points compared to January 2022. (CSO: 2024).

Ukrainians are indicated by Poles themselves as the nation that represents the largest proportion of foreigners working in Poland. According to more than 90% of their compatriots, our eastern neighbour represents the largest group of workers. The next most important nations are Belarus (less so here, with 24% of answers) and Asian countries (e.g. Nepal, India, Bangladesh), indicated by 22% of respondents (CBOS:2023).

4. Opinions on foreigners

Opinions on other nations living in our country are surveyed periodically by the CBOS laboratory mentioned above. The last survey was conducted one year after the beginning of Russia's aggression against Ukraine. A total of twenty nations and ethnic groups were included in the research process (CBOS: 2023).

On the basis of the latest CBOS survey, Americans are the nation most liked by Poles (68% of answers indicating liking for this nation vs. 6% indicating the opposite[42]). They are followed by the Italians (61% of positive opinions), the English (60%), the Slovaks and the Czechs (54% each) and the Ukrainians (51%). Slightly less than half of those indicating a liking for a particular nation were Swedes (48%), Lithuanians (47%) and Finns (45%). Among the nations mentioned, Ukrainians (17%) and Lithuanians (16%) gathered the most negative opinions. Next in line of nations with which Poles sympathise were the French (44%), Estonians (38%) and Hungarians (36%). In the case of Jews, positive opinions slightly outweigh negative ones (32% vs. 29%). In contrast, for the following nations, more negative responses were collected than those of a positive nature. These included Germans (40% negative vs. 33% positive), Turks (36% vs. 27%) and Chinese (36% vs. 24%). By far the smallest sympathies of Poles are with Belarusians (51% vs. 19%), Roma (50% vs. 16%), Arabs (59% vs. 15%) and Russians (82% vs. 6%) (CBOS:2023).

The CBOS survey referred to was conducted in 2023, i.e. one year after Russia's full- scale assault on Ukraine, and it is the image of these two nations that has changed most in the eyes of Poles. Compared to the 2022 survey, attitudes towards Russians have worsened significantly (an increase in dislike of the Russian people from 38% to 82% and a decrease in positive opinions from 29% to 6%). Over the thirty years of surveys conducted by CBOS, attitudes towards no nation have changed so dramatically in a single year (CBOS: 2023).

These results testify to the unequivocal attitude of Poles towards the ensuing conflict and their clear sympathy for the Ukrainian side. Their materialisation manifests itself in the real attitude of the Polish nation towards the ongoing aggression, i.e. the numerous flows of aid to Ukrainians fleeing to Poland and those remaining in their country, including those fighting directly at the front. On the one hand, this attitude aroused general surprise due to the

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[2]   Two indicators were created for the CBOS survey - liking and disliking. The first is the average number ofliked nations, while the second is the average number of nations towards which respondents declared dislike.

stereotypical image of Poles as an intolerant society closed to other nations. However, the help given to the Ukrainians represents a certain specificity of our nation, which is determined by our national identity. The so-called Polish hospitality is one of the apt expressions for the attitude of Poles in the situation (CBOS: 2023).

Also noteworthy is the sympathy score for the Hungarian nation. Currently, it is the worst in the last thirty years - the level of dislike for Hungarians has increased by 18pp. and the level of sympathy has fallen by 21pp. Attitudes towards Belarusians have also worsened (a 22pp. increase in dislike levels, with a 16pp. decrease in sympathy), Germans (a 16pp. increase in negative opinions, an 11pp. decrease in sympathy) and Chinese (a 13pp. increase in dislike and an 11pp. decrease in sympathy). Arabs (a 13 pp. increase in dislike, 6 pp. decrease in sympathy) and Roma (dislike increased by 13 pp., sympathy decreased by 10 pp.) were also affected by the decline in sympathy; (CBOS: 2023).

A survey on sympathy towards other nations was also conducted by the research agency IPSOS. Almost three out of four Poles (73%) pointed to Italians in it. This was followed by Americans, Czechs and Spaniards (66% each). Among our neighbours, Slovaks (62%), Lithuanians (53%) and Ukrainians (48%) were the most popular. Two in five respondents indicated a liking for Germans (40%), while the least liked are Belarusians (27%) and Russians (9%) (IPSOS: 2024). Such opinions are in line with the survey conducted by CBOS, especially with regard to dislike for some of Poland's eastern neighbours.

5. Attitudes of Poles towards national and ethnic minorities

Pupils and teachers in a survey as part of the project *National Identity in the Process of School Education* were asked about their attitudes towards selected religions, faiths, nations and ethnic groups. When determining their opinion towards the indicated nations, ethnic, religious and confessional groups, the former gave the most positive marks to Poles - 76.8% of the answers. More than half of the positive indications also referred to Catholics (55.6%), Czechs (52.1%) and Polish Tatars (51.8%). At the other extreme were groups such as Belarusians (19.6% of positive responses), Karaites (17.6%) and Russians (12%); (Marek Zajic: 2024b).

Table 2. Attitudes towards nations and ethnic groups - frequency distribution for aggregated responses expressing positive attitudes

Nation/ethnic group	Positive indications			Difference between positive and negative indications		
	Pupils in Cl. VII-VIII	Teachers	Poles	Pupils in Cl. VII-VIII	Teachers	Poles
Czechs	56	52	54	44	52	41
Ukrainians	46	51	51	25	48	31
Lithuanians	45	54	47	38	53	43
Slovaks	42	52	54	36	51	34
Hungarians	40	45	36	34	42	9
Germany	40	38	33	20	32	3
Jews	31	44	32	19	41	-7
Arabs	28	24	15	11	12	-44
Roma	22	31	16	8	24	-32
Belarusians	20	31	19	-11	21	-34
Russians	12	19	6	-42	-10	-76

Source: Based on compilation of 2023 measurement data in reports: Marek Zajic: 2024a, 2024b;CBOS: 2023, 2.

The survey of students and teachers included attitudes towards nations and ethnic groups, including Poles themselves. Surveys conducted cyclically by CBOS analyse sympathy towards various nations, but omit religious beliefs and attitudes towards compatriots. The table above is anattempt to juxtapose the results of the three surveys cited in terms of responses to nations, ethnic groups, etc. repeated in the questions.

The most positive responses, above or equal to 50%, were given by each surveyed group to the Czechs (highest rating of 56% among students), Ukrainians (51% each by teachers and Poles), Lithuanians and Slovaks (54% each by teachers). The least favourable responses (about 30% and less) included Arabs, Roma, Belarusians and Russians. 15%, 16% and 19% and 6% respectively were the lowest indications, and all of them concerned CBOS respondents. At the same time, only in the case of the results relating to Russians, both among the surveyed students, teachers and Poles, a negative difference between positive and negative answers can be seen, which indicates the predominance of negative attitudes towards this nation.

Analysing the above data among students and teachers, one can see a certain correlation between the results of these surveys. The attitude of teachers towards other religions, faiths, nations and ethnic groups is generally more positive than that observed among students (and definitely higher

than the opinion of Poles surveyed by CBOS). This is particularly evident from the middle of the table above, when the groups rated most poorly are presented. Teachers' attitudes towards the opinions of students towards such nations and national minorities as Jews, Roma, Belarussians or Russians are more positive. Most of these groups also show fewer negative ratings given by teachers. It seems that the teachers participating in the survey were clearly answering the questions through the lens of the role and social expectations behind their profession. Consequently, they may have a lower tendency to show aversion to foreign nations, minorities or religions than their students or the Polish population.

At the same time, the higher ratings of the surveyed groups among students in relation to the CBOS respondents may be explained as a certain effect of shaping tolerant attitudes in schools. The results may also be dictated by the general acceptance and openness of young people to the diversity around them.

6. "Ours" and "outsiders"

Numerous definitions of ethnicity often refer to the terms 'one's own' and 'foreign' (Dariusz Wojakowski: 2007). The surveys of students and teachers mentioned in the previous section of this paper also included exploring opinions on the distinction between 'their own' and 'foreign' national and ethnic minorities, among others.

Table 3. Classification of 'own' and 'foreign' groups among the surveyed students and teachers

Nation/ethnic group	Pupils in Cl. VII-VIII		Teachers	
	Ours	Outsiders	Ours	Outsiders
Poles	95.0	5.0	98.5	1.5
Catholics	81.8	18.2	90.0	10.0
Polish Tatars	79.7	20.3	71.5	28.5
Czechs	62.6	37.4	73.1	26.9
Ukrainians	61.5	38.5	68.7	31.3
Lithuanians	58.7	41.3	70.6	29.4
Slovaks	57.8	42.2	73.4	26.6
Orthodox	52.3	47.7	58.0	42.0
Hungarians	50.1	49.9	53.8	46.2
Jews	48.3	51.7	52.6	47.4
Germany	45.5	54.5	38.1	61.9

Roma	35.9	64.1	39.2	60.8
Lemkos	34.6	65.4	62.9	37.1
Belarusians	30.3	69.7	35.5	64.5
Vietnamese	22.6	77.4	16.2	83.8
Muslims	21.0	79.0	13.1	86.9
Arabs	19.8	80.2	11.4	88.6
Karaites	19.7	80.3	20.6	79.4
Russians	18.8	81.2	17.3	82.7
Indians	16.4	83.6	12.8	87.2

Source: Based on compilation of 2023 measurement data in reports: Marek Zajic: 2024a, 2024b.

Among students in classes VII-VIII of primary and secondary schools, the highest percentage of respondents classified Poles (95%), Catholics (81.85%), Polish Tatars (79.7%), Czechs (62.6%) and Ukrainians (61.5%) as "their" group. The fewest indications for "their" group were Arabs (19.8%), Karaites (19.7%), Russians (18.8%) and Indians (16.4%). Teachers responding to the same question were overwhelmingly of a similar opinion - they indicated Poles (98.5%) and Catholics (90%). In contrast, they were least likely to select Russians (17.3%), Vietnamese (16.2%), Muslims (13.1%), Hindus (12.8%) and Arabs (11.4%), i.e. mostly nations culturally distant from Poland (Marek Zajic: 2024a, 2024b).

As part of the survey of students and teachers, respondents were also asked about their attitudes towards the previously mentioned groups. Among pupils, the most positive responses were given by Poles (76.8%), Catholics (55.6%), Czechs (52.1%) and Polish Tatars (51.8%). The fewest such indications came from Belarusians (19.6%), Karaites (17.6%) and Russians (12%). Teachers, on the other hand, were most positive about their attitude towards Poles (81.6%)and Catholics (72.6%). This opinion was also held by Lithuanians (53.7%), Czechs (52.4%), Slovaks (51.9%), Polish Tatars (51.6%) and Ukrainians (51.1%). Arabs (24.4%), Muslims (23.5%) and Russians (19.2%) collected the fewest such responses; (Marek Zajic: 2024b).

The opinions aggregated under the two questions - 'own' / 'foreign' and the expressions of sympathy for a particular group - overlapped almost entirely. Sympathy for a particular group manifested itself simultaneously with the recognition of that group as 'one's own' for most peoplesand minorities.

7. Opinions on migration

Opinions about foreigners and national and ethnic minorities may to some extent be determined by the migrations taking place within our country. Poland has in recent years transformed itself from an emigration destination to a migration destination. A recent European Social Survey examined, among other things, the impact of immigrants on the situation in our country. When it came to opinions on the settlement in the country of foreigners who belong tothe same race and ethnic group, 77.2 percent of the inhabitants of the Polish countryside were positive to such an idea. Responses in small towns ranged from 83% of residents to 90% in large cities. Lower indications included immigrants from other racial and ethnic groups - this was 47% in villages, 65% in small towns and 77% in large urban centres (IPSOS: 2024).

The results obtained in the latest and previous editions of the European Social Survey also allow us to conclude that Poles' attitudes towards foreigners have changed positively in recent years. For example, in 2002, the favourability for migrants representing a different race was 10 points lower than the current one. Compared to the survey four years ago, there was an increase of as much as 29 percentage points. The biggest fluctuations in this regard were between 2010 and 2018, when approval of accepting foreigners in Poland fell by 35 pp. (decline from 71%to 36%) (IPSOS: 2024).

Compared to the other more than 30 countries surveyed in the European Social Survey, Poland represents similar opinions to those obtained in Western Europe. On average, 65% of us are in favour of foreigners of a different skin colour or ethnic origin settling in our areas. The Dutch (76%) and Germans (70%) have a similar view. At the other extreme are the Hungarians (16% positive responses on this topic) and the Czechs (27%) (IPSOS: 2024).

8. National and ethnic minorities

The concepts of national and ethnic minorities are widely known, but their actual meaning and distinction pose problems for society and for researchers representing various fields.The following section of this paper will attempt to clarify them on the basis of subjectively collected material, and to relate them to the title national identity.

8.1. Definitions of national and ethnic minorities

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997, in Article 35, gives all Poles belonging to national and ethnic minorities the freedom to preserve and develop their own language, customs and traditions and to develop their own culture. It also guarantees them the right to establish their own institutions of an educational and cultural nature and those for the protection of their religious identity, as well as the right to participate in the settlement of matters concerning their cultural identity. At the same time, the Constitution does not define what is the concept of national minorities and what is the concept of ethnic minorities. Moreover, two different terms appear in it - Article 35 refers to national and ethnic minorities, while Article 27 mentions only national minorities (Constitution of the Republic of Poland...: 1997).

However, a distinction between the terms mentioned appears in the Act of 6 January 2005 on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language. According to its provision in Article 2, the main difference between national minorities and ethnic minorities is identification with the nation organised in their own country in the case of the first group. Their common features are their smaller size in relation to the rest of the population of our country, their clear distinction from other citizens in terms of language, culture or traditions, and their striving to preserve these features. In addition, national and ethnic minorities must be aware of their own historical national community and their ancestors must have inhabited the present territory of Poland for at least 100 years (Law of 6 January 2005).

The concepts of national and ethnic minorities, on the other hand, according to some political scientists, are differentiated not so much by the feeling of their representatives as by the fact of the size of the minority in question in another country. Representatives of a cultural community who do not have their own country constitute an ethnic minority. However, such a distinction is not universally accepted, as it excludes Kurds and Roma, among others, from acquiring the status of a national minority (Andrzej Krasnowolski: 2011). Janusz Kochanowski confirmed in one of his papers that there is no single universal definition of minority as opposed to nationality, which is a strictly defined state. According to him, nationality is an individual state related to a person's identification with a specific ethnic group (Janusz Kochanowski: 2006, after: Andrzej Krasnowolski: 2011). Ethnicity, on the other hand, in the opinion of Hastings Donnan and Thomas Wilson, is the counterpart of national identity and is also its essential strength (Hastings Donnan, Thomas M. Wilson: 2007).

8.2. National and ethnic minorities in Poland

According to the latest National Population and Housing Census of 2021, a persistent picture of ethnic distinctiveness of regional communities in Poland is evident. Respondents were able to freely declare their national and ethnic affiliation. Among the most frequently indicated national-ethnic identities were the Silesian and Kashubian declarations. The former collected a total of (for the first and second ethnic question) 585.7 thousand declarations, which constitutes 43.7% of all non-Polish identifications indicated in the survey. Moreover, 231.8 thousand Poles indicated a Silesian identification as the first, while 353.9 thousand indicated it as the second. In the case of Kashubian affiliation, this was respectively 13.2% of all persons declaring identification other than Polish, representing 176.9 thousand respondents. The vast majority of people declared Kashubian affiliation as second - this was 162.2 thousand people (Preliminary results of the Census 2021...: 2023).

As far as opinions and attitudes towards national and ethnic minorities in Poland are concerned, they have been the subject of previous analyses relating to other nationalities. In addition, in the survey of students from classes VII-VIII of primary schools and secondary schools, mentioned several times, among the characteristics which can be attributed to Poles, high indications were gathered by those concerning other nations or ethnic groups and national minorities.

Table 4. Evaluation of selected characteristics attributed to Poles by students.

	I strongly agree	I rather agree	I rather disagree	I strongly disagree	Difficult to say
Tolerance towards other peoples	29.6	38.1	15.6	9.2	7.5
Tolerance towardsnational and ethnicminorities living in Poland	22.5	40.0	17.4	10.0	10.1
Religious tolerance	27.4	32.3	17.3	14.1	8.9
Anti-Semitism	14.6	17.9	24.9	23.6	19.0

Source: Based on a compilation of 2023 measurement data in the report: Marek Zajic: 2024a.

Nearly 70% of positive indications were gathered by the statement that Poles are tolerant towards other nations. More than 62% of the surveyed students also believe that tolerance towards national and ethnic minorities living in Poland is a characteristic that can be attributed to the inhabitants of our country. Slightly less than 60% of indications were given to the statement about religious tolerance, and the least (over 32%) to the trait referring to anti-Semitism - however, in this case nearly one fifth of the responses were given to the statement *difficult to say*.

Summary

A review of the literature, including an analysis of a number of studies on opinions about foreigners and national and ethnic groups, does not make it possible to determine unequivocally how and to what extent national identity determines liking or disliking of non-Poles (H1). The stereotypes that have formed over the years are visible in numerous research publications in the form of similar results, in particular extreme ratings for several nations and groups. Among the most common prejudices are anti-Semitic, anti-German and anti-Russian stereotypes. They have their origins in past and more contemporary historical events or negative attitudes towards various nations, e.g. Russians as "enemies and Asians" or Prussians "as enemies and Europeans" (AndrzejKępiński: 1990, after: Kazimierz Łastawski: 2007). The aforementioned stereotypes fill in the gaps in the lack of knowledge about others, as it is easier to accept an established group assessment than to make one's own analysis in terms of social differentiation (Kazimierz Łastawski: 2007).

With regard to national identity, on the basis of the literature analysed and the results of research, sympathies for nations and groups close to us or similar in cultural and ethnic terms are clearly visible (H2). The ongoing war in Ukraine and the common origin and history, albeit with numerous painful threads, clearly increased the sympathy of Poles towards this nation. The spontaneous uprising and the widespread aid flowing from the first hours of the conflict represent big hearts and an abandonment of all the bad experiences of the past. At the same time, the relatively low level of sympathy for the Russians and Belarusians has also been considerably diminished by the conflict beyond our eastern border.

The migration crisis that emerged in Europe a few years ago and continues to some extenttoday has led to a large uncontrolled migration of foreigners from Middle Eastern countries. The stereotypical distance to peoples from this area has been further exacerbated because of this, as can be seen in the results of the surveys analysed and the low ratings for Arabs and Muslims, among others.

On the other hand, the results of surveys among students, teachers and Poles cited and compared with each other show that opinions towards selected nations or ethnic minorities are generally similar, but differ within the given respondents. Young people show greater acceptance than the general population of the country. Teachers seem to be even more tolerant, but in their case it is possible that the opinions obtained are due to their profession and thus their role in the educational process. Clearly higher assessments towards other nations and national minorities observed among students and their teachers

may positively influence and prognosticate the process of education or the promotion of tolerance of cultural differences in schools (H3).

Thus, it can be seen that the results in the individual groups form a pattern where teachers show the least attitudes of dislike towards national groups, students from secondary schools and the last grades of primary schools show attitudes intermediate between the group of teachers and Poles in general. Poles, on the other hand, are most critical of national groups, especially those ranked lower in the hierarchy of sympathies. This may mean that tolerant attitudes, the teachers' not demonstrating dislike of any ethnic or national group, in some way influences the pupils under their influence. Attitudes characterised by a greater degree of dislike characterise adult Poles and are therefore rather acquired outside of school and certainly outside of curricular teaching.

Nevertheless, both the CBOS and the European Social Survey, conducted periodically for more than 20 years, confirm that Poles' attitudes towards people of other nationalities and ethnic groups have changed. We are more open and inclined to accept and even sympathise with many groups different from us. We are thus moving towards a more Western European approach, i.e. a nation that is open and tolerant towards 'strangers'.

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Completion

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Based on the data presented, which show various aspects of Polishness among principals, teachers and students at different levels of education, specific recommendations can be made to help shape and strengthen Polish identity in schools. Strengthening Polishness in schools requires the integration of a variety of educational activities that promote a sense of national identity, knowledge of the Polish language, history and observance of Polish customs. The regular involvement of all groups - principals, teachers and students - in patriotic and civic initiatives is crucial for the effective shaping and strengthening of Polishness in educational institutions.

Principals should particularly focus on promoting national values, which is important to 92.3% of them. Introducing school educational programmes and organising patriotic events can significantly contribute to strengthening the sense of Polishness. It is also important to emphasise the importance of Polish citizenship, which can be done through educational initiatives and encouraging students to become socially active. It is also worth honouring students and teachers for special merits for Poland, which is appreciated by 76.0% of principals.

Teachers, 84.3% of whom feel a strong sense of Polishness, should involve students in projects on Polish culture and history. Strengthening Polish identity can be done by organising competitions and educational projects. Knowledge of Polish history and use of the Polish language should also be a priority. Regular testing of knowledge of the Polish language and the organisation of additional language classes can significantly improve these indicators.

Secondary school students should be encouraged to participate in educational projects and extracurricular activities that promote patriotism and civic values. Historical competitions and educational excursions can increase knowledge of Polish history, which is important for 42.6% of students. It is also important to promote Polish customs and traditions by organising school events.

Among 7th - 8th grade students, the sense of Polishness is very strong (79.4%), which should be supported through educational initiatives that strengthen national identity. The introduction of interactive teaching methods, such as educational games, can help shape interest in Polish culture and history. Equally important is the promotion of citizenship and social activism through education on civic rights and responsibilities.

For the youngest pupils (classes IV-VI), the sense of Polishness is the highest (89.0%). The use of interactive teaching methods that introduce Polish traditions and customs in an accessible way can be very effective. Teaching through fun and interactive activities, such as educational games and art projects, will help develop Polish language skills and national identity.

Furthermore, the recommendations should take into account the most important elements from the internal and external space of the school. Curricula should include patriotic values such as respect for tradition and solidarity. Interactive methods, e.g. educational projects and visits to memorial sites, can increase student engagement. Cooperation with local museums and the use of modern technology, such as documentaries and educational apps, enrich patriotic education. Involving parents through trips to historical sites strengthens community ties. Such an integrated programme allows students to better understand their national identity.

Intercultural education should be part of the curricula so that students have a better understanding of diversity. Interactive methods, e.g. workshops with representatives of different cultures, and cooperation with local minorities can increase pupils' involvement. The use of modern technology, such as documentaries and virtual exchanges, can enrich intercultural education. Involving parents in cultural events strengthens social bonds and promotes tolerance. Schools should also introduce modules on cultural diversity in the curriculum.

Schools should integrate national symbols, such as the flag and the anthem, into the curriculum so that pupils better understand their meaning. Interactive methods, such as competitions and projects, can increase student engagement. Cooperation with local cultural institutions and the use of modern technology, such as educational apps, can enrich the teaching of national symbols. Involving parents in projects related to national symbols strengthens social bonds.

Schools should furthermore promote the activities of NGOs to develop patriotic values and civic engagement. Cooperation with NGOs through workshops and community projects increases students' social responsibility. Modern technologies, such as educational platforms and volunteering apps,

can support these activities. Involving parents in NGO initiatives strengthens social bonds and promotes active citizenship. Schools should also encourage students to participate in local projects, festivals and community actions to develop their sense of responsibility. Interactive methods such as volunteer projects and public debates can increase involvement. Collaboration with local organisations and local authorities enables direct participation in the community. Modern technology supports the organisation of events and community engagement.

Schools should use social media and new technologies in teaching about patriotism and national identity. E-learning platforms, educational apps and virtual classrooms can increase student engagement. Collaborating with local media and technology experts enriches the educational process. Involving parents and the community in digital education supports the development of students' digital competence.

Pupils should participate in the organisation of national holidays, which can increase their interest in traditions. It is the school's task to organise a variety of events, such as re-enactments or patriotic concerts, to engage students. Collaboration with local cultural institutions and modern technologies, such as live broadcasts, can enrich celebrations. Involving parents in these events strengthens social and cultural bonds. Integrating patriotic-themed art, literature and music into the curriculum can develop students' creativity. Literary competitions, exhibitions and concerts can deepen their connections to national values. Collaboration with local artists and cultural institutions and the use of modern technology, such as online platforms to showcase works, supports these initiatives. Involving parents in art projects strengthens social bonds.

Knowledge of local history strengthens pupils' sense of identity. Schools should organise excursions, meetings with local historians and research projects so that students can learn more about their surroundings. Collaboration with local museums and archives and modern technologies such as mobile apps can enrich the learning of local history.

Student exchange programmes should include both national and international establishments so that students can learn about different aspects of culture. Joint educational projects and study visits can increase engagement. Cooperation with foreign schools and modern technology such as video conferencing platforms support these programmes. Involving students in preparations for exchanges motivates them to actively participate.

Creating debate clubs allows students to discuss patriotic values and current events. Debates and parliamentary simulations develop the ability

for constructive dialogue. Collaboration with local universities and organisations and modern technologies such as online forums support the clubs' activities. Involving students in debate competitions motivates them to actively participate.

Schools should cooperate with museums, archives and scientific institutions by organising lectures and excursions. Such activities enrich the curriculum and give students a better understanding of how the state functions. Cooperation with local authorities and the use of modern technologies such as webinars support these initiatives. Involving students in projects related to state institutions develops their analytical skills.

Teaching about civic rights and state structures is key to shaping an informed society. Schools should introduce civic education classes, replacing the WoS subject. Election simulations and civic projects increase student involvement. Collaboration with local institutions and modern technologies support learning about civic rights. Involving parents in educational projects strengthens social bonds.