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Research Reports

Social rehabilitation of minors, or a few words about the destruction of the achievements of the social sciences by politicians

As of the first of September 2021, the Law on the Support and Social Rehabilitation of Minors, passed by the conservative parliamentary majority and unfortunately signed by the President of Poland, is in force in Poland, replacing the previous 1982 Law on Minors, a law that was enacted 40 years ago, during the Martial Law introduced in the People's Republic of Poland by the communist authorities at the time.

It would seem, then, that the new juvenile law would break away from past practice dating back to the People's Republic of Poland and be based on modern scientific knowledge and the contemporary experience and achievements of many European countries.

However, nothing could be further from the truth, since contrary to the title of the Act, which talks about the support and social rehabilitation of minors, the text of the Act does not mention the support of minors and the process of social rehabilitation itself is reduced to the punitive stay of a minor in a social rehabilitation facility, which is contrary to modern assumptions and concepts of social rehabilitation, and the practical achievements in this area.

For in its essence, the Act is geared towards a more advanced social isolation of juveniles than before, a higher conviction rate, at the expense of their educational and correctional relations, family relations and, above all, the development of correct bonds with society. In addition, it copies a number of provisions of the "old" Peoples' Republic Act on juvenile delinquency proceedings (1982).

We are referring first of all to the coincidence of Articles 5, 6, 7, with subsections, of the Act on juvenile delinquency proceedings with Article 7, with subsections, of the Act on the support and social rehabilitation of juveniles, which are the most important, from a substantive point of view, part under review, as they concern the educational measures that can be applied by the courts to children and adolescents.

It turns out that the educational measures specified in the Act on the support and social rehabilitation of juveniles of 2022 overlap almost entirely with the educational measures of the Act dated 1982!

So for the authors of the new Act, the educational measures used in 1982 are sufficient, appropriate and relevant to today's reality!

The achievements of modern psychological and pedagogical sciences have been completely ignored and the reproduction of educational methods from the communist era should probably not be regarded as a lousy joke…

A very controversial idea contained in the new Act is setting the lower age of demoralization at 10 years old. Although the legal community has been calling for years for a statutory definition of the limit, which until now has been an undoubted legislative gap that could provoke abuses in this regard, but in the opinions I am aware of, they did not refer to a specific age and did not justify the formal and legal legitimacy of the 10-year age limit specified in the Act under review.

The basic question is: is the child at the age of 10 sufficiently developed (mentally, e.g., cognitively, emotionally; biologically and socially) to be able to (consciously, reasonably) stand before the court and understand and at least partially accept the educational measures applied to him/her? All scientific arguments clearly indicate that the lower limit of demoralization set at the age of 10 is a flawed solution from a psychological, biological-medical and pedagogical point of view.

The Act in question also directly defines the means of direct coercion that can be used against juveniles placed in a social rehabilitation facility.

The use of direct coercive measures: handcuffs, safety belts, placement in the adaptation room of a juvenile, is from the psychological and pedagogical point of view a violation of his/her psychological and mental structures and the rights and freedoms belonging to every human being, and if there is such an absolute necessity (a threat to the life or health of the pupil or others) the direct coercive measure should be used only in definitive cases, thoroughly recognized by a specialist (psychiatrist, clinical psychologist) and, above all, precisely defined and codified, which is something that the discussed Act completely lacks.

On the other hand, a complete curiosity are the provisions of Art. 4 par. 4 of the draft Act on the support and social rehabilitation of juveniles has not been found in any juvenile act nor any educational act to date, and which impose an obligation on the school that does not fit into contemporary, well-known European concepts of the public education system.

They provide a formal opportunity for the school principal to use a register of punishments, which until now were reserved exclusively for the family court, shifting, as it were, responsibility for non-didactic forms of student behavior to the principal and the school.

At the same time, the wording of section 4 indicates that the director is supposed to be able to diagnose signs of demoralization and have an understanding of the code registers of criminal acts.

The cited statutory provision thus gives principals of public schools in Poland the official status of social judge, prosecutor, and at the same time executor of punishments for students.

This bizarre situation may change the face of Polish education, from an educational and developmental face to a punitive and stigmatizing face, which has nothing to do with the educational function of school, which is to remove barriers to the personal and social development of students and practically teach them, among other things, such values as solidarity, helpfulness, caring, etc. The introduction into school life of formalized punishments hitherto reserved for the jurisdiction of the courts will undoubtedly result in an increase in the level of exclusion and stigmatization of children and adolescents, and the very fact of transferring responsibility for the fate of minors from the judicial apparatus to school principals is a procedure that is incomprehensible and educationally and socially harmful.

From the perspective of both contemporary knowledge of juvenile social rehabilitation and the experience of European countries, one should expect legal solutions aimed at improving the system of juvenile social rehabilitation in free or semi-free conditions, in close contact with the natural family environment, in the local environment closest to social environment, while instead we received a legal act that "detaches" juveniles from the family and environment and "suspends" them in a social vacuum. The Act under discussion proposes nothing of the sort…

The Act on the support and social rehabilitation of juveniles that came into force on September 1, 2022, can thus conventionally be called the "juvenile penitentiary law," as it is geared toward increasing the level of punitive and isolationist measures applied to juveniles.

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Conduct disorders in children
– from diagnosis to therapy

Abstract: Conduct disorders in children and adolescents are associated with the risk of developing criminal behavior in the future. They negatively affect the child's development as well as the functioning of its social environment – parents, teachers and peers. For these reasons, they require early diagnosis and intervention. The data on the limited effectiveness of therapeutic interventions are worrying, especially if they are undertaken in the context of already established disorders. Specialists propose a variety of influences aimed at strengthening the relationships in which children participate, correcting children's beliefs about themselves, other people and the world, and changing undesirable behaviors. The article describes the essence of behavioral disorders, their types, diagnostic dilemmas, etiology and selected therapies.

Key words: conduct disorder, risk group, conduct disorder therapy.

Introduction – about the symptoms of conduct disorders

Conduct disorders in children have aroused the interest of researchers for years: their immediate ailment and expected negative consequences mobilize the search for educational and therapeutic solutions aimed at their regulation.

The term "conduct disorder" is sometimes used in different contexts; 1. colloquial, in which case it usually means rule-breaking, 2. as a jurisprudential category in the field of education law (Kołakowski 2020a), covering a variety of

difficult behaviors of children and, finally, as 3. a diagnosis made on the basis of strict diagnostic criteria of classification systems, primarily DSM[1] and ICD[2]. The inclusion of conduct disorders in classification systems reflects the commonly accepted scientific understanding of these behaviors, in terms of etiology, essence and therapeutic perspectives – while it is free from moral evaluation of these problems, which is not obvious when other perspectives are adopted to analyze the issues (Morrison 2016).

Classification systems of mental disorders indicate that the essence of the problems discussed here are difficulties in regulating emotions and behavior (Morrison 2016).

In the DSM V, which is the system most often cited in clinical research and more widely, in the literature, the category of disorganization, impulse control and conduct disorders includes oppositional defiant disorder (ODD). These range, depending on the intensity, from relatively mild transgressions of norms based on cultural expectations of defying authority figures or educators(Morrison 2016), to serious violations of laws and social rules. It is necessary to distinguish, although sometimes it is difficult, the developmental pursuit of independence and self-determination of young people from the noncompliance behavior of children and adolescents, which already enters the realm of psychopathology. The criteria for this distinction are rooted in a particular culture, social rules, sometimes difficult to verbalize.

Easiness to become irritated or angry, provocative or argumentative behavior, vindictiveness – these are the most important areas of characteristics of emotions and behavior that may suggest the ODD. In the process of making a diagnosis, other evaluation criteria should be taken into account, related, for example, to the timing and severity of symptoms. If the diagnosis is made, it means that the child has established patterns of negative, rebellious, provocative and/or destructive behavior (Kołakowski 2020a).

ODD is most often diagnosed at school age (Kołakowski 2020a), although the first symptoms appear as early as preschool. Resolving the dilemma: ODD or "rebellious child"[3] is easier to grasp *post factum*, when it is apparent whether difficulties in sticking to rules were a predictor or early symptom of the disorder, or whether they were merely a manifestation of a difficult temperament or parenting problems related, for example, to the child's personality or family characteristics.

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[1] As of May 2013, the fifth version of the classification proposed by the American Psychiatric Association is in effect.

[2] In May 2019, the preparation of the 11th version of the ICD was completed (this classification is the result of the work of experts invited by the WHO), it will be effective from January 2022, currently the current version is still the 10th one, although due to the change in the way disorders are included in clinical practice and research, many specialists already refer to the ICD 11.

[3] By this I mean a child defying his/her parents, but one whose behavior falls within the developmental norm area.

Another diagnostic category in the same group of diagnoses, proposed by DSM V, is conduct disorder (CD), which is expressed by an established pattern of aggressive, rebellious and/or antisocial behavior. These behaviors are also characterized by significant stability (Schaffer 2013) over the course of life, which, however, does not determine the ineffectiveness of the treatment and therapy undertaken (Nelson, Finch, Ghee, 2010). One can distinguish between CD with an early (less promising) or late (relatively more favorable) onset. CD predictors are usually observable even in very young children, for example when they get angry quickly in an uncontrollable manner, show signs of angry affect, blame others (Kołakowski 2020a).

The latest version of the classification system proposed by the WHO, the ICD 11, proposes the category of destructive and dissocial behavior to describe the above problems. It includes oppositional defiant disorder and dissocial behavior disorder, and these categories can be applied to all age groups.[4] These diagnoses do not, of course, exhaust the possible causes of aggressive behavior, which can occur in the course of many diseases or disorders. Compared to the ICD 10, which is still in effect, this proposal is simpler, not requiring a distinction between types of conduct disorders (limited or not to the family environment, with a normal or abnormal socialization process) – which, in any case, reflects one of the main assumptions underlying the revision of this classification system. Hereinafter, the term "conduct disorders" will be used implicitly to mean a set of behaviors from the field of psychopathology, diagnosable using DSM or ICD criteria.

Conduct disorders understood as a psychiatric diagnosis should therefore be distinguished from aggressive behavior or lawbreaking (Kołakowski 2020a). Colloquially, these terms are sometimes used interchangeably, for the reason that conduct disorders include, among other things, aggressive behavior and often result in breaking the law. However, it is worth remembering that, on the one hand, we distinguish different types of aggression (Kołakowski 2020a), and lawbreaking occurs for a wide variety of reasons; conduct disorders are only one of them, on the other hand, conduct disorders involve the specific functioning of a person on many levels: of neurological basis, characteristic way of experiencing emotions and constructing an image of the world, and finally at the level of behavior, available for direct observation. Therefore, they are not limited to aggression.

The above-mentioned behaviors of children causing difficulties for caregivers can be determined by a variety of causes, so the process of diagnosis goes beyond stating and describing them – it also includes the so-called differential diagnosis, which involves ruling out other possible causes of symptoms.

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[4] ICD-11 Mental, behavioral or neurodevelopmental disorders: innovations and managing implementation, Wolfgang Gaebel, Ariane Kerst, Archives of Psychiatry and Psychotherapy, 2019; 3, 7–12

Diagnosis – selected issues

The diagnostic process itself is subject to a high risk of error: for example, oppositional defiant disorder and conduct disorder are sometimes diagnosed in a situation of unclear symptoms (e.g., getting irritated easily, sensitivity), which, as it turns out, in adolescence preceded the full expression of bipolar disorder. The course of mania in children and adolescents includes difficulties with behavioral control – which may suggest CD and often this diagnosis is made as the more likely one.

There is also possibility that behaviors suggestive of ODD or CD represent children's reactions to extremely difficult situations they have witnessed or been forced to participate in. Post-traumatic stress syndrome, which is a possible response to such situations, increases the risk of mental health problems, in this case conduct disorders. Thus, a diagnosis of PTSD does not exclude other diagnoses: it may happen that the symptoms of PTSD are misinterpreted as symptoms of ODD or CD, but it may happen that PTSD becomes part of the process of psychopathology, becomes a trigger for it, an environmental risk factor leading to the development of conduct disorders.

When children are raised in conditions that cause them to be insecure, in a situation of constant danger, violence, neglect or other factors related to the failure to meet children's vital needs, they may develop what is known as Complex-PTSD. This diagnosis, included in the ICD 11, covers the entire spectrum of possible symptoms, with the key being problems with regulation in three spheres: intrapersonal, including, among others, the area of self-esteem, problems in regulating emotions, and varied problems in interpersonal relationships. Analysis of the individual developmental paths of children experiencing Complex PTSD indicates that difficulties with anger regulation, the occurrence of aggressive behavior is one of the variants of Complex PTSD expression.

Another disorder that often co-occurs with ODD or CD and is sometimes confused with them is attention deficit hyperactivity disorder. ADHD and ODD/CD are placed in a single group in the American Psychiatric Association's classification: externalizing behavior (Kołakowski 2020a), reflecting not only some similarities in symptoms, but also those in terms of etiology and, in part, treatment. The co-occurrence of these disorders worsens a child's prognosis, not only those relating to the intensity and duration of symptoms over time, but also those relating to his or her future at school, at work, and related to functioning in intimate relationships or social relationships more broadly(Kołakowski 2020a). Risks regarding substance abuse or trespassing are also multiplied (Kołakowski 2020a).

Conduct disorders are associated with the risk of developing personality disorders, especially antisocial personality disorders. Personality disorders are generally diagnosed in adulthood, as before then the personality remains in the

process of intensive development. In recent years, perhaps due to the widespread acceptance of the assumption that the process of personality development actually lasts a lifetime, the position in psychopathology that personality disorders can be diagnosed earlier has become increasingly clear. There is no doubt that traits such as sensitivity to rejection, a tendency to attribute hostile intentions to others, occurrence of violent behavior, inability to maintain stable and enduring emotional relationships (Lenkiewicz, Srebnicki, Bryńska, 2015) can be either a predictor or an early symptom of these disorders.

Above mentioned are only a few possible problems from the field of psychopathology, which enter into various relations with personality disorders: they are confused with it, co-occur with it, are their predictor. The full differential diagnosis is, of course, much more complex.

Conduct disorders are one of the most important reasons for reporting to psychiatrists, psychologists, educators. "Acting-out" disorganizes family, preschool or school life, and indicates that children who behave like this fall within the risk group for other externalizing or disorganizing disorders (Nelson, Finch, Ghee, 2010) and, to a lesser extent, internalizing disorders. It foreshadows aggressive behavior in adulthood and can, importantly from the point of view of social functioning, be a predictor of criminal behavior. Moreover, in the course of development, difficult behaviors accumulate and "pile up" (Lochman., Powell, Whidby, FitzGerald, 2010) the risk of addictions and poorer academic performance increases, which is associated with reduced career prospects (Johnson, McGue, Iacono, 2005), premature parenthood, various law-breaking behaviors or truancy (Lochman, Powell, Whidby, FitzGerald, 2010).

The aforementioned factors enter into a feedback system with each other (Johnson, McGue, Iacono 2005) which negatively affects therapeutic prospects if treatment is already implemented at the time of secondary consequences of conduct disorders. As some (Kołakowski 2020b) point out, in the case of full-blown conduct disorders, there are no "good and effective ways to deal with them" if the problem persists. It is therefore advisable to diagnose children at risk for conduct disorders as early as possible and provide multifaceted therapy as early as preschool age.

It is easy to conclude that behavioral problems so difficult to correct, are associated with significant costs incurred for their treatment and therapy, but – what is even more important from the point of view of pedagogical and psychological science – it also means a high probability of losing the sense of security of other children sharing space, experience of education or life with those who show aggressive behavior. The negative psychological effects of these behaviors also occur for parents and teachers struggling with these issues (Nelson, Finch, Ghee 2010). Adults report low effectiveness of educational and therapeutic interventions – as reflected in the persistence of aggressive behavior over the years (Schaffer 2013). Frequently, the result is a sense of helplessness in educators, their anger and sadness.

Etiology

The etiology of conduct disorders is complex; many risk factors co-occur and enter into multidirectional relationships with each other. In fact, "for both CD and ODD, the fundamental questions of etiology and mechanisms of onset remain unresolved" (Kazdin 2020). Genetic factors and those related to the quality of the family environment, but also peer and educational environment can be distinguished as the most significant (del Valle, Kelley, Seoanes 2001).

Studies aimed at determining the genetic significance of the etiological factor of these behaviors lead to the conclusion of its relevance (Johnson, McGue, Iacono 2005). The contribution of the genetic factor to these disorders is likely to be stronger in children in whom the expression of the problem occurs as early as early childhood (Johnson, McGue, Iacono 2005). It has been established that children who are easily angered, show difficulty in maintaining attention, and who are impulsive are more prone than others to externalizing disorders, including attention problems (Barkley 1997). However, it should be noted that the mentioned traits can be regarded as predisposing to disorders or already constituting a disorder; depending on their intensity and extent. However, one can look for specificity within dopamine, adrenaline and serotonin metabolism as characteristic of children with the problems described.

In the pedagogical and psychological literature, the awareness of the importance of the quality of the family environment for the course of the processes of formation of a person is widespread and has been established for years (Goldenberg, Goldenberg 2006; Twardowski 2012; Nowak 2016). Many researchers link children's conduct difficulties (disobedience, norm breaking, aggression) to certain characteristics of the home environment (Mash, Barkley 1998). It has been noted that behavior in the parent-child system is based on escalating cycles of coercion and resistance, which sometimes results from ineffective issuance of commands, requests to the child or rulet (del Valle, Kelley, Seoanes 2001). It has also been found that ODD is associated with numerous negative messages directed from mothers toward their children (Mash, Barkley 1998) (such a correlation was also confirmed by the author of the text with regard to children with ADHD) (Kubiak 2005). It is impossible to determine whether the primary cause in such situations is the child's temperamental traits, difficulties with biological regulation on the child's part, or the parent's lower competence regarding empathetic support for the child on the one hand and setting limits on the other[5].

Adopting this perspective of the possible etiology of conduct disorders is consistent with an analysis of the beliefs of children experiencing them.
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[5] I describe a similar mechanism in the book Być matką dziecka nadpobudliwego, Poznań 2007.

Specifics of functioning of children with conduct disorders

As early as the 1950s, researchers (Shapiro 1957) analyzed the beliefs of children demonstrating inappropriate[6] behavior: they believed, among other things, that direct means of achieving goals were more effective than any other means, that is, assuming mediation or negotiation. It was also pointed out that a sense of rejection and insecurity is present in the inner experience of children (McCord, McCord, Howard 1961). Later studiem (Lochman, Powell, Whidby, FitzGerald 2010) provide a better understanding of the inner world of children and adolescents with the described problem, but do not contradict the cited findings.

It has been established that aggressive children, including those with conduct disorders, differ from others in terms of their characteristic cognitive style. The biggest differences relate to different perceptions of social reality (Lochman, Powell, Whidby, FitzGerald 2010). And so, they may interpret neutral signals from the environment as hostile, resulting in increased levels of anxiety and anger that are inadequate to external events, but adequate to the children's internal reality[7]. In addition to over-sensitivity to signals of hostility[8], they also underestimate their own aggressiveness and ignore it (Nelson, Finch, Ghee 2010). Children perceive the world as hostile, which is sometimes the impetus for them to engage in thoughts and then actions related to pre-emptive attack. They tend to resolve situations not with negotiation or even verbal aggression, but with physical aggression directly aimed at harming the partner in the interaction (Lochman, Lampron 1986). This is the result of, among other things, misjudging one's own arousal as anger (Nelson, Finch, Ghee 2010) (rather than choosing among possible multiple interpretations: arousal can, after all, mean excitement, joy, fear, anger, etc.), but also social deficits, including, among others, a lack of ability to ask for help, to negotiate, to apologize. When experiencing frustration (which is very likely when surrounding signals are interpreted as hostile), children reach for direct, aggressive solutions not only in interactions with peers, but also with teachers (Nelson, Finch, Ghee 2010).

In summary, the dissimilarities in the functioning of children with conduct disorders and also oppositional defiant behaviors relate to emotions (repeated anger-anxiety cycles), cognitive patterns, as well as behaviors included in

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[6] This contradicts children's perceptions of adult expectations.

[7] We deal with the so-called logic of disorder in the course of all mental disorders – emotional reactions are usually not "suspended in a vacuum" and are a response to our thoughts – cf. Alford, Beck 2005.

[8] I am referring to the aforementioned interpretation of neutral signals as hostile and the overinterpretation of actually occurring hostile signals as more hostile, more threatening, than would be perceived by people without externalizing disorders.

symptoms for the purpose of classification. This means that effective therapeutic management should target changes in all these areas. Traditionally, therapy for externalizing disorders has mainly addressed the behavioral sphere (Kednall 2010).

Conduct disorder therapy

It was mentioned above that a crucial problem is the limited effectiveness of therapeutic interventions aimed at children with conduct disorders. Thus, there is a need to reach for solutions that already involve families at risk and not just those raising children with already-established problems. It is also worth noting that introducing single interventions (e.g., drawing consequences for behavior, setting limits, etc.) is not only ineffective, but may worsen the behavior of the child/teenager (Kołakowski 2020b) – so it is advisable to use long-term therapeutic programs, assuming the persistence and internal dynamics of the change process – which means accepting temporary deterioration during treatment. Guidelines have been developed for the work, which can be read as postulates for standards of treatment of behavioral disorders (Kołakowski 2020b), which take into account, among other things, the need to treat comorbid disorders, the focus on strengthening parents in their parenting role, including in terms of perceived self-efficacy, the assumption of long-term treatment, the inclusion of work on social relations, school problems, striving to establish and maintain cooperation between the home environment, school environment, in many cases also the judicial system. Also, in certain cases, pharmacotherapy and hospital treatment are recommended.

As can be seen from this, the treatment of conduct behavior and oppositional defiant behaviors is a complex, costly and lengthy process. It is aimed not only and not primarily at symptoms: on the contrary, it is now believed that from the point of view of the short- and long-term development of children with externalizing disorders, it is much more important to work in the area of their functional limitations than to focus on symptom reduction (Pelhram, Gnagy, Greiner i in. 2020). Secondary consequences of conduct disorders, such as difficulties in the peer group, functioning in it only vertically (treating people as occupying a position 'below' or 'above' the subject, not as people, colleagues, friends equal in essence to the subject), school problems, occupational problems, inability to solve problems without any conflicts – can leave an adverse mark on the lives of individuals and entire communities, despite the fact that they are not symptoms of disorders according to the definition.

Some of the most commonly used therapeutic interventions are briefly described below, divided into:
— relationship-oriented therapies, which as a principle should be applied as early as possible, preferably to parents and their young children, during the period when attachment patterns are still forming;

— therapies based on cognitive-behavioral theories – while this strand of work with children and adolescents with conduct disorders and oppositional defiant behaviors can be considered the dominant category of psychopedagogical interventions.

The described interventions are, of course, not the only ones in use, on the contrary, numerous and varied therapeutic interventions are currently proposed – the choice of interventions mentioned here is subjective, and made primarily on the basis of the criterion – whether the therapy is "evidence-based" (Metody… 2020).

According to the commonly used in pedagogy division of parental behavior into authoritarian, authoritative and permissive (Baumrind 1966), the authoritative parenting style, combining warmth and readiness to make demands, can be considered the most beneficial for children at risk of conduct disorders. A child raised in such an atmosphere has the chance to experience a safe, supportive relationship with someone they perceive as stronger and therefore providing support and security.

In the search for effective methods of supporting children at risk, programs have been developed to support parent-child interaction. Their assumptions are based on attachment theory. An example of such an intervention is Video Training (VIPP-SD) (Lambermon, van IJzendoorn 1989; Mesman, Stolk, van Zeij i in. 2008). This intervention is intended to ensure the emotional availability of parents to the child, increase their sensitivity to the child's needs, teach an attitude of following these needs, strengthen the ability to support the child in conjunction with making demands on the child, arising from the need for safety or respect for others. This strand of relationship-oriented therapy is applicable to a wide range of developmental and clinical problems, including in the course of aggressive behaviors and conduct disorders or more broadly – when there is a risk of their occurrence (Van Zeijl, Mesman, Koot i in. 2006). Assumptions of therapy based on attachment theory, aimed at supporting relationships, are implemented in various therapeutic programs. In addition to the VIPP-SD mentioned above, interaction therapy (PCIT), based on behavioral reinforcement, is very popular in the treatment of children with disorganizing behavior, and includes a didactic part during which parents are taught parenting skills and then a practice part during which they have the opportunity to practice them (Zisser-Nathenson, Herschell, Eyberg 2010). Parents learn what to do when a child behaves aggressively, breaks rules, exhibits destructive behavior. As early as the 1980s (Zisser-Nathenson, Herschell, Eyberg 2010), the effectiveness of these interventions was proved in a group of children with the behavioral problems described.

The use of interaction-oriented therapy, while it may be considered the treatment of choice in the prevention and management of conduct disorders that are not yet entrenched, may be more justified for younger children[9]. In terms of

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[9] Reasons for this include the greater flexibility of attachment patterns during their formation, but also the fact that older children and adolescents may show resistance to such therapy.

older children, programs are used aimed at 1. developing their social skills and skills of coping with problems (Kazdin 2020), 2. strengthening the competence and involvement of parents (Kazdin 2020).

At their core is usually a cognitive-behavioral view of the human being, which implies the assumption that in working with children with externalizing disorders one should aim to change behavior and the cognitive basis of it, that is, basic beliefs about the world (e.g., threatening versus safe, bad versus good people). Cognitive-behavioral therapy is a problem-focused, structured, collaborative therapy (Ambroziak, Kołakowski 2020). A prerequisite for its success is an accurate conceptualization of the problem, updated on an ongoing basis. The standard is to work simultaneously with children affected by the disorder, in the form of individual and/or group therapy, and their parents and teachers, in the form of parenting skills training.

To date, a number of therapeutic programs have been developed and positively verified for effectiveness – among them, for example:

— "The incredible years" (Webster-Stratton, Reid 2020), developed as an in--depth prevention and behavior correction program aimed at parents, teachers and children from their earliest years, with age-appropriate messages (various versions of the program);

— Oregon model of parenting skills training for parents of at-risk children, repeatedly modified (Forgatch, Gerwitz 2020);

— "Coping power", a contextual cognitive-behavioral model of prevention, aimed on the one hand at teaching social competence or developing problem-solving skills in children, and on the other hand at strengthening parental involvement and confidence in implementing discipline (Powell, Lochman, Boxmayer i in. 2020).

These and similar programs are based primarily on behavioral analysis of conduct, with a special place in the analysis of so-called antecedents (what precedes a child's behavior) in how parents relate to their child. The therapist also aims to trigger planning related to problem solving. Since in the case of children with conduct disorders, both they and their parents manifest deficits in coping with problems, especially those of an interpersonal nature, so the whole family can benefit from the program, not just the child/adolescent delegated as a patient.

Sometimes there are reasons to include family therapy in the treatment process as well (Jagielska 2020). This happens, among other things, if the family is found to have disorders in its structure (reversal of hierarchy, entanglement, or intergenerational coalitions), relationships saturated with anxiety and anger, and other serious problems in family functioning. They may have a role in the development of conduct disorders, but given the complex and, to this day, inconclusively described etiology, we can consider these family problems as risk factors, triggering psychopathology, while not their causes in the literal sense.

Summary

In summary, conduct disorder and oppositional defiant disorder are a category of behavior problems of very high social importance. They are sometimes predictors of criminal behavior, including interpersonal violence and psychoactive substance abuse. They represent a significant burden on the family, school, and peers of the person who presents them. They are an obstacle to building relationships, the essence of which is mutual understanding and support. It is not uncommon for these disorders to become enmeshed in a cycle of developing psychopathology that leads to the use of the aforementioned violence or intimidation, destructive to the victim, but also to the perpetrator. Children and then adolescents with behavioral disorders require support, which, however, is difficult to give them – because the way they think and perceive reality makes it difficult to receive it. This type of disorder requires early diagnosis and therapy; otherwise, interventions are ineffective and costs borne by the education, health care, judicial systems are very high.

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Youth crime prevention and school civic education in England – selected issues

Abstract: The issues of crime among youth are included in the citizenship education in England. The multi-facet understanding of crime is developed especially on the Key Stage 3. The citizenship education may be perceived – to some extend – as a transmitter of crime prevention among the youth. Thus, the author wanted to analyze how crime and crime prevention is presented in the strategic governmental documents on citizenship education. The aim of the paper is to analyze crime prevention among the youth in citizenship education in England. Moreover, in order to gain a broader perspective on the subject in question, the selected textbooks for citizenship education were analyzed in the context of crime. The presented problems are located in the socio-political and educational contexts.
Key words: citizenship education, crime prevention, England.

The introduction of compulsory civic education classes as a separate publicly funded subject in English secondary schools – compared to other Western societies – came late, as it was only at the beginning of the 21st century (Beck 2012; Hejwosz-Gromkowska 2019). The increase in interest in civic education – especially at school – aimed mainly at increasing civic unity and participation (one nation, Britishness, community of values, dealing with increasing immigration and separatist tendencies, e.g. in Scotland), came after 1997, when Labour took power.

Citizenship education was first introduced into the *National Curriculum* in 2000 and became a compulsory subject at the two key stages of education KS3 and KS4, covering young people between the ages of 11 and 16 (Kerr, Smith, Twine, 2008). According to some researchers, street riots in major cities in England, as well as the terrorist attacks carried out in London in 2005, the increase in the number of immigrants arriving from Central and Eastern Europe after 2004, and the emergence of a phenomenon called Islamophobia, have had no small impact on the development of interest in civic education in schools. From this perspective, in addition to strengthening ties in local communities, greater emphasis has also gradually been put on strengthening common identity (Britishness) (Kerr, Smith, Twine, 2008, p. 253). Change in the area of thinking about education among those responsible for education seems equally important. Indeed, schools were assigned an additional function formulated as the education and upbringing of future citizens and political socialization. This task has previously been the responsibility of the family, but with rapid social changes such as globalization, migration, the growing role of the media and the dispersion of authority figures, the family is no longer the sole socializing agency for the role of citizen (Hejwosz-Gromkowska, 2019).

From the perspective of the interesting problem of crime versus civic education, it should also be noted that it was under the Labor Party that there were also developments in the prevention of juvenile crime, as demonstrated by the *Crime and Disorder Act* enacted in 1998. As Maciej Muskała (2013) writes, "the law modified and created a number of institutions of the system, including perhaps the most important which are Youth Offending Teams (YOTs). They are the ones that face the main load of activities related to the prevention and fight against crime, but also other signs of social maladjustments in their area" (p. 113). Thus, it can be said that since 1998, as a result of reforms in the system of rehabilitation, a number of institutions have been established to prevent crime and the courts have numerous and varied measures against juveniles (Muskała 2013).

In this article, I will attempt to analyze the issue of juvenile crime prevention within selected aspects of school civic education in England. To this end, the government's strategic documents that form the basis for introducing, maintaining and reforming civic education in the English school system will also be analyzed. In order to gain a broader perspective, I will also analyze selected school textbooks for civic education. I locate the issues addressed in socio-political and pedagogical contexts.

Forming a sense of British identity (Britishness) as an overarching goal of civic education

There is a lot of discussion around the category of Britishnness in British society. With the coming to power of the Labor Party in the late 1990s, attention to this

category began to be paid again. An attempt was then made to (re)define the notion of Englishness and Britishness and confront them with immigration processes. It can also be assumed, following some researchers on the subject, that the search for and discovery of Britishness, as well as the emergence of the discourse of citizenship in the UK, has been fostered by the increase in the number of immigrants, but also by the separatist tendencies of the various countries of the UK and the processes of globalization (Kumar, 2006, p. 424).

When the Labor Party was in charge (1997–2010), some politicians maintained that "universal national citizenship" should be promoted as a tool for building social cohesion. In other words, the source of civic education should be the broadly understood Britishness. Representatives of the Conservative Party, which came to power in 2010, also put this Britishness at the center of their demands as the core of identity and the basis for building national unity. Conservatives also see the need for the inclusion of Britishness by minority groups, consequently including them in the process of building the "Big Society," which also parted ways with the ideology of multiculturalism (Hejwosz-Gromkowska, 2019).

It should be acknowledged that the concept of Britishness still remains a difficult category to define, as its meaning is understood differently by different social groups (Sales, 2010). Moreover, it is not a fixed category, and it has never been one, on the contrary: it is fluid, fluctuating and accommodative (Ward, 2009, p. 3). In the realm of social practice, Britishness is supposed to bind together the identities of the various British nations. In practice, however, UK residents identify more with their country, and most often treat Britishness in terms of status and certain civil rights. It is more common to encounter English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish identities than British ones (Layton-Henry, 2003, p. 61).

However, during the Labour government (1997–2010), coinciding with the introduction of compulsory civic education in schools, attention began to be paid – at the political and academic levels – to the need to build the previously mentioned social cohesion. Citizenship began to be understood as a space of realization for different cultures and beliefs, but its binder is to be shared, common British values (McGhee, 2008, p. 84). In this way, the school curriculum began to include the idea of education in the common values embodied in the very category of Britishness. After the Tories came to power in 2010, the vision of the so-called Big Society began to be promoted, according to which citizens are active in local communities (grassroots activities). The policies of Prime Minister David Cameron's ruling coalition, among others, have drawn attention to the need to reduce juvenile crime. One idea for implementing the chosen path was to mobilize citizens to "take matters into their own hands," while pointing out that the state is ineffective in these areas (Hejwosz-Gromkowska, 2019).

In order to understand the recent changes in education programs in England, and in the context of the problem of civic education that interests us and its importance in the prevention of juvenile crime, it is necessary to emphasize that

at the heart of the idea of the "Great Society" is the belief that it is the citizens, through their actions, who have a real impact on changing social reality. The assumptions of the idea of Great Society are not new, for such a solution was promoted as early as Margaret Thatcher's time, which in fact transferred the tasks of the state to the responsibility of citizens. In other words, the discourse of the responsible, engaged citizen who can solve their own problems with little state support has been present in the public space since the late 1970s. Activities at the political level during this period were mainly directed at the formation of active citizenship and the construction of the identity of the British within the category of Britishness. Attention to citizenship issues resulted in the introduction – under the Labour government – of a mandatory civic education subject in public schools (Hejwosz-Gromkowska, 2019).

Civic education in key government documents – Crick Report, Ajegbo Report and the National Curriculum

The introduction – as part of the education reform – of the *National Curriculum* in England and Wales in 1988 had a significant impact on the implementation of civic education in schools thereafter. In 1987, the Speaker of the House of Commons established the Citizenship Commission to find institutional solutions to overcome political and voter apathy among the younger generation. On her initiative, a cross-curricular civic education route was introduced in schools. Despite the fact that civic education was optional, locating it in the National Curriculum marked a milestone in the development of civic education in schools (Beck, 2012). One of the main reasons for this solution was the increase in political and social apathy among the youth (Heater, 2008, p. 115).

In response to the growing alienation of young people from political and social issues, a special group was established at the end of the 20th century under the chairmanship of Professor Bernard Crick to define the goals of civic education and to develop such activities to be introduced into school and local environments. Thus, the resulting Report noted the need to include social and moral responsibility, issues of commitment to the local, national and global community, the concept of political literacy in the content of curricula (McGhee, 2008, p. 88). Based on the conclusions of the cited Report, it was decided that from September 2002, civic education would be a compulsory school subject for young people between the ages of 11 and 16, corresponding to the third and fourth key stages of education (KS3, KS4) (Beck, 2012, p. 7).

The starting point for the development of the National Curriculum for Civic Education was the findings of the Crick Report. They also included three main goals of civic education:

1) social and moral responsibility: "formation of self-confidence among students and socially and morally responsible behavior in school and outside of school towards authorities and towards each other from an early age."

2) community involvement: "acquiring competencies to engage and help in local communities."

3) political literacy: "formation of skills that enable effective action in public life, thanks to appropriate knowledge, skills and values" (*Education for citizenship and teaching democracy in schools,* 1998, pp. 11–13).

The Crick Report made little mention of minorities, whose task, according to the authors, is primarily to integrate into British society by "learning and respecting the law, norms and conventions as much as the majority does, not because it is useful to do so, but because such an approach promotes the development of common citizenship" *(Education for citizenship and teaching democracy in schools,* 1998, p. 18). This orientation suggests the use of assimilation or integration policies.

In the context of the problem of interest – juvenile delinquency – the Crick Report emphasized the ability to prevent and resolve conflicts arising in local communities and also to take responsibility for one's actions, both positive and negative, which corresponded with the communitarian model of citizenship.

Among other things, the Crick Report was criticized for its overly general and superficial approach to issues of civic education and its "romantic" view of citizens' rights and duties. Moreover, in the view of critics, it represented a clumsy attempt to find a compromise between the political expectations of the Labour Party government and the Republican ideology professed by Chairman Crick (Osler, Starkey, 2001; Faulks, 2006). One of the undeniable weaknesses of the Report is certainly its focus on education for citizenship rather than education for citizens. As pointed out by the main critics of the Crick-led Commission's actions, Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, children, students are not treated as persons already with certain rights and responsibilities with the potential readiness to fulfill a more complex role in the future, but treated in an instrumental way, by no means as future citizens (Osler, Starkey 2006).

Another important background document for the development of civic education in England was the *Identity and Diversity: Living Together* report released in 2007 (known as the *Ajegbo Report*) introduced a previously overlooked aspect to the National Curriculum.

It consists of the following components:

— critical thinking about ethnicity, religion and race;
— the interplay between politics and values;
— referencing history in pedagogical narratives to understand contemporary citizenship issues (DfES, 2007, p. 12).

It should be noted that one of the goals of the report was to develop new civic education solutions to teach "core British values" while respecting cultural diversity. The task of civic and history education is to shape British identity by

exploring it in different contexts – historical, cultural, religious (DfES, 2007, p. 12). In other words, schools become an arena where values close to the British people are transmitted and where a sense of Britishness, patriotism and national pride are formed to build a united society.

The above documents were the starting point for the development of the *National Curriculum*'s civic education curriculum. The most recent major reforms in education programs were carried out in David Cameron's government under the leadership of Education Minister Michael Gove. Civic education was maintained as a separate and compulsory subject at the third and fourth key stages of education. The final curriculum in the National Curriculum went into effect in 2014. The goal of civic education at key stages three and four is "to provide students with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to prepare them to play a full and active role in society. Civic education, in particular, should expand knowledge and understanding of democracy, governance and lawmaking. The goal of teaching is to equip students with the knowledge and skills to critically explore social and political issues, understand the value of various arguments, debate and the art of rational argumentation. Civic education should also prepare students to be responsible citizens who manage their money rationally and make common-sense economic decisions" (DfE, 2014, p. 82).

Among the specific objectives were:
— to have knowledge and understanding of the system of government in the UK, the political system and the active participation of citizens in the democratic system of government;
— acquisition of knowledge and understanding of the rule of law and the administration of justice in our society including the law-making process;
— to arouse interest and desire for volunteering and other forms of responsible social activity, which students will be able to continue as adults;
— having the ability to think critically, to discuss policy issues, and the ability to manage one's own savings and to plan spending (DfE, 2014, p. 82).

Unlike previous reforms, this one has a strong emphasis on expanding political, legal and economic knowledge. From this perspective, civic education has taken more the form of *Civics*, or education about law, political and legal systems.

It should be noted that the Conservative Party government has continued to promote core British values through the school system. Inspectors from the body that inspects educational institutions in the UK, *The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted)*, are required to inspect schools for "the promotion of fundamental British democratic values, the rule of law, personal freedom, mutual respect, and tolerance of people of other faiths or religions" (Ofsted, 2005, 2015; Burton, May, 2015). The promotion of British values in schools, supported by the Conservative governments, is also aimed at combating extremism. One should refer here to a government document issued in 2015,

which includes counter-terrorism guidelines, titled *Prevent duty*. It stipulates that it is incumbent on every person responsible for education and training to protect young people from fascination with terrorism and joining terrorist networks (HM Goverment, 2015). In doing so, it is worth noting that modern education policy is directed at social prevention, minimizing the risk of extremist and fundamentalist actions. On the other hand, fueling a sense of fear and suspicion is not conducive to building social unity. Increased protection of children from harmful content can also have the negative effect of limiting freedom of speech, exchange of experiences and ideas, which is the foundation of a democratic and civil society. From this perspective, civic education ceases to be open, on the contrary, it becomes closed, aimed at strong prevention, which stems from a culture of fear and the need for social surveillance (Furedi, 2015; *Dudenhoefer,* 2018). The introduction of this law shows radical actions on the part of the conservative party, and at the school level it introduces a policy of distrust and closure, which is also recently reinforced by the military ethos (Davies, Chong, 2016).

It is noteworthy that according to the *Education and Inspections Act* of 2006, schools have a duty to promote social unity. According to studies by the Ministry of Education, social unity is understood as "working for a society that unites all communities in a common vision and sense of belonging, and everyone's diversity and social background is valued and respected" (DfE, 2015). The program guidelines indicate that the school should contribute to cooperation in the local environment area and prepare students to better understand other cultures (QCA, 2010). From this perspective, Labour's continued political line of promoting British values and strengthening social unity has resulted in the creation of student councils in schools and the involvement of schools in local society. Understood in this way, the approach to civic education also aims to counteract all forms of deviancy among young people, as well as crime, by building strong local communities. In this sense, the school becomes a place where community ties are strengthened. In this context, as Alveena Malik notes, "the school can become the heart of any local community (and indeed in many areas it has), being a safe place for children, families and others to interact with each other, to get rid of prejudices, and to teach, not only children, to trust each other so that they can become good neighbors and active citizens" (Malik, 2012, p. 70). However, it should be noted that juvenile crime prevention is not explicitly included in either government strategic documents or the *National Curriculum*. However, striving to build social unity, through integrated social action inside and outside the school, is aimed at preventing juvenile crime. In addition, recent reforms in the education curriculum, in line with the Tory political line, are aimed at strengthening knowledge of the law and judicial institutions, which was less emphasized under Labour. It should be stressed again that both the policies of Britishness and social cohesion promoted by the Labor Party and the idea of the Big Society promoted by the Tories since 2010 heavily emphasize the individual's responsibilities to the

state and society. From this perspective, if the mechanisms of socialization fail, the responsibility for failure lies with the individual. In other words, with this assumption, the individual is responsible for coming into conflict with the law. In a complex array of social forces, such an approach seems reductionist in nature, and the concept of civic responsibility narrowly understood.

The *National Curriculum* is constantly undergoing changes depending on the social and political situation. In recent years, there has been a debate about keeping civic education as a separate subject. This is because proponents of this approach believe that it is necessary in order to properly educate future citizens in a rapidly changing society. Interestingly, in parallel to the ongoing discussion of this topic in successive revisions of the curriculum, there has been an increasing marginalization of the subject, especially after the Tories took power in 2010. Hence, some researchers have called for raising the status of the subject at the central level – in the National Curriculum – as well as at the school level. According to Diana Burton and Stephanie May, the disregard of civic education by central authorities, as well as school principals and teachers themselves, means that it remains a mere "ornament" in the educational process (Burton, May, 2015). What is more, the Minister of Education in David Cameron's government, Michael Gove, has maintained that young Britons need knowledge, and that this knowledge is passed on in subjects such as history, English, mathematics, and civic education is a pseudo-subject in school education (Davies, Chong, 2016).

Issues of crime and its prevention in selected school civic education textbooks

In this section, I will attempt to analyze selected crime contexts in selected school textbooks for civic education. The analyses presented here are part of the author's broader research on civic education in England (Hejwosz-Gromkowska, 2019). However, in earlier studies, aspects concerning crime were not published. In England, textbooks are not centrally approved by a designated authority or institution; their selection is at the discretion of the teacher. In this section, four textbooks are analyzed:
— J. Fiehn, T. Fiehn, *This is citizenship 2*, Hodder Education, London, 2012 – a textbook aimed at KS3 [P1/KS3] level students;
— M. Mitchel, *Citizenship studies*, Hodder Education, London, 2012 – a textbook aimed at students at KS4 level [P2/KS4];
— J. Campbell, S. Patrick, *Citizenship Studies*, Nelson Thornes, Cheltenham, 2009 – a textbook aimed at students at KS4 level (with preparation for the GCSSE exam) [P3/KS4];
— D. Watts, *Citizenship* (AS), Nelson Thornes, Cheltenham 2009 – a textbook aimed at students at sixth form level [P4].

The methodology was based on suggestions for analyzing textbooks proposed by Falk Pingel (2010) and Andrew Litllejohn (1998). The first of the cited researchers draws attention to two aspects of textbook analysis: pedagogical, that is, answering the questions of how the textbook is used by teachers in the teaching-learning process, and what is its perception by students. The second aspect relates to the "text itself," that is, what the text contains and what is left out and why. In F. Pingel's view, qualitative analysis of textbooks cannot lead to general conclusions or attempts at generalization. He proposes using hermeneutic analysis of the text to bring out hidden meanings, linguistic analysis to understand the words and meanings used, and cross-cultural analysis, that is, to explain phenomena in the context of diversity. The cited author also emphasizes discourse analysis, which will allow the researcher to deconstruct and reconstruct the text of the textbook in order to determine what information, social groups and values are meaningful to the author of the text and which are not (Pingel, pp. 22–26). Andrew Littlejohn (1998), on the other hand, proposes that the textbook be analyzed on three levels:
— the first relates to the physical aspects of the manual, i.e. the elements that are visible at "first glance" (appearance, design, layout, content structure);
— the second refers to the actual role of the learner's subject, and therefore to the tasks performed in class, their content, form and language;
— the third involves evaluating the overall goals of content, tasks and activities, the role of the student and teacher, knowledge, skill and ability requirements and the overall role of the textbook in the teaching-learning process.

From the perspective of the problem we are interested in, namely the issue of crime in civic education, those areas of the textbook that relate directly to this topic were analyzed.

In accordance with the *National Curriculum*, but also with the guidelines in the underlying documents, juvenile crime is discussed in all textbooks in the section on the rule of law and the administration of justice.

In the textbook at the KS3 [P1/KS3] level of education, and therefore for young people aged 11–14, crime and its consequences are discussed within the framework of issues related to law, justice and responsibility. It is worth noting that crime is understood in a multifaceted way, and its consequences are analyzed from different perspectives, e.g., the victim's, the victim's families, the perpetrator's, the perpetrator's family, etc. The selection of content and tasks indicates an attempt to understand the complexity of criminal actions and is not limited to value judgments (good behavior/bad behavior). The behaviors and actions of young people that cause them to break the law are discussed. For example, among the reasons why minors break the law are: poor performance in school, lack of parental control, lack of social skills, family problems (such as parental separation), seeking attention, addictions, or peer influence. To some extent, this approach allows for the development of critical thinking among learners by showing the complexity and multifaceted nature of crime and criminalization issues.

A separate subsection of the manual is devoted to youth gangs. The textbook's authors have included a newspaper article that explains why young people join organized crime groups. In the excerpt we can read, among other things, "young people often replace family with gang membership" (p. 11). One of the discussion points suggested for the lesson is to reflect on whether gangs are always bad. This approach to the subject matter allows both the formation of critical thinking, but also develops communicative competencies, such as the art of argumentation or justifying one's own position. For example, in the next subsection, descriptions are given of misdemeanors and crimes committed by juveniles, e.g., "Asif is eleven years old and causes many educational problems. A traffic camera recorded him destroying cars in the school parking lot. This is not the first act of vandalism committed by him. He is known in his neighborhood for getting into fights or breaking windows," "Michael is thirteen years old and was arrested for shoplifting. He had never been in trouble with the law before, and his role in the theft was limited to standing on the lookout. His older colleagues who carried out the theft persuaded him to commit the incident. He pleaded guilty." The students' task is to justify what punishment they should receive, from a wide range of rehabilitation measures, from reprimand to final warning and referral to, for example, Youth Court. This activity allows you to recognize what are the penalties for breaking the law and what social institutions deal with the problems of minors depending on the act committed. Thus – at this stage of education – the young person acquires knowledge of the system of social control, social institutions and potential punishments. In addition, this approach develops students' critical thinking skills, and allows them to understand the social and moral issues that are associated with criminal actions. An approach that tackles controversial issues, such as the justification for criminalization, according to Caroline Lanskey (2010), is an important part of the educational process that encourages students to reflect on their own position by analyzing different points of view, and thus develops "moral seriousness," or the ability to take their relationships with members of society seriously (Pring, 2001).

It should also be noted that the authors of the manual pay attention to the consequences of juvenile crime. The examples that are shown in the manual show real and possible situations that can happen to any young person. For example, a story is told of two 16-year-olds who tried to escape a police car, consequently causing a traffic collision in which a family was injured. The multifaceted consequences of their act in social, economic, medical, individual dimensions are presented synthetically.

Of particular note is the next subsection, which was devoted to young offenders' institution custody centers. It includes four statements from young people who have been in these centers. In this case, the narrative of the statements presented fits the traditional defensive model of social prevention, based on fear and possible sanctions, among other things. The statements indicate that in youth

centers one experiences, among other things, isolation, loneliness, boredom, hunger due to insufficient food portions, indifference or negative behavior from peers, restriction of freedom and liberty (pp. 26–27).

The chosen perspective combining juvenile crime prevention with civic education is undoubtedly in line with the communitarian vision of citizenship, in which the individual's duties to society are brought to the fore. Building social cohesion, or the "Big Society," as successive British governments have envisioned it, was intended to increase individual responsibility to society. Indeed, it should be noted that since 1998, and thus since the beginning of the Labour government, the age of criminal responsibility has been lowered to 10 in England and Wales. However, after the age of 14, a person is subject to the same criminal liability as an adult. Since then, discussions of young people's responsibility have emerged in public and academic debate (Goldson, Peters, 2000). On the one hand, young people take responsibility for directing their own lives, making responsible choices and actions in the community, while on the other hand, this approach can foster blame and punitive attitudes. This perspective downplays the role of the system and social structure in young people's individual responsibility. Thus, all responsibility for coming into conflict with the law is assigned to the individual, and to a lesser extent to the community, authorities, or state institutions (Lanskey, 2010). Caroline Lanskey therefore points out the danger of a narrow and one-sided understanding of responsibility in civic education, in which "one is taught about how to behave," as this can demotivate and discourage students from taking action. Although the authors attempt to show the multifaceted nature of the problem of crime, the examples presented indicate that the cause of crime lies with the individual, while diminishing the role of personal, psychological, social and, above all, accidental factors. A multifaceted approach to the causes of crime and its prevention is described in the work of Ronald Clark (1983; 2008), among others. On the other hand, one can find confrontational examples in which centers are shown in a stereotypical way, as places one should avoid, rather than as places that provide help to people who have come into conflict with the law.

At the fourth key stage of education (KS4), crime issues are included in the textbook [P3/KS4] in the section on the administration of justice in England and Wales. In addition to knowledge of how the system itself works, the authorities, and possible sanctions and penalties, one can find information on youth crime. In line with the chosen policy of building social unity, the textbook's authors use the definition of adolescent crime proposed by the Home Office, "it harms the community, creates a culture of fear, and destroys lives, especially for the most vulnerable young people. Tackling youth crime and improving juvenile justice is at the heart of the government's efforts to build safe local communities and prevent social exclusion" (p. 121). The narrative in the described textbook is in the first person plural, and they often use the pronoun "we" when referring to crime prevention. The authors point to the uniqueness and effectiveness of the justice

system in England and Wales, stating "an effective justice system is the foundation of our society. Our legal system and police services are rightly appreciated around the world. However, today there are more and more threats to our way of life, so we need to be confident that the system will protect us" (p. 127). The author of the manual [P2/KS4], on the other hand, cites an excerpt from a speech by Jon Collins, director of the Criminal Justice Alliance, an organization of entities working to improve the justice system. The passage reads "the task of the judiciary is to ensure justice for everyone, by convicting and punishing the guilty and helping them get out of the way of crime, which in turn will protect the innocent" (p. 73). From this perspective, an effective justice system is at the heart of building social unity and realizing the idea of the Big Society.

The authors of the manual [P3/KS4] promote the effectiveness of implemented anti-crime policies, e.g., The Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme, implemented by Youth Offending Teams (YOT), which they describe as "not a soft option for criminals" (p. 127). It is important to note that it has been criticized in academia, and studies that have been conducted indicate that it has little effectiveness (Ellis, Pamment, Lewis, 2009).

In the [P2/KS4] manual, we find references to the street riots that took place in 2011. At the time, many young people were detained and convicted. The task of the students is to see what the (Tory) government intends to do to improve security, especially in the context of young people. This is quite an interesting procedure, especially since those in power, led by Prime Minister David Cameron, mainly blamed the public for the unrest. During media appearances, the prime minister repeatedly pointed to the culprits of the situation, including children growing up without fathers, schools without discipline, and communities without control. According to Davies and Chong (2016), this approach is not conducive to building an open society in which active and socially engaged citizens play a central role.

An analysis of the presented textbooks shows that their narrative strongly emphasizes or even affirms the crime reduction policies initiated by the Labour government and continued by the Tories. Public discourse raises issues – especially after 2010 – of threats to social order and British values, which is why strong preventive measures are becoming so important. Avoiding all risk lies at the heart of political and social action in England and Wales (Furedi, 2006; Lanskey, 2010). Indeed, as Dario Melosii (2000) notes, criminals in social discourse are portrayed as so-called subversives and morality-threatening individuals, or in other words, as "public enemies." Moreover, the threat they present stems from their personal deficits rather than social deficits (Lanskey, 2010). From the perspective of the political line started by the Labor Party and continued by the Tories, the important thing is a community centered on the idea of *Britishness*, whose actions are to build a cohesive and big society, and therefore it is necessary to portray those who come into conflict with the law as those who do not fit in.

It is worth noting that the textbook aimed at the so-called sixth form, that is, within the framework of secondary school education, but after the GSCE, is academic in nature, focusing mainly on aspects of legal education. Unlike previous textbooks aimed at young people up to the age of 16, this one does not present or analyze the situation of juvenile offenders. It also lacks preventive value. Thus, it seems that crime prevention issues in civic education have been diverted to lower levels of compulsory education. This is because at this level of education, an intensive process of education and socialization takes place, while at the sixth form stage, young people are mainly prepared to enter academic studies.

Summary

The topics of crime, its consequences and issues in criminal law are an important part of civic education in English schools, especially at the third stage of education. Although many researchers and commentators on social life note that the golden age of civic education in England has passed since the Conservative Party took power in 2010. Attention is drawn to diminishing and marginalizing the role of civic education in school practice, while strengthening the role of other school subjects – such as history. It also seems that since the Tory era there has been a shift in education toward moral education, and the goal of civic education is to be primarily to impart knowledge about society, social, political, legal and economic systems. In conclusion, it should be said that civic education is subject to strong political and ideological influences, and therefore its shape depends on the social vision of the ruling party. Finally, it is important to note that post-2015 Tory governments are reinforcing a military ethos in schools that stands in contrast to civic education in the broadest sense (Davies, Chong, 2016). Thus, one can observe a trend toward building a great society not around shared common values, but around the idea of militarism. From this perspective, civic education may play a lesser role in building social dialogue, developing critical thinking, conflict resolution skills and shaping active citizenship. This includes a multi-contextual understanding of crime and adopting a critical attitude toward the problem. Further changes in the approach to school civic education and juvenile crime prevention should therefore be expected.

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Incorporating a developmental psychopathology perspective in disorder prevention and mental health promotion for children and adolescents

Abstract: We present implications for the prevention and therapy of children and adolescents based on knowledge from developmental psychopathology and findings from the hierarchical dimensional model of psychopathology. Due to the emergence of a general psychopathology factor in early childhood, the potential for using early preventive interventions to prevent the development of a wide range of mental and behavioural disorders later in development is highlighted. The approach discussed here focuses first on general risk factors but then cascades to emerging psychopathology at later developmental stages. The article proposes a development-matched intervention model. In the beginning, interventions target the general factor of psychopathology (health promotion and universal prevention programs for the general population). Then they target externalizing/internalizing (selective and indicated prevention programs for at-risk groups). They are followed by interventions targeting anxiety, distress, antisocial behaviour (sociotherapy for individuals with psychosocial problems of unfixed pathomechanism) up to psychotherapy and pharmacotherapy (for individuals with illnesses and disorders).

Key words: developmental psychopathology, hierarchical dimensional model of psychopathology, the mental health of children and adolescents, health promotion, prevention, sociotherapy.

Although there is still a lack of comprehensive studies on the prevalence of child and adolescent mental disorders in Poland (Cierpiałkowska, Grzegorzewska 2020), available global epidemiological data suggest their prevalence to be around 20% (WHO 2005). Among the most common disorders of adolescents are depressive, eating and anxiety disorders (Modrzejewska, Bomba 2010). In addition, suicide is one of the leading causes of death among young people (WHO 2012). Young people's mental health and well-being affects self-esteem, behavior, educational achievement, social functioning and future health and life achievements (Ialongo, et al. 2015). In this regard, it becomes extremely important to prevent the appearance of mental disorders and to increase the well-being of children and adolescents, and to offer effective therapeutic interventions to those young people who are already suffering from mental problems. Both prevention and treatment of mental disorders and addiction are not easy and require a comprehensive understanding of both typical and atypical development, as well as reliance on a strong theoretical foundation for health-promoting, preventive as well as therapeutic interventions (Ialongo, et al. 2015).

It is worth emphasising that most health problems of children and young people are preventable (Clements-Nolle, Rivera 2013). With knowledge from developmental psychopathology and on the basis of findings derived from the hierarchical dimensional model of psychopathology, it is possible not only to develop scientific research on mental health problems, but also to make evidence-based efforts for more effective diagnosis, prevention and treatment of mental diseases and disorders (Conway, et al. 2029). Prevention of general psychopathology early in life provides tremendous opportunities to prevent the development of all forms of psychopathology later in life which is extremely useful from the perspective of a public health (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019). In this context, it is reasonable to look at what is the contribution of developmental psychopathology to the prevention of disorders and promotion of mental health in children and adolescents.

Basic assumptions of developmental psychopathology

Developmental psychopathology separated from psychopathology because the need to include developmental aspects in theoretical analyses and research on mental disorders was recognized. Although this perspective is applicable to the analysis of various atypical changes throughout an individual's life cycle, it traditionally relates its assumptions to childhood and adolescence (Cierpiałkowska, Grzegorzewska 2016). This rapidly growing scientific field focuses mainly on explaining the interrelationships between biological, psychological and socio-contextual aspects of normal and disordered development over the course of life (Ciccetti 2006). Indeed, it should be noted that developmental psychopathology is not limited to

the study of disorders, but is concerned with explaining the developmental process taking place at multiple levels to conceptualize the issues associated with its atypical course. Thus, disadaptive functioning is analyzed in the context of major changes taking place over the life cycle (Cicchetti, Rogosh 2002). Sources of disorders are sought, changes in their course and manner of their manifestation are described, developmental sequences of the manifestation of disturbed and healthy behavior are presented and explained.

Developmental psychopathology seeks to integrate knowledge from different scientific disciplines, at multiple levels of analysis, rather than advocating a single theory to explain all developmental phenomena (Cicchetti, Rogosh 2002). Being a trans-theoretical approach, it does not refer to a particular chosen paradigm (theoretical approach) in explaining the causes and dynamics of disorder formation. It provides a framework for understanding the complexity of human development and the manifestation of various problems in the population of children, adolescents and adults, with a particular focus on high-risk groups (Cierpiałkowka, Grzegorzewska 2016). One of the arguments in favor of a trans-theoretical approach is an important finding regarding the effectiveness of psychotherapy that emphasizes the importance of the influence of so-called common factors or features of psychotherapy that go beyond theoretical orientation in promoting sustained patient improvement (Wampold 2015). This perspective also stems from strong scientific evidence in psychopathology that different problems tend to co-occur with each other (Hopwood, et al. 2019).

It is extremely important within the framework of developmental psychopathology to explore risk and protective factors as well as their interaction, so as to better understand the competence or resilience of individuals as well as vulnerability to disorders. This approach recognizes the need to combine knowledge of the continuity and discontinuity of development and to take into account the functioning of children and adolescents at multiple levels (from genes to culture, including intermediate levels: individual, family-, school-, neighborhood-related) by looking for interrelationships between normal development and pathological functioning.

Developmental psychopathology incorporates transactional models based on feedback loops, in which linear cause-and-effect models are replaced by dynamic, probabilistic nonlinear comprehensive conceptual models (Hinshaw 2013). In addition, according to the principle of equipotentiality, people with initially similar developmental conditions can obtain different developmental results, while the principle of equifinality says that initially different developmental conditions can lead to the same results. The presence of equifinality and equipotentiality in considerations on development means that scientific research, but also diagnosis and intervention, must take into account the entire complexity of development processes, based on individual developmental organization, understood as a configuration of different developmental potentials and deficits (Cicchetti Toth

2018). As Cicchetti and Toth (2018) point out, it is becoming possible to identify assisted individuals based not so much on their diagnosis as on their individual developmental organization, understood as a configuration of various developmental potentials and deficits. Then – in choosing interventions and, consequently, the effectiveness of interventions as well – the personal capabilities of the individual, such as the level of capacity for self-reflection contrasted with the tendency to seek responsibility for the results of one's own actions in factors external to the individual, also become important.

Finally, developmental psychopathology also aims to understand how people at high risk of developing psychopathology are able to stay healthy (Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker 2000). In this regard, it is also important to discover paths for competent adaptation despite exposure to significant adversity (Cicchetti, Garmezy 1993).

Normative and non-normative development

Development is conceptualized as a series of qualitative reorganizations within and between multiple domains of biological and psychological functioning. The individual gradually moves from a state of diffuse undifferentiation to levels of increasingly differentiated and hierarchically organized biological, psychological and behavioral complexity. In the course of development, qualitative reorganizations of biological and psychological systems occur as the developing individual gradually faces a series of staged developmental tasks. The way such an individual tries to adapt to these developmental challenges influences the competence of functioning and his or her readiness to successfully cope with subsequent developmental tasks (Ialongo, et al. 2015). Development, then, is a process that takes place at multiple levels, involving complex interactions between a person and their environment. An individual's competencies and resources, in interaction with other factors during a certain developmental period, affect adaptation and functioning in later periods and contribute to the emergence and maintenance of mental and behavioral disorders (Cierpiałkowka, Grzegorzewska 2016, p. 18) or to the maintenance of health. From this perspective, maladaptation and psychopathology develop from progressive stresses in the developmental organization of biological and psychological systems, hindering the individual's efforts to adapt effectively to subsequent experiences (Ialongo, et al. 2015).

Findings from developmental psychopathology indicate that unfavorable patterns of adaptation can consolidate into maladaptive developmental paths (resulting in a persistent pattern of psychopathology) (Cierpiałkowska, Grzegorzewska 2016). As highlighted by Bruce E. Compas, Beth R. Hinden and Cynthia A. Gerhard (1995), research on normative and problematic adolescent development has identified five developmental trajectories (Figure 1):
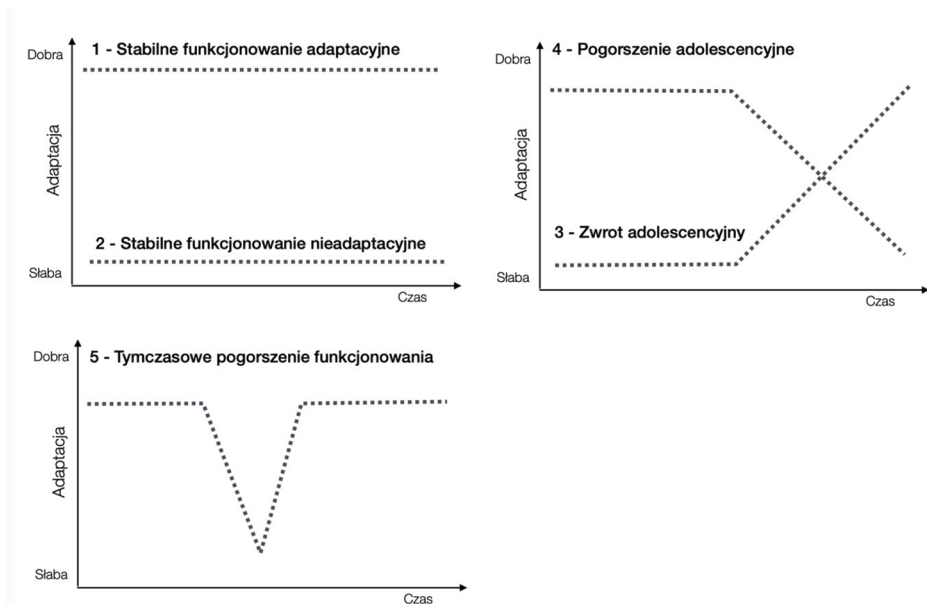
Adaptacja – Adaptation; Dobra – Good; Słaba – Weak; Stabilne funkcjonowanie nie-/adaptacyjne – Stable non-/adaptive functioning;Czas – Time; Pogorszenie adolescencyjne – Adolescent deterioration; Zwrot adolescencyjny – Adolescent turning point; Tymczasowe pogorszenie funkcjonowania – Temporary deterioration of functioning.

Fig. 1. Developmental trajectories in adolescence (compiled from: Compas, Hinden & Gerhard, 1995)

— path one is stable adaptive functioning, which usually affects adolescents from low-risk backgrounds;
— path two is stable maladaptive functioning, affecting adolescents who enter adolescence with a personal history of problems or disorders and who are at risk of chronic stress and adversity in the absence of resources to mitigate these risks;
— path three is adolescent turnaround, when initially maladaptive functioning in adolescence changes and there is a shift toward adolescent health; for this path, positive life events and new opportunities in adolescence are important, which can contribute to an upswing in development;
— path four is adolescent decline, as initially good functioning changes adversely during adolescence and moves toward psychopathology; this pattern is illustrated by exposure to dramatic changes in environmental conditions during adolescence, such as changes in family structure;
— path five refers to a temporary deterioration in functioning, a temporary deviation or maladaptation during adolescence; maladaptive behavior is limited to adolescence, is not preceded by such problems in childhood and is not followed by social problems in adulthood.

Paths that involve significant shift during adolescence occur relatively less frequently than those that are stable (Compas, Hinden, Gerhardt 1995), but indicate the importance of undertaking supportive interventions during important developmental changes. Indeed, they show that significant improvements in functioning are possible at this stage.

Hierarchical dimensional model of psychopathology

It has been strongly emphasized in psychopathology in recent years that dimensional models of mental disorders are more in line with the nature of psychopathology than categorical ones (c.f. e.g. Soroko, 2020). Classifications of diseases and disorders such as successive editions of the DSM (*Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders,* APA, 1980) of the American Psychiatric Association and corresponding editions of the International Classification of Diseases ICD of the World Health Organization (WHO, 1993) have significantly improved psychiatric classification. Namely, they have helped improve diagnostic compliance and communication between specialists, including statistical reporting of incidence (e.g., epidemiology), and this has significantly reduced national differences in prevalence estimates of disorders (Kendell, Jablensky 2003). However, categorical models have significant limitations (Kotov, et al. 2017). This is because traditional approaches treat all mental disorders as theoretically distinct categories. Empirical evidence to date, on the other hand, suggests that psychopathology varies in severity (from health to severe disorders) along various dimensions (e.g., externalization, internalization). It is argued that – due to the arbitrarily adopted diagnostic criteria imposed on de facto dimensional phenomena – traditional nosological diagnoses tend to have limited reliability. Categorical approaches often observe (complicating proper diagnosis and assistance) the co-occurrence of disorders (a person meets the criteria for multiple diagnostic categories, nosological diagnoses) or the heterogeneity of the clinical picture of disorders (significant differences in the set of symptoms between people with the same diagnosis) (Hopwood, et al. 2019). In addition, many patients do not meet the criteria for any disorder, despite manifesting significant suffering and disturbances in psychosocial functioning indicating the need for therapeutic care (Kotov, et al. 2017). These problems can therefore be understood as aspects of a more general issue concerning the network of interdependencies between various forms of psychopathology and their characteristic symptoms (Hopwood, et al., 2019).

Proponents of dimensional approaches to mental disorders create and study classifications, which most often take the form of empirical taxonomies covering psychopathology in general (from a broad perspective). An example of this approach is the *Hierarchical Taxonomy of Psychopathology (HiTOP,* e.g., Kotov, et
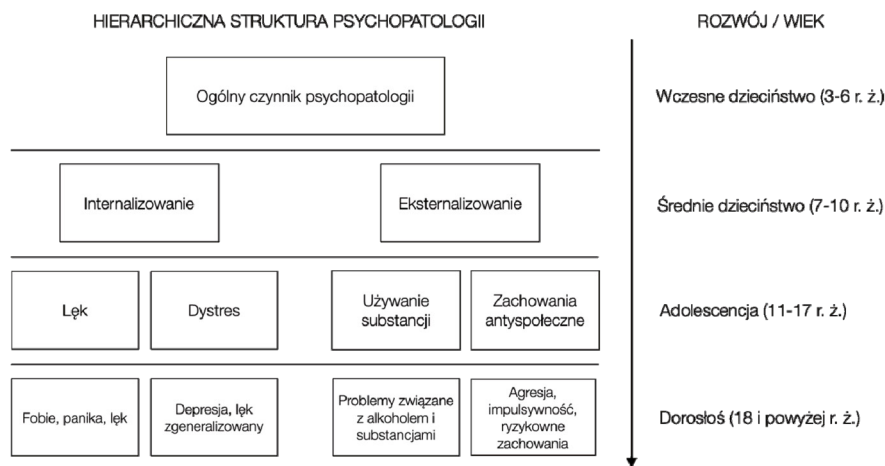
Hierarchiczna struktura psychopatologii - Hierarchical structure of psychopathology; Ogólny czynnik psychopatologii – General psychopathology factor; Internalizowanie – Internalization; Eksternalizowanie – Externalization; Lęk – Fear; Dystres – Distress; Używanie substancji – Substance use; Zachowania antyspołeczne – Anti-social behaviors; Fobie, panika, lęk – Phobias, panic, anxiety; Depresja, lęk zgeneralizowany – Depression, generalized fear; Problemy związane z alkoholem i substancjami – Problems associated with alcohol and substances; Agresja, impulsywność, ryzykowne zachowania – Aggressiveness, impulsiveness, risky behaviors; ROZWÓJ / WIEK – DEVELOPMENT / AGE; Wczesne dzieciństwo – Early childhood; Średnie dzieciństwo – Middle childhood; Adolescencja – Adolescence; Dorośli – Adults; r.ż. – years old; powyżej – and above.

Fig. 2. Hierarchical model of psychopathology vs. modes of interaction in different age groups (compiled from Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019)

al. 2017; Hopwood, et al. 2019). HiTop is a diagnostic classification model being developed by an international consortium of researchers committed to aligning clinical research and practice with existing quantitative evidence on the structure of mental health problems (Hopwood, et al. 2019). This model of psychopathology is hierarchical in the sense that it presents "levels" of varying detail, from the general factor of psychopathology to individual syndromes and symptoms. First of all, it has been empirically proven that there is one general (non-specific) factor of psychopathology, which includes characteristics of functioning (and often etiology) shared by all disorders. At the next level (the so-called transdiagnostic spectra) falls internalizing and externalizing (considered the best documented in research) and also thought disorders, somatoform and isolation). Internalizing at only a lower level is made up of anxiety and distress while externalizing consists of substance use and antisocial behavior (known as sub-spectrum). Only these four sub-spectra differentiate into syndromes. Anxiety is differentiated into phobic anxiety and panic, while distress is differentiated into generalized anxiety and depression, substance use into alcohol and other substance problems, and

antisocial behavior into aggression, impulsivity and risk-taking. This empirical organization promotes an effective and clinically useful understanding of how different types of psychopathology relate to each other, on different levels. For example, the symptom of intense sadness is understood as an aspect of the more general construct of depression, which is one of several syndromes within distress, which in turn represents one of two dimensions of internalization (Hopwood, et al. 2019) (see Figure 2).

An attempt to integrate the dimensional model and the assumptions of developmental psychopathology

Forbes, Rapee and Krueger (2019) used the HiTOP model (in the internalizing and externalizing spectrum areas, as these are the most scientifically reliable dimensions and their usefulness in understanding developmental problems has a long tradition) and the assumptions of developmental psychopathology (mainly risk factors and protective factors and their dynamic relationships at different developmental stages) to set a framework for the prevention and treatment of disorders in children and adolescents in relation to the developmental stage they are at. The approach discussed focuses first on general risk factors (where the sensitive period is at ages 3–5), but then cascades to psychopathology at later developmental stages.

According to empirical studies, the psychological risk factor associated with general psychopathology is impulsive reactivity, which has a temperamental basis. Temperamental precursors of this system of personality dispositions appear in infancy and show moderate stability during early childhood and adulthood. Correspondingly, high reactivity (and subsequent negative emotionality) and low control (high impulsivity) have been shown to be associated with a general factor of psychopathology in children (Forbes, Rapee, and Krueger 2019).

In turn, environmental risk factors for general childhood psychopathology include child abuse, maltreatment, victimization, harsh parenting, domestic violence, parental dysfunction, and chronic life stress. All of these experiences have been found to be associated with risk in many transdiagnostic (present in various disorders) dimensions of psychopathology (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019).

As the authors demonstrate (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019), the most important risk factors during early childhood include emotional reactivity, poor executive function and harsh parenting. In contrast, during middle childhood, the most important risk factors are likely to be social isolation, sleep problems, maladaptive thinking styles, maladaptive emotion regulation and deficits in self-regulation. Individuals who enter adolescence show great individual differences. In addition, mood disruptions and risk-taking (Cicchetti, Rogosh 2002) as well as engaging in risky behavior (Jankowiak 2017) are not atypical during this period of development. Therefore, firstly, internalizing and externalizing behaviors are the

dominant picture of psychopathology and this level of generality of description is the most useful, but secondly, the boundaries between normative and non-normative development may not yet be sufficiently clear during this developmental period (Cicchetti, Rogosh 2002).

Implications of combining the dimensional model and assumptions of developmental psychopathology for the prevention and treatment of children and adolescents

The combination of the theory of psychopathology and the idea of a hierarchical model of psychopathology with development creates interesting possibilities for the implication of this theoretical knowledge in the field of preventive and therapeutic interventions. Due to the emergence of the general psychopathology factor in early childhood, the potential for early preventive interventions to affect the entire development is highlighted (Forbes, Rapee, & Krueger, 2019). The overall factor may prove useful in working to prevent psychopathology on a more consistent basis. If all forms of common psychopathology are linked to an underlying general factor that can be observed from the earliest years of development, then understanding the psychological nature of this general factor, as well as the factors that increase its level, can provide new directions in considering how to lower the level of the general factor and then prevent the development of a wide range of mental disorders later in development. The work with adolescents is already more specific, although, as it can be seen, it does not focus on individual syndromes, but on sub-spectrums, that is, it addresses more general processes around the manifestations of internalization and externalization.

Psychological interventions vary depending on the severity of the disorder from universal interventions, applied to the entire population, to specific ones tailored to one group or individual to long-term care, applied to chronic to short-term disorders. In addition, interventions related to psychopathology and protective factors belonging to more general levels affect those more specific – for example, early childhood intervention promoting emotion regulation and regulating impulsivity should lead to enhanced social skills and positive peer relationships in middle childhood, which in turn increases engagement in school and increases the chances of positive academic performance in high school, and ultimately reduces the risk of psychopathology in adulthood. Psychological interventions in early childhood therefore have a cascading effect on functioning in subsequent developmental periods. Adopting this hierarchical perspective is thus a way to maximize the effectiveness of interventions in the long term, providing a powerful tool for disorder prevention (Forbes, Rapee, & Krueger, 2019).

In addition, special attention in prevention efforts should be focused on children and adolescents at extreme risk (Luthar, Cicchetti 2000). Since resilience
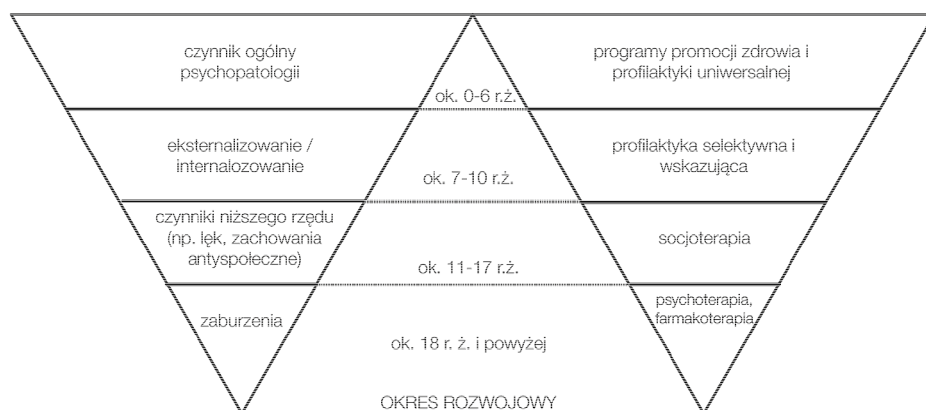
Czynnik ogólny psychopatologii – General factor of psychopathology; programy promocji zdrowia i profilaktyki uniwersyteckiej – Health promotion and university prevention programs; eksternalizowanie / internalizowanie – Externalizing / internalizing; profilaktyka selektywna i wskazująca – Selective and indicated prevention; czynniki niższego rzędu (np. lęk, zachowania antyspołeczne), socjoterapia – Lower-order factors (e.g., anxiety, antisocial behavior), sociotherapy; zaburzenia – Disorders; psychoterapia, farmakoterapia – Psychotherapy, pharmacotherapy; OKRES ROZWOJOWY – Developmental period.

Fig. 3. Implications of the integration of the dimensional model and the assumptions of developmental psychopathology for the prevention and treatment of children, adolescents and adults

is an ongoing dynamic process and not a static trait (Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker 2000), preventive programs to promote resilience, especially among young people exposed to extreme adversity, must be long-term and geared to help high-risk young people through subsequent developmental periods as well. Knowledge of the existence of complex feedback loops between risk and protective factors over the course of development also requires recognition that a single preventive strategy focused on a single cause may not be sufficient (Cicchetti, Rogosch, 2002), so comprehensive solutions addressing multiple factors are needed.

According to the cited assumptions, psychological interventions should be determined based on:

— the severity of the disorder (health – disorder);
— targeting a specific group (general population – specific groups/sick/disordered, individual);
— the mode of interventions (universal interventions – specific interventions).

Thus, on the one hand, we have universal, health-promoting and preventive interventions (targeting the general population when the disorder has not yet appeared) and, on the other hand, interventions of a specific nature (targeting specific groups of people and individuals with chronic disorders). Between health and illness lie sociotherapeutic interventions targeting groups at increased risk of manifesting certain disturbances in psychosocial functioning with non-fixed

psychopathology (Jankowiak, Soroko, 2021) aimed, for example, at managing distress, working with maladaptive beliefs, developing social skills.

Accordingly, an age-appropriate intervention model was proposed, containing the following interventions: 1) first targeting the general factor of psychopathology having the character of mainly health promotion and universal prevention programs (for the general population), 2) by targeting externalizing/internalizing, where selective and indicative prevention programs (for at-risk groups) are added to universal prevention programs, 3) followed by increasingly specific interventions targeting anxiety, distress, antisocial behavior such as sociotherapy (for people with psychosocial problems with unfixed pathomechanism) up to 4) psychotherapy, pharmacotherapy for sick and disturbed individuals (see Figure 3.)

Health promotion and universal and selective prevention for parents and young children up to 6 years of age

Therefore universal programs for the general population promoting health and primary prevention programs will be addressed to young children and their parents. Health promotion and universal prevention programs can already be addressed to parents-to-be, to parents of young children, and to preschool children. According to ongoing research (Luthar 2006), an extremely important protective factor is a close, warm and responsive relationship between parents and infants (cf. secure attachment relationship). The goal of health promotion and universal prevention programs aimed at parents-to-be and parents of young children should therefore be to promote parenting practices that develop opportunities for a close relationship with a young child from the moment of birth (Sears, Sears 2013). Health promotion can be carried out, for example, by midwives already in birthing schools and in gynecological and obstetric wards.

In general, there is strong scientific evidence that the relationship with parents is an important factor in protecting the development of their children. Parenting that is affectionate, warm and loving, but also demanding and providing a cognitively stimulating environment is beneficial to a child's development (Zolkoski, Bullock 2012). Universal interventions addressed to parents of young children should also focus on supporting authoritative parenting (combining support and love with setting limits and forming expectations of the child) and positive parent-child interactions (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019).

It is worth noting that in early childhood, it is extremely unlikely that individuals will meet the criteria for mental disorders – i.e. already fixed pathomechanism. It is much more likely that the disorder will not yet be fully manifested. Therefore, at this stage of development, intervention will be much more beneficial if it is aimed at prevention or early intervention (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019).

Early intervention in case of general psychopathology can be provided universally or selectively (targeting those at higher risk). It is likely that the most effective programs will involve a systematic and complementary combination of both approaches. Universal interventions (targeting all young children) will aim to increase protective factors that are generally associated with positive mental health. Preschools' work should focus on protective factors, such as teaching pro-social peer relations and positive emotion regulation (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019). Selective interventions should complement the universal ones and focus more specifically on children who exhibit high levels of known risk for general psychopathology and to parents who are particularly harsh or neglectful of children in developing more positive parenting strategies which can have very broad benefits for preventing a range of future mental disorders (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019).

Interventions targeting at-risk groups should be combined with universal ones. For example, tantrums observed at this age can be understood as the effects of poor emotion regulation, and target assistance around frustration tolerance and coping to children manifesting them (and their parents). Most likely, the interventions will have a positive, corrective effect on other areas of functioning for these children and their parents. Similarly, identifying parents who are overly strict with their children and helping them develop strategies based on positive interactions with their children will have much broader benefits than just in this identified preschool-age problem area of child functioning (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019).

Universal and selective prevention for parents and children aged 7 to 11 years old

Universal programs for the general population promoting health in combination with selective and indicated prevention will be addressed to school-age children. From middle childhood onward, more complex intervention components tailored to children's developmental needs can be added to the initial preventive approach. At this stage, the focus is on teaching coping skills to deal with negative life events and victimization, modifying maladaptive thinking styles and maladaptive beliefs, and developing social support and social connections (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019).

Relationships with parents are important for protection, so it is important that universal or selective prevention be directed to them as well. Important at this stage of development is parental monitoring, i.e., parents' use of clear rules and expectations for children's behavior, which is a protective factor for development. In contrast, inappropriate, hurtful discipline increases vulnerability and maladaptive behavior. In addition, the relationship between parents and children must be balanced by adequate control with support and emotional warmth. The benefits of each depend to some extent on the level of the other.

High emotional warmth coupled with a lack of discipline can be associated with low adaptation, as can strict discipline without showing affection (Luthar 2006).

The school's preventive work should be aimed at building a bond with the school and a supportive school climate, as well as positive relationships among students, with teachers and parents (Jankowiak, et al. 2020). According to research, the role of teachers is extremely important in the socialization process, as supportive relationships with adults are critical for potentiating resilience (Luthar 2006).

Positive peer relationships, too, can serve an important supportive function, especially for children at risk. Peer rejection, on the other hand, can result in negative consequences in many areas, e.g., increasing the likelihood of internalizing disorders, dropping out of school, delinquency. There is also a negative (well described in the literature) effect of belonging to deviant peer groups, which is associated with behavioral disorders and psychoactive substance use (Luthar 2006).

For children with pronounced internalizing or externalizing behaviors, selective transdiagnostic interventions can also be added that target common processes underlying specific spectra (e.g., teaching problem-solving and behavioral activation to reduce distress-related problems, targeting substance-related expectations to reduce substance abuse risk (Forbes, Rapee, and Krueger 2019). This group of children can also be referred to sociotherapeutic interventions to activate the processes of positive adaptation based on the relationship with the peer group (sociotherapy) and the sociotherapist (Jankowiak, Sorko 2020, Jankowiak, Soroko 2021).

Sociotherapy for adolescents and indicative prevention for parents

Individuals who are entering adolescence and are already manifesting some symptoms of a psychopathological nature and their problems in psychosocial functioning indicate an unfixed pathomechanism of the problems experienced may benefit from sociotherapy (Jankowiak, Sorko 2021; Soroko, Jankowiak 2020). The way such young people function indicates that they are placed between health and disorder. Interventions targeted at this group are increasingly specific, because although these young people are not yet among the people with diseases or disorders, they are at increased risk of developing psychopathology.

On the other hand, for those young people in whom difficulties arise, indicating chronic and/or acute (serious) psychopathology, psychotherapy targeting specific groups of symptoms or syndromes (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019) and also sometimes psychiatric treatment are recommended.

According to the HiTop model, during adolescence, interventions will mainly target subfactors such as anxiety, distress, substance use or antisocial behavior. At the same time, it is worth remembering that adolescence is a time when normatively risky behaviors of varying severity occur, very often aimed at coping

with the developmental challenges of adolescence (Jankowiak 2017; Jessor 1991). This is because risky behaviors perform important developmental functions and can shape an adolescent's mental health by achieving developmental goals, but on the other hand they can lead to serious health problems and disorders (Jankowiak 2017). The positive and negative aspects of risky behavior relate to the principle of equifinality and equipotentiality adopted in developmental psychopathology.

Accordingly, during adolescence, teenagers' oscillation between developmental norm and psychopathology in engaging in various forms of behavior that may pose a threat to mental health or provide developmental opportunities is particularly evident. Sociotherapy in this period of development can be particularly helpful, as it is a form of assistance for adolescents, in which adopted and achievable goals oscillate between developmental support, prevention of disorders and, in some cases, change of mental structures and maladaptive behavioral patterns. The therapeutic goal of sociotherapy referring in its assumptions to developmental psychopathology is to change the trajectory of development and strengthen the mechanisms of health or weaken the pathomechanism that maintains psychosocial problems (Jankowiak, Soroko 2021). The developmental goal of activating the social, emotional-motivational as well as cognitive developmental potential refers to the tasks facing young people and the activation of processes to achieve them. Developmental theorists see these tasks as a successful transition to high school, academic achievement (i.e., learning skills that are needed for higher education or work), psychological autonomy, the formation of close intra- and inter-gender friendships, and a consistent sense of self-identity (Cicchetti, Rogosh 2002). An important goal in sociotherapy is the preventive goal, which concerns counteracting the initiation of increased risk behavior, for example, working with unrealistic beliefs about substance use and positive images of users to reduce the risk of abuse of alcohol, drug, tobacco and other substances (Forbes, Rapee and Krueger 2019).

Such a picture of the psychosocial functioning of adolescents and the specificity of sociotherapeutic interventions makes it clear that it is sociotherapy as a form of assistance combining therapeutic interactions with preventive and development supporting interactions that will be particularly beneficial for adolescents whose psychopathological problems are located in the sub-spectra distinguished in HiTop, i.e. increasingly specific manifestations of internalization and externalization.

For parents of adolescents at increased risk, it will be important to take indicative prevention measures. The work undertaken with parents should promote such a relationship between them and their children that the demands and expectations of adults on a young person do not exceed their psychosocial capabilities, so that the parenting style is properly adapted to them. Moreover, it is important for parents to understand the developmental tasks of adolescents and the ways in which young people pursue them. An example of a parental behavior of protective importance during this developmental period can be parental

monitoring. This set of parental behaviors and involvement of parental attention is about having knowledge of the teenager's whereabouts during leisure time, the activities they engage in and the people they spend time with. However, it should be remembered that the main developmental task of the adolescent period is to negotiate between developing autonomy on the one hand and maintaining a strong, close relationship with parents on the other (Luthar 2006); therefore, manifestations of adolescent independence are not only natural but also desirable. Parental behaviors that are beneficial to adolescent development also include: parents showing affection and support, arguing their own position (*reasoning*), and granting psychological autonomy. On the other hand, unfavorable behaviors influencing the emergence of externalizing and internalizing problems include intrusive psychological control and punitive parenting (Peterson, Bush 2015).

Summary

In order to effectively protect the mental health of children and adolescents, it is important to use prevention strategies that have a strong theoretical foundation and are supported by scientific research. The article proposes a model of preventive and therapeutic interventions based on the assumptions of developmental psychopathology, combined with a dimensional model of psychopathology. Interventions target general risk factors first, then cascade to psychopathology at later stages of development. This approach maximizes the effectiveness of interventions and contributes to an adequate response to the needs of both the general population and individuals at risk.

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Czesław Czapów – a man of action – as the organizer of the opposition discussion club Personalists (1950–1953)

Abstract: The present paper deals with the area of activity of Czesław Czapów which is associated with his co-creation of the opposition discussion club called Personalists. They were an extremely interesting group of people with roots in Warsaw student organizations and the Logophage Club (Klub Logofagów). Their idea was intellectual exploration related to the field of social sciences. Besides, they opposed to the Stalinist model, which was being imposed on the social sciences, as well as searched for a certain system of social values, which, while remaining left-wing, protected and defended human rights, and above all enabled the cooperation of believers and non-believers.
Key words: personalism, discussion club, Personalists.

Introduction

> […] *walk upright among those on your knees*
> *among those with their backs turned and those toppled in the dust*
> *you survived not to live*
> *you have little time you must give testimony…*
> (Herbert 1988, translated by Bogdana Carpenter)

The quoted excerpt from The Envoy of Mr. Cogito can be considered the motto of this text, dedicated to this special, charismatic pedagogue – who was Dr. H.E.

Czesław Czapów. In the memories of colleagues and co-workers, he went down as an outstanding, very strong and dominant personality. Kind, cheerful, smiling, having the latest jokes in store, willing to give advice and help (Jawłowska 2003, p.62). He is the author of many books, mainly in the field of social prevention and rehabilitation. Widely recognized as one of the representatives of the "Warsaw school of re-socialization pedagogy" (Pytka 2010, pp. 25–26). However, this is only part of his image. Indeed, the scope of his interests went far beyond a single field of knowledge. "He was in the whole sense of the word a democrat and a humanist" (Matejko 2003, p. 57). When he began studying pedagogy at the University of Warsaw (1946) he was already a man with a resume (Skuza 2021, pp. 451–474) – "a colorful blot on an increasingly gray background" (Manturzewski 2003, p. 76). Today, few are familiar with those frames of his life that are related to his activities during the Stalinist period.

Personalism

Christian personalism as a philosophical and theological current present in Catholicism in the 20th century (from around 1930) grew out of the Church's teachings and represents an in-depth reflection on the integral truth of man as a person. It is not a homogeneous direction – as it includes various currents: Thomistic, axiological, existential, socio-economic. However, each of them marks the special role and value of the human person for its own sake. He recognizes it as a biological, historical, transcendent entity. The development of the human person is understood here as the goal of social life, while the primacy of personal values (reason, freedom) is placed here before economic values and the social structures that condition their progress and development.

Modern personalism is primarily associated with the person of Emmanuel Mounier, although the full development of Christian personalism was carried out by Jacques Maritain. This French thinker, sometimes called a Christian rationalist (Wintrop 1983, p. 343), attempted to develop Thomistic social and political philosophy by applying its principles to contemporary issues. J. Maritain was able to grasp at once the inner logic of Thomistic philosophy, according to which reason is submissive to faith (Mrówczynski 1964, p. 16). Exploring the ideas of personalism of St. Thomas Aquinas, he applied them extensively to education. Further development of personalism was influenced by many philosophers and theologians opening it up to such directions as existentialism, phenomenology, value theory, among others.

Of particular note in the development of pedagogical thought is pedagogical personalism, in which we distinguish the following varieties: ontological (metaphysical) and historical personalism. And while J. Maritain accentuates the metaphysical dimension of the person, considering it an open, dynamic, mysterious

structure, as the result of experience, in which the individual's singularity and creativity remain in relationship with the image of transcendent supreme values, in turn E. Mounier reinforced the existential, historical and social dimensions, assuming a "community of persons". It is in it that the merging of the rights of the individual with those of the community takes place. The personalism of E. Mounier is firmly rooted in history, as a continuous affirmation of the divine project to be realized in a process of continuous conversion. For education it "means" guiding human development towards maturity, which will allow a person to gradually acquire self-awareness, as well as responsibility for themselves and others. Personal freedom and social responsibility could be guaranteed by a different way of thinking and implementing education in the family and at school (Nowak 2019, p. 496). In his "Manifesto" (1975), E. Mounier emphasized his opposition to any totalitarian regime of the school, which, in his opinion, instead of preparing a person for the "application" of freedom and responsibility, restricts and inhibits it from the beginning, teaching thinking by commission, acting by the word order, being subjugated and pigeonholed (Mounier 1975, p. 66).

Crucial to personalist pedagogy is the concept of man as an entity that is differentiated, being a combination of material (body) and immaterial (soul) elements. The body initiates the inner self as a subject, while the soul, in turn, is the integrating element of all the material elements of a person's being – thus organizing the entirety of human life. There are two levels of being in human nature. The first is biological-vegetative life, which integrates us into the visible material world. On the other hand, the second level – psychic-spiritual life makes us go beyond this world. Hence, we can speak of tangible and intangible human activities (Kowalczyk 1997, pp. 9–12).

J. Maritain distinguished two dimensions in the nature of man: material individuality, which makes man part of nature, and immaterial personality, which in turn points to the mental-spiritual life and the transcendence of nature. This spiritual dimension of man as a person is indicated by two of his essential properties: mindfulness and freedom. The personal dimension of man becomes apparent in actions: intellectual cognition and the ability to self-direct oneself (self-determination), while freedom, in turn, is a consequence of mindfulness thus giving the possibility of self-determination (Maritain 1935, pp. 31–34). At the same time, he drew attention to freedom of choice, which is only an external freedom. Moreover, it ignores the role of man's inner freedom which consequently contradicts the existence of freedom of the will. Thus, in effect, it ignores the issue of human responsibility. According to J. Maritain, external freedom (freedom of choice) is an undeniable human right, but it is not equivalent to internal freedom. This is because its attainment requires long-term moral effort and man's advocacy of the good. The latter can only be achieved through love. Such freedom is the ability to self-direct oneself, a sense of responsibility for oneself and other people, and the ability to improve oneself morally (Maritain 1960, pp. 20–29).

R. Guardini outlined three levels of personal human existence. These are:
— the first level – the person – as a "form" – recognizable as a shape among others;
— the second level – "person" – is represented by individuality already constituted by inner self;
— the third level is found in personality – here the person shows inner self through self-consciousness, the person's inner self is also expressed through freedom (Guardini 1939, pp. 122–149).

Thus, the person's inner structure, its dynamics and all relationships are recognized. "Person" belongs to itself, cannot be owned by another, nor can it be represented as well as replaced by others. At the same time, it cannot be threatened in its existence as a person if it does not itself reject the existence that gives it its basis, which is itself (Guardini 1939, p. 85).

Personalism operates at the level of realism, where spiritual facts are not only not mutually exclusive, they even presuppose personal reality at all levels: from the corporeal and material – to the sensual, and from the biological to the psychological. It also recognizes the reality of the environment in which this personal existence takes place. It is also important for the development of the person (Guardini 1964, pp. 71–78). In addition, the depictions of personalistic pedagogy emphasize education through or mediated by the environment (surroundings), which only educates if it "passes through the person" (Flores d'Arcais, pp. 54–55). And this upbringing according to J. Tarnowski (Tarnowski 1992, p. 120), consists in the ways and processes that give human beings a chance to find their humanity.

It should also be noted that personalism also emphasizes the problem of the "common good." This "good" represents a new and higher value. However, despite the fact that the state imposes certain obligations on citizens – in the name of the common good – it can never "require" a person to give up his/her convictions, his/her ethical principles, to act against himself/herself and his/her conscience. After all, it is a human being's duty to co-achieve social goals. In turn, they should help him/her achieve his/her personal goals. Thus, personalism recognizes the value of the "common good" as the basis of social life, but also stresses that it must not infringe on the individual good. For the meaning of social life is the all-round development of the human person – for he is always the goal (Maritain 1947, pp. 49–52).

"Personalists" – seminars and brochure

Personalists discussion group was founded in 1950. Its central figure who was inspired by personalism was Czesław Czapów. He was born in 1925 in Grodno, in an intelligentsia family (Kalinowski et al., 1996, p. 325), one of his aunts was

Wiktoria Czapów, an excellent pedagogue, director of the Pedagogical Seminary in Grodno, and later of the Pedagogical High School in Kielce (1945–1951) (Jawłowska et al., 2000, pp. 1–3). Cz. Czapów was preparing for his high school diploma, which he passed in 1946, under her guidance. His father, Benedict Czapów, also worked in Kielce. He was head of the Road Department at the Provincial Office (Skuza 2020, pp. 167–182).

After passing his high school diploma, he began studying Pedagogy at the University of Warsaw, during which time he joined the Baboon (Pawiany) group. "I was introduced there by my colleague Jan Rusiecki. "Baboons" was a group of people who arranged joint games or evenings. […] In fact, I have only been to a few such joint games. In 1948, a number of people graduated and "baboons" social gatherings fizzled out. I tried to maintain '"baboon" traditions, i.e., "baboon" singing, decorating the walls with monkeys, the custom of singing, monologues and skits together, arranging annual carnival 'social gatherings' at my home, where, by the way, I invited various friends" (IPN BU 001043/3928, k. 16–17). "Baboons" – it was an informal club of senior students and assistants at the University of Warsaw. Władysław Słodkowski, Jan Strzelecki, Irena Gliwkówna, Halina Korciepińska, Dzhanet Połtorzycka, Jerzy Kubin, Jerzy Dąmbski were, among others, its members. Jerzy Krasnowolski also emphasized the ties between the "Baboons" and the person of Professor Bogdan Suchodolski. They were due to the "ideological climate" combining "right-wing socialism" with Catholicism, as well as the fact that two of the "baboons" were assistants to Professor. B. Suchodolski (IPN BU 001043/3928, k. 291). It was through meetings in the circle of "Baboons" that Cz. Czapów established cooperation with "Column of the Young" and "Tygodnik Warszawski." He also participated in meetings of the so-called Circle of Thought organized as part of the "Kuźnica" senior scout circle, and often appeared in the "Dziś i Jutro" [Today and Tomorrow] circle where he managed to publish his texts (IPN BU 001043/3928, k.16–17). Very important for Cz. Czapów were regular seminars conducted by prof. B. Suchodolski, who was influenced by personalism. Also under his guidance was the master's thesis by Cz. Czapów – "Nałkowski – pedagog walczący. Próba klasyfikacji poglądów pedagogicznych Wacława Nałkowskiego podjęta ze stanowiska materializmu historycznego" [Nałkowski – a fighting pedagogue. An attempt to classify Wacław Nałkowski's pedagogical views taken from the standpoint of historical materialism – defended on 22.01.1952] (Skuza 2020, p. 171).

In 1949, Cz. Czapów met Zygmunt Skórzynski, who came from Cracow to Warsaw "with head full of Cracow experiences, intellectual experiences related to several years of activity of the local Logophage Club, or 'word devourers'." The first period of our shared experiences with Czesław was a time of fierce opposition, in which we participated together […] I lived then – being a young assistant at the Institute of Urban Planning and Architecture – for a year or a year and a half (1950–1951) in Czesław's apartment at 6 Glogera Street" (Skórzyński

2003, p. 64). They met at a banquet organized by Bolesław Piasecki in Mokotow. During the conversation it turned out that both of them are interested in the issues raised in the pages of "Etap", and above all in the philosophical direction represented by K. Mannheim, and consequently in Catholic personalism. After the closing of "Etap", Z. Skórzyński, Cz. Czapów, A. Rażniewski, J. Dąmbski decided to organize meetings during which personalism could be discussed as an attitude concerning all people, regardless of religion (IPN BU 01224/5, k.555–556). In turn, A. Rażniewski recalled that during social conversations, the idea of organizing discussion meetings on topics concerning: Christian philosophy, especially personalistic philosophy, issues, especially the methodology of social sciences emerged. Cz. Czapów suggested including into these discussions also: Jerzy Kubin, Stanisław Manturzewski, and Jan Józef Lipski (IPN BU 01224/5, k.638).

The first seminar was held in the spring of 1950 in the apartment of Cz. Czapów. Participants included: Jerzy Dąmbski, Andrzej Rażniewski, Aleksander Matejko, Stanisław Manturzewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Janusz Makarczyk, Mikołaj Roztworowski[1]. During the subsequent seminars they managed to discuss the following papers: "Podstawy i zasady polityki humanizmu socjalistycznego" [The foundations and principles of the politics of socialist humanism] (paper by Cz. Czapów), "Rola nauk społecznych we współczesnym świecie" [The role of social sciences in the modern world] (paper by A. Matejko), excerpts from J. Kubin's doctoral thesis on theoretical-cognitive issues, and a paper on the concepts of Leon Petrażycki by A. Podgórecki (IPN BU 001043/3928, k. 18). "Zeznania własne" [The Own Testimony] of Z. Skórzynski (IPN BU 01224/5, k.557) kept by IPN also shows that a paper on the role of science in the planned economy was presented, J. Kubin mentioned the method of historical materialism, while S. Manturzewski gave a speech on experimental research in the social sciences. So these seminars were about the humanities and social sciences, which allowed them to think independently and which probably protected them from Stalinist dogmatism and totalitarian dictates in the science they "practiced". On the other

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[1] The information that makes it possible to reconstruct the course and purpose of these meetings is contained in the statements of individual participants, which were collected during the investigation conducted in 1953 by the Department of Security (UB). Unfortunately, from the documents collected, it appears that the UB agent in the Personalist group was J. Dąmbski – alias "Popiel". He was the one who systematically reported, although most of his original reports have not survived. This is because the Popiel's file was destroyed in 1965, and it became possible to reach the individual documents thanks to copies made for "Arkusze kronikarskie do dossier przestępców przeciwpaństwowych" [Chronicle sheets for the case files of anti-state criminals], which were created for Cz. Czapów, J. Kubin, Z. Skórzynski, A. Rażniewski. Beginning in June 1950, "Popiel's" reports were placed in the "Personalists" file, which was created on the basis of reports received from him and which quickly became known as "Operation" under the code name "Wilki" [Wolves] – IPN BU 01224/5, k. 15-24. "Plan agenturalnego opracowania i przedsięwzięć operacyjnych w sprawie „Wilki"" [The plan of an agent study and operational undertakings in the "Wilki" case] dated June 2, 1951, signed by the head of Division IV of Departament V [Department V] of MBP [Ministry of Public Security] cpt. Filipiak.

hand, the first report recorded in the "Personalists" case reads, "On June 11, 1950, a meeting was held at Czapów's house, at which Czapów gave a speech on personalism. After the speech, a discussion ensued, which showed that it is necessary to continue to bring together people with different world views, who can nevertheless agree on certain issues". From another note provided from "Popiel" dated 21 July, we learn that three meetings were held during the month, during which J. Kubin gave the following speeches: "Planowanie i pozycja socjologii" [Planning and the Position of Sociology] and "Obiektywizm w nauce" [Objectivism in Science] (IPN BU 01224/5, k.654). J. Kubin's speech was listened to and later discussed by Cz. Czapów, A. Rażniewski, Z. Skórzyński, A. Matejko, A. Podgórecki, S. Manturzewski, J. Dąmbski. On the other hand, A. Rażniewski gave a speech on realism in the social sciences, inspired by the ideas of the Vienna Circle (IPN BU 01224/5, k.787). In turn, from reports dated November 13, 1950, we learn that three meetings were held in the new academic year. They were attended by Cz. Czapów, Z. Skórzyński, A. Matejko, J. Dąmbski, A. Rażniewski, J. Kubin, T. Mazowiecki, S. Manturzewski, Z. Kossakowska and Z. Marek. According to the report filed, "the team is looking for a form for legal activity through "Dziś i Jutro" [Today and Tomorrow] or contacting Stomma, who is expected to arrive in Warsaw around 27 this month The goals of the team are to be scientific, but with the clear attitude that the aim is to criticize modern science. Within the group, a smaller group of distinctly Catholic people emerges. […], which has more specific goals, such as influencing young people and suggesting the right literature. The group seeks contact with the Episcopate through a person specifically designated as the group's supervisor from among the priests. Meeting with Z. Marek from Cracow was no coincidence. He represents an eminently concrete Catholic direction and seems to be associated with Andrzej Rozmarynowicz in Cracow" (IPN BU 01224/5, k.184–185). In addition, from the "Statement" written by Cz. Czapów as a result of a later investigation (in 1953), we know that he also wrote a paper in late 1950: "Podstawy i zasady socjalizmu humanistycznego" [Fundamentals and Principles of Humanistic Socialism], which he discussed with J. Dąmbski. Interestingly, the statements of Cz. Czapów show that it was J. Dąmbski "who pointed out to a group of academic youth, generally unknown to me /I knew only A. Wierciński/ who are interested in the issues of personalism. A. Wierciński, with whom, by the way, I did not directly discuss these issues, was said to have, as J. Dąmbski told me, several intelligent acquaintances in Gliwice. I looked around other cities in my mind, but nothing came of it, as I simply did not see anyone worthy of attention. […] as a matter of fact, all this "work" probably did not last more than three weeks of 1950, and as far as I know was limited to a couple of discussions by Wierciński with some of his colleagues in Warsaw. I, for my part, gave for these discussions my admittedly loosely drafted notes on personalism and discussed and completed excerpts from the article by Professor Chałasinski "Problemy demokracji" [Problems of

Democracy] published in Odrodzenie" (IPN BU 001043/3928, k. 19). Interestingly, it is directly evident from this account that the initiator of the formation of the group outside Warsaw as well as among the students was J. Dąmbski – "Popiel". The documentation collected at the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) also shows that very soon – as early as January 1951 – an officer of Division IV of Departament V [Department V], Bronisław Kleina, wrote "Postanowienie o wszczęciu agenturalnego opracowania" [Decision to initiate an agent study] in relation to members of the "Personalists" group. It was approved on January 31, 1951. It stated, among other things, that the group founded by Cz. Czapów intends to invite "someone" from "Dziś i Jutro" [Today and Tomorrow] to the next meeting, specifically Tadeusz Mazowiecki, in order to be covered by them to the authorities". According to the cited document, it was also decided to cooperate with Stanisław Stomma, but the talks held by Cz. Czapów have been unsuccessful. In addition, according to "Popiel" reports, it was recognized that there are personalist groups outside of Warsaw – for example, in Kraków, whose active members are M. Zbigniew, A. Rozmarynowicz, A. Podgórecki. Relationships with the personalist team of the following professors were also recognized: B. Suchodolski, S. Ossowski, as well as T. Kotarbiński. It was emphasized that the personalist group was preparing the 1st part of the work in manuscript, which, after completing the whole thing, would be compiled in a book form, transcribed in several copies and transferred abroad through relatives of Cz. Czapów, who are at Polish diplomatic missions abroad, according to the report. These works analyze and attack certain Marxist scientific formulations, with a concomitant emphasis on national issues and hostility to the USSR. Thus, the team does not limit itself to ideological work, but raises issues of illegal activities in the event of war. The conclusion of this "Order" stated that "taking into account the hostile work directed against the People's Republic of Poland and our Party, I ask you to approve the order to initiate an agent study on" (IPN BU 01224/5, k. 4–9)… here appears a list of 25 names with brief characteristics of what they are suspected of. Among the names mentioned, of course, the following appear: Cz. Czapów, A. Rażniewski, Z. Skórzyński, J. Dąmbski[2], J. Kubin, J. Matejko, M. Rostworowski, T. Mazowiecki, Prof. S. Ossowski, Prof. B. Suchodolski, Prof. T. Kotarbiński, Z. Kossakowska, S. Manturzewski, J. Konopka, A. Rozmarynowicz, A. Podgórecki, S. Stomma and others. Highlighting the professors' ties to the "Personalists" team probably made it possible to take action to accuse them of supporting anti-state activities, and thus deprive them of the right to work at universities.

Cz. Czapów became very seriously involved in the activities of the "Personalists". From J. Kubin's account we learn that in the autumn of 1950 he ………………………………..

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[2] After analyzing the collected documents with historians, it was clarified that it was the practice of the Department of Security to conceal the identity of the agent – in our case J. Dąmbski – "Popiel", including in the studies they were preparing.

began preparing a brochure, in which he stressed "the special importance of the human person. Human is considered sacred, he cannot be harmed, that would be the first intention, and the second is that human by nature has certain rights, the right to think and speak freely, the right to associate freely. Such a definition of the meaning of humans was the result of concern not to harm humans in the course of social reforms or revolutions carried out precisely in the name of humanity. […] With the concept of personalism, Czapów linked the Mannheimian notion of militant democracy, the notion of dictatorship in defense of democracy against fascism. This democracy was understood in the Western European way – freedom of thought, speech, association. […] A progressive Catholic should participate in the revolution in a critical way. Czapów wholeheartedly agreed to the reforms made in Poland: the nationalization of industry and the liquidation of landholding, as well as those being made in agriculture" (IPN BU 01224/5, k. 707–710). From "Popiel's" reports, we learn that particular sections of the brochure were consulted by Cz. Czapów with other team members. Two studies were produced to provide material for discussion among students: "Zasady i podstawy polityki socjalizmu personalistycznego" [The Principles and Foundations of the Politics of Personalist Socialism], as well as "Marksizm stalinowski jako teoretyczna podstawa socjalistycznego „uzdrowienia" świata" [Stalinist Marxism as the Theoretical Basis for Socialist 'Healing' of the World]. In 1951 a brochure entitled "Socjalizm personalistyczny" [Personalist Socialism] was produced, which consisted of the following parts: "Socialist political program, Elements of the world-view bond, Social philosophy of socialism, Sociotechnics as an ideal, Socialists and socialism, Socialist political concept". On February 14, 1951, a meeting was held at the J. Matejko's place, which was attended by Cz. Czapów, J. Kubin, S, Manturzewski, A. Rażniewski, Z. Skórzyński, J. Dąmbski. The work of Cz. Czapów was then criticized, accusing it of "lack of historical perspective, amateurism, lack of assessment of reality and of being speculative" (IPN BU 01224/5, k. 55–56). Unfortunately, a copy of this study could not be found[3]. In the "Popiel's" report, we can only read his summary of a conversation on the subject with Cz. Czapów, which took place on March 18, 1951: "I am a socialist and I stand on the Catholic position, so I can talk about socialism in the humanist and social sense without taking a materialist position. At the moment, there are different paths to the socialists… One can stand on the position of […] the Socialist International, which announced […] the declaration in Copenhagen and is associated with the Labor Party (COMISCO). They are currently studying the

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[3] The titles of works by Cz. Czapów cited in the article have not been found by the author of the text in the archives of the IPN, AAN, AUW. At this point, however, it is worth noting the articles published by Cz. Czapów: the first published in "Dziś i Jutro" in 1950 – "Ubodzy duchem" [Poor in spirit], as well as "Na szlaku zasadniczego sporu" [On the trail of a fundamental dispute] published in "Po prostu. Tygodnik studenta i młodej inteligencji" – No. 46/1956. They are kind of sketches, in which he presents his "personalist" attitude towards social, political and cultural issues.

issue of ownership and the solution to production problems in a position other than nationalization. According to Mannheim, the nationalization of industry and the transitional stage envisioned in Lenin's construction of communism is a mistake – because in practice, a group of people coming to power in a totalitarian state want to maintain power and the working class is in practice exploited, there is no improvement in existence. Such a mistake was made in the USSR, which is going through a period of imperialism and totalitarianism. The solution to the production problem must be sought in cooperatives and on the basis of Trade Unions – in production plants, Works Councils would become co-owners of the production plant. The management of these processes should rest in the hands of social scientists. In the event that the stance of betting on COMISCO is the best, it is necessary to adopt such a principle that in the event of a conflict, the victory of Western countries is more advantageous for us. In our conditions, a faction would have to be formed within COMISCO due to the distinctiveness of our conditions. The basis is socialist humanism and Mannheim's theory. There is still a second way of Tita and others, but of course it is not a final solution, because it is also not humanistic enough. [...] COMISCO is the best – this position is for our work [...]. Above all, the enemy is capitalism and the bourgeoisie as well as all totalitarianism and fascism" (IPN BU 01224/5, k. 57–58). Of course, it is difficult to say how reliable is this statement by Cz. Czapów, and to what extent they are strong exaggerations by the author of the report.

Also worth noting is the meeting that took place on May 25, 1951, in the apartment of Cz. Czapów, which was attended by S. Stomma and J. Turowicz. At the time, they discussed the assumptions presented in the work of Cz. Czapów on personalist politics. The meeting was also attended by Z. Skórzyński, A. Matejko, J.J.Lipski, S. Manturzewski, A. Podgórecki. The discussion concerned the understanding of the concepts of socialism and personalism. Despite criticism from S. Stomma, he evaluated the work of Cz. Czapów "as interesting and worthy of discussion, while Turowicz made clear the need for Poland to develop its own concept".

This intensive work on the brochure by Cz. Czapów translated into an inability to work regularly within the seminary. Nevertheless, on March 27, 1951, S. Manturzewski, in the apartment of J. J. Lipski, delivered a speech on: "Cultural experiment in the study of non-traditional behavior", which, of course, was discussed by regular seminar participants. A month later, another seminar was held, at which A. Podgórecki reported on the methodology of Leon Petrażycki (IPN BU 01224/5, k. 72–73). After such intensified activities, it can be seen that in 1951 the activity of the "Personalists" group went in two directions. Social science seminars were maintained, and discussions were held on the program, which was prepared by Cz. Czapów. Such a conclusion can be drawn from documents collected during the 1953 investigation. A kind of prelude to the attack by the police on the members of the "Personalists" group was "Wniosek o częściową likwidację agenturalnego rozpracowania kryptonim

„Wilki"" [Request for partial liquidation of the agent study code-named "Wolves"] dated August 29, 1953. The information it contains largely coincides with that collected as early as 1951. Nevertheless, it is in this document that we can find the clause "take Czapów down secretly", and if it is possible, recruit him as an agent, and then make such an attempt towards Z. Skórzyński and A. Rażniewski (IPN BU 01224/5, k. 293–297). Cz. Czapów was arrested on September 6, 1953,[4] and placed in a prison in Warsaw. It is not known when Cz. Czapów left the prison – however, it is known that it was the end of December 1953 (IPN BU 00 1043/3928 3956/I k.41–43) due to the fact that the security authorities had not decided on a trial. "But a certain effect has nevertheless been achieved by the police. The thorough documentation of the Department of Security of most of our meetings, activities, many confidential conversations, etc. forced us – for a period of two years – to limit the frequency of contacts and conversations, to a kind of closure in ourselves, in our families, among the most trusted people […] We were entering a period in which the authorities of the time tried to control every manifestation of independent social life. To control – it meant to prevent or actually control this process, breaking people and forcing them to serve in a dual role" (Skórzyński 2003, p. 66). Therefore, Cz. Czapów, constantly harassed and blackmailed by the UB, decided to defend himself by simulating his own suicide (in the currents of the river), in order to then, changing his appearance, and repeatedly changing his place of residence, hide until the 'thaw' period. When he decided to return "hoping that his case had calmed down" (Jawłowska 2003, p.63) he began working for PAX, and in 1961 returned to work at the University of Warsaw as a senior assistant in the Department of Special Pedagogy (AUW, K. 13068, k.3). "He was wrong, however, to think that interest in him had ceased. He was guarded and chained for the rest of his life. He was reminded of this whenever something happened that violated the "natural" order of the reality of the Polish People's Republic. He could not do what was his true calling – to practice politics understood in the spirit of Hannah Arendt as the creation of the human world" (Jawłowska ibid).

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In the following years, Cz. Czapów joined the club "Klub Krzywego Koła", which was founded in the spring of 1955 on the initiative of Ewa and Juliusz Garzteccy. The meeting place was their apartment, located at Krzywe Koło Street in War-saw (hence the club's name). Initially, the focus was on delivering papers, which concerned mainly cultural issues. It was at the club "Klub Krzywego Koła" that the activities of former participants in the personalist group, including Cz. Cza-

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[4] The records of interrogations of Cz. Czapów has not been found to date, only the "Statement" he submitted, to which references appear in the work presented. This is a period in the life of Cz. Czapów, which for the moment represents the next stage of scientific research.

pów, who gathered as part of the Social Diagnostics Section, were continued (IPN 0204/1421, t.1, k. 354). In addition, he became involved in the work of Polish radio station Polskie Radio – initially in the Letters Office – and later in the established Public Opinion Research Center at Polskie Radio. Under his guidance, in June 1958 the first nationwide survey was carried out on the "Attitude to the new housing policy"[5]. In the area of scientific activity, he was involved in team research on hooligan groups together with S. Manturzewski – organized at the Department of General Pedagogy led by Prof. B. Suchodolski, at the Faculty of Pedagogy of the University of Warsaw, later continued from 1960 in the Department of Special Pedagogy at the University of Warsaw. Their book "Niebezpieczne ulice. U źródeł chuligaństwa. Materiały i refleksje" [Dangerous streets. At the root of hooliganism. Materials and reflections], published in 1960 (Wyd. Iskry) became a summary of this research. At the same time, it became an inspiration to continue research and prepare doctoral dissertation titled "Problemy chuligańskiej podkultury – teoretyczne podstawy resocjalizacji młodzieży ze środowiska chuligańskiego" [Problems of the hooligan subculture – theoretical foundations of social rehabilitation of youth from the hooligan environment] (under the direction of doc. dr S. Jedlewski (Associate Professor, PhD)[6]), which, however, was not published (AUW, WPP-dr 104, knlb.).

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Does AI Come to Schools?
Some Concerns about Teaching in Times of the COVID 19 Pandemic

Abstract: The article addresses the question of a possible technological change in teaching, triggered by the COVID 19 pandemic and the development of AI systems in education. On the one side, the pandemic lockdowns and remote education have stimulated reflections on different aspects of educational routine concerning rapid digital expansion into schools. On the other, sophisticated technologies are designated to intelligently support various types of learning. The article presents a brief overview of some ideas from the past, focusing on the automation of teaching. Then it shows how the pandemic situation will help to induce some changes. The socio-cultural perspective presented in the article provides interpretive frameworks for further research.
Key words: teaching, AI in education, COVID 19, technological change.

Introduction

Each change is a never linear, but contingent and contextual process (Selwyn 2016). It means that the ways in which technology is implemented across society are not fully predictable. As a result, the development of automated teaching technologies

will not be inevitable to be used in consistent ways with anticipated outcomes. Moreover, the integration of any technology into society is always stretched between necessity and choice. As such, it opens an area for a discussion concerning socio-cultural approaches. However, the contexts in which technology use is situated can be severely limited to individual behaviors, individual development and "best practice and what works." The predominance of these concerns leads to a largely restricted view of technology use in relation to its effectiveness and difference making. In addition to its strong influence, it has a certain advantage over socio-cultural approaches based on the uncertainty of the future prospects of technology use in such a profoundly social – and therefore human process as education, that is, instead of questions, it puts an emphasis on an optimistic desire to show how to make an immediate but far-reaching difference in education.

In the times of pandemic, remote education offers an opportunity for rapid digital expansion and a change from traditional methods of lecture into alternative ways of teaching concerning apps, software and educational platforms designated to carry out pedagogical tasks. The automation of digital teaching is set to be a particularly dynamic process under threat from the turmoil of another pandemic lockdowns. The pandemic time can help to legitimate any discourse of technological innovation and justify its claim for educational reforms. However, these are not straightforward technical issues. Therefore, the politics of digital automation is far beyond the focus on matters of design and efficiency. It engages the realms of values, judgements and beliefs.

Teaching machines

The belief that technology can facilitate teaching is deeply ingrained in the notion of automating instructions (Selwyn 2019). Although there is still a consensus among academics that human learning is a by far more complicated than the first behaviorists initially conceived, behaviorism has cast a long shadow on educational technology and teaching machines. It was B.F. Skinner who set the theoretical foundations in automated instruction. Skinner suggested a new way to explaining learning through the concepts of shaping and reinforcing behavior by instant feedback. In addition to his theoretical contribution to automating instructions, he designed a teaching machine in order to prove his ideas on education. The idea stood behind his invention was relied on the description of class education in which there was a set of stimuli and responses between the student and the teacher. In his own words, "teaching is a matter of arranging contingencies of reinforcement under which students learn" (Skinner 1969: 25).

Skinner's machine was a piece of equipment with moving parts that was designated to do a true/false question. The student received instant feedback for a respond and moved forward to the next task only if his answer was

correct. In theory, the student would control the level of learning and advance when the content was mastered. Skinner explained that learning could be accomplished, provided that the student went step by step in the right direction through the content, and each step required a regular feedback. In his view, the turning point was that every student needed to attain the same level of mastery, but he set his own speed of learning. Students with less ability could take their time without being publicly ezmbarrassed by their slower progress, whereas students with skills could move forward quickly and they were not being held back and bored by a slow pace of learning.

For Skinner, that programming would take the role of teacher by offering questions/answers in the manner a teacher might do. However, as he stated: "the machine itself, of course, does not teach. It simply brings the student in contact with the person who composed the material it presents" (Skinner 1958: 971). Skinner's approach to programming was linear, based on the idea of going from one thing to another in a single series of stages. In spite of its simplicity, the critical point was that Skinner's teaching machine introduced some key concepts in digital teaching and educational technology such as individual progress, adaptive behavior and instant feedback.

Game-based learning

Teaching machines were simply replaced by a more sophisticated machine – the personal computer. In that change, however, one premise was constant that technological breakthroughs would offer new insights into the process of teaching. The main idea of how to teach by using machines was taken over from Skinner's behaviorism to Piaget's constructivism. At the core of Piaget's theory of constructivism is the assumption that education starts with an understanding that children have a set of evolving principles based on direct experience related to their previous experiences (Piaget 1964). As a result, one of basic rules is that children need to discover for themselves the errors of their ways and make connections relied on their own experience rather than learning by being told directly. All new knowledge is self-constructed. In constructivism, the teacher's role is to define a problem that covers the content to be learned, provide an environment that will help solving the problem through exploration, and give support for the student's exploration of that environment.

The computer program creates environment that is limited to some specific problem in which students will construct their own solutions. This idea is deeply in rooted in game-based learning, especially since digital games were an entrenched part of childhood (Zagal 2010). Piaget (1952) believed that children were distinct beings with age-related and fundamentally different views of their environment from adults. At the foundation of game-based learning approach lies a similar idea

about how children view their world that they inhabit. The impact and potential of games is brought into an interest in using game dynamics to support learning.

The educational game environment is constructed around principles found in Skinner's teaching machine such as individual progress, constant feedback and mastery learning based on a step by step method. In addition to these attributes, it is flavored with Piaget's views on child education, where specific objectives are defined and students must navigate through it on their own. Moreover, the modern educational game environment creates social groups out of their players. Group networking with its ability to get people connected has ignited a remarkable turn in digital teaching.

E-learning

E-learning has its roots in the correspondence schools (Ferster 2014: 124). The use of Internet to deliver digital contents to students transforms traditional instruction in different contexts. The digital context is fully searchable, making easier for the student to go back and review previous sections any time as required. Moreover, the instructions are often customized into individual preferences and fit the learner's goals. Furthermore, most of e-learning tools provide a didactic, instruction-driven experience aimed at producing the face-to-face classroom experience.

The flexibility of e-learning gives an opportunity for a wider participation, because it is not obligatory for students and the teacher to be in the same location. There is also a variety in its synchronicity. A synchronous course presents the class at a particular time and it provides a communication platform to interact with one another during the class. An asynchronous course allows students to browse for the instructional content at any time that is convenient, but because of the lack of a common time space, the modes of communication are limited to email, chat, or online forums.

One of the important limitations of e-learning is the teaching instruction and the cost of delivering it, because the teacher's time is circumscribed. Each time the class is taught, the teacher must be present to teach it. Best solution for effective e-learning lies in combination of student driven with asynchronous learning, but also adds the assistance of the teacher (Ferster 2014: 125). Therefore, the recent surge in investments in educational technology drives the development of digital teaching based on the AI that will eventually replace the necessity of the assistance of the teacher in person.

The AI

The AI work is associated with adding intelligent features to computerized technology. One crucial aspect of this work is based on the concept of machine le-

arning. In the process of machine learning algorithms are trained to incorporate large amounts of data in order to learn how to make decisions and perform tasks. The most recent add to machine learning is so-called deep learning. Deep learning introduces the application of machine learning to artificial neural networks. They are designated on the complex structure of biological brains. Thus, a deep learning system is able to train itself to refine the accuracy of algorithms until they are capable of reaching accurate conclusions. The capacity for autonomous learning based on neural networks will offer a key to building a machine with human-like intellect and skills.

Despite its development, the AI system is still heavily relied on the logics it programmed with and the data set it is trained on. The AI is strongly connected to the power of classification that disclose the forms which society will assume. Therefore, it has become an area of computer science associated with social consequences. Although this shortcoming is recognized, there is a hope that any short-term limitation will be overcome in the light of the potential for long-term transformations as the process of evolving proceeds (Fernster 2014).

One possible view on the educational implications of the AI is an intelligent tutoring system. It is interesting that some intelligent tutoring systems are equipped with digital assistants which allow learners to role-play with them in order to receive instructions. Digital assistants are designated to look and behave like real people and their work is extended from displaying information, testing and explaining to motivating and reassuring learners.

The intelligent system is designated to respond to a domain of what the learner should be doing during the task. In process, the learner's actual performance is compared with an expert model and the system analyses where the learner's actions are deviated. On the basis of comparisons, the system is able to provide a feedback in order to guide the learner step by step to solution. The most significant rule of the intelligent system is to help students learn by doing rather than through instruction. Such an engaging form of tutoring is by all means adapted to vocational education and training.

When considering teaching in terms of personal/intellectual transformative potentials, it is pedagogically crucial to distinguish education from training. Education is more general and aims at cultured and civic-minded citizenry, whereas training is reduced to specialization and the acquisition of a narrow range of skills and information connected with a specific task, challenge, or problem. Training is instrumentally geared to meeting definable goals and the intelligent system is truly dedicated to acquisition of technical knowledge and the details that are specific to a given field.

This truth about the design of contemporary tutoring systems is often veiled by claims regarding the AI associated with expert knowledge and one-and-one tutoring (Fernster 2014, 159–161). It is also limited to a technicality concerning a question of how to support artificially intelligent tutors capable of authentic

communication. The recent developments are based on so-called empathy technologies which are sensitive to biometric techniques of mood detection such as eye-tracking or facial recognition. At the same time, the AI avatars are developed to display their own emotions in order to behave naturally and believably. In addition to emotional development, they will be able to provide differently nuanced mentoring approaches after finished with the scan of a type of the potential learner. Even now, some systems give an opportunity of multiple agents to work with a single learner. Nevertheless, it cannot be forgotten that each intelligent system, even the most complex system is essentially created around closed forms of repetitive training. Regardless of open-ended and socially rich learning claims, intelligent systems are most successfully found in dealing with rational and repetitive lines. They focus on triggering the correct outcomes in education.

The art of teaching

The significance of education in every society provokes a discussion on the art of teaching. The model of teaching which is found in the AI system is strongly based on some romanticized vision of teaching vaguely referring to the Socratic method where the teacher uses dialogic questioning of alternative viewpoints in order to lead the student to discover and get understandings. However, the practicalities of modern teaching are by far more complex, because they involve detailed planning, organization and management of work. Not to mention, other functions that teachers are responsible for, such as disciplinary and bureaucracy. On the contrary, one claim for the AI is that it will not be preoccupied by the production of evidence of teaching, but it will focus on teaching (Selwyn 2019, 3–4).

It leads to the core of a question of what "good" teaching is. In many cases, the preferable model of teaching concerning the AI is the ideal of individual instruction which is traditionally rooted in educationally oriented technological innovations. It resonates with some social changes in society towards the individualization of social life. Collective and institutionalized learning is often harshly criticized for being a poor substitute for individualized forms of learning. In the view, the idea that students should learn the same thing at the same time is seen so socially backward as an artifact from the way classroom have to be organized by age. Individual instruction under the guise of one-to-one tutoring is presented as the apex of classical teaching, which is the reference to the retro-utopian vision of the Athenian philosopher teaching, yet flavored with digital technology (Clark 2020).

Nonetheless, teaching is never a simple process of transferring knowledge and skills to students. Teaching involves supporting the development of a student's intellect for sure, but most importantly it cultivates the development of heart and soul. At the core of teaching, the development of character is as important as the

acquisition of knowledge. It means that some dimensions of teaching are beyond a formal logic of calculability, as a result of cultural and social contextualization. Any AI system, even the most sophisticated one, is completely dependent on the data. Any gaps and omissions are vitally important in terms of education. Even the best models of teaching contain grey areas. Moreover, there are many social and cultural factors integral to understanding what happens in education they may be not really measured and quantified. Some of them just need human compassion and wisdom.

Pandemics as a possible game-changer

With the outbreak of the coronavirus disease 2019 pandemic, as governments implemented virus mitigation strategies (lockdowns), many students are required to shift to remote education. Collectively, it abruptly reconfigured boundaries between education and technology. More precisely, widespread stay-at-home requirements restricted the elements of education to its remote forms based on some digital developments. These rapid transformations create an opportunity to develop knowledge about remote education on a large scale, its potentials for a change in education, as well as its repercussions. Some observations will provide the basic rationales for the widespread implementation of AI system in education.

Economies of scale and corporate desires to reform education

Support for AI-driven education comes together with a wider belief that schools and universities will benefit from technological innovation. The purpose of technology is to increase the efficiency of tasks that people perform. It encourages the corporate claims for reforms of "outdated and inefficient" educational systems (Clark 2020). The digital teaching is seen as a necessary reboot educational systems to scale education's efficiency.

Issues of scale affect the delivery of instruction and its creation. It is true that AI systems and applications deal with massive amounts of data to make connections and detect patterns that would not be identified. They need a quality content of information to feed them and economies of scale to improve their performances. So far, online storage costs are low and there is a growing wealth of digital resources available, because its size is no longer an issue. The access to information is almost unlimited and the systems that can deliver content such scale are exist. However, it is claimed that some efforts in implementing the AI systems in education are hampered from a lack of quality of information, or a determination to succeed in changing a mindset of contemporary educational agents (Bates et al. 2020).

However, the drifts of education towards the competency–enhancing potential of vocational type programs will give a hand in opening a back door for intelligent tutoring systems. Educational technology is particularly well-suited in offering a training mode, since training is a narrow, particular and instrumentally geared to meeting definable goals. Moreover, disciplines that train students to undertake tasks associated with the positivist concentration on precision and quantification as a superior approach to knowledge have already suited for a close cooperation with various AI applications (Popenici, Kerr 2017). Furthermore, popular views and understandings elevate hard or physical science to the top of an intellectual level far superior to humanities and social sciences. The application of new technology to teaching in hard science could be widely perceived as another natural step in proving its advancement and superiority.

Especially, in the times of pandemic, when traditional education systems suffer from lockdowns and uncertainty, educational technologies are praised for their efficiency. The pace of change in educational technology is rising exceptionally because of the Internet and digital devices users. It is entwined with a general shift in neoliberal societies toward the increased role of the private sector, increased individualism and a focus on data-driven efficiencies and accountabilities (Williamson, Eynon 2020). Increasingly, the public calls for relevance and efficiency in education, particularly in times of severe economic downturn. AI technologies will deal with the ways in which contemporary educational institutions are politically managed by the use of numeric measurement and accountability.

Political desires to reform education

In media, the public is repeatedly informed about a crisis in education. An essential part of a crisis in education narrative is a crisis of teaching with its burnt-out figures of teachers, those who want to leave the profession forever and the decline in numbers of potential recruiters. Moreover, there is a growing concern about the costs of education associated with educational labor and infrastructure. In difficult times, it might be expected that the public would call for rationalization and accountability of education, which usually reflect the views those who favor vocational-oriented education and the production of quantitative-tested knowledge. The public is not really attuned to what goes on education and therefore, people are understandably likely to be interested in practical outcomes of education and in curricula that promise cutting down on spending their tax money. In conclusion, alternative sources of teaching might be introduced as an effective means of dealing with a lack of teachers, and at the same time, as an effective means of spending public money on more practical and results-oriented pursuits in education (Feenberg 2003: 100).

Another political factor that might play a role in heading for AI applications in education is an intersection between education and ideology. Although teaching, after John Dewey, can be seen as cultivating the 'habit' of learning that is necessary for someone to thrive as a member of a democratic community, there are serious concerns in the public about the engagement of education in so-called cultural wars. The pandemic situation has been instrumentally used for politicians to achieve their particular goals and polarize the public opinion on social issues along different social and cultural lines (Jungkunz 2021). Education is an ideological battleground, because the politics of education are in fact conflictual, rather than harmonious, including their connections to economic and cultural systems, political ideologies and personal worldviews. On the contrary to this, many people want to believe that education can offer an apolitical haven, in otherwise a turmoil world of politics. In reference to their beliefs, alternative sources of teaching might be promoted as non-partisan and not polluted by personal value judgements tools in education (Selwyn et al. 2020). Such a position resonates well with governments, which are given a method of managing educational agenda in accordance with their political convictions. Moreover, even the AI driven systems based on certain algorithms are recognized as an effective means of controlling information, some people might support them anyway, because they see educational technology as a firewall in education that can stop the flow of ideological contents that are not approved by themselves.

Conclusion

The pandemic intersects with general concern over the impact of AI on education, work and social life. Massive changes caused by the pandemic have been created shifts in exposure of the role of technology in relation to the demise of traditionally defined education and work. It is widely expected that technology will enable new possibilities people have not predicted yet. In process, the importance of education-technology integration is seen as a digitally driven and progressive step towards a future turn in education.

It must be recognized, however, that there is an idea that lies at the core of the AI educational applications that the nature of teaching should be revolutionized by technological innovations. The pandemic could expose such claims for an urgent change in the education system, because of the use of dramatic language that proclaims a profound difference in the world and pronounces generational differences in relation to the remote forms of education and work. In addition, the pandemic experiences evoke strongly bounded divides between the past of education and its future, also in terms of a normative change towards the creation of new norms concerning models of teaching.

In the meantime, however, according to contemporary experiences of teaching and digital technology during pandemic times, it is more likely than other scenario that teachers find themselves adjusting what they do in order to fit in the limitations of the digital machines they are working with. It clearly shows why teaching should remain an essentially human process.

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Activities of the National Association of Rehabilitation Workers for the rehabilitation of minors in Poland

Abstract: The article presents the activities of the National Association of Rehabilitation Workers, which, as an NGO, for twenty-eight years of activity, has shown a wide activity for the environment of social rehabilitation workers, but also for the benefit of socially maladjusted youth placed in educational institutions. The active promotion and initiation of organizational, legislative, and systemic changes and transformations have become the focus of the Association's work, which over the years has expanded to include training activities, the organization of scientific conferences, international exchanges, and the conduct of preventive, educational and therapeutic programs and projects for young people at risk of social maladjustment and socially maladjusted, for which the organization has raised or directly sponsored funds, as well as scientific and promoting activities. The study indicates the direct impact of the Association on the social rehabilitation of minors in Poland.
Key words: youth educational centers, delinquency, association rehabilitation workers, resocialization.

Introduction

Modern society, in addition to well-developed state structures, needs well-functioning non-governmental institutions, which should not only strengthen

various areas of social life, but in many cases should be the originator and implementer of new trends and solutions. One area of social life includes activities for the upbringing and care of young people, which result in the proper psychosocial development of an individual. The result of disturbances in the socialization process becomes the problem of social maladjustment, the genesis of which should be sought in biopsychic and sociocultural factors (Urban, 2000). Interactions with such people require the involvement of many institutions and specialists in the fields of pedagogy, law, sociology or psychology, and the conduct of activities at the levels of upbringing, care and therapy. Important to the effectiveness of social rehabilitation is the organizational and structural sphere that forms the logistical basis of the process. All these activities should be carried out on the basis of cooperation between state institutions and non-governmental organizations.

National Association of Rehabilitation Workers as a non-governmental institution

The significant role of various associations and social organizations was emphasized as early as 1974 by Professor Aleksander Kamiński (1974). Their intensive development took place in Poland during the social and economic transformation after 1989, which unleashed tremendous social energy, a sense of solidarity and a desire to help those most affected by these changes. The conviction of the effectiveness of community action prompted many community workers to create structures whose task was to support upbringing, educational or preventive institutions in the sphere of organization and implementation. This is because associating with others is essential to the effectiveness of working for a good human life. Working in an organization reinforces a sense of commitment and effectiveness and provides a mechanism for developing social sensitivity, encourages cooperation and strengthens individual initiative in solving problems. It also helps meet the needs and aspirations of both the organization's members and the recipients of their activities.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can be defined as specific forms of social self-organization, organized structures that integrate groups of citizens, characterized by a common mature social identity, a certain degree of involvement, the private nature of the initiative, voluntary participation, independence and non-commercial nature, as well as a significant share of volunteer service. NGOs play an important role in shaping human attitudes, both of those who are members and those who have any contact with them (Radziewicz-Winnicki, 2008). They can be both local and supra-local. One function that is of particular importance according to researchers is the care and upbringing, as well as integration function (Pilch, 1995).

The organizations in question include the National Association of Rehabilitation Workers (OSPR – Ogólnopolskie Stowarzyszenie Pracowników Resocjalizacji). It was established in October 1993 in Łękawa near Bełchatów on the initiative of employees of youth educational centers from all over the country, who wanted to consolidate the efforts of mutual cooperation at the level of a non-governmental organization. This gave them an organizational and legal basis for their activities on behalf of staff working in social rehabilitation institutions and socially maladjusted youth placed in these institutions. The Association's activities were based mainly on the activities of more than 20 local groups scattered across the map of the country, whose members were recruited primarily from among the employees of educational centers, although police officers, employees of courts and other institutions, including emergency care centers, were also affiliated with the association. In accordance with the adopted Statute, OSPR was and is managed through the General Board with a President, and control functions in the association are performed by the Supervisory Board. The first President of OSPR was dr hab. Irena Motow (PhD), who at the time served as a director of the Youth Educational Center in Łękawa, where the first headquarters of the Association was located. Then, in 1996–1999, the headquarters of the Association became the Youth Educational Center in Radzionków, and dr Tadeusz Wolan (PhD) became the next President. After subsequent changes, for three terms (1999–2008) the Association was headed by dr Arkadiusz Kamiński (PhD) from the Youth Educational Center in Herby, which became the headquarters of the organization. For the next 12 years (2008–2020) the Association functioned in the Youth Educational Center in Kuźnia Raciborska, with Julian Zieliński as its President. Since 2020, the headquarters of the Association has been the Youth Educational Center in Jaworek, and it is headed by dr Mariusz Dobijański (PhD) (OSPR Bulletin, 2013; Conclusions of the OSPR Convention, 2020).

According to the Association's Statute, the most important goals of the organization can include:
— strengthening and uniting the community of social rehabilitation workers and representing their professional interests,
— spreading and supporting new methods and forms of social rehabilitation work,
— assistance in ensuring proper economic and living conditions for wards included in the social rehabilitation process,
— active participation in the overall social rehabilitation activity in the country (the Association is to direct its assistance to each individual undergoing social rehabilitation, regardless of his/her religious orientation, political orientation, national origin, recognized system of values and beliefs, focusing on the fulfillment of the care and upbringing, as well as integration function),
— modification of legal solutions to improve the functioning of social rehabilitation institutions, especially youth educational centers,

— consolidating the community of social rehabilitation workers and their activation in the process of adapting educational centers to new forms and methods of work,
— cooperation with universities, institutions and scientific organizations by organizing meetings, seminars and scientific conferences,
— active cooperation with representative bodies, state administration and trade unions in all matters arising from the objectives of the Association,
— organizing and conducting educational and integration activities for people at risk of social exclusion, including young people with disabilities,
— organizing active forms of counteracting addiction among children and young people,
— formation of ethical attitudes among social rehabilitation workers,
— taking positions before state authorities, professional organizations, etc., on issues relating to social rehabilitation in the broadest sense,
— establishing or cooperating in the operation of specialized centers, schools as well as care and rehabilitation facilities for socially maladjusted and marginalized children and youth (Statutes of OSPR, 2020).

OSPR, as a non-governmental organization, keeps full personnel, financial and substantive records under the Statute, and its activities are subject to state control – mainly financial and judicial. The Association's authorities are elected once every 3 years at the Association's General Meetings of the Association's Delegates, which sets the direction of the Association's activities. According to the organization's internal materials, 12 of them have been held so far, and they constituted the most important body that set the organization's directions for the coming period of activity.

Activities of the Association

The nearly thirty-year period of the Association's activities has abounded in various forms of activity both in the organizational and training areas, the organization of scientific conferences, the conduct of scientific and publishing activities, international cooperation, and the creation and implementation of programs for socially maladjusted youth. The activity had a strong and direct impact on changes and transformations in the Polish system of juvenile social rehabilitation and contributed to the introduction of specific legislative and organizational solutions and the promotion of innovative forms and methods of social rehabilitation work.

The supreme body of the Association remained the General Meeting of OSPR's Delegates, during which there were repeated nationwide discussions with the participation of delegates and invited guests from the central authorities, other NGOs, representatives of the world of science, foreign guests. Topics discussed included the directions of reform in the Polish juvenile social rehabilitation system,

legislative and organizational changes, preferred methods and forms of work, etc. (materials from OSPR Conventions). All Conventions ended with the development of conclusions, which, properly formulated, were material for the work of the General Board for the next term, but they were also addressed to state authorities and other institutions involved in working with socially maladjusted youth.

An analysis of the collected material available at OSPR headquarters shows that from the very beginning the association has taken initiatives to influence the formation and development of the Polish juvenile social rehabilitation system. During the Second Convention in 1994, delegates stressed the need to regulate issues related to the escorting of minors staying in youth educational centers, proper medical care and payment for the stay of wards. Attention was drawn to the educational authorities' failure to take action on the implementation of the project proposed in 1991 by dr Marek Konopczyński (PhD) during a meeting of representatives of educational institutions in Renice to appoint plenipotentiaries of the Minister of National Education for social rehabilitation.

During the Third Convention of OSPR in Debrzno in 1996, the *Concept of transformations in the system of social rehabilitation education* was developed and adopted, which, as a result of social changes in Poland, evolved over the following years becoming at that time an important material for discussion among practitioners and theoreticians of social rehabilitation pedagogy. The main ideas of the *Concept* were to link the system of social rehabilitation education with local government structures and to modify the legal system. The aim of the proposals submitted was to increase the effectiveness of educational and social rehabilitation work and link it to economic support for the best-performing youth educational centers. These solutions, revolutionary for those times (and perhaps even today, according to the article's authors), not only reverberated deeply in the community of social rehabilitation workers, but influenced subsequent organizational and legal solutions. It was as a result of the discussions that took place that the educational centers were transferred to the jurisdiction of the county offices.

Other key issues for the operation of educational centers were addressed at the Fifth Convention of the Association in 1999, held in Sandomierz. OSPR members expressed their concern about the degree of funding for the centers, which was realistically leading to a reduction in the efficiency of services provided at the facilities – there were problems with the quality of food, securing medical assistance, and purchasing clothing and footwear for the wards. Of deep concern was the shortage of funds for the process of making wards independent after leaving the center, which is crucial from the point of view of the results of social rehabilitation. Questions were also raised about the lack of treatment facilities for wards with mental health and addiction problems, who, deprived of proper care and therapy, ended up in "ordinary educational centers". The Ministry of Education was also approached with requests regarding the need to amend educational regulations that prevented wards of the facilities from completing

school at the center due to the extended period of study in middle schools, and to create legal conditions for wards to receive appropriate vocational training. Requests have also been sent to the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy regarding, among other things, the issue of improving the quality of the mode of granting assistance to wards leaving institutions in the process of becoming independent. In the absence of concrete legal and practical solutions to these issues, similar comments were made at the next two OSPR Conventions, held in 2002 and 2005. At the same time, during these years, the Association began to promote the concepts of the need to introduce quality standards of services provided in youth educational centers. According to its members, the facilities have become heavily decentralized, there has been a lack of oversight over their operations, and a gap has been observed in monitoring their activities. In addition, it was noted that the system for referring and placing minors in social rehabilitation facilities was completely inefficient. Nationwide, more than 1,500 minors have not been placed in juvenile detention centers despite orders issued by district courts. It was emphasized that entrusting the referral of juveniles with county offices is a bad solution and should be abandoned as soon as possible by creating a central referral system. Such a solution was introduced in 2004 by organizing an appropriate ICT system at the Ministry of Education.

The Association's activities, when a major transformation was introduced in Poland in 2000, have had a significant impact on changes in the Polish child care system. All tasks in the field of institutional and non-institutional care for children deprived of parental care or at risk of such a phenomenon, including children and adolescents functioning in youth educational centers, were transferred from the structures of the educational system to those of social welfare. The change in the system required a major evolution of the legislation in this area. Legal solutions for helping children deprived of parental care are included in the *Law on Social Assistance* of March 12, 2004 (Journal of Laws of 2004, No. 64, item 593, as amended). The task of organizing child care has been entrusted to county governments through county family assistance centers. Children who, for various reasons (age, behavioral disorders, traumatic experiences in the family, etc.) could not be raised in natural or foster families, were placed in 24-hour care facilities. Such a situation aroused fierce opposition from the educational center staff community. The National Association of Rehabilitation Workers, among others, strongly articulated the need to place educational centers within the structures of the Ministry of Education, which consequently led to the return of these institutions to the Ministry of Education in 2002. The Association cited strong arguments such as: the fact of the operation of schools that are an integral part of the centers, the expectations of teachers and educators working in these institutions, and referred to tradition, which showed that institutions of this type were subordinated to the Ministry of Education in the past. Also, OSPR's efforts (applying to the Ministry of National Education and Sports, the Ministry

of Labor and Social Policy, the Ministry of Justice and direct meetings between members of the General Board and their representatives, initiating parliamentary questions, meetings with trade union authorities) led to the return of YECs to the structure of the Ministry of National Education and Sports. The event was announced during the 2002 National Conference of Directors of Youth Educational Centers in Antoniewo, during which the President of OSPR presented a paper entitled: *Sytuacja Młodzieżowych Ośrodków Wychowawczych po zmianach systemu opieki, wychowania i edukacji-zagrożenia i perspektywy* [Eng. *Situation of Youth Educational Centers after changes in the system of care, upbringing and education – threats and prospects*] (OSPR Bulletin, 2002).

The activity of members of the juvenile social rehabilitation community, as well as members of OSPR, has made it possible to bring about significant changes in the financing of the juvenile social rehabilitation system in Poland. The amount of educational subsidy at the time of the transition from the Ministry of Social Policy to the Ministry of Education dramatically reduced the possibility of organizing and carrying out educational and social rehabilitation activities in institutions. Bringing, with the participation of then Ombudsman Prof. A. Zoll to a broad discussion of the representation of Youth Educational Centers, which included OSPR members, with representatives of the ministries of education, justice, social policy and health resulted in a consequent increase in the subsidy importance, i.e., financial outlays for the operation of social rehabilitation facilities.

Another critical analysis of the functioning of the system of social rehabilitation of minors in educational centers was made by members of the Association in 2006 in the material *Trudności i bariery w funkcjonowaniu Młodzieżowych Ośrodków Wychowawczych* [Eng. *Difficulties and Barriers in the Functioning of Youth Educational Centers*] (OSPR Bulletin, 2006). It pointed out problems with the transfer of educational subsidies for the operation of the centers by the governing bodies (including county and marshal offices), despite the high funding of the centers at the level of the Treasury. They emphasized the need to improve the referral system and the irregularities in placing in the centers people addicted to psychoactive drugs, mentally ill or chronically ill people who require specialized medical care, for which the centers were completely unprepared from the technical, organizational and, above all, personnel side. A document submitted to the Ministry of Education, also addressed to all social rehabilitation institutions in the country, showed the difficulties associated with adapting the current educational regulations to the requirements of educating the wards of social rehabilitation centers (including problems with vocational training), and emphasized the continued lack of a nationwide system for monitoring institutions, taking into account their profile, specifics and the nature of education (OSPR Bulletin, 2006). In reference to the comments submitted, the General Board sent a questionnaire to all youth educational centers operating in Poland, asking them to provide suggestions for solutions to existing problems. The collected material was presented in June

2006 at a national conference *Problemy systemu resocjalizacji dzieci i młodzieży w Polsce* [Eng. *Problems of the system of social rehabilitation of children and youth in Poland*] organized by Centrum Metodyczne Pomocy Psychologiczno-Pedagogicznej in Warsaw on behalf of the Department of Education of the Ministry of National Education in Serock near Warsaw. It called for the introduction of the possibility of profiling social rehabilitation facilities or educational groups in the facilities, so that there would be additional centers of more severe educational rigor and multifunctional Youth Educational Centers (which run groups for addicts or people in need of psychiatric care as part of their structure). Specific organizational and legal solutions have been proposed to improve the functioning of the referral system, as well as the creation of a nationwide monitoring system for the centers, taking into account their specificities and the nature of education. Proposals were given for ready solutions regarding changes in the education of YEC wards, as well as the issue of making purchases of clothing, footwear and granting so-called pocket money to wards. From today's perspective, it seems that the most important demand was the creation of a working team led by representatives of the Ministry of Education to develop standards of care, upbringing and education in educational and social therapy centers, which would make it possible to adapt models of assistance and specialized care, as well as forms of education, to the activity profile of each institution (OSPR Bulletin, 2006).

Later activities of the Association abounded in a number of activities aimed at improving the functioning of the Polish juvenile social rehabilitation system. Constantly, as the need arose, the members of the Association formulated proposals that were addressed to the relevant ministries, took part in meetings with their representatives, and participated in many conferences and meetings. The result of these activities was the participation of OSPR members in the work on changes to the juvenile social rehabilitation system. The Association's internal materials show that its representatives took an active part in the work of working teams on the *Catalog of extraordinary events in youth educational centers*, in expert teams, among others, working on *The functioning of educational teams* and *Procedures for the construction of Individual Social Rehabilitation Programs in youth educational centers,* operating at the Center for Education Development in Warsaw, or in the team working on the *Standards for the operation of youth educational centers* operating under the Ministry of National Education.

A valuable initiative of the juvenile social rehabilitation community in Poland is the organization of annual congress meetings by Młodzieżowe Centrum Edukacji i Readaptacji Społecznej w Goniądzu [Eng. Youth Education and Social Readaptation Center in Goniądz], headed by its director S. Moczydłowski. The first YEC Congress was held in 2009. The purpose of the meetings is to exchange experiences, present good practices and discuss the most important problems of the operation of social rehabilitation facilities. During the three-day session (with, among other things, the active participation of OSPR delegates), as a result of discussions with

representatives of educational authorities, the Center for Education Development, the Ombudsman, the Ombudsman for Children, local governments and the scientific community, conclusions and proposals for changes aimed at improving the effectiveness of the juvenile social rehabilitation system were developed.

In 2015, under the auspices of the Ombudsman for Children Marek Michalak, a team of specialists began working to define standards for education, upbringing and care in educational institutions. The work of the team was led by Prof. M. Konopczyński, and among the members of this group were representatives of OSPR – including dr Mariusz Dobijański (PhD). The initiative resulted in the Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 11 August 2017 *on public education centers, youth education centers, youth social therapy centers, special care-and-education centers, special education centers, rehabilitation-and-education centers and institutions providing care and education to pupils during a period of learning away from the place of permanent residence*, the essence of which is to increase the standards of operation of youth educational centers (Journal of Laws of 2017, item 1606). The regulation, in its transitional and final provisions, included a clause obliging facilities that do not comply with the provisions set forth in the regulation as of its entry into force to comply with the requirements set forth therein by August 31, 2020.

Representatives of the Association (including both authors of this article) also participated in the development of a tool for assessing the degree of implementation of standards under the above-mentioned regulation. It consisted of 75 questions and covered 10 research areas. The lengthy work on its final version carried out by an expert team, consisting of a representative group of academics, practitioners working in these institutions and representatives of the Center for Education Development, consultations with representatives of pedagogical supervision and the conduct of pilot studies, after which its usefulness was verified, gives the guarantee that the created tool will already in the near future have an impact on improving the quality of the work of youth educational centers.

The National Association of Rehabilitation Workers conducted other valuable activities at the same time. As an institution that consolidates the staff of social rehabilitation institutions, it has conducted extensive training activities through the organization of various workshops, panel discussions, typical training courses as well as national and international conferences. An analysis of the Association's internal materials shows that training sessions were held at least once a year for the staff of social rehabilitation facilities. Their topics were adapted to the current needs of the environment and dealt with various aspects of social rehabilitation, educational and therapeutic work. Among the most important ones, trainings in the following fields can be included:

— methods of diagnosis, therapy, prevention and educational work,
— developing pedagogical skills in dealing with problems of social maladjustment: addiction to psychoactive substances, aggression, self-aggression (inc-

luding suicide attempts), domestic violence, personality disorders, behavioral disorders and sexual violence,

— the effectiveness of social rehabilitation work, ways to study it and implement measures to improve the effectiveness of educational work,

— legal aspects and system solutions related to the operation of social rehabilitation facilities,

— cooperation with organizations and institutions that support the process of social rehabilitation,

— personal and organizational safety in working with socially maladjusted youth and youth at risk of social maladjustment.

During the organized trainings and workshops, participants recruited mainly from educational centers, but also from socialization centers, intervention centers, correctional institutions, juvenile shelters, and from among university staff, became acquainted with traditional as well as innovative methods of working with children and adolescents, including: dialog card work, djembe drum therapy, survival therapy, genogram work, behavioral methods of psychotherapy, psychocorrection community work, contracting method, art therapy (finger painting technique, decoupage, pottery making, etc.) and dog therapy. Conducting this type of activity made it possible to become familiar with interesting methods and forms of work, which significantly raised the level of the workshop of practitioners participating in these activities, which directly translated into the quality of the care and therapeutic work carried out in social rehabilitation institutions, as well as other institutions depending on the employment of participants throughout the country. The documentation gathered at the Association's headquarters from the organization of these trainings (including attendance lists and certificates issued) confirms the participation of several hundred people trained by specialists in various fields employed by the Association's General Board.

The experience gained by members of the Association in organizing trainings, workshops and other forms of professional development allowed the organization of conferences aimed at integrating the community of practitioners of social rehabilitation pedagogy with the scientific world. The essential bridge to link these two groups – practitioners and theoreticians – turned out to be members of the Association, who combined scientific and didactic work with work in social rehabilitation institutions. It was also not without significance that the presidents of the Association mostly represented such a way of employment, i.e.: the first President of OSPR dr hab. Irena Motow (PhD) was a staff member at, among others, the then Jan Długosz Academy in Częstochowa (currently the Jan Dlugosz University in Czestochowa), dr. Tadeusz Wolan (PhD) was employed at the University of Silesia in Katowice, dr. Arkadiusz Kamiński (PhD) (the initiator of the organization of most of the conferences) works at the University of Wrocław, and current President dr. Mariusz Dobijański (PhD) is a research and teaching staff member at the University of Bialystok (OSPR monograph, 2013, Conclusions

of the OSPR General Meeting in 2020). This combination of the popularization of scientific achievements, the joint conduct of scientific research, the presentation of didactic, educational and social rehabilitation achievements, and the exchange of the broad professional experience of these communities became an excellent platform for cooperation between practitioners and theoreticians, which mutually benefited both communities. A valuable enrichment of the organized conferences turned out to be the invitation of foreign guests, both representing universities and representatives of various educational and social rehabilitation institutions from Europe, which internationalized the conducted meetings. According to OSPR's internal materials, among the most important and valuable, from the point of view of reach and number of participants, one can include the following conferences organized jointly with the Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Wroclaw in 2010–2016:

— in 2010 in Murzasichle – an international conference *Między praktyką, a teorią w resocjalizacji,* [Eng. *Between practice and theory in social rehabilitation*],
— in 2012 in Murzasichle – an international conference *Bariery w procesie resocjalizacji,* [Eng. *Barriers in the process of social rehabilitation*],
— in 2013, a national conference in Łazy near Mielno entitled: *Optymalizowanie profilaktyki społecznej i resocjalizacji. Tradycja, współczesność, perspektywy,* [Eng. *Optimizing social prevention and rehabilitation. Tradition, modernity, prospects.*],
— in 2015 in Murzasichle – an international conference *Możliwości oddziaływań wychowawczych i terapeutycznych we współczesnych instytucjach resocjalizacyjnych* [Eng. *Possibilities of educational and therapeutic interactions in modern institutions of social rehabilitation*],
— w 2016 in Białka Tatrzańska – an international conference *Rola bezpieczeństwa w funkcjonowaniu placówek resocjalizacyjnych* [Eng. *The role of security in the functioning of social rehabilitation institutions*] (the most numerous conference, which was attended, among others, by practitioners from many countries participating in the meeting of European educational and social rehabilitation institutions).

From the internal materials collected at OSPR headquarters, it can be concluded that several hundred people attended the above-mentioned conferences, representing practitioners from dozens of educational centers from all over the country, as well as employees of the prison service, correctional institutions, intervention and socialization facilities, probation officers and representatives of local governments. Representatives of the Center for Education Development, the Ministry of National Education and other state institutions also actively participated in each meeting. Definitely the group that constituted the scientific character of the conference were employees of universities from all over the country, who represented academic centers from Wroclaw, Katowice, Częstochowa, Szczecin, Sosnowiec, Raciborz, Warsaw, Białystok, Gdańsk, Zielona Góra, Słupsk,

Opole, Siedlce and Dąbrowa Górnicza, among others. The internationalization of the meetings was made possible by the participation of invited guests from the Czech Republic, Ukraine, Germany, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovakia and Tennessee, USA. Organized conferences were an excellent form of exchanging experiences, presenting the results of scientific research in the field of social prevention and upbringing, education as well as therapy of socially maladjusted people. The staff of the educational centers also had the opportunity to present the social rehabilitation activities undertaken at the facilities. The organization of the conference contributed to the integration of the community of practitioners and representatives of science, which in many cases became the beginning of the implementation of research projects, and then their popularization, presentation of scientific achievements and publishing activities. Several initiatives launched at conferences organized by the Association have culminated in educational programs implemented at the facilities, based on previous scientific research, which demonstrates the excellent cooperation for the benefit of social rehabilitation pedagogy between scientists and practitioners.

In addition to contacts with representatives of foreign social rehabilitation institutions and academic centers at international conferences, members of the OSPR General Board have twice made study visits to Ukraine. Admittedly, as early as the 1990s, members of the Association of local groups from Herby, Puławy and Jaworzno took part in international exchanges with centers for socially maladjusted youth from France, but the Association was not the organizer at the time (Kamiński 2005, p. 97). In 2008 and 2009, members of the General Board had the pleasure of visiting institutions and church organizations working with socially maladjusted youth in Ukraine. These meetings resulted in the establishment of cooperation with the Social Therapy Center in Fontanka, Odessa, as well as with representatives of the Catholic Church in Sevastopol and Kharkov. During the visit to Odessa, members of the Association participated in a conference on *The system of social rehabilitation in Poland and Ukraine – current status and prospects for change.* The purpose of the study visit to Sevastopol was to learn about the forms of work with "street children" in an open environment in Ukraine and to establish cooperation with organizations that run orphanages and outpatient facilities for homeless children. It should be mentioned that two years later, there was a revisit by the staff of the Social Therapy Center in Fontanka during an international conference organized by the Association in 2010 in Murzasichle (OSPR monograph, 2013).

One of the most fruitful activities of the National Association of Rehabilitation Workers, which has had a direct impact on social rehabilitation activities towards socially maladjusted youth, has been the implementation of programs and projects with wards of youth educational centers. Presented during meetings organized by the Association as part of its statutory activities (General Meetings of Delegates, meetings of the General Board and local groups) various projects and initiatives,

as well as practical ideas and methodological solutions developed during training and conferences, in many cases were implemented as those of an educational and therapeutic nature.

The Association, undertaking cooperation with educational centers and other institutions supporting education and upbringing, has led to the organization of many valuable nationwide initiatives. An analysis of OSPR's internal documentation shows that one of the largest tourist events held in Poland with socially maladjusted young people was organized together with Zespół Placówek im. Jana Pawła II w Lubaczowie (Eng. John Paul II Facilities Complex in Lubaczów) entitled *Ogólnopolskie Rajdy MOW na Roztoczu* [Eng. *National YEC Hikes in Roztocze*]. This event, which had eight editions (2001/2002/2003/2004/2005/2006/200 7/2012), became a bridge to cooperation between more than a dozen social rehabilitation institutions in Poland and contributed to the popularization of the use of survivalist elements in work with socially maladjusted youth. It should be noted here that this method of work was previously used by the OSPR Group at the YEC in Herby, which as early as the 1990s began actively applying elements of the survival school in working with socially maladjusted youth (Kamiński, Jezierska, Kołodziejczak 2016, p. 92). The search for new forms of work led to the implementation of the idea of using survival methods for nationwide hikes. The inspired members of the OSPR Group at the YEC in Szczecin organized in the years 2006–2019 *Rajdy Survivalowe Orły* [Eng. *Eagles Survival Hikes*], in which wards from 30 educational centers from all over Poland took part. Continuation of *the National YEC Hikes in Roztocze* have become *Ogólnopolskie Rajdy dla wychowanków MOW- Bieszczady* [Eng. *National Hikes for YEC wards – Bieszczady*], which were held with great success in 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011. The Association has invited more than a dozen youth educational centers from around the country to co-organize. Wanting to conduct nationwide hikes, camps and exchanges between facilities on such a large scale, the OSPR authorities have begun efforts to raise funds for such projects. Thanks to the records kept by the Association, we can establish that it has raised funds for the organization, among other things, of:

— preventive and therapeutic programs for young people from dysfunctional families *Mój pierwszy krok w trzeźwą przyszłość* [Eng. *My first step into a sober future*], *Jak być sobą* [Eng. *How to be yourself*] and *Sprawni Razem* [Eng. *Efficient Together*], which were subsidized by the Podkarpackie Voivodship Office and the Poviat Center for Family Support (PCPR) in Lubaczów (thanks to the implementation of these projects in 2004–2006, socially maladjusted youth took part in therapeutic stationary classes and away classes),

— program *Zdrowo, trzeźwo i aktywnie* [Eng. *Healthy, sober and active*] implemented in 2007 at the request of the Ministry of National Education, the main objective of which was the implementation of outdoor workshops for the wards of the YEC in Werchrata on the Polish-Ukrainian border,

— prevention programs *W zdrowym ciele zdrowy duch* [Eng. *A healthy mind in a healthy body*], *Trzeźwe jutro* [Eng. *Sober tomorrow*] and *Nie alkoholowi* [Eng. *Say "no" to alcohol*], which were attended by socially maladjusted and intellectually disabled youth from educational centers (these projects, financed from the funds of the Regional Social Policy Center in Rzeszów in 2009–2012, allowed the wards of the YEC in Lubaczów to organize many trips and camps, as well as to conduct additional activities in this institution),

— project *Tak to widzę* [Eng. *This is how I see it*] from the foundation *Młodzież* as part of EU funds, the implementation of which was carried out thanks to the OSPR Group at the center in Herby,

— a project implemented through cooperation between OSPR and the Youth Educational Center in Łękawa *Kształtować przyszłość* [Eng. *To shape the future*] (this project, co-financed from EU funds under the *European Social Fund,* was aimed at the professional activation and social integration of the wards of the YEC in Łękawa (under the project, in addition to classes preparing wards to leave the center, the wards took part in activities that developed their potential, including art therapy classes conducted in the ceramics studio).

Preparing socially maladjusted adolescents to leave a social rehabilitation facility, where they have often spent many years, requires a number of interventions and activities. However, only the full social integration of former center wards constitutes the value of ongoing social rehabilitation proceedings. OSPR members, the vast majority of whom are practitioners, have undertaken many activities aimed at introducing attractive forms and methods of correctional work, hence their use of Creative Social Rehabilitation Methods in their work with socially maladjusted youth, i.e. survival methods, sports, tourism and recreation in the broadest sense (canoeing, yachting, rock climbing, cave exploration, etc.), art therapy with theater, film therapy, photo therapy, dance therapy and fine arts, as well as psychosocial skills training. If it were not for the initiatives of OSPR members to obtain external funding, the use of these methods at work would be at a much lower level. It is worth mentioning at this point that funding for the implementation of educational, preventive and therapeutic programs and projects also came from the Association's statutory funds.

A kind of complement to the functioning of OSPR in the area of juvenile social rehabilitation in Poland, in addition to the previously described activities, is the support of publishing activities. The Presidents of the Association, among others, by combining scientific and didactic work with rehabilitation practice, conducted research proceedings that resulted in their books. Dr hab. Irena Motow (PhD) focused, among others, on social rehabilitation institutions (Motow 2006) or innovations in care and social rehabilitation (Motow 2008), and dr Tadeusz Wolan (PhD), among others, sought answers to questions about the role of a teacher, educator and co-creator of changes in education (Wolan 2004) and studied the process of social rehabilitation in the conditions of a youth educational

center (Wolan 2006). OSPR's organization of national and international scientific conferences has made it possible to carry out popularization activities by inspiring many scientists in the field of maladjustment risk and social maladjustment of youth to conduct research and publish works. The Association has published dozens of articles mainly authored by university staff and students from research clubs. Their work has been published in three items: *Uwarunkowania procesu resocjalizacji* (ed. Kamiński, 2011), *W dążeniu do skutecznej resocjalizacji* (ed. Kamiński, 2013) and *Współczesne tendencje w niedostosowaniu społecznym i oddziaływaniach resocjalizacyjnych* (ed. Kamiński, 2016). They summarized the aforementioned conferences and referred to the process of juvenile social rehabilitation carried out in the educational centers. The authors included materials from ongoing research proceedings and presented suggestions for organizational and methodological changes in working with socially maladjusted people. The latest item published by OSPR and the Institute of Pedagogy of the University of Wrocław *Uzależnienia jako wyzwanie dla współczesnego pedagoga resocjalizacyjnego* addressed the issue of contemporary threats among young people in the aspect of addictions (Kamiński, Dobijański, 2018). Thus, one may be tempted to say that despite limited financial and organizational capabilities (the Association has no full-time staff), OSPR has also been quite active in the field of scientific research and its popularization.

The Association was and is open to cooperation with academics, practitioners and others interested in the development of social rehabilitation, which allowed it to use its organizational potential and its field of coverage to conduct scientific and research activities.

Summary

The National Association of Rehabilitation Workers, as a non-governmental organization for a period of twenty-eight years of activity, has carried out extensive activities for the benefit of the community of social rehabilitation workers, but also for socially maladjusted youth placed in educational institutions. Actively supporting and initiating organizational, legislative and systemic changes and transformations became the axis of the Association's work, which over the years expanded to include training activities, organization of scientific conferences, international exchanges, up to the conduct of preventive, educational and therapeutic programs and projects. On a number of occasions, it has raised funds for its activities or sponsored them with their own funds. These forms of activity are complemented by the conduct of scientific activity and its popularization, among other things, by organizing and supporting publishing activities. The Association's overall achievements clearly demonstrate its direct impact on the social rehabilitation of minors in Poland. Particularly important is this activity at a time of dynamic socio-economic transformation in our country, in which it has a significant share

as an inspirer, organizer and implementer of many specific changes and projects of a national nature. Also in the last year, in which, as a result of the pandemic caused by the Covid-19 virus, the Association has been trying to actively influence the current situation, monitoring and calling for action related to the operation of facilities that, despite the sanitary regime imposed by law, carry out their tasks within an almost unchanged scope. These measures are directed both at ensuring the safety of the YEC staff, but also of the wards, for whom this period and the ongoing isolation resulting from limited leave and furloughs has become even more difficult. Sanitary restrictions prevent the inclusion of wards to function in an open environment, resulting in the perception of the facilities as a kind of mini prisons, rather than as educational centers, carrying out their pedagogical and social rehabilitation activities. This situation has given rise to action by the Association, which, in letters to educational authorities, calls for concrete solutions to improve security at YECs, as well as immediate coverage with vaccination of all facility employees. As you can see, the dynamics of change and the multiplicity of contemporary emerging problems indicate new areas of activity that the Association will undertake in accordance with the care of the broadly understood system of social rehabilitation of minors in Poland.

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The male world of everyday life in prison – subcultures behind the bars

Abstract: There are many thousands of people in Polish penitentiary institutions who, for a certain reason, went behind a high wall. The vast majority of them are males who shape their everyday life day by day, giving it a certain rhythm. Meanwhile, prison areas can be seen in shades of gray or black. They are only perfunctory observations and illusions of an observer from the outside, since predominantly the unofficial sphere often acquires various colors of lives of both individual inmates and specific groups of co-inmates. This applies with a greater intensity to the phenomenon of the prison subculture, which, despite visible and inevitable changes, continues to gather its supporters around specific styles of behavior and holistic functioning in a situation of imprisonment. Being a male in an isolated environment has its own profile and is often located in the lens of the "second life". Outlining the composition and nature of prison or prison masculinity is an interesting challenge and remains in the sphere of future research explorations.
Key words: Penitentiary institution, prison sentence, prison subculture.

A substitute for a prison illustration of masculinity…

The prison illustration modeled for years by the traces of being and daily functioning of thousands of imprisoned criminals is essentially an untouchable fossil. The image of the man in the incarcerated environment was and is rather unchangeable and leaves no gap for metamorphosis, if such is possible at all behind bars.

A person deprived of liberty has the image of a man, as evidenced at least by statistics. Currently, there are 72542 temporary detainees, convicted, sentenced men and only 3461 women in domestic prisons and detention centers (as of July 31, 2022). (monthly statistical information – July 2022: 1; https://www.sw.gov.pl/strona/statystyka--miesieczna). The photo of a convict is created with dominance and determination, as well as strength and power over another fellow. The prison world is a man's world, which is photographed through their eyes. The multiplicity of events and heterogeneity of content, in this very specific environment, does not allow for community of thought and action. Here, despite the relative monotony of daily life, the convicts make attempts to arrange their time. The prison cell, as a substitute for one's own place in a barred life, rises to the highest rank. After all, it should be a kind of asylum of the prisoner's "own place" and his/her construction of visions of future peregrinations, and it often happens quite differently. In a word, prison men's daily life, by virtue of the difference in experiencing the moment, must be significantly different from those outside the prison. Situating this within the gender category, we should mention, quoting Reawyn Connell (2005), the hegemonic masculinity. This variety or category of masculinity "[…] represents the culturally dominant ideal of masculinity, centered on authority, physical fitness and strength, heterosexuality and paid work. The main component of this type of masculinity is having power and occupying a dominant position in a particular community or institution, where it subordinates not only all other varieties of masculinity, but also femininity and other gender constructs." (Wojnicka, Ciaputa 2011, p. 12). There seems to be a certain analogy here in the way men who are deprived of freedom and stuck in the isolation system function and put certain accents in their lives. P. Bourdieu argues that "[…] men can be treated as prisoners and victims of dominant cultural perceptions. Since both the dispositions to subordination and others leading to the assertion of one's own superiority and the execution of dominance are not inherent in nature, but are subject to a process of construction – they are the creation of a long process of socialization, that is, an active process of gender differentiation. Being a man in the sense of vir implies the necessity of performing certain duties (virtus) imposed beyond all discussion, evident." (Bourdieu 2004, p. 63). Undoubtedly, a prisoner being on the brink of existential distraction, re-shapes his/her image both inside and outside. Being a husband, father or neighbor does not have a common denominator with its freedom counterpart in isolation. Incarcerated space dictates, or even leaves no other possibility, that the "me" from freedom, is the "me" from the time of imprisonment. Considering the fact that entering into different social roles is dictated by the conditions we find and then get stuck in them. Thus, the moment one crosses the gates of a prison or a detention center, one leaves one's own being behind in a sense that is often literal, but above all also symbolic. The deformation of the existing functioning is becoming a reality, and trying to escape from this regularity is by no means realistic. Distorting or

even radically changing everything up to now is most often unacceptable, because it is mandated and dictated by the realities of prison, and preceded by a court sentence. The image of the otherness of the two worlds becomes a present experienced from the first days of the change of location. After all, a prison cell perceived at times as a substitute for freedom can cause inmates to be in a state of constructing a parallel reality, but it is impossible to relate and show analogies of functioning over time, before and after the sentence. Time, on the other hand, takes on a different guise, as in the context of the distant or near future in isolation, it passes by slowly and can be languid. "For each prisoner, the concept of time ceases to be a mere abstraction, becoming in their lives a fundamental, most central thing and at the same time something concrete and real. The natural need to realize the concept of time, as if to visualize it, appears." (Szpakowski 1937, p. 10). In a way, it is about learning it anew, and even reevaluating its meaning and each time personal perception in a personalistic sense. A specific sentence and serving a prison term, are firmly linked to the time category. Time that "drags on in prison extremely, unbearably long." (Szpakowski 1937, p. 11). L. Rabinowicz draws attention to the sense of loneliness in prison, stating as follows: "The deadly power of loneliness actually lies in the enormous disproportion between time and space: time drags on, lengthens, seems infinite while space is reduced to the ultimate minimum, to a cramped box of a cell. And the greater the period of time, the more severe the suffering. A short punishment is almost a fun, it is a recreation; but when it gets longer, it starts to affect the nerves and causes organic disorders. It is the persistence of stillness, this string of lifelessness, that triggers chemical reactions in the vessels." (Rabinowicz 1933, p. 137). Prison is the loss of the most precious values, associated with freedom, liberty and multidimensional lack of constrains. Every moment and any step are rationed and controlled, and the freedom of action of convicts does not exist. Quoting E. Goffman, a prison is a total institution, that is, one that restricts many times over. The functioning of people staying in a particular facility is the same, they stay together and are treated equally. In addition, their daily life is planned top-down, where one has little influence over one's day, and certain activities that affect them have a coercive dimension and are part of an overall plan that is part of the overall functioning of the institution. (Goffman 1975, pp. 151–177). Prison acreage is a difficult space to manage multidimensionally. This place by its very nature is a difficult and even extremely complicated situation. Isolation disrupts and distorts the normal cycle of life and daily feelings. Life as it was before imprisonment is impossible, and completing tasks is pointless. While the existence of some convicts may not have been determined by set goals and planned activities, it cannot be ruled out that a certain group of people deprived of liberty had their own plans, dreams and aspirations, by no means related to their stay in a penitentiary institution. One thing is certain that deprivation of freedom dramatically and by all means remodels the typicality of the day. What has so far

been given without thinking and sometimes realizing, in the space of the wards of the penitentiary does not and cannot take place. Here everything is different and has basically nothing to do with pre-separation life. Therefore, it is impossible to construct a world of freedom in prison. This would be ridiculous and devoid of sense and logic. Being convicted breeds its inevitable consequences in various areas. However, an unnatural environment such as a prison causes plenty of restrictions and difficulties, which is part of the so-called difficult situation. It is about objective, but also subjective complications or disruptions in the individual and social sphere. The former is related to endogenous feelings of discomfort in functioning through one's beliefs, outlooks, or inability to carry out individual, free activities that were natural in nature before imprisonment. The social area, on the other hand, must be associated with a holistically conceived existence among and at the center of interpersonal relations and the various ordinary events that happened. Prison isolation is even social loneliness and exclusion from participation in the creation of reality. That is, convicts by virtue of their status in life are, to some extent, in a kind of quarantine for months, which excludes them from social influence and alienates them from decision-making. In turn, living in the wrappings of one's own prison thoughts, it is impossible to have a position as a participant in the social present. One could say that the antonym of imprisonment becomes a multifaceted connection to society. Connectivity to the extent that each person wants it and gives themselves permission to do so. "In contrast, strict solitary confinement of a coercive nature, applied over an extended period of time and coupled with specially tightened regulations, constitutes a significant inconvenience to which various individuals react in different ways. In some, a state of considerable apathy develops, in others, frequent rage attacks periodically appear; some become indifferent to everything, as if «shutting themselves in», others reach complete «savagery», and so on. Of course, there are, besides this, quite a number of individuals resistant to everything, who remain indifferent to even the most severe isolation." (Szpakowski 1937, p. 15).

Undeniably, an immanent feature of penitentiary facilities is the inability of their residents to meet their needs. This is also the picture of the incarcerated world, where convicts are subject to daily monitoring and planned activities. However, some of them are uselessly stuck in the belief that nothing can be done and the world has defied them, despite the fact that some permanently show signs of fatigue with the lack of actions. Prison deprivation of needs is not something imaginary; on the contrary, it swells involuntarily and is a condition felt by those serving time in prison. B. Waligóra says that in the situation of prison isolation "all human needs are at least frustrated, and many of them are completely blocked, that is, deprived." (Waligóra 1984, p. 60). The author enumerates that deprived in the penitentiary space are "the need for emotional contact, co-participation, partnership, personal dignity, independence, intimacy, etc. in addition to, for example, the sexual need, the failure to satisfy which properly

often leads to various deviations. All the needs of the man above mentioned and left out "want" to be met." (Waligóra 1984, p. 62). Namely, they cannot be satisfied, because it is in the nature of a prison that does not create the conditions and opportunities for this. Forced separation conditions are sterile, which de facto does not correspond to the state of satisfaction and personal satisfaction in the fulfillment of human needs.

The subcultural construction of everyday life…

Making a mental return to the category related to masculinity, from which the consideration began, Zbyszko Melosik says: "There is no doubt that hegemonic masculinity manifests itself differently among senior managers operating in corporate competition and, on the other hand, among factory workers. However, it must be said once again that there is a common pattern of such masculinity, regardless of any circumstances. It concerns asserting dominance over women and other groups of men. And, of course, hegemonic masculinity does not necessarily involve committing crimes." (Melosik 2021, p. 12). In more than one prison inmate, "prison masculinity" has characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. After all, it depends on the cultural context and individual circumstances of all kinds. Masculinity of the prison variety, is masculinity based on muscular strength (sometimes it is about posture, or the image aspect), displaying and gaining power, or dominance among fellow inmates. "The most commonly cited version of hegemonic masculinity is associated with high social status, prestigious occupation and high earnings. But another one, which certainly cannot be ignored, relates to male physicality, the body and sexuality." (Melosik 2021, p. 11). Behind bars, sexuality and its perception often take on an imaginary face. Sexual supremacy can involve the degradation of another human being, which has its own significance in the prison world. "The masculine, strong style of being created in prison leaves no doubt about the importance of the sexual need in the lives of convicts. Many of them has a distorted image of a woman, a fiancée, a wife. Their holistic approach to the notion of love, desire, or having sex seems in many cases to be quite different from what is commonly accepted as customary in society. However, it is hard to debate whether to set specific canons of thought or action here in these intimate spheres of human existence." (Przybyliński 2011, p. 206). Since there is a lack of opportunity to satisfy various needs in isolation, including sexual, it is natural in this unnatural environment that prison inmates try to live with the optics of the past in freedom and on the fringes of normality construct substitute projects, the purpose of which becomes at least to minimize the insufficiency experienced and felt. Here, too, in a sense, there is an alternative view of prison reality in the form of the "second life" phenomenon that has been embedded in it for years. A key question could be asked: what in the meanderings of the isolated

environment builds and organizes this phenomenon, which was, is and most likely will be a permanent feature of the penitentiary institution? Well, the non-formal layer of prison, for some convicts, is a refuge of safety and a platform for creating a community of thought and action, even an armor against the conventionality of prison. The subcultural background of the convicts' functioning resounds in many prisons and detention centers and affects the formation of people's views with uneven force. The philosophy of participation and co-creation of the informal stream of prison life is becoming a way for some of its adherents to survive difficult times, and yet it justifies all the behavior of convicts caught up in subcultural dependencies. This phenomenon is part of the isolated environment, and it seems difficult to imagine prison corridors, cells, or walking fields without it. Subcultural functioning in a penitentiary institution has a long-standing tradition, as "the issue of 'second life', in an 'institutional' sense, was noticed only in the late 1940s and early 1950s not only in our country, but throughout the world" (Śliwowski 1975, p. 104). K. Braun, on the other hand, says that given "the time distance and the lack of any mention in the penitentiary literature, it is difficult to determine the exact period of the formation of a prison slang." (Braun 1975, p. 40). The author reports that informal groups of convicted juveniles using a prison slang emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s. (Braun 1975, p. 40). Prison slang notes its roots in the Warsaw community, in the once functioning Prison at the so-called "Gęsiówka" in Warsaw. Subsequently, the transmission of the subcultural element was noticed throughout the country, but most notably in large juvenile prisons and in cities such as Warsaw, Łódź and Wrocław. At the time, the smallest strength of prison slang activity was recorded in rzeszowskie and lubelskie provinces. (Braun 1975, pp. 40–41). Over the years, subcultural dependencies and subcultural faces have taken on heterogeneous forms and differently colored photographs for reasons that are well known. The time and location of the prison or detention center was and is of importance. The dynamics of creating a "second life" among incarcerated persons depends on many factors, including the type of prison, the involvement of prison officers, educational work, the composition of convicts and their determination to act. One thing is rather constant, namely, that since deprivation of liberty and all the repercussions that go with it (such as the aforementioned deprivation of needs) are a fact, convicts too are looking for ways to solve, or keep solving, the existing situation that is unfavorable to them. Undoubtedly, the subculture gives and hints at ready opportunities to be in the mainstream. This means that belonging to a group of people using a prison slang, that is, a group that tends to take over the convicts' living space and set the rhythm of informal daily life, allows, in the opinion of some convicts, to have a "correct" existence and look at this barred world in a different way.

Every day is a different story, both in open and closed environments. Prison, despite its limitations, is also changing and undergoing structural and personal transformation. The subcultural tri-division, i.e., "prison slang users", "those not

using prison slang" and "pansies" (Szaszkiewicz 1997; Przybyliński 2005, among others) is essentially unchanged, in the sense that there are subculturally active convicts, convicts who are indifferent in their subcultural deeds, and those who, for various reasons, are not qualified to the two aforementioned communities. Incessantly, convicted "prison slang users", calling themselves "people" (1st league), are leaders in the ward. Those who do not participate in these structures are "those not using a prison slang" ("chumps", "subhumans" – 2nd league) and the "victims", or "pansies" – 3rd league (Przybyliński 2005, pp. 28–37).

In addition to the classic juxtaposition of groups filling the isolated "second life" there are and appear locally with varying intensity, strength and importance to the environment other groups or individual cases of people whom we cannot count among the official and formal world. So these are the groups or individuals who in part co-create the undercurrent and unofficial prison atmosphere among the inmates. Such a group, for example, are the "anglers" (Przybyliński 2016a; Przybyliński 2020), who indeed do not enter the arcana of the subculture, but individually and sometimes collectively fit into the unofficial framework of prison or detention center activities. These are inmates creating their own story and they live in the meanderings of their resolutions sometimes unnoticed and not absorbing the prison staff.

"The prison subculture is aimed at optimizing opportunities and ways to meet a variety of needs under conditions of imprisonment. Thus, it is aimed at reducing the constraints that imprisonment introduces, in order to optimize the antisocial behavior that remains in the repertoire of stereotypes of behavior of persons deprived of their liberty, possible under the given conditions. For this reason, too, its severity will depend on the degree to which various types of restrictions are present." (Górski 1984, p. 67). The aforementioned deprivation of needs in the penitentiary environment can compound and escalate subcultural behavior among inmates. So it is about minimizing constraints and bridging gaps in the satisfaction of various needs within a group effort. Such opportunities at a certain level are provided by functioning in a group of convicted prisoners using a prison slang. These are individuals who think of themselves as the most important in the subcultural division and consider themselves the leaders of informal life behind the bars. They are characterized by an established system of rules, norms and values. M. Szaszkiewicz (1997, pp. 45–48) speaks of three overriding values, which are also identified with group goals, i.e.: fighting the law and the institutions that uphold it, group solidarity, personal dignity and honor of a person using a prison slang. This group has specific standards of conduct (among others: Braun 1975; Wawszczyk, Wawrzyniak, Różański 1994; Szaszkiewicz 1997; Moczydłowski 2002), which regulate the daily activities of those using a prison slang. In addition, it should be added that prisoners using a prison slang have a defined division of convicts, into better and worse, that is,

us and them. We as the prison elite, and the rest of us outside our group are secondary individuals, losers.

In addition to the users of a prison slang there is another group of inmates who, by their nature, are not active representatives of the subcultural environment and do not actively participate in it. These are inmates not using a prison slang. "Quantitatively they are a much more numerous group than the prison slang users, but this does not translate into their internal consolidation and group strength. They have no code of conduct or purpose in common. Unless, of course, you call the goal the desire to serve a prison sentence in a non-confrontational atmosphere, as opposed to prisoners using a prison slang who consider themselves better than others (Przybyliński 2016b, p. 395). Those who do not use a prison slang in general do not have a clearly defined goal, as they are not a cohesive assembly, consolidated around a specific idea. They want to serve their prison sentence without major complications and without getting involved in problematic and conflict situations.

The next group, although it is hard to even talk about it that way, is the convicted victims, known in prison slang as "pansies". Life in isolation for these people is extremely difficult, as the entire inmate community has an unequivocally pejorative reference to them. These are people who have been degraded and relegated to the bottom of the prison hierarchy, with no right to speak or decide on the situations happening. "Faggots" or "punks", as they are also vulgarly called, are even emblematized and stigmatized for various reasons, and staying in the space of a prison or detention center causes them many problems at every turn. "As a rule, the 'victims' are convicted by virtue of the crime committed: rape or carnal abuse. Obligatory reasons for becoming a 'pariah' among inmates include unusual sexual preferences and any association with the police, the judiciary and penitentiary staff. Interests unsettled at large or in prison, unpaid loans, can also become a cause for immediate degradation. Another reason to make an individual a 'pansy' may be his beauty." (Przybyliński 2005, p. 35). M. Snopek breaks down the victims stating as follows: "Prisoners with 'victim' status can be divided into two groups. The first is made up of convicts who engage in or have engaged in (voluntarily or under duress) passive homosexual sex. So we are talking about both raped inmates and passive homosexuals, who are most often called pansies by researchers (and convicts). The second group of prisoners is made up of those who have been subjected to various other degrading measures besides rape, such as being spat on, hit or touched on an exposed part of the body with a penis or beaten. Whatever measures are applied to the victims, by virtue of their position, they should be isolated from the rest of the convicts to ensure their safety." (Snopek 2018, p. 71–72).

The prison space is a largely male world, and everyday life in prison often takes on heterogeneous images. Subcultural dependencies and informal stratification among those deprived of liberty situate themselves in the realm of transposing

and giving new meanings to traditional images. Residential prison cells generate and accumulate criminal potential, which should not be downplayed, but rather monitored and elements of the social rehabilitation process should be introduced on an ongoing basis. Even today there is rather little doubt that the subculture of years ago is gone. However, the current photography of the "second life" should not fill us with optimism, because other, does not mean better, and perhaps more unknown images and resounding subcultural events, imply and will condition a series of unpredictable situations. Since this present informal world is not fully known, it can give rise to perturbations and problems in the psycho-correction activities carried out and pejoratively affect the prison climate. The dynamics of all changes in the perception of the world by convicts, guided by the development of social life in various spheres of world functioning, has caused a logical and, it seems, also inevitable erosion of the so-called traditional subcultural layer, including the values, goals and principles of the "second life". Today's convict using a prison slang is obviously not equivalent to a convict using a prison slang of years ago. However, the prisoner's style of being and creating himself in prison has not changed its image. That is to say, invariably what matters behind the high wall is the cult of masculinity, sometimes imaginary and inadequate to reality, and sometimes presented for show as part of social exposure. It is then an empty and overblown force, because the attitude of weakness is not the domain of convicts, especially of those using a prison slang. Glorifying power, authority and following the typical prison male style is preferred and constantly desired in prison. Any sign of weakness can have its negative consequences.

Being in a barred reality – a few concluding words

On the basis of the above considerations, it is worth asking the question about the category/categories of masculinity in the prison space. So does the phenomenon of prison subculture function in coalition and symbiotically interact with the image and markers of hegemonic masculinity? There seems to be an important convergence and symbolic synergy in this regard. Subcultural actions, in a way, are often situated in the defining orbit of that masculinity. Are these actions intentional and natural in the environment of incarceration? Could a peculiar variety of prison masculinity therefore be specified? Perhaps, however, a certain style of being of inmates is simply a way of adapting, lasting and surviving in isolation that has been ingrained in the penitentiary unit for years. Undoubtedly, the homogeneous, i.e. typically male in principle in terms of gender, environment of persons deprived of liberty, and above all the convicts using a prison slang forming the subcultural trend, spread an aura similar to supremacist masculinity. Perhaps this is just a misperception, but it becomes obvious that "humans" as a rule should be strong, unyielding, dominant, focused on themselves and their own greatness,

subjugating others outside their own circle. Undoubtedly, being a male in an isolated environment has its own profile and is often located in the lens of the "second life". On the other hand, a holistic outline of the composition and nature of prison or prison masculinities often remains in the realm of imagination, and thus provides spaces for exploration, as well as a forward-looking attempt to depict this cognitively engaging and worthy of scientific recognition subject matter.

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Crisis – faithful companion of women addicted to alcohol

Abstract: Crisis, defined partly similar, partly differently in social sciences, is an inherent part of everyone's life. Having many faces, it causes many consequences (on an ad hoc basis and in the future). The analysis of the results of studies by other researchers and mine shows that crises are strongly correlated with women's alcohol problems. They can be diagnosed on the continuum of their life: from alcohol initiation, through progressive addiction and to the process of gradual recovery. Crises in the biographies of women addicted to alcohol can be associated in two ways: with regression or progress, with a sense of lower or higher quality of life, which are confirmed by their narratives.
Key words: crisis, alcohol addiction, women.

Crisis – conceptualization of the concept

The word "crisis" is sometimes used in relation to various fields and spheres of human life, being analyzed, both in the area of causes and effects, from an individual and social perspective. This multiplicity, diversity and multisignificance create a heterogeneous mosaic of diverse meanings, situations and states, and thus a wide spectrum of consequences.

Colloquially, the word "crisis" is used "most often to denote the breakdown of the established order of things, the ineffectiveness of the existing rules of action, i.e. the emergence of difficult situations that cause tension, a sense

of discomfort, confusion in people" (John-Borys 1995, p. 12). This implies a pejorative connotation – a crisis is therefore an intuitively, individually felt breach of some kind, a breakdown, tension, disruption, confusion, destabilization.

In the social sciences, on the other hand, one can distinguish various conceptualizations of the crisis, which understand the crisis somewhat differently, at least in five ways:

— as an imbalance or loss of emotional or mental balance,
— as a blockage or lack in an individual's resources of habitual previously available remedial and defense strategies adequate to the threat situation,
— as a turning point, a critical, breakthrough moment, forcing the need for a life change,
— as a threat to the "self", or loss of previous identity
— as a threat to the existing sense of life and value system (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2010, pp. 50–54).

This attempt to distinguish ways of conceptualizing the crisis, as Dorota Kubacka-Jasiecka notes, "is of an organizing and theoretical nature, since most often one can find approaches that, despite emphasizing particular aspects, describe the crisis in complex categories, containing elements of more than one of the distinguished conceptualizations" (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2010, p. 54).

The origin of modern crisis psychology (as it is mainly its achievements that I will use here) is complex (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2004 pp. 153–161; Kubacka-Jasiecka 2010, pp. 77–82; Pawlas-Czyż 2008, pp. 110–111) – "it goes back to separate currents of theoretical thought, slogans, various aid interventions and social movements. It is precisely its complexity that has undeniably weighed on both the inconsistency of the theoretical assumptions and solutions adopted and the diversity of interventions proposed and implemented in practice" (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2004, pp. 153–154).

Therefore, it is worth looking at a selection of elaborated approaches to understanding the crisis in order to catch similarities and differences in accentuating its characteristic features.

Undoubtedly, a figure worth citing in this review is Erich Lindemann, whose observations and findings on the course of the grief crisis, analyzing his experiences working with the relatives of victims of a tragic fire at a Boston club in the 1940s. initiated the formal birth of crisis psychology (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2004, p. 155). A special one was a text of his entitled "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief" (1944, no. 101, pp. 141–148) published in 1944 in the pages of the American Journal of Psychiatry (and later his subsequent works also), in which he pointed out the symptoms of a normal and pathological (blocked) course of the grief process after the loss of loved ones.

Lindemann's statements had sparked a deeper reflection on grief and, more broadly, the crisis. Among the continuators of this classic of crisis theory, we should point out

to the American psychiatrist Gerald Caplan, who in his publications pointed out such features of a crisis as: unsuccessful efforts to overcome difficulties, failure to remove obstacles to important life goals by means of one's previous choices and behaviors or broader coping methods, loss of balance, disorganization, and temporary breakdown (Caplan 1963, 1964).

Experienced practitioner in the field of helping – Lawrence M. Brammer (1985) considered a crisis to be a state of disorganization in which a person experiences the nullification of important life goals or a profoundly reaching disruption of his/her life cycle and methods of coping with stress factors, along with an accompanying sense of anxiety, shock and difficulty.

In another view – a proposal by Lee Ann Hoff (1995), an author of a psychosociocultural concept of crisis called the Crisis Paradigm – the sources, symptoms and effects of the crisis and the appropriate actions to manage the crisis should be seen as being in close interconnection and forming a functional whole, while the crisis itself is an acute emotional disruption, affecting the ability to use the threefold means of problem solving used so far: emotional, cognitive and behavioral.

A review of selected definitions of the term "crisis" completes the position of Richard K. James and Burt E. Gilliland, according to whom a crisis is "feeling or experiencing an event or situation as an unbearable difficulty, exhausting endurance resources and compromising coping mechanisms" (James, Gilliland 2010, p. 33). These authors pointed to the following characteristics of the crisis: complex symptomatology, complexity of etiology (at its root there are many interacting and intertwining factors), universality (expressed in the fact that under certain circumstances no one is completely immune to it and can be sure never to experience it), uniqueness (related to the fact that identical crisis circumstances and conditions may present insurmountable difficulties for some, while others are able to cope with them on their own), and lack of panaceas and quick fixes (lasting improvement occurs gradually) (James, Gilliland 2010, pp. 33–34). Individuals who do not receive adequate support in the situation of the crisis they are experiencing can develop serious impairments in three areas of functioning: affective, cognitive and behavioral (James, Gilliland 2010, p. 33).

Helping to identify the crisis is a set of traits – symptoms, collected by Glenys Parry (1990). They are: the presence of an acute critical event or chronic stress, feeling it as unexpected, perceiving the situation as a loss, threat or challenge, the person's experience of negative emotions and experiences, a sense of uncertainty about the future, a sense of loss of control, a sudden violation of routine ways of behavior, daily rhythm, habits, a state of emotional tension usually lasting from 2 to 6 weeks (sometimes even several months) and the need to change the current way of functioning.

The aforementioned Caplan put the dynamics of the crisis into four phases (description quoted from: Badura-Madej 1999, pp. 18–19; John-Borys 1995, p. 13).

The first is the phase of confronting the triggering event of this crisis, violating needs or values important for the individual. It is characterized by tension, fear and anxiety, a sense of ineffectiveness and helplessness, taking its source from the individual's conclusion that his/her own skills and abilities and hitherto tried sources of help, as well as too little efficiency of external assistance, are proving insufficient in this situation.

This leads to phase two, in which the person comes to the conclusion that despite making attempts to cope with the situation, he/she feels them to be ineffective, so he/she also has a sense of loss of control over his/her own life, is unable to overcome difficulties on his/her own and perceives himself/herself as defeated, which lowers his/her self-esteem and at the same time causes an increase in tension, anxiety, helplessness and fear.

The third phase is mobilization: the individual tries to activate all his/her mental resources to seek new solutions and overcome the crisis.

If he/she succeeds, he/she gradually regains a sense of balance.

If, on the other hand, these efforts prove unsuccessful or the person denies the existing difficulties, a fourth phase occurs – the decompensation phase, in which, as a result of tension exceeding the individual's endurance, the processes of perceiving reality become deformed, the individual withdraws from interpersonal contacts, experiences disorganization and internal chaos, and often reveals attempts at acts of aggression and self-aggression or addiction.

Two faces of a crisis. Crisis as a trigger and catalyst for women's alcohol problems and as a stimulus and motivation to enter addiction treatment

For years there have been attempts to scientifically explain why people fall into the trap of addiction. Their sources should be sought in a general three groups of conditions: biological, psychological, and socio-cultural (a separate work could be devoted to the etiology of addictions, especially if it set itself the ambitious goal of citing the results of the wealth of research conducted by geneticists, psychologists, sociologists or researchers located within or on the border of other sciences). Among researchers tracking the causes of women becoming addicted or being addicted to alcohol, there is also a consensus on the importance of these groups of conditions, mutually reinforcing and interpenetrating, sometimes specific only to women (for a discussion of the specificity of women's alcohol problems in biological, psychological and socio-cultural aspects, see, for example, Włodarczyk 2017, pp. 70–91). In the results of our own research and that of other researchers, the importance of the power of crises, of varying nature, scope and severity, which promote women's enmeshment in alcohol problems and also stimulate them to undertake addiction treatment, resonates clearly. Importantly, these crises have

their basis and sustenance in factors of the threefold nature mentioned above, particularly psychological, reinforced by the socio-cultural context and partly by biological equipment.

When people experience a crisis, they can react to it in a variety of ways (James, Gilliland 2010, pp. 33–34). Some deal with crises on their own, drawing strength and motivation from the experience to continue their development. Others cope with the crisis only in appearance, pushing out the accompanying feelings and experiences, which, however, will come back to them in the future. Some others easily give up, withdraw, experience a breakdown, which can result in an inability to continue living a normal life if they do not receive adequate help for their needs. Some others look for easy solutions, and such include reaching for alcohol in search of "anesthesia" and gaining a positive emotional balance, and the first or first few experiences with alcohol (or any other psychoactive substance) precisely cause a shift in emotions toward the positive, providing an opportunity to divert attention from problems, boredom or malaise, and without yet incurring significant costs (Pomianowski 1998, p. 269). In general, it is not the substance that makes a person addicted, but the effects produced in a person's mood under the influence of the chemical effect of the substance (Pomianowski 1998, p. 262). This is because over time, as a person wades into addiction, he/she is "pulled by a recurring wave that throws him/her outside the realm of safe, controlled use – there is an internal compulsion, a pressure" (Pomianowski 1998, p. 270). Addiction grows out of an individual's habitual response to something he or she finds gratifying, providing the ability to quickly and effectively regulate well-being heightening feelings of self-sufficiency, power, control, which, however, are artificial and over time cause other coping options to shrink until they disappear and addiction dominates as the only way of dealing with the world and oneself (Pomianowski 1998, p. 262), and thus coping with crises.

The multiplicity of crisis situations and events can present difficulties in sorting out and typologizing them. Such an attempt was made (successfully, as may be evidenced by the eager use of this division present in the literature) by Swedish psychiatrist Johan Cullberg, who distinguished between transition crises, situational crises and chronic crises (Badura-Madej 1999, p. 17), while Lawrence M. Brammer (1985) added an existential crisis. Richard K. James and Burl E. Gilliland (2010, p. 35) identified another type: environmental crises, resulting from natural phenomena, events of biological origin, politically motivated events or economic collapse, but they are only mentioned here, as they were not referenced in the results of my research. Reference to these types will provide a structural framework for an orderly presentation of the results of our own research[1].

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[1] The results of the research presented here were collected in the Poznań community, in 2013––2015, using a survey technique (ensuring the anonymity expected by respondents, containing closed, semi-open and open-ended questions) completed by 55 women diagnosed as addicted to alcohol and

The first type distinguished by Cullberg, i.e., transition crisis, also known as developmental or normative crisis, is an integral part of human life and is associated with basic life events (such as getting married, having a child, starting school, leaving home, retiring), hence it is expected (and even desired), but since it is always accompanied by a sense of losing something, some kind of change, some kind of novelty, and taking on new roles and tasks, hence emotional tension and uncertainty are woven into it (Badura-Madej 1999, p. 18). Because of this emotional enclosure, it can become an impetus to reach for alcohol, both in the situation of alcohol initiation and later. The possible existence of such a causal sequence is confirmed by Edith S. Lisansky Gomberg (1997) and Małgorzata Dragan (2016), among others. Such situations were hinted at in the statements of my female respondents, recalling the "celebration" of various important occasions for them, such as: "graduation from elementary school" (Małgorzata), "class camp at the end of elementary school" (VVV), "end of the school year" (Justyna), "New Year's Eve" (AAA), "prom" (Hanna 2) or "sister's wedding" (Mariola). However, none of the statements explicitly emphasized that they were rebuilt by a transition crisis; these were rather occasions that triggered or fostered alcohol initiation. Also among the motivations for taking up therapy by the women surveyed, the presence of transition crises did not explicitly appear in the respondents' statements: here, two of them pointed to becoming pregnant as the event underlying their taking up therapy, but did not emphasize that this was specifically linked to a crisis of transition, but rather to a desire to change their lives for their child.

Situational crises, also called random or incidental, are triggered by unexpected, unanticipated events that threaten health, life, sense of security, integrity, identity (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2010, p. 72). The key that distinguishes situational crises from crises of other types are such characteristics of the triggering event as unpredictability, suddenness, shocking nature, intensity, catastrophic nature and sense of danger (James, Gilliland 2010, p. 35). These can include the death of a loved one, the loss of a job, the diagnosis of a serious illness, the sudden loss of physical fitness, the discovery of a partner's infidelity. This type of crisis was the one most often indicated by my respondents, associated by them with initiating difficult situations, which, in the classic sense of Tadeusz Tomaszewski, should be understood as situations in which the internal equilibrium of a normal situation is disturbed, resulting in a disruption of the course of activity and a decrease in the probability of completing a task at a normal level (Tomaszewski 1975, p. 32). Respondents here cited various situations that surprised and burdened them and in which they sought relief in alcohol, such as the news of their child's illness.

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using (in the past and during the survey period) some form of addiction therapy. A report on this survey is included in: E. Włodarczyk, Społeczny wymiar problemu alkoholowego kobiet. Obraz i instytucjonalne reakcje środowiska wielkomiejskiego, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań.

For almost half of them, reaching for alcohol was a way to forget their problems and difficult experiences.

This type of crisis resonated more strongly in the context of the reasons sought together with the respondents for their decision to enter therapy – the events they recalled, to which they gave the rank of breakthrough, and which resonated with their impact so powerfully that they led to such a decision. In particular, family-related situations often appeared among them: placement of children in foster care or foster families or warnings that the court will decide to take the children away, abandonment by a husband/partner or threatened abandonment by a husband/partner, death of the father, and severance of the relationship with the parents. Usually, therefore, the respondents' decisions were forced by some "external" causal factor, such as also: an accident, incarceration, or the simultaneous loss of a job and housing. Respondents' comments on these events revealed that they were sudden, unexpected for them, hence the striking force of the impact.

Usually situational crises, unresolved and unworked, with time gaining intensity take the shape of chronic crises. This third type distinguished by Cullberg are crises also referred to as chronic crises or transcrisis states. People experiencing them are characterized by: withdrawal, passivity, helplessness, lack of motivation to change, failure to take responsibility, an attitude of avoidance, fear of social contact, lowered mood, numerous somatic complaints, and a tendency to feel sorry for themselves and accuse others (Badura-Madej 1999, p. 23). In their distinction from the somewhat similar acute crises, the criterion of duration is decisive. "The so-called chronic crises are repeatedly activated states of tension as a result of the tendency to recur, the accumulation of problems that have not been positively resolved" (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2010, p. 67), are "recurring crises unresolved or (from the subjective point of view of the individual) unsatisfactorily resolved, leaving a sense of thwarted aspirations and tension, which can become a seedbed for future crisis states. What remains chronic are unresolved problems, painful experiences, still smoldering anxiety" (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2010, p. 69). Struggling with such crises was also hinted at in the statements of female respondents, in which one can find confirmation that chronic crises were the experience of a great many of them during the period of alcohol abuse.

This type of crisis is referenced to by the aforementioned fact that nearly half of the female respondents said they reached for alcohol hoping to forget problems and difficult experiences, while a third indicated that it gave them the opportunity to quickly relax and unwind. Thus, the most frequently indicated motives for reaching for alcohol were called by Mariusz Jędrzejko, Małgorzata Janusz and Marek Walancik (2013, p. 86) escape motives: caused by the desire to escape from everyday life, problems, emptiness, boredom, monotony, loneliness, anxiety and the desire to relax, detach from reality, suppress emotions.

In the advanced stage of alcohol addiction, spiritual emptiness is accompanied by disturbances in the emotional sphere, in particular: increased anxiety, lack

of affective control, reduced resistance to difficult situations and increased depressive symptoms (Cibor 1994, pp. 21–22), as well as: impaired assessment and judgmental abilities, impaired self-esteem, lack of self-esteem, poor ability to synthesize, and impaired ability (or lack thereof) to set goals and plan, as well as feelings of loneliness, isolation and rejection by others (Madeja 2008, p. 798) – symptoms that are confusingly similar to the state of people in chronic crises. The realization of this permanence and hopelessness of one's situation, intensified by the co-occurrence of several motives for changing one's life, became the impetus for some of the respondents to realize this intention. This is confirmed by the following statements, among others: "losing my job and being treated badly by my employer and the company's employees, on top of that my health was very bad, my body was exhausted" (Hanna 1), "I was fed up with such a lifestyle, I was ashamed that I was abusing alcohol, I started neglecting my duties at work and at home, I started putting on more and more weight and had health problems" (AAA), "realization of the need to drink more alcohol to achieve the state previously obtained with smaller doses; tired of getting up with a hangover and having to sleep a long time" (Paulina), "I could no longer watch my degeneration as a woman" (YYY).

The theme of existential crises, sometimes linked to chronic crises, also appeared in the statements of female respondents, involving, according to Lawrence M. Brammer (1985), internal conflicts, questions about the purpose and meaning of life, and fears about the challenges posed by life. Long-term remaining in alcohol addiction generates mental states, which can most generally be called, as Portnow and Piatnickaja (1977, pp. 94–98) have done, a syndrome of mental depletion that affects the spheres of intellect, emotion, will, life activity and personality content. As a result of the disappearance of higher feelings, the stoppage of emotional development, shallow and deep mental changes, a decline in self-esteem, inner emptiness, meaninglessness of life and depression are experienced. Several of the respondents shared a recollection of a period in their lives when they almost constantly functioned this way under the influence of alcohol, noting in retrospect: "untruthfulness of emotions" (Paulina), "mood swings (from euphoria to self-pity); getting irritated for unimportant reasons; increased anxiety, fears, feeling that life is gray, being lost in myself and in the reality" (Anna 2), "fears, pain, shame" (VVV), "the feeling of loneliness, lack of motivation to act, helplessness" (Anna 3), "the general feeling of being drained; distaste, low self-esteem" (Dora). There were even voices testifying to such an extreme condition that it provoked in the women surveyed thoughts of taking their own lives, no longer seeing the point of life: "I was fed up with myself, the world, lost my strength" (VVV), "constant thinking to just drink to forget suicidal thoughts" (Angelika), "I made a suicide attempt" (Krystyna). Thus, among the motivations behind the decisions for therapy made by the women surveyed, there were some that stemmed from a peculiar weariness with themselves and their

own lives, a failure to see the meaning of life, general exhaustion and appearing suicidal thoughts.

The types of crises cited here, along with the research reports illustrating them, mainly concerning the drinking period, complete the picture of the peculiar crises faced by women who have taken up addiction therapy. From the statements of the female respondents, it appears that there was a lot of tension, anxiety, changes, trips and difficulties (an overview and discussion of these is included, for example, in: Włodarczyk 2018, pp. 267–280). I mention them here because they were often called crises by themselves. They concerned the beginning or course of therapy, when the usual patient reactions occur, which Johannes Lindenmeyer (2010, pp. 16–17) calls the "triple shock". This multiplication of problems that most people have to face concerns the unfamiliar: the unfamiliarity of the role of a patient and the incomprehensibility of the "world" of therapy, along with new responsibilities and truncated rights; the unimaginable to accept and implement prospect of lifelong abstinence; the lack of confidence in oneself and the lack of hope for a successful course of therapy. In addition, it can be frightening and discouraging to realize the magnitude of the effort that the therapy process will require of a person, and with it a change in his or her previous life. The statements of the female respondents confirmed this not only "triplicity", but "multiplicity" of this shock, indicating the difficulties that arose at the start and during the alcohol addiction treatment, which were directly felt and referred to by them as a crisis, rather understood as a sense of resignation, a decrease in motivation, perseverance and energy levels for action.

The types of a crisis discussed here, which form the canvas for considerations for women who consider themselves addicted to alcohol, together with their confirmed presence in the biographies of the respondents, document, on the one hand, the often-raised power of the destructive impact of crises on human life, and, on the other hand, the opportunity for their potential for constructiveness to occur and be realized (under certain conditions) in the lives of those experiencing them.

Developmental opportunities "in spite of"/"because of" the crisis experience[2] – the perspective of women with alcohol addiction in the treatment process

In the deliberations around human crises, the saturation of their negative meaning definitely resounds. Meanwhile, the crisis is also worth looking at from another perspective. An understanding of the term, based on knowledge of its etymology, can be an inspiration, providing a great hint to consider the crisis in two ways:

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[2] The term used by D. Kubacka-Jasiecka (2016, p. 73).

on the one hand as a threat or risk, and on the other hand as an opportunity, in particular a developmental opportunity or a chance to enrich one's life.

The term comes from Greek; the verb κρίνειν means "to sieve out, separate, choose, decide, judge", while the derived noun κρίση is "a choice, settling" (Kopaliński 2000, p. 282). The term in its etymology also means a "decisive moment, turning point, breakthrough, crisis" (Kopaliński 1968, p. 417). This is because the crisis "reveals something, makes it possible to cognitively grasp something that would be unrecognizable without it, cognitively presents something important, significant, reveals the teleology of a certain process" (Stachewicz 2010, p. 8). This understanding raises the connotation that a crisis can become a developmental impulse, opening new horizons, bringing with it certain opportunities, excuses, possibilities.

This duality of the crisis was pointed out by Richard K. James and Burt E. Gilliland (2010, pp. 33, 34). In their view, a crisis can be both a threat (because of its many consequences in many spheres of functioning) and an opportunity (because the suffering caused by the crisis forces a person to seek help, and if a person takes advantage of this opportunity, the intervention can help him or her in self-development and self-realization); however, this depends on how a person responds to the crisis. A crisis can hide the seeds of development and change when the accompanying anxiety and associated discomfort reaches such a high level that it becomes a stimulus for change, a strong motivating factor for action. Thus, it involves the necessity of choosing some action, which creates an opportunity for a person to move on from a deadlock in his/her life.

Every event in a person's life, even if it carries the hallmarks of a difficult, critical, breakthrough event, is initially inert, neutral in itself, because what determines its emotional coloring and its value is the meaning that the individual experiencing it gives to it. Thus, the changes potentially provoked by the crisis may involve progress or regress.

Assuming that emotional crises are bivalent in nature, once the acute state of the crisis has passed, there may be the following possibilities for ending it:

— stagnant pattern: it is referred to when there is a return to a level of functioning similar to the pre-crisis one, but the achieved state of equilibrium is apparent and shaky, because unresolved conflicts, dilemmas, contradictions and problems remain, becoming a source of further future tensions and crises, leaving the person with a reduced sense of agency, control and self-confidence, and a diminished sense of hope that a constructive solution to the problem is possible;

— regressive pattern: in the feeling of inadequacy of the possibility of a constructive solution to the crisis problem, the individual may try to reduce tension and suffering through dysfunctional behavior and destructive tendencies;

— progressive pattern: this occurs when (thanks to internal resources and strength as well as the support of others) the resolution of a crisis problem

opens up opportunities for the individual to grow; growth processes here may include: psychological strengthening, raising self-esteem and self-respect, constructive changes in the value system, increasing mental toughness, improving relationships with loved ones, gaining greater social competence (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2010, pp. 61–62; Kubacka-Jasiecka 2016, pp. 54–55).

The fate of women (as well as men) with alcohol problems is similarly diverse. One can try to look for some analogies between experiencing a crisis and (not)coping with it and struggling (ineffectively or successfully) with one's own alcohol problem.

The decision to take therapy and change one's life may not always be permanent, guaranteeing persistence and consistency in pursuing it. Doubt and lack of determination at various stages of therapy undermine the stability of the decision made and the changes implemented. There are always a number of barriers and impediments inherent in the therapy process, slowing down, reducing or even preventing authentic work. Sometimes people undertake therapy, but either discontinue it or it does not give them the expected lasting effect. Then a return to the "old" life, caused by many possible factors, would be a regressive pattern, which is also characterized by a further decline in the possibility of constructive action. A person in such a condition is not ready to make further attempts to change his/her life, including by participating in alcohol addiction therapy. The regressive pattern was shared by those respondents who had unsuccessfully attempted therapy several times. A detailed analysis of their indicated reasons for not taking therapy earlier (thoroughly discussed in: Włodarczyk 2017, pp. 244–245), suggests a general conclusion: underlying these reasons was the strength of the system of illusion and denial characteristic of alcohol addiction, involving perceptual and thinking processes – a mechanism that prevents recognition of the fact of one's own addiction, about which Jerzy Mellibruda has repeatedly written, pointing to the most common cognitive distortions, which are: simple denial, minimizing, blaming, rationalizing, intellectualizing, distracting, fantasizing, coloring memories and dreaming (Mellibruda 1997, pp. 290–291), whose manifestations in their lives were also exposed by the women surveyed.

A situation where a person participated in therapy, even completed it, but post-therapy daily life exposed that the problems were only seemingly worked through during therapy and showed the fragility and instability of the person's resolve to change his or her life, would imply a stagnant pattern. Both addiction and crisis are then concerned with the fact that it remains "unresolved, the dilemmas and contradictions created by it – unresolved, the life circumstances that led to it – unchanged and still relevant" (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2010, pp. 61–62). The person is then left with the feeling that he or she has not met the challenge, and as a consequence of his or her belief that he or she has lost, the sense of weakness and helplessness increases, while self-esteem decreases, remaining "still in a discomforting situation, impoverished by the deficiency of: faith and

hope that the solution to the problem will be simple or possible at all, beliefs about one's own power, strength and worth, as well as about one's ability to deal with a particular problem, the possibility of a constructive solution to a still deteriorating situation (use of inadequate and maladaptive means of defense)" (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2010, p. 62). This pattern usually applies to alcohol addicts who are unaware of, or do not recognize, the need for the constant effort they must make to remain sober. The women surveyed were overwhelmingly aware of this, and the questions I deliberately posed about what they were willing to do to stay sober, and more broadly: to continue the efforts in the process of multifaceted recovery, served to remind them of this and strengthen them in this reflection and intention (more in: Włodarczyk 2017, pp. 258–259).

A progressive pattern, on the other hand, would be a situation when a person actually makes a sustained effort toward multilateral development. With reference to this pattern, full recovery would include four aspects of it, distinguished by Piotr Szczukiewicz: somatic (related to the disappearance of abstinence symptoms and the effects of long-term alcohol abuse, and with time also the functions of individual systems and organs), psychological (involving the acquisition of skills to live free from the mechanisms typical of alcoholic disease: compulsive regulation of feelings, falsification of the image of reality, use of defense mechanisms, creation of an untrue image of oneself), social (including the improvement of the functioning of the sober alcoholic in the social roles he or she performs, improvement of the quality of relationships and social ties) and noetic (associated with overcoming existential frustration, seeing the meaning in one's actions, the meaning of existence itself, greater self-awareness in the hierarchy of one's own values and the ability to act selflessly for others) (Szczukiewicz 2007, pp. 121–122). From many of the stories of the women interviewed who consider themselves alcohol addicts, it seems that the crisis has become a driving force for them, a kind of springboard, a chance to regain their own subjectivity and dignity. What is more, they emphasized that their lives have gained a new quality (more in: Włodarczyk 2017, pp. 256–257).

Thus, the results of my research resonate with what Dorota Kubacka-Jasiecka argues, that an emotional crisis with accompanying behavioral disorganization "can be considered a catalyst for entry into the road to development, and growth processes can include: psychological strengthening, increased resilience, discovery and formation of more adequate resources of struggle, improvement of self-image, increase in self-esteem, strengthening of the existing identity (or sense of identity) or changes within it, discovery of new resources and strategies of struggle, acquisition of new competences, improvement of interpersonal relations, discovery of a new sense of life, one's own path, life mission" (Kubacka-Jasiecka 2016, pp. 73–74). Similar benefits are indicated as immediate and far-reaching effects of authentic work during addiction treatment. Therefore, constructive coping with both crises and addiction has similar benefits, as addiction therapy is sometimes

also seen by therapists and addicts as a leaven for real, beneficial change in a person's life, linked to development in various spheres.

Summary

Crisis situations can happen to anyone, at any time in life; they can either be isolated or follow one after another, and as a result, their consequences are cumulative and compounded (Badura-Madej 1999, p. 28). The intensification of difficulties brings a state in which a person is not only facing a crisis, but in addition, his/her own alcohol problem. Coping capabilities, weakened by the persistence of the crisis and the persistence of the strength of the addiction, may turn out to be insufficient in attempting to disentangle themselves from this double trap. Helping people in this situation requires attentiveness and competence to realistically help them sort out the next spheres of their lives.

A crisis is usually, on the one hand, some kind of loss, deficit, disruption and uncertainty, but on the other hand, which is less often emphasized, a chance to revise one's value hierarchy and choices, turn around, reorient and redesign one's life. Indeed, a crisis can have developmental value, provided, however, that the person has certain resources – individual and in his or her environment – that will be his or her allies in this process (Stanisławiak 2012, pp. 14–15), and, moreover, manages to discover, activate and utilize them.

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The rehabilitative function of music and the musical preferences of young people

Abstract: This article presents the topic of the function of music in terms of rehabilitation activities in the context of musical preferences of young people. In the thematic area related to musical preferences, the focus was on the choices of musical genres and their importance in the process of rehabilitation of young people.

Key words: functions of music, resocialization of youth, musical preferences, music genre.

Introduction

The complexity of understanding the concept of music, as well as the multifaceted interpretations of related phenomena, prompts reflection on the functions of music, understood as a cause of application in achieving a broader goal (Merriam 1964). The rich range of topics makes it possible to identify a theme referring to the impact of music on young people, especially during the crucial period of identity formation, which falls in the second phase of adolescence (Brzezinska et al. 2105, p. 265). The particularization, which includes the rehabilitative function of music, will be considered in relation to the musical preferences of adolescents in terms of musical genres.

Music functions

The theoretical considerations that relate to the application of music in human life constitute a multi-faceted discourse, based both on issues in music theory and history, as well as on the relationship of music to other fields of science and art. Consideration of the function of music in a scientific context is complemented by observation of daily experiences with music, making up a multicolored picture composed of human relationships and individual stories. Three basic points of music's function are presented by Robert Lawendowski, pointing out the role of music in regulating mood and behavior, where the social environment plays an indirect role. In the second point, the author points out interpersonal relationships and the function of music in modifying and developing them, as exemplified by adolescents' choice of subculture and associated musical preferences. Third, as Lawendowski concludes, our music preferences are information about our values and attitudes (Lawendowski 2011). The psychological context of the function of music and listening to it, which induces changes in the biochemical parameters of the body, was highlighted by Magdalena Chęć, Ernest Tyburski and Agnieszka Samochowiec. According to the authors, "the rhythm and tempo of music affect the physiological manifestations of emotions, i.e. the activation of the autonomic nervous system (AUN); in addition, listening to music also determines the activity of the central nervous system (CUN)." (Chęć et al. 2014, p. 197). As research shows, listening to music is undoubtedly associated with positive emotions. Listening to music as a social activity, and the musical rituals associated with it, can contribute to positive emotional well-being. Also, people who are more positive in this regard will be more engaged in listening to music together. Music listening preferences create bonds not only within a group of family or friends, but also between strangers (Boer, Abubakar [2020]). However, it is important to remember that listening to music is not always associated with positive and socially desirable outcomes. It can even evoke negative feelings (Chęć et al. 2014).

Undoubtedly, music affects in two directions – from the inside and the outside. Directed inward, it causes emotional and biochemical changes. Acting outwardly, it is part of the individual's autobiography, a kind of message, a source of knowledge about the person in social, cultural and psychological aspects. The third dimension of music's function is defined by the elusive relationship that binds the work to the audience, creator or performer during the course of a musical work.

In the context of the perspective adopted for viewing the phenomenon, it seems important to look at the functions of music from the perspective of its application in the process of rehabilitation. Thinking about the rehabilitative function of music leads to determining the scope of its impact. The use of music

in rehabilitation activities has a supporting function for the full process. References to forms of musical activity complement and enrich the use of other methods and techniques, and are an element that uses both knowledge and skills in the field of music therapeutic activities and musical pedagogical preparation, as well as the diagnosis of musical preferences of the charges. Forms of contact with music allow young people to be active in expressing their own preferences in contact with a musical work. Playing an instrument trains regularity and develops self-esteem, as well as gives satisfaction from progress in technical and interpretive mastery of a musical piece. Singing is an element of natural expression, and in the case of group singing, provides a sense of bonding and responsibility. Through movement with music and dance, young people have the opportunity to physically relieve tension, acquire motor skills and enjoy contact with music. As confirmed by research conducted by Miroslaw Mielczarek[1], musical activities can be an effective therapeutic technique in the rehabilitation process. The author stresses that "the classes had a beneficial effect on both the psycho-physical sphere of the minors and the social sphere, and the participants themselves mostly showed commitment to this form of spending time. In addition, musical activities made it possible to express one's own self, to which the appropriately selected forms of their implementation contributed" (Mielczarek 2018, p. 219–220). The appropriate choice of music, the competence and qualifications of music instructors, and the supportive function of this type of activity are basic issues that should be paid attention to when planning a rehabilitation process using forms of contact with music (Mielczarek 2018, p. 220–221).

Musical preferences in the context ofselected developmental aspects of adolescence

Postmodern socio-cultural reality leads to social transformations (Cybal-Michalska 2006, p.60), the dynamics of which imply, as Agnieszka Cybal-Michalska notes, "changes in the identity aspects of youth functioning." The author draws attention to the image of a searching man, in the context of the changing self-image of young people and the associated loss of a sense of certainty, authority or security, among other things (Cybal-Michalska 2018, p.208). In a world of constant change, we can also observe the following "idea of cultural freedom" (Melosik 2013, p. 59), which is inextricably linked "with the phenomenon of declassification of cultural practices , which once created two separate realities for two groups of people. For here are high culture and low culture (...) mixing with each other

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[1] Miroslaw Mielczarek conducted research in selected educational centers. The purpose of the study was to find out the opinions of juveniles and teaching staff on music classes with music therapy elements.

more and more often, until they become indistinguishable and one does not know which belongs to which (...) Thus, we are in a period of inevitable, as it seems, displacement of high culture by popular culture and popularization of "high" cultural practices (Melosik 2013, p. 47–47).

In view of the aforementioned considerations, the question arises about the directions of musical choices made by young people and, perhaps most importantly, about their consistency. Limited art education at the high school level excludes the possibility of learning about young people's musical preferences and universal music education that prepares them for the role of an informed audience. Importantly, it would not be a matter of indicative education aimed at a permanent change of interest, but of subtle guidance, presenting an array of possibilities while defining the compositional and performance basis that could provide a basis for recognizing a work as being part of the canon of high culture, regardless of the genre or form represented. Conscious music education of young people should not interfere with their interests, but is supposed to form choices within the core, which is the interest developed on the basis of needs and experiences. Theoretical support for the aforementioned considerations would be Zbyszko Melosik's pedagogical proposal, presented in the context of identity reconstruction in a culture of control and dispersion. The tendency of adolescents to fragment their identities, which emerged from the discourse conducted by the author, led the author to put forward a pedagogical proposal in the form of identity core pedagogy, the purpose of which "would be (...) to provide young people with sources and bases for the formation of a durable and relatively stable "essence of their self"" (Melosik 2015, p. 30). In such an approach, as the author describes, "a person can reconstruct his or her identity by relying on available cultural sources, however, "sizing them up" to the identity core, rather than replacing his or her identity with a new one" (Melosik 2015, p. 30).

An approach based on pedagogical partnership, can provide a starting point for dialogue and cognition. The orientation of needs and understanding creates space for therapeutic work, while "the lack of emotional-motivational support, improving well-being, reducing loneliness and feelings of helplessness, makes it most difficult for adolescents to attach to selected (considered "own") values, norms, goals (Cybal-Michalska 2018, p.208). Knowing the musical interests of adolescents, being able to present a different repertoire, sharing their own experiences and preferences, and finally preparing a space for peer discourse on music in general and its formal representation in the form of a musical work, undoubtedly provides the basis for using music as a form of therapy in the context of a work as a carrier of emotional content. What emerges, then, is the need to learn about the musical preferences of adolescents, and thus to look at the musical genres preferred by adolescents.

The starting point for further discourse is to establish the term preference. The Polish language dictionary indicates two explanations of the term: first, they

are "conditions created for some person, organization, etc., more favorable than those created for others." Secondly, it is "putting something above something else, putting someone above someone else" (Dictionary...[2020]). The understanding of preference "as an act of choosing, evaluating, preferring one thing over another in the form of a verbal statement, an estimate on a scale, or a choice among two or more alternatives" is cited in his monograph on the personal determinants of musical preferences by Robert Lawendowski (Lawendowski 2011, p. 38). Keeping in mind the development during adolescence, and focusing on a combination of formulations that speak of preferring one thing over another and the creation of conditions, we conclude that the musical preferences of adolescents may depend not only on personal choices, but also on external, social factors that influence preferences to varying degrees and at different times. A convergent perspective on viewing the phenomenon of preferences can be found in the discourse on the formation of one's identity during adolescence. Just as work on one's own identity takes place in the perspective of the development of certain areas (Kędzia 2020), so the formation of musical preferences takes place in each area. The area of mental development, related to perception, attention, memory, imagination and creativity (Obuchowska 1996, p. 51–54) is associated with the selection of information in a subjective manner, the search for personal development paths, interest and choice among the multitude of proposals aimed at young people. In the area of social development, there is a superimposition of environmental factors on the adolescent's personal preferences. Family, school, peer groups, educational activity environments influence the choices of adolescents, are part of group identity, especially desirable during this developmental period. The emotional aspect of development can, on the one hand, account for the emancipation of tastes, and on the other, involve emotional attachment to another person, where relationships of a comradely nature, friendships, and first infatuations and crushes take on importance. In this area, musical preferences seem to be influenced by strong experiences, both positive and negative, which entails the selection of musical repertoire according to their nature and intensity.

Given the aforementioned considerations, depending on internal and external factors, musical preferences are one of the factors reflecting the forming identity, since "through music people can manifest their identity in the same way as with the participation of linguistic functions" (Lawendowski 2011, p. 18).

The process of youth rehabilitation in the perspective of musical genre choices

The use of the rehabilitative function of music in working with adolescents is undoubtedly related to musical preferences during adolescence. The multiplicity of threads in this topic forces a selected analysis in the context of a single stream of

considerations. Focusing on the so-called type of musical worki, nextricably linked to the choice, both individual and environmental, will allow a view of the phenomena undertaken in the narrative conducted in the perspective of musical genres.

Musical genre, according to Danuta Wojcik, "denotes a class of musical works depending on the purpose and nature of the work (e.g., genres of church music, theater music, stage music, dance music), on the cast (e.g., genres of orchestral music, chamber music, choral music, solo music), type of lyrics (e.g., vocal lyric, oratorio, musical drama), choreotechnical and theatrical means (e.g., ballet, opera)." (Wojcik 1996, p. 14). A genre can have both commercial, aesthetic and scientific value, but a complete categorization of music that includes all its genres has not emerged (Lawendowski 2011). Adopting this form of conceptual structure explains the view that "the multiplicity of musical genres is obvious to us and we can name them without difficulty. Musical diversity has become part of everyday life. Almost instinctively, we put the musical melodies we hear into separate compartments, applying separate conceptual categories to each. Young people effortlessly list dates, names of creators and performers, ensemble lineups, song titles, and recording lists" (Lawendowski 2011, p. 44).

Based on the definitional findings presented, the question can be posed: does the choice of specific musical genres, based on the musical preferences of adolescents, have a role in the process of rehabilitation? Assuming that the narrative carried out does not apply only to adolescents from selected musical backgrounds, where adolescents are educated in the system of professional music education[2], it is necessary to narrow the area of interest to the musical preferences of adolescents subject to so-called general education.

As Magdalena Chęć, Ernest Tyburski and Agnieszka Samochowiec assure, "adolescents prefer a variety of musical genres that, on the one hand, reflect their individual personal differences, and, on the other hand, differently influence their current functioning and the formation of their personality and identity" (Chęć et al. 2014, p. 198). The authors, noting that daily forms of popular music activities are particularly valued by adolescents, presented the results of research on the positive and negative aspects of the impacts of selected popular music genres. The authors, citing the results of a British study in a group of 2,465 English adolescents during adolescence, noted that for adolescents "playing/listening to pop music is more 'valuable' than playing/listening to classical music," moreover, most people "especially in Western culture, are accompanied in their daily lives by so-called popular music." It appears most often involuntarily in a public area, such as when shopping at the mall or waiting in line at a subway station. It is also revealed in the process of conscious choice, by switching on an available audio

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[2] The issue of musical preferences of adolescents from second degree general music schools was included by the author in the monograph entitled "Music preferences of adolescents from second degree general music schools."

medium (including mp3, phone, a channel on the radio, TV or the Internet). This usually reflects individual musical preferences." (Chęć et al. 2014, p. 197–198). From the perspective of the negative impacts of selected popular music genres, the authors cited examples of studies in Canada and France on heavy metal music. The conclusions of the study showed that a fascination with this type of genre translates into a fascination with death, which has negative effects on the formation of a teenager's personality. At the same time, interest in heavy metal music is not significantly associated with suicide risk while controlling for other risk factors. As an example of the positive effects of using popular music in therapeutic work, the authors cited an American study in which rap music was used. "By reaching for this kind of music, it was possible to increase the motivation for treatment of adolescents at risk for emotional and behavioral disorders and effectively support the achievement of treatment goals" (Chęć et al. 2014, p.199). Therefore, it can be assumed that the choice of a particular genre in the process of rehabilitation is not based on the belief that it is superior to others in the general indication. The inclusion of music in therapeutic activities should be based on verifications at the level of a specific piece of music, its artistic value while discerning the audience's preferences in terms of genre and keeping in mind the purpose of the activities.

In considering the function of music in the perspective of musical genre choices, it is also worth taking the opposite perspective to that cited. A discourse based on the effects of genre on the functioning, personality, or identity of youth is complemented by a reflection on the importance of personality traits in musical choices. Research conducted by Robert Lawendowski in the area of music preference clustering vs. personality traits has shown that selected personality traits can significantly determine preferences for certain music genres. In his research, the author proves that calm and serious people prefer classical, jazz, blues and folk music. Those who adhere to norms reach for pop, country and genres belonging to film or religious music. Listeners who like to experiment and devise ways to improve things choose heavy metal, rock, alternative music, while spontaneous and lively people listen to songs from the repertoire of electronic music, rap and soul (Lawendowski 2011, p. 210–214).

Answering the question of whether the selection of specific music genres based on the musical preferences of adolescents is important in the process of rehabilitation, one can answer in the affirmative, given the narrative that was conducted. The considerations carried out by the author were aimed at highlighting the following issues:

1) The starting point for planning therapeutic activities using musical pieces is the recognition of adolescents' musical preferences and peer education, aimed at creating a space for the constructive exchange of ideas and opinions while respecting the core of adolescents' musical identity.
2) In the process of rehabilitation, using elements of musical activities, the choice of musical genres to be used in rehabilitation therapy is not indifferent.

3) At least basic music education for those using music for rehabilitation activities seems essential.

The multidimensionality of music applications is an endless topic of research and analysis. However, it is worthwhile to undertake further discourses, since the possibilities of using forms of musical activity, especially activities of a therapeutic nature, are both a factor supporting the process itself and providing an opportunity to interact with the musical work in the form chosen for the specific therapy.

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Preventive dimension of sociotherapy in work with young people at risk of social maladjustment

Abstract: The article attempts to answer the question of whether sociotherapy can be considered in the category of a preventive dimension in working with young people at risk of social maladjustment. For this purpose, a detailed analysis will be made of basic concepts such as sociotherapy, prophylaxis, social maladjustment.

Key words: prophylaxis, sociotherapy, social maladjustment.

Theoretical representations of key concepts

This paper will discuss basic concepts such as sociotherapy, prophylaxis and social maladjustment.

Sociotherapy is a multifaceted and complex concept that has been operating in the literature for many years, however, in heterogeneous contexts of meaning. As B. Jankowiak and E. Soroko point out, "it is used by teachers, educators, social workers, social rehabilitators, as well as psychologists, although this probably does not exhaust the numerous professions that can be professionally related to sociotherapy" (Jankowiak, Soroko 2013, p. 33). The multiplicity of definitions of the term means that firstly – sociotherapy can still be referred to as a discipline *in statu nascendi*, and secondly – it seems reasonable to look at the various attempts to clarify it.

The origins of sociotherapy can be traced to studies from the late 1940s and early 1950s, which included it as one of the elements of medical rehabilitation (both clinical and social). At that time, attention was drawn to the use of sociotherapy as a kind of adjunctive therapy in the treatment of psychotic patients, and certain activities marked by sociotherapeutic character began to be implemented both in work with adults and with people of developmental age who were diagnosed with personality disorders, affective disorders or behavioral disorders (Waszyńska, Bury, Filipiak 2016, p. 94).

K. Sawicka emphasizes that both psychiatrists and psychotherapists combine sociotherapy with the appropriate organization of the social environment, designed to allow patients to create a space of specific support in their treatment process (see. Sawicka 1998, p. 9). A confirmation of sociotherapy understood in this way seems to be its definitions proposed by H. Wardaszko-Łyskowska and A. Reber.

The first of these indicates that sociotherapy is "a method that sets itself the task of preventing the patient from being isolated from life, and if this has occurred, integrating them back into this life, taking into account and using all social factors for this purpose" (Wardaszko-Łyskowska, 1996, p. 50). The other, contained in the *Słownik psychologii* (*Dictionary of Psychology*), presents sociotherapy as "an umbrella term for any form of therapy in which the emphasis is placed more on social-environmental and interpersonal factors than on intrapsychic factors; it includes various forms of group psychotherapy, psychodrama […]" (Reber, 2000, p. 686).

J. Siuta comments in a similar vein, noting that sociotherapy, as a form of therapeutic influence, uses both the influence of the social environment and the positive impact of the social group and social interaction. At the same time, Siuta points out that an equally important element of sociotherapy is the creation of an appropriate relaxing, conflict-free atmosphere among the participants – one that promotes restfulness (Siuta, 2005, p. 262).

In the above-mentioned definitions of the term sociotherapy, one can notice common elements, which include, first: a strong emphasis on the role of the organized environment, the group and the interpersonal contacts taking place in it, which have a particular therapeutic function; second: emphasizing the importance of education in the development of social skills. Thus, in conclusion, it is necessary to state, following M. John-Borys, that in light of the cited definitions, "a properly organized community and group bond performs therapeutic functions for the participants and corrects deficits in life experience" (John-Borys, 2005, p. 348).

A slightly different understanding of sociotherapy can be observed in the 1980s. At that time, the concept began to be defined in terms of psychological and pedagogical assistance, intended mainly for children, coming from educationally dysfunctional backgrounds. Sociotherapeutic interactions have been transferred to educational institutions and a variety of childcare facilities.

Referring to this period, J. Jagieła stresses that sociotherapeutic activities are a specific type of group therapy targeting the behavior of children and adolescents.

Their primary goal focuses on creating such conditions so that a process of behavioral correction can occur, taking into account three primary elements:

1. remodeling negative cognitive judgments about themselves and others;
2. emotional reparation of previously experienced trauma;
3. developing, and at the same time trying out in practice, new effective patterns of behavior (Jankowiak, Soroko, 2013).

Thus, it can be clearly stated that therapy boils down to the following assumptions: a) interpersonal relationships formed in a group have a therapeutic or corrective quality for the participants, b) positive experiences in relationships with people "affect a change in cognitive judgments about oneself, other people and one's relationships with them, correcting the effects of negative prior social experiences, which in turn makes it possible to change behavior" (John-Borys, 2005, p. 348).

The group form of activities is, for at least several reasons, an important and necessary condition for the success of the sociotherapeutic process.

1. Desired social behaviors are acquired more easily in a group than on one's own (which is the case with individual psychotherapy);
2. this therapy, compared to individual therapy, has a much lower cost;
3. the group provides a kind of reference point, encouraging behavioral change;
4. the group is a microcosm of the broader social environment, which increases the range of impacts;
5. the group is a natural environment for the development and education of children and adolescents (school classroom, peer group);
6. the group provides an opportunity to feel a sense of belonging;
7. group activities allow participants to see similarities with others, preventing social isolation (Jagieła, 2007, p. 15).

The analysis of the above considerations makes it possible to formulate the fundamental goals of sociotherapy classes, which include educational (preventive), therapeutic (corrective) and developmental goals.

Detailed characteristics of the listed goals are presented in the table below.

Table 1. General goals of sociotherapy

Goals of sociotherapy	Description
Development goals	They concern activating the developmental potential (social, emotional--motivational, cognitive) of group participants, i.e. such activities that are designed to support development in its many aspects. They are identified in two interrelated areas: facilitation of individual and group development and accompaniment in development crises. Activating developmental potential involves potentiating the protective factors inherent in the individual (e.g., cognitive curiosity) and in their environment (e.g., the sociotherapy group) as well as the potential of a given developmental stage.

Goals of sociotherapy	Description
Educational (preventive) goals	They are achieved by using interventions to prevent disorders and health problems in group participants. In sociotherapeutic interactions, prophylaxis is usually carried out by educating about the dangers of, for example, engaging in risky behaviors (smoking, drinking alcohol, using drugs, early sexual activity), providing opportunities to practice beneficial social behaviors (for example, saying no to peers urging drug use), and by imparting psychologically useful knowledge to support development (for example, informing about developmental regularities, which can reduce the anxiety associated with adolescence).
Therapeutic (corrective) goals	They are about changing unfavorable behaviors, beliefs and ways of reacting emotionally. Corrective goals are achieved through group participants gaining interpersonal experiences opposite to the unfavorable ones they have experienced in the past or are experiencing in other environments, which can change maladaptive beliefs about themselves and the emotions associated with them, and by shaping adaptive behavior.

Source: Jankowiak B., Soroko E., *Socjoterapia dziś i jutro. O potrzebie współpracy refleksyjnego praktyka i ciekawego praktyki naukowca*, "Biuletyn Polskiego Stowarzyszenia Socjoterapeutów i Trenerów" [accessed on: December 19, 2020], http://pssit.pl/download/B_Jankowiak_E_Soroko_Socjoterapia_dzis_i_jutro.pdf

In clarifying the issues related to the concept of sociotherapy on the grounds of educational and childcare institutions, it is necessary to pay attention to the definitional distinction proposed by K. Sawicka. The author stresses that sociotherapy is a form of psychological assistance that draws on the experience of psychotherapy, psychoeducation and interpersonal training. Behavioral disorders and some emotional disorders of children and adolescents should be considered the object of interest in sociotherapy and, at the same time, interventions (Sawicka, 1998).

Behavioral disorders, in the colloquial sense, is a broad term that encompasses conduct resulting from a variety of reasons, such as:
1. lack of knowledge of the rules (parents, teachers, caregivers did not take steps to teach the child certain rules);
2. deliberate, developmentally correct rule-breaking (children and adolescents will repeatedly try to transgress predetermined boundaries as long as adults give them permission to do so);
3. any incomprehensible behavior of the child, which adults interpret as a refusal to comply (Kołakowski, 2018, pp. 15–16).

A. Kołakowski mentions that a behavioral disorder can be defined as oppositional and rebellious, aggressive or antisocial behavior repeated at least in the last 6 months. Taking into account the categories listed, the most common symptoms of social maladjustment include: outbursts of anger, breaking social rules, constant conflicts with the environment, malicious and vindictive behavior.

Rounding out the clinical picture, however, are thefts, beatings, abuse of others, intimidation, running away from home, arson, and cruelty to animals (Kołakowski, 2005, pp. 238–239).

Emotional disturbance, on the other hand, is a child's subjectively perceived anxiety that does not interfere with their perception of reality. Among them are anxiety, mood disorders, intrusive thoughts and compulsive activities, and phobias. The most common symptoms include feelings of inferiority, embarrassment, social withdrawal, shyness, anxiety, sadness (Seligman et al., 2003, p. 330–331).

Taking into account the above constatations, it can be said, quoting B. Jankowiak and E. Soroko, that nowadays sociotherapy is understood as "a form of psychopedagogical assistance (in the area of education and childcare institutions) aimed at children and adolescents from groups at risk or/and manifesting disorders in psychosocial functioning (not necessarily diagnosed psychiatrically), which involves the intentional activation of helping factors, using group processes and the role of the sociotherapist, to compensate for potential deficits in social development and prevent the formation of disorders of group participants" (Jankowiak, Soroko, 2013, pp. 49–50).

The diagram below is a graphic representation of the actors involved in the sociotherapeutic process.

In accordance with the previously planned structure of this paper, the next concept to be briefly discussed is prophylaxis.

Prophylaxis (like sociotherapy) is characterized by a multiplicity of definitions, both in the domestic and international literature. Its traces can be found in such scientific disciplines as pedagogy, psychology, sociology, social rehabilitation and health sciences. The term prophylaxis is derived from Greek: *prophylassein*, which means to guard against, to prevent (Śliwa, 2015, p. 9). In the theory and practice of pedagogical interactions, the terms *prevention* and *preclusion* are used interchangeably.

Z. Gaś points out that in traditional concepts, prophylaxis generally had a negative meaning. This is because it was mainly based on reducing human dysfunction and on particular types of disorders. This state of affairs has resulted in a clear separation of different types of prophylaxis, such as addiction prophylaxis, crime prophylaxis, and suicide prophylaxis (Gas 2006, p. 30). Nowadays, however, a positive approach to prophylaxis is beginning to prevail, based on three regularities:

1. a person's dysfunctionality is an expression of their inadequate effectiveness in coping with the specific demands of life;
2. the level and extent of a person's resourcefulness/resourcelessness depends on a number of mediating factors (called risk factors and protective factors);
3. manifestations of symptoms of dysfunction are alternative to each other (Gaś, 2006, p. 34).

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│  TEAM OF SOCIOTHERAPISTS    │
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│  │                       │  │
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└─────────────────────────────┘
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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│  GROUPS OF CHILDREN AND     │
│  ADOLESCENTS                │
│                             │
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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│  ENVIRONMENTAL NETWORK OF   │
│  SOCIAL SUPPORT             │
│  (FAMILY, SCHOOL,           │
│   SPECIALISTS, ETC.)        │
└─────────────────────────────┘
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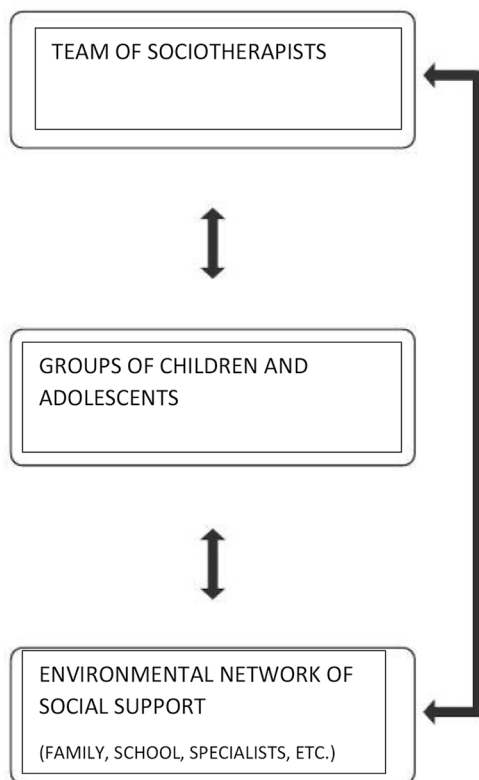
Fig. 1. Components of the structure of the socio-
therapy process
Source: John-Borys, 2005, 357.

By prophylaxis B. Woynarowska understands any action taken to prevent the appearance and/or development of undesirable behaviors, conditions or phenomena in a community. The essence of these activities is to counter threats (Woynarowska, 2007, p. 127). Z. In turn, in characterizing the concept of prophylaxis, Gaś points out that it is a process, correcting the shortcomings of upbringing, consisting of:

— "supporting a young person in dealing constructively with difficulties that threaten proper development and healthy life;
— reducing and eliminating risk factors that disrupt normal development and disorganize healthy lifestyles;
— initiating and strengthening protective factors that promote proper development and healthy life" (Gaś, 2006, p. 37).

G. Edwards, on the other hand, writes that "preventive activities are those that provide an opportunity for a person to actively participate in the accumulation of

such experiences that result in an increase in the ability to cope with potentially difficult life situations" (Śliwa, 2015, p. 18).

The above-mentioned definitions have a common point, noting that prophylaxis is not only the prevention of the appearance of undesirable behavior in life. It is also the activity of equipping the individual with such skills and competencies that will allow them to grapple with possible threats to health or life that they may encounter in their biography.

Recalling the classification of prophylaxis, a distinction should be made between the so-called old and new division of prophylaxis levels. The first was introduced in 1957 by the Commission on Chronic Illness[1] and then the World Health Organization (WHO). The new classification, on the other hand, has been introduced processually since 2000 (Jankowiak, Matysiak-Błaszczyk, 2017, p. 300).

The following table presents the levels of prophylaxis with the old and new division in mind.

Table 2. Traditional and new levels of prophylaxis

Traditional division	New division
Primary prophylaxis	Promotion of health
	Universal prophylaxis
Secondary prophylaxis	Selective prophylaxis
	Indicative prophylaxis
Tertiary prophylaxis	Treatment
	Post-treatment management

Source: Ostaszewski 2017, p. 117.

The traditional division of prophylaxis levels is still used – though criticized. K. Ostaszewski points out that in this view, prophylaxis includes borderline treatment (e.g., early detection of diseases), treatment, or post-treatment (e.g., preventing relapse to substance abuse) activities – which is inconsistent with the definition of prophylaxis (preventing problems before they occur) (Ostaszewski, 2017, p. 117).

Primary (first order) prophylaxis includes a set of measures that aim to reduce the likelihood of disease by counteracting harmful factors before they cause a disease or other problem. The recipients of primary prophylaxis are society as a whole or specific subgroups of the population, e.g., children, adolescents. Examples of preventive activities falling within the type of prophylaxis in question include, for

………………………………..

[1] For more on this topic, see P. J. Mrazek, R. J. Haggerty, Reducing the Risks for Mental Disorders: Frontiers for Prevention. Intervention Research, Washington DC: National Academy Press, 1994, p. 19.

example, the promotion of pro-healthy lifestyles, or the immunization program. In this context, the activities occurring in the implementation of primary prophylaxis include those that are characteristic of health promotion and health education.

Secondary (second order) prophylaxis, on the other hand, refers to activities related to risk factor control and early intervention. It is addressed to people at increased risk (e.g., those with family burdens) or to those individuals in whom early signs of disorders have been detected. Its goal, therefore, is to prevent or halt the development of the disease, as well as shorten its duration. Examples of secondary prophylaxis activities include: screening tests and preventive medical examinations.

The last level of prophylaxis listed in traditional terms is tertiary prophylaxis, otherwise known as third order prophylaxis. It is understood as 1) preventing the acute effects of the disease by seeking early treatment, 2) preventing relapse by educating patients on self-care and the judicious use of medications, and 3) minimizing secondary problems or potential dysfunctions associated with the disease through rehabilitation and/or appropriate community care. The recipients of this group include people who have a diagnosed disease, which involves them taking appropriate treatment. Examples of tertiary prophylaxis measures include systematic blood pressure monitoring in post-stroke patients (Ostaszewski, 2017, pp. 117–118).

Currently, first-, second- and third-order prophylaxis is defined as universal, selective and indicative prophylaxis (Wojcieszek, 2013, p. 31).

Universal prophylaxis addresses the entire population or specific subgroups thereof, regardless of the degree of individual risk of health problems. Its primary goal comes down to reducing risk factors. Instead, the main activities boil down to providing knowledge and teaching the primary psychological and social skills necessary to prevent problems (Szymańska, 2012).

Preventive activities aimed at people who, due to their social, family, environmental situation or certain biological conditions, are at a higher-than-average risk of health problems, characterize selective prophylaxis. The main activities of the aforementioned prophylaxis boil down to care, education and development activities, taking into account the specific needs and problems of a given subgroup (Ostaszewski, 2017, p. 118).

Indicative prophylaxis is dedicated to individuals from high-risk groups who already demonstrate the first symptoms of problems, dysfunctions, such as various disturbing behaviors (e.g., periodic drinking, frequent truancy). It is characterized by limiting the duration of the dysfunction, and the main actions come down to individual diagnosis of the causes and intervention (Szymańska, 2012).

The last issue in this paper that remains to be clarified is the concept of social maladjustment.

The problem of social maladjustment occupies an important place in both Polish and international literature. However, it should be emphasized that this concept is characterized by a multiplicity and diversity of content, so it should be considered "on the basis of the more general problem of adaptation, that is,

the relationship of a person with their environment, indicating the complexity and multilayeredness, universality and wide semantic range […], which certainly does not facilitate its operationalization" (Krupa, 2011, p. 13, quoted from: Lubowiecka, 2000, p. 15). Given this fact, it is much less difficult to indicate what the symptoms of social maladjustment are than to cite its definition.

The following table contains general categories and specific characteristics describing social maladjustment.

Table 3. Specific maladjustment criteria

General category	Detailed characteristics
Overall level of maladjustment	inability to adapt to new conditions due to lack of plasticity; lack of control of one's environment and inability to deal with a changing world […]
Deficiencies in meeting own needs	constant frustration with one's own needs and lack of satisfaction with daily life tasks; inability to act spontaneously and lack of a sense of free participation in the activities of one's environment
Deficiencies in interpersonal relations	abnormalities in the performance of social roles (pupil, child, peer group member, etc.); deficiencies in the realization of norms arising from the roles; inability to use other people's help and disturbed interpersonal contacts; engaging in behavior that evokes social disapproval […]
Deficiencies in intellectual abilities	Inadequate perception and impaired ability to stay in touch with reality; inadequate knowledge of the world; inability to solve problems […]
Deficiencies in controlling emotions and motives	Lack of internalized moral norms; low self-control and lack of resilience to stress; lowered mental mood; lack of self-efficacy […]
Attitudes towards others	Egoism and lack of interest in other people; lack of trust in others and lack of sympathy for people; unkindness and inability to form close relationships
Productivity	Lack of desire to undertake socially useful activities; lack of initiative
Level of integration	Personal immaturity; the presence of internal conflicts and divergence of motives for action; failure to use one's own capabilities […]
Relationship to self	Lack of satisfaction with one's achievements and low self-acceptance; pessimism about life and lack of confidence that one has the ability to solve problems; inadequate self-image and feelings of low self-worth

Source: Krupa, 2011, p. 15

Four types of definitions can be found in the literature, characterizing social maladjustment. They include:

— symptomatic definitions – they emphasize certain symptoms, indicating the individual's failure to comply with certain norms;
— theoretical definitions – attention is directed to some theoretical concepts, such as attitude, motivation, etc., indicating the mechanisms of psychological or social regulation relevant to the emergence of behavior that does not conform to generally accepted norms;
— operational definitions – primarily expose the type of tool that makes it possible to measure the frequency and intensity of characteristics considered undesirable;
— utilitarian definitions – pay attention to capturing social maladjustment through the prism of the helplessness of the individual's educational environment (Krupa, 2011, p. 16).

The term 'social maladjustment' was developed by the World Association of Child and Youth Care Institutions. Its beginnings in Poland date back to 1959 – it was then initiated by the creator of special pedagogy, prof. M. Grzegorzewska (Matusek, 2015, p. 146). In general, social maladjustment is the occurrence of unacceptable, undesirable behavior that does not conform to generally accepted norms. It manifests itself, among other things, in the inability to perform a certain social role. The concept can also be applied to specific social groups, and its causes can be traced to the family environment, peers and specific characteristics of the individual (Matusek, 2015, p. 146).

Preventive importance of sociotherapy in working with youth at risk of social maladjustment

A child at risk of social maladjustment usually exhibits behaviors that deviate from the accepted norm, however, they occur at a lower intensity and frequency relative to the socially maladjusted individual. Regardless of the reasons for this, it is important to take action as early as possible to eliminate potential threats to the individual.

The literature on the subject abounds with a multitude of indications of the manifestations of social maladjustment among adolescents. However, it is important to notice those that are mentioned most often. These are:

— unsystematic school attendance, truancy;
— inappropriate behavior on and off school grounds;
— running away from homes and vagrancy;
— joining groups with a criminal nature;
— lying and disobedience;
— alcohol consumption, cigarette smoking and drug use;
— premature sexual initiation;

— vandalism;
— theft;
— aggression;
— suicide attempts and suicides;
— parasitism (Krupa, 2015, p. 20).

There is no doubt that in the case of the appearance of the symptoms mentioned above, the timing is crucial, in order to take action to eliminate potential risk factors among individuals, or to strengthen protective factors to face the problem. Targeting a student with the right form of psychological and pedagogical assistance at the right stage can determine the success of the measures taken.

The proposal to participate in sociotherapeutic activities is certainly the type of activity that, for many reasons, seems to be attractive and at the same time effective for young people at risk of social maladjustment, because through participation in the activities adolescents have the opportunity to:
— perceive that they are not the only ones struggling with the problem – there are also other people with similar deficits;
— participate in planned situations, through which they will be able to gain experience to correct and compensate for deficits in social and emotional development;
— unwind accumulated emotional tensions;
— acquire new psychological, communication, social skills, such as the ability to learn better, the ability to resolve conflicts or the ability to recognize-name--express emotions (in a socially acceptable way);
— meeting important needs such as acceptance, security.

Sociotherapy classes are not just about learning – they are also about having fun, which can be a panacea for issues related to the risk of social maladjustment among young people.

Summary

Analysis of the basic concepts discussed in this paper allows us to conclude that participation in sociotherapeutic activities (both due to their specificity and basic assumptions) can be treated as preventive measures in working with young people at risk of social maladjustment. This is because adolescents have the opportunity not only to acquire new skills and competencies that will allow them to grapple with various problems; but they also discover the resources inherent in them, which represent developmental potential.

Participation in sociotherapeutic activities can be described metaphorically as building a scaffolding that allows, firstly, to face the various difficulties that occur in everyday life, and secondly, provides an opportunity to celebrate life in spite of everything and in spite of everyone.

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The probation centre as a diagnostic centre, an institution for early support and complex work with the client, family and local environment

Abstract: The presented text is a review of foreign and own research. The main goal is to indicate the place and mission, as well as the possibility of using the probation center in the system of juvenile rehabilitation. The specific objectives are related to the recognition of the role of this educational measure in the area of diagnosis, early support, as well as work with the participant and family. The problem is the question of the condition(,) threats and prospects of the probation center in the light of modern concepts of probation and the methodology of rehabilitation. The importance of demographic changes and social policy for the functioning of this institution is pointed out. It was emphasized that diagnostics and methodology are inseparable in working with the participant, the client, the family, the environment. The search for justification for treating the probation center as an institution of early response, prevention with the indication of proposals for solutions, conclusions and recommendations was undertaken. For the research, based on which the theses in the text were justified, various methods and techniques of collecting material were used, such as analysis of secondary sources, i.e. documents, court records, analysis and processing of statistical data, participatory observation, non-participatory observation, analysis of legal acts and literature on the subject, questionnaire and diagnostic survey method. Sources were secondary, analyses were based on various studies, including the author's. It is important to develop recommendations for further organizational and methodological professionalization in the area of the rehabilitation mission of probation centers in the system. Conclusions

confirm the essence of the functioning of probation centers, as well as the effectiveness of the interventions applied there The text includes proposals for specific changes, including in the area of evaluation, supervision, as well as increasing the availability of the use of this means of upbringing.

Key words: Probation center, juveniles, probation officers, diagnosis, methodology, resocialization, prevention.

Introduction

Probation centers (juvenile probation centers) began their activities on the basis of successive orders of the Minister of Justice: dated 27 July 1971 on juvenile probation centers (Journal of Laws, Minister of Justice, No. 6, item 39), later of 6 February 1976 on juvenile probation centers (Journal of Laws, Minister of Justice, No. 2, item 9, as amended), and then from 26 April 1983, on establishing the procedure and rules for the establishment of juvenile probation centers and determining their organization and scope of operation (Journal of Laws, Minister of Justice, No. 3, item 15) and have been carrying out the educational and rehabilitation work uninterruptedly to date. The activities of probation centers are strongly rooted in the local environment and constitute an important element of the justice system's link (in terms of enforcement proceedings) with the community and locally functioning institutions of broadly understood social support, which is in line with current trends and recommendations (Ambrozik, 2013, pp. 13–24, 2016; Bałandynowicz, 2019; Konopczyński, 2013, 2014). In addition, it represents an area of support for the educational function of families of juveniles. The purpose of this text, in addition to those indicated in the abstract, is to develop proposals for further organizational and methodological professionalization in the area of the rehabilitation mission of these institutions in the justice system.

The problem will be the question of the state, threats and prospects of the probation center in light of contemporary concepts of probation and the methodology of rehabilitation (Kwadrans, Stasiorowski 2022, p. 441). The relevance of demographic changes and social policy to the operation of the probation service will be raised in the area of contemporary problems. The question of the place of diagnostics and methodology, inseparable in the work with the participant, charge, family, environment. In view of this, finally, what measures to take so that the facility can be treated as an institution of early response, prevention with suggestions for solutions, conclusions and recommendations.

Probation centers today

The possibility of adjudicating an educational measure in the form of referring a juvenile to a probation center still has the character of a kind of extravagance for

most family courts in Poland. Subsequent legislative changes, i.e., the enactment of the Act of 26 October 1982 on proceedings in juvenile cases (Journal of Laws 1982 No. 35, item 228, consolidated text, Journal of Laws 2018, item 969), the introduction of the Ordinance of the Minister of Justice of 5 October 2001 on probation centers (Journal of Laws No. 120, item 1294) and, finally, the Act of 9 June 2022 on the support and rehabilitation of juveniles (Journal of Laws 2022, item 1700) have not changed this situation.

It should be noted that just as under the previous law, i.e., on proceedings in juvenile cases, as it is now — it is thehead of the district court who creates and dissolves probation centers in the area of jurisdiction of the district court at therequest of the head of the regional court, after consultation with the district probation officer. The centers are established at regional courts, however, at each regional court more than one probation center can be established. This is the case, for example, at the Lublin-East Regional Court in Lublin, with its headquarters in Świdnik, where a record number of 5 centers (sic!) have been established, or at the Regional Court in Jelenia Gora, where 4 centers operate. Prima facie, it would seem that in view of such a regulation, the institution in question should be universal and guaranteed both to family courts, so that they can adjudicate the educational measure provided for by the common law, and to juveniles and their parents, so that they can enjoy the benefit of this institution in terms of their classes. Well. despite the passage of successive decades, the situation is quite opposite. There are currently 122 probation centers in Poland, which have been established at only 94 regional courts, which means that judges in 224 regional courts in Poland (70% of the total of 318 district courts) cannot apply the full catalog of educational measures listed in the Act on the support and rehabilitation of juveniles.

From the practice of regional courts' operation, this state of affairs is rooted in their organization and financial condition. According to the act, the activities of the probation center are financed from the budget of the regional court, with funds alloted aside for this purpose, the use of which is decided by the heads of the courts. Subsequent legislation did not allow separate funding to be alloted in regional court budgets for the operation of probation centers, and even if they were included, they were often overtaken by expenditures for the basic operation of the courts. Lack of financial stability has led to the abandonment or inability to establish probation centers. Also within the financial sphere remained the issue of rules for personnel remuneration. Similarly, in this case, priority within the salary fund was given to promotions and court staffing in the context of the judgments they carried out.

The above remarks of a general nature indicate that the establishment of probation centers is not mandatory, despite the fact that the law lists them as one of the educational measures). Therefore, as long as a systemic solution is not introduced for the mandatory establishment of at least one center at each regional court, this situation will not change.
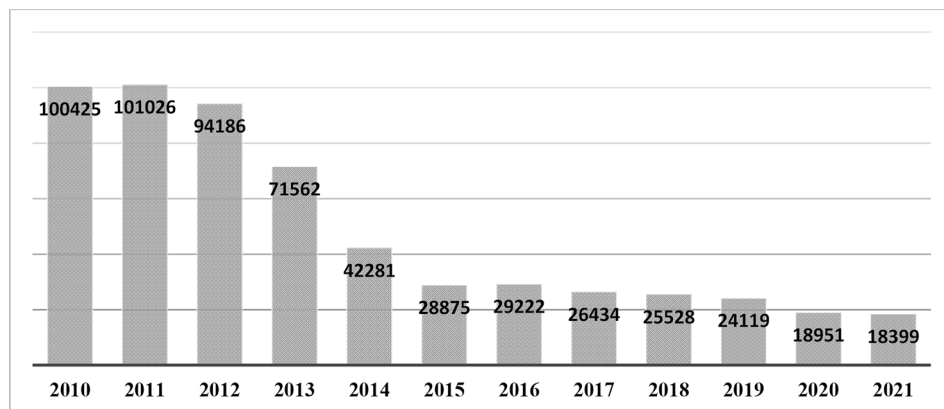
Fig 1. Criminal acts committed by juveniles according to the Police in the years 2010–2021
Source https://policja.pl/, [accessed: 7.11.2022], own study.

An important issue, raised not only in this text, but in many studies, is the change in the philosophy of referring juveniles to a probation center. Only the admission of juveniles who have been ordered to the probation center remained possible. Thus, the possibility of carrying out activities of a preventive nature, as before, preventing the risk of social maladjustment of juveniles subject to other educational measures, was not provided. There is a clear teleological approach that resounds from the preamble of the law, as well as new forms of "social reaction", *quasi* educational measures, with an indication of the competence of school directors, etc., or the included guidelines for the execution of rehabilitation interventions.

Not insignificant for the types and design of educational measures are the demographic changes observed in Poland for about 20 years, which have resulted in a decreasing number of children and juveniles who violate the law. The outlined trends are reflected in the scope of crime in Poland and will continue in the coming years. This means that we will continue to see a decrease in the number of crimes, and consequently a decrease in the burden of the criminal justice system, including in the commission of criminal acts by juveniles. In Poland, about two-thirds of crime is committed by people under the age of 24 (juveniles). The highest crime risk group will be dozens of percent smaller than 10 years ago. These estimates are, of course, indicative and do not take into account a number of other demographic factors, including, most importantly, the future scale of emigration of Poles or return to the country as well as the scale of immigration to Poland, (especially in view of the escalation of the war in Ukraine), but on the basis of these estimates one can draw the indisputable conclusion that a radically lower level of population of "criminal" age will generate proportionally lower crime. As a result, demographic changes have a direct impact on the number of educational measures used, including referrals to a probation center.

It has been repeatedly emphasized at conferences of meetings of problem teams, in scientific publications that the probation center is a specific, indigenous, original educational measure, the use of which does not involve a change in the educational environment, and at the same time allows for educational and social rehabilitation impact, proper diagnostic proceedings and elements of preventive work with features of social prevention or early response, providing support in situations of risk of demoralization. It is worth noting the place of this facility in the system of social rehabilitation and support in Poland.

The Act of 27 July 2001 on probation officers stipulates (Article 1) that probation officers carry out educational, rehabilitative, diagnostic, preventive and control tasks specified by law related to the execution of court decisions. Thus, this definition also includes conducting classes with participants in probation centers.

As at 31 December 2021, the court probation service counted 5212 full-time professional probation officers, including 2871 probation officers for adult offenders and 2244 family probation officers (excluding district probation officers and their deputies), who worked with 15949 community probation officers (4907 probation officers for adult offenders and 11042 family probation officers, respectively).

Table 1. Family probation officers. Number of cases conducted (as at 31 December 2018)

Total number of cases	Supervision	Other cases	Community interviews
123,493	118,503	4990	320,526

Source: Ministry of Justice, Strategy and European Funds Department, Report on the activities of the court probation service MS-S40 for 2021.

Table 2. Structure of cases conducted by family probation officers at the end of 2021

Type of cases	2021
Supervision in care cases	79,624
Supervision in juvenile cases	24,511
Supervision in addiction treatment cases	14,368
Control of duties in imposed on juveniles and parents	2446
Probation officer's participation in parents' contact with the child	2347
Removal of a person subject to parental authority	197

Source: Ministry of Justice, Report MS-S40 on the activities of the probation service. Own study.

The educational measure of referral to a probation center (until 2001, juvenile probation center) has been and continues to be an important institution of

the juvenile social rehabilitation system in Poland since its inception. Treated as a specific variety of probation supervision exercised not by one, but by a team of probation officers employed in a probation center, it consists of professional organization of juveniles' out-of-school time through preventive, custodial, educational and rehabilitative-therapeutic activities aimed at changing the attitudes of participants in a socially desirable direction. Unfortunately, this is not a constant and important component of the work of probation officers in all court districts, therefore, in this study it is characterized based on case file research, statistical analysis and available literature. It is worth noting the structure of the tasks of family probation officers and the possibility of using the probation center in working with the family in the framework of guardianship proceedings, not infrequently with educational problems, the threat of social maladjustment. Before the current regulation went into effect, there were more than twice as many juvenile probation centers. As at 2022, there are 122 probation centers with approx. 1.4 thousand participants. It should be noted that although the number of probation centers has increased by 20 in the last decade (102 centers at the end of 2013). the number of center participants remains at a similar level, i.e., 1403 (2013); 1445 (2014); 1492 (2015); 1430 (2016); 1450 (2017); 1424 (2018); 1464 (2019); 1350 (2020); 1376 (2021). According to the Act on the support and rehabilitation of juveniles, probation centersconduct educational, social rehabilitative, therapeutic, preventive and control activities, aimed at changing the attitudes of juveniles in a socially desirable direction, ensuring the proper development of their personality (Article 162). At the time of writing this text, the Regulation of the Minister of Justice on the detailed mode of operation and organization of probation centers (Article 173 of the Act) hadnot yet been enacted, therefore, in order to reconstruct the scope of the center's activities, the authors were forced to use the contents of the repealed Regulation of the Minister of Justice of 5 October 2001 on probation centers, (Journal of Laws 2001.120.1294), which until the entry into force of the above-mentioned Act defined the procedure and detailed rules for the establishment and dissolution of probation centers, the scope of operation and organization of probation centers, and the manner of exercising supervision over probation centers. The center carries out preventive, care and rehabilitative-therapeutic activities aimed at changing the attitudes of the participants in a socially desirable direction, ensuring the proper development of their personality, in particular, through: meeting personal needs, solving psychological problems, teaching independent coping with life difficulties, eliminating educational and upbringing negligence and leveling environmental negligence, implementing compliance with social norms, developing interests, developing proper habits of spending leisure time, relieving emotional tensions, forming a sense of responsibility and caring. In the probation center, it is possible to realize to the fullest extent, see the possibilities, use the tools and resources at the disposal of the probation officer in terms of personal as well as environmental resources. Once the court decision in a juvenile

case becomes final and is referred for execution, the diagnostic procedure begins, which continues uninterrupted almost until the educational measure is revoked or terminated by law. In addition to the administrative and clerical activities of setting up and maintaining records, summoning, instructing on the rights and responsibilities of the juvenile with their guardians, the diagnosis begins. As in juvenile supervision cases, the basic techniques for collecting material are file analysis, observation and interview, but in the probation center a team of specialists and continuous diagnosis against the background of the educational group, in cooperation with the family and the local community are to be used. The probation center is the place where a specific plan of interventions should be formulated for diagnosis, allowing the participant to be included in the group, activating their family and environment. Through continuous observation and modification of the diagnosis and planned activities, monitoring of the juvenile's progress in transformation should be carried out. This activity is documented in the form of journal entries, observation sheets, reports to the court. It should contain the broadest possible diagnosis and prognosis with a description of the methods of education and social rehabilitation work, attendance, descriptions of behavior during classes, involvement in the work plan implemented, the effectiveness of interventions or participation in therapy, other important information, intentions, with possible proposals to the court for changes. When working with a participant in the center, it is important to recognize the stage of social maladjustment, identify the symptoms and develop a diagnosis, case prognosis and rehabilitation program, a plan of corrective and educational activities and its systematic implementation. Thus, from the moment the head of the center receives the court decision, it is necessary to familiarize oneself with the case file, set up a file for the juvenile in which documentation of the course of the educational measure is collected. Then it is necessary to make contact with the participant and their family, school, local environment in order to collect the material needed for the diagnosis. Additional information can be obtained after the participant is included in the group and their functioning is observed during activities at the center and therapy. Systematic entries should be made in the journal and observation sheet, and reports (opinions) on the juvenile should be made at the time indicated in the ruling (at least once every 6 months). The written report formulates a work plan and refers to its implementation. The termination of the educational measure takes place in connection with the discontinuation of the proceedings (upon request or when the participant turns 18), revocation of the measure, modification of the measure, unless the court decides otherwise.

§ 7 of the Regulation on probation centers indicates that classes with participants are carried out in particular by the following methods of work: group, individual case, community. When analyzing the files, it is indeed possible to see a certain eclecticism in the use of working methods and flexibility in their selection, probably due to the available conditions, i.e., external resources, but

also specialized personnel. The research confirms information that participant activities primarily consist of: organizing free time, establishing cooperation with the community, conducting therapy, providing assistance in removing educational and educational neglect. The noticeable differences in professional practice in the execution of different categories of cases, including referrals to the probation center, are due to the organizational structure of the probation service. Indeed, in the 47 judicial districts, 47 district probation officers reporting to 47 heads of district courts have a significant influence on how probation officers carry out their tasks. The organizational rules, the scope of tasks, responsibilities and powers, are defined by law. However, the manner in which probation officers carry out interventions is left to the sphere of their competence and autonomous decision in choosing specific methods of educational, rehabilitative and preventive work.

The future of probation centers

Issues concerning the effectiveness of classes conducted for probation center participants seem particularly relevant as a voice in the discussion of possible changes in the system of work with children and adolescents who are maladjusted or at risk of social maladjustment. It is not insignificant to argue this with concrete, hard indicators in the form of participants' social functioning inside and outside the center, educational achievements, family and neighborhood relationships to measurable changes in the emotional-personal sphere. The very essence of organizing at least 20 hours of classes per week indicates an unmatched form of interaction in an open environment, without the need to change the educational environment. The National Council of Probation Officers patroned studies on probation centers in 2012 and 2016. The research used a diagnostic survey method and an instrument in the form of a survey questionnaire filled out by heads of probation centers. The techniques used in the other studies indicated in footnote 5 also include analysis of secondary sources, i.e., documents, court case files, analysis and compilation of statistical data, participatory observation, non-participatory observation, analysis of legal acts and literature on the subject. Essentially, the purpose of the research, in addition to its diagnostic and descriptive nature, was to try to measure the effectiveness of the work of probation centers, to describe their organization and economic situation, against the background of the work methods used there and the diagnostic approach adopted. The way the juveniles functioned, their subsequent career paths, or how they implemented the educational measure were used as performance indicators. The questions in the questionnaire were arranged to provide answers to the above problems. In constructing the tool, the current regulation was also taken into account to demonstrate how it applies in reality. In this way, a kind of up-to-date diagnosis of the situation of probation centers was made.

The considerations in this article are based primarily on the studies and publications mentioned in the text. More on this subject can be found in: Ł. Kwadrans, Diagnoza aktualnej sytuacji i propozycje rozwoju ośrodków kuratorskich, "Probacja" 2012, no. 3, pp. 113–124; Ł. Kwadrans, Ośrodek kuratorski — jego miejsce w systemie profilaktyki i resocjalizacji nieletnich w Polsce, in: Polska kuratela sądowa na przełomie wieków – nadzieje, oczekiwania, dylematy, eds. M. Konopczyński, Ł. Kwadrans, K. Stasiak, Kraków 2016, pp. 107–125. Ł. Kwadrans, Ośrodek kuratorski – środek wychowawczy wykonywany przez kuratorów sądowych, in: Zarys metodyki pracy kuratora sądowego, ed. K. Stasiak, Warsaw 2018, 4th Edition, pp. 840–872. In parallel with the research repeated in 2016/2017, under a grant from the National Science Center, reg. no: 2015/17/N/HS6/02900. A research project carried out as part of the PRELUDIUM 9 competition on the topic "Resilience resources of maladjusted adolescents" was conducted among participants in probation centers. The research results were presented in: K. Konaszewski, Ł. Kwadrans, Zasoby osobiste młodzieży nieprzystosowanej społecznie. Uwarunkowania środowiskowe, Kraków 2018. Whereas, the Standards for the Work of Probation Centers and a publication covering a multitude of issues related to the operation of probation centers are presented in: P. Kozłowski, K. Stasiak, Ośrodek kuratorski Ujęcie prawne, organizacyjne i metodyczne, Warsaw 2018. The preparation of the report for the Institute of Justice also involved case file research of dozens of selected cases with an educational measure in the form of a referral to a probation center: Ł. Kwadrans, Metody pracy wychowawczo-resocjalizacyjnej i profilaktycznej stosowane przez kuratorów sądowych wykonujących orzeczenia w sprawach rodzinnych i nieletnich, Warsaw 2019. Also significant for further consideration are the findings and conclusions presented by researchers, scientists and practitioners (probation officers, judges, court directors and presidents) at the National Scientific Conference in Słupsk (online), "Probation center — place, mission, potential in the justice system" (orig. Ośrodek kuratorski — miejsce, misja, potencjał w systemie sprawiedliwości), held on 2 December 2021. (http://kurator.info/2021/11/25/osrodek-kuratorski-miejsce-misja-potencjal-w-systemie-sprawiedliwosci/ accessed: 20.02.2022).

The case file research confirmed the diagnosis of the use of the educational measure of referral to a probation center, which stemmed from the aforementioned studies of the National Council of Probation Officers in 2012 and 2016/2017 (National Science Center). It can be said that the probation center, in a way unmatched by any other means of education, allows the use of a multiplicity of methods of rehabilitation and educational work, as well as being a place to conduct preventive interventions. Diagnosis regarding the personality of individuals and their families, peers, schools and local environments, as well as social diagnosis of the entire group, makes it possible to apply an individual and team approach in the educational process aimed at participants in probation centers. In concepts
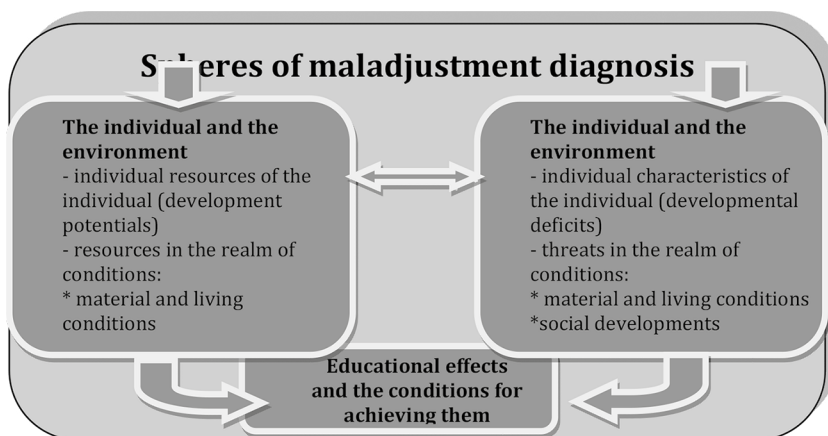
Fig. 2. Relationships between educational effects and protective factors and developmental risk factors

Source: Compiled from a diagram proposed by Ewa Wysocka in: Diagnoza pozytywna w działalności pedagoga resocjalizacyjnego–założenia teoretyczne i metodologiczne identyfikacji zaburzeń w przystosowaniu. "Lubelski Rocznik Pedagogiczny", 2016, Vol. 35, no. 2, 209.

and models that recognize the elements of the educational environment, the relationship between threats (deficits) and the potentials (resources) and effects of educational interventions, the individual develops through constant confrontation with unfavorable circumstances, using the protective factors available. The combination of risk and needs instruments into a single diagnostic instrument is used to develop a case management plan for a supervised juvenile in the United States of America, among others (Kratcoski, 2017, pp.125–127). A complementary approach to diagnosis should therefore include positive and negative diagnosis, in both areas.

The organization and functioning of probation centers indicate that this institution stands out from the rest as unique in the context of performing a preventive function and diagnostic capabilities, as well as the multiplicity of methods used to work with juveniles.

Nowadays, the family court, should, using the provisions of the Act on the support and rehabilitation of juveniles, lead to the improvement and acceleration of the diagnostic process of juvenile disabilities. This position should be understood as identifying the need for support for juveniles from the justice system in a number of aspects. Judges who are knowledgeable about the connotations of juvenile delinquency and disability, as well as types of education and other evidence-based psychosocial, psychopharmacological or rehabilitative methods, can be assisted by this information in making decisions to resolve certain cases (Thompson, Morris, 2016, p. 240). Among the provisions that make it possible to meet the demands indicated are those under which the family court may: oblige
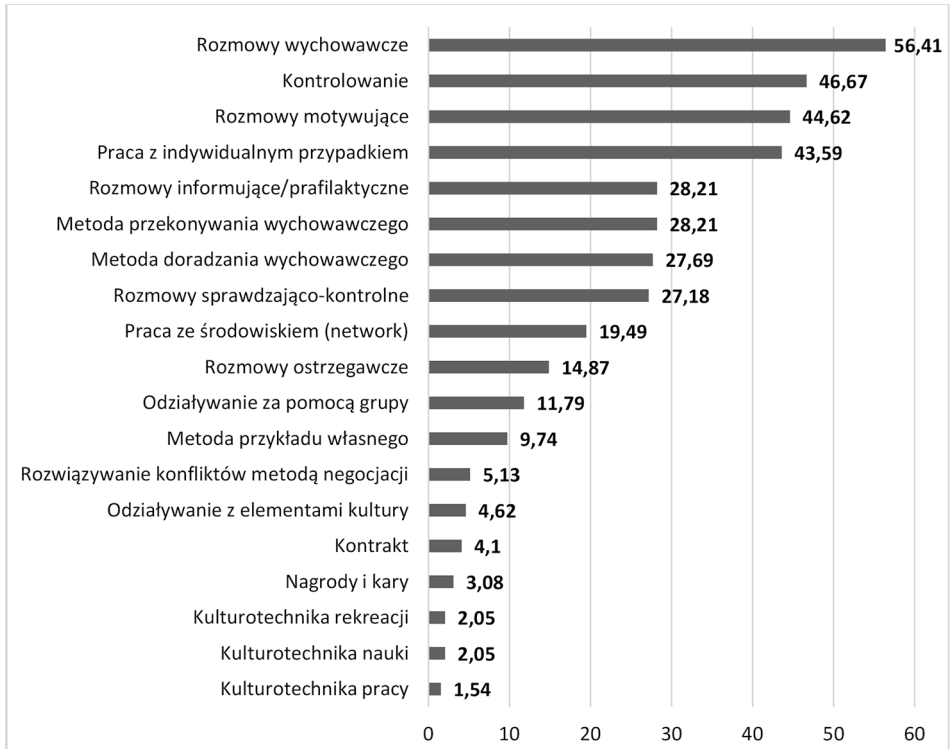
Rozmowy wychowawcze – Counseling talks; Kontrolowanie – Monitoring; Rozmowy motywujące – Motivational talks; Praca z indywidualnym przypadkiem – Individual case work; Rozmowy informujące/profilaktyczne – Informational/preventative talks; Metoda przekonywania wychowawczego – Persuasion method in education; Metoda doradzania wychowawczego – Counseling method in education; Rozmowy sprawdzająco-kontrolne – Verification/control talks; Praca ze środowiskiem (network) – Work with the environment (network); Rozmowy ostrzegawcze – Warning talks; Oddziaływanie za pomocą grupy – Group intervention; Metoda przykładu własnego – Method of personal example; Rozwiązywanie konfliktów metodą negocjacji – Conflict resolution through negotiation method; Oddziaływanie z elementami kultury – Cultural intervention; Kontrakt – Contract; Nagrody i kary – Rewards and punishments; Kulturotechnika rekreacji – Culture technique of recreation; Kulturotechnika nauki – Culture technique of learning; Kulturotechnika pracy – Culture technique of work.

Fig. 3. Methods used in the execution of the educational measure
Source: Own study.

the parents of a juvenile to perform an appropriate diagnosis of the juvenile and establish cooperation with a treatment provider; subject the juvenile to the opinion of a panel of court specialists, expert psychiatrists or other medical disciplines, psychiatric observation, before applying or modifying specific upbringing measures or a correctional measure, or extending in time their application; cause extensive support, including sociotherapy, psychotherapy and psychological and pedagogical assistance, rehabilitation or addiction therapy. The rate and accuracy of diagnosis

Samorząd – Local government; Policja – Police; III Sektor – Third Sector; Instrumenty Rynku Pracy – Labor Market Instruments; Szkoła, rodzina, środowisko lokalne – School, Family, Local Community; kurator sądowy (ośrodek kuratorski) – Probation Officer (Probation Center)

Fig. 4. Areas of community cooperation in the operation of the probation center
Source: Own study.

not only allow the application of appropriate therapy, but can also eliminate the intervention of rehabilitation (justice) in cases that do not have a background of social maladjustment (demoralization).

In dealing with juveniles, this measure is considered as effectively creating conditions for the broadly understood prophylaxis, especially in terms of prevention of the demoralization of children and youths as well as juvenile delinquency, mainly through increased control over juveniles in the facility. It becomes an early response and support institution in local communities.

The greatest hope for success in educational and rehabilitative impact seems to lie in the careful selection of techniques, the dedication and skill of those conducting methodical activities, and the evaluation of methods to determine whether they are yielding results or whether they need to be supplemented or replaced. It is also worth noting that the active involvement of the juvenile in their own treatment is an important factor affecting effectiveness (Kratcoski et al. 2020, p. 426).

The conditions of educational influence in the probation center allow for more intensive work with juveniles (group forms), as well as a more individual approach in the treatment of the charges than in the case of a solitary measure in the form of probation or parental supervision.
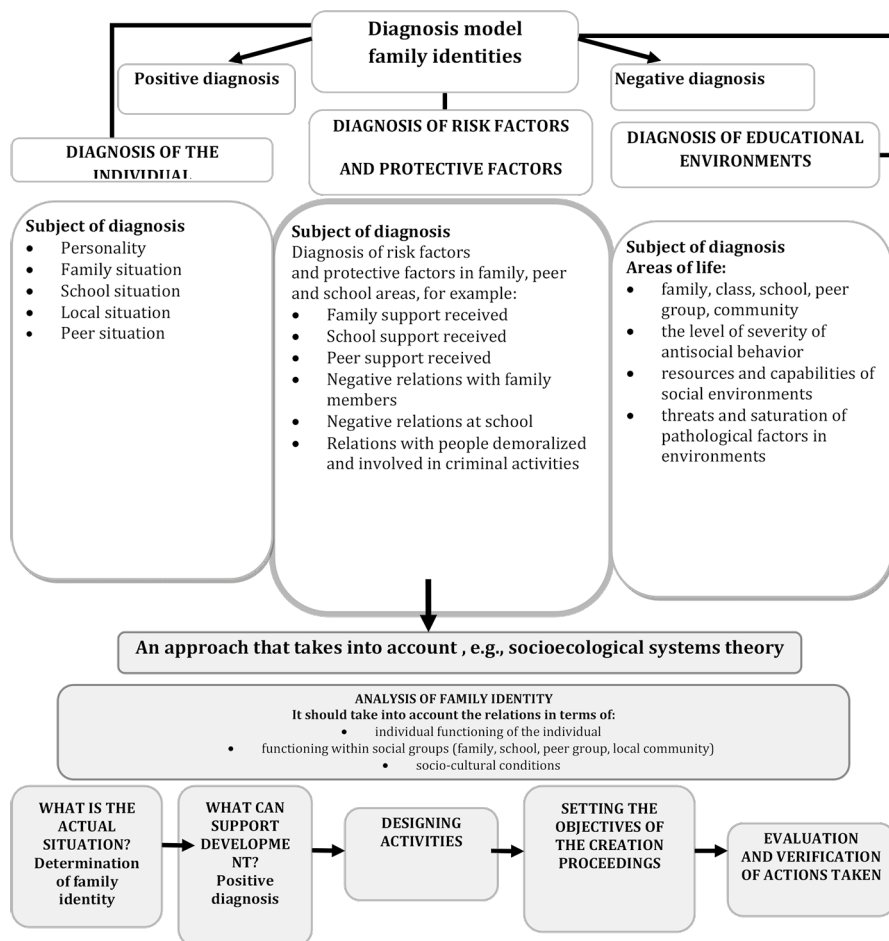
Fig. 5. Proposal for a diagnostic and methodological program for work in a probation center
Source: Own study based on the obtained research results and the literature on the matter.
Ł. Kwadrans, I. Fajfer-Kruczek, Diagnoza i metodyka w pracy kuratorów rodzinnych, Toruń
2021, pp. 117–125.

Summary, conclusions, recommendations

Most district courts in Poland have not established probation centers, so family
judges in juvenile cases are limited in their ability to apply the educational measu-
res set forth in the Act on the Support and Rehabilitation of Minors. Worse, they
have no experience with this educational measure, nor do they have a positive
belief in its high effectiveness. Thus, the pragmatics of the courts' functioning
leads to an unjustified restriction of the use of means of education (in an open
environment) alternative to the means of isolating the juvenile from the family

environment and society (juvenile detention centers, district educational centers, correctional institution). Probation centers primarily carry out diagnostic, preventive and rehabilitation-therapeutic activities, aiming to re-socialize participants. In fact, they also have a caring and educational function (elements of rehabilitation education), i.e. they provide care in the afternoon under the guidance of probation officers, volunteers and apprentices (gaining future work experience). The center also holds meetings with the parents or guardians of participants, school educators to analyze the course of the upbringing process and determine further methods of treatment, as well as to mobilize participants to participate in activities, drawing up contracts with minors together. Constant contact with the parents (guardians) of the participants is an important element of effective educational impact (continuation of the work carried out during classes at the center after the minors return to their family homes, use of resources in the family of minors also in the context of their personal resources).

Probation centers, where they have been established, are a permanent part of local systems of support, rehabilitation, assistance, and they assist municipal institutions dealing with social problems. Probation center cadres are included in local intervention teams, interdisciplinary groups developing strategies, systems to prevent domestic violence, fight crime, prevent addiction, they also support the creation of social diagnoses in municipalities. A growing link is being seen between the activities of center staff and those of parents, teachers and community activists in the local environment.

The probation center should be treated as a diagnostic center, an institution for early support and comprehensive work with the family and the ward using a multiplicity of available methods. Desirable in the operation of the probation center are supervision, evaluation, programmatic interaction as a complementary element to individualized interactions. It would be necessary to develop the functioning of probation centers in the face of the failure of rehabilitation treatments in closed institutions. This is in line with contemporary trends in rehabilitation (conference recommendations and standards developed at the Office of the Ombudsman for Children). As already mentioned, the ideal would be to have at least one probation center at each district court. Not only as an open-type facility for minors, but a real diagnostic center, an institution of early support and comprehensive work with the family and the ward using a multiplicity of available methods (including creative re-socialization) – Chart 2. It is the probation center that could perform the postulated tasks and functions that the Probation Teams do not perform. It is also possible to define precisely the dependencies, relationships and directions of cooperation of probation officers working in the area, as well as cooperation with external entities. This would allow substantive influence on the methodology of working with the subject of executive proceedings, as well as planning the professional development of probation officers, their specialization, work evaluation and supervision. The

changing needs of probation center participants, high turnover and high fluctuation indicate the need for effective support and supervision. Research findings suggest that effective support, supervision, and training of rehabilitation staff help with job satisfaction and organizational commitment, which reduces stress and turnover (Paterson-Young et al., 2019, p. 150–151). A network of local cooperation between representatives of institutions and services directly interacting could be created, bringing with it the possibility of identifying problems and socially pathological phenomena in the local environment, preparing forecasts, programs and taking intervention actions. In light of the research, it seems that the development of probation centers can be achieved primarily through the continuous improvement of the professional competence of individual probation officers, through the implementation of the following systemic elements: central preparation of trainees for service, as well as the provision of a central system of continuous training; improvement of the functioning of probation teams by improving the management of the service, tasks, the proper selection of cases for referrals, specialization of probation officers; implementation of tools to improve the work, a systemic approach to work with families, the use of probation centers in each district court; implementation of supervision of work: educational, re-socialization, prevention and social reintegration, development of an optimal evaluation tool, adaptation of individual and group impact programs to the needs of probation officers executing judgments in family cases.

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Who is treated the worst at school? Discrimination and peer violence in Polish schools. Poznan educational research 2021

Abstract: The aim of the article is to present the results of surveys conducted among male and female students of primary and secondary schools in Poznań in the context of their observations and experiences of the level of lack of acceptance, discrimination and peer violence. Analyzing the results of the research and referring to theoretical solutions and existing data, the authors of the article indicate the need for changes in the design and implementation of anti-discrimination and anti-violence prevention in schools.

Key words: peer acceptance, school violence, peer discrimination, bullying, school-based violence prevention, discrimination prevention.

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Introduction

There are a number of terms in various scientific disciplines that refer to hostile and abusive behavior and interpersonal relationships (Krahe, 2005, Aronson et al, 2006; Surzykiewicz, 2000; Pyżalski, 2012; Urban, 2012; Komendant-Brodowska 2014; Czemierowska-Koruba, 2014). For the purpose of ongoing research that analyzes mechanisms of discrimination, we use the concept of violence – understood broadly as conscious behavior to cause harm, which is the abuse or use of one's advantage over another person for an important goal or benefit (Brzezińska, 2014, Rigby, 2002; Olweus, 2007). Peer-to-peer schoolviolence is therefore understood as a broad spectrum of hostile, conscious, intentional and hurtful behavior by male and female students as members of the school community in face-to-face relationships and those mediated by new technologies (cyberbullying). We assume that the various forms of violence rarely occur separately. Both daily acts of verbal attacks, violations of physical or psychological boundaries, and seemingly non-violent but severe ignoring or exclusion permeate each other, and their effect is cumulative (Tokunaga, 2010; Coyne, Monks, 2012; Barlińska, Szuster, 2014; Komendant-Brodowska, 2014; Pyżalski, 2018).

The phenomenon of school violence is a significant problem for children and young people around the world. The results of international studies indicate that about 5–10% of male and female students are subject to long-term peer victimization by becoming a victim of one peer or group (e.g., Olweus, 2007; P. K. Smith, 2012; UNESCO, 2018). Poland has seen a similar increase in the phenomenon (cf. Craig, Harel, 2004, Małkowska-Szkutnik, 2014). On average, more than half of children and young people face verbal, psychological and relational violence (including cyberbullying) at school every or almost every day, i.e. abusive words, spreading lies, isolation, pressure and coercion. Between 10% and 30% of children experience beating, pushing, knocking over, destruction of property or theft, and about 10% are victims of long-term abuse in various forms (bullying). In a study by the Dajemy Dzieciom Siłę Foundation, some 45% of children and adolescents, including 39% of girls and 51% of boys, said they had experienced violence on or near school grounds in the year preceding the survey. As many as 15% of male and female students indicated that this situation occurred at least once a week (Makaruk, 2017, p. 220). Other studies show a similar extent of the phenomenon. Most often, children and adolescents (about 50%) are victims of verbal, psychological and relational violence (including cyberbullying), mainly related to inducing pressure, insulting, spreading lies, isolating, or coercing. Beating, pushing, knocking over, destroying things, theft (physical aggression) are experienced by 10–30% of male and female students, and 10% of those surveyed are subject to bullying, or long-term abuse (Ostrowska, Surzykiewicz,

2005; Czapiński, 2009; Włodarczyk, 2013; Komendant-Brodowska, 2014). One of the regularities regarding aggression and peer violence is the gender difference. Regardless of country, age of students and type of school, the most dangerous and aggressive students are mostly boys. Among boys there is not only a higher percentage of perpetrators, but at the same time a higher frequency of being a victim of violence. Comparative analyses by gender indicate a preponderance of boys in the manifestation of almost all violent-aggressive behaviors at all stages of development – with the proportions of girls and boys for particular forms of violence and at different ages varying. In general, the number of boys among perpetrators increases in direct proportion to the degree of brutality, physical and sexual nature of the acts. Girls' aggression and violence are generally characterized by indirectness of forms, verbal nature and defensive motivation. The degree of entanglement in perpetration by girls and boys is similar only for certain forms of cyberbullying and relational violence. At the same time – excluding sexual violence, and gender-based harassment, where the majority of victims are girls, as well as relational violence, where the proportions are equal – boys are more likely than their female peers to be victims of all other forms of aggressive and violent behavior by their peers (Chmura-Rutkowska, 2019). In addition, boys (like men) are much more accepting of violence than girls, claiming that it is necessary and makes life easier, and are inclined to justify violence by the "special qualities" of the victim (Surzykiewicz, 2000; Tłuściak-Deliowska, 2013; Tłuściak-Deliowska, 2014). Socio-cultural approaches explain these differences primarily by the influence of socialization and the effect of gender typification (Bem, 1981; Bem, 2000; Connell, 2013). This is because the traits internalized in the process of upbringing that are considered masculine in the culture correlate positively with an increase in the willingness to behave aggressively and use violence, and the norms and values inherent in the masculine identity and role provide justification for its use by boys. (Ranschburg, 1993; Szczepanik, 2007; Connell, 1995; Olweus 2007).

Violence can be a one-time, short-lived, harm-producing behavior and experience. It can also take the form of bullying and involves the deliberate, systematic, long-term harassment, torment, abuse, humiliation or exclusion of a selected individual or individuals by one or a group of students (Olweus, 2007). However, regardless of the severity and duration of the practice, researchers and scholars agree that the violence is usually instrumental – those who use it exploit their advantage, and their goal is very often not so much the infliction of pain in itself, but the ability to control others and the desire to obtain or maintain a dominant position and power based on fear and respect from others. Hence, perpetrators of violence choose to torment people who are perceived as "weaker" in some respect in the group and those who cannot rely on others for help (Salmivalli, 2010). This is demonstrated by a number of studies. Children and adolescents who are victims of peer violence very often belong to particular stigmatized, rejected, unaccepted and socially unsupportable groups or social

categories, which means that they are perceived, labeled and mistreated because of some characteristic or set of characteristics (real or not) attributed to members of that group or category. Unfairly treated, isolated, humiliated and tormented – both by peers and adults, very often are people considered "different," distinguished in the group by their appearance, health status, origin, skin color, degree of physical and intellectual fitness, family situation, gender identity, sexual orientation, material status, migration experience, membership in ethnic or religious groups, etc. (UNESCO, 2018; WHO, 2016; Rigby 2010; Komendant-Brodowska et al., 2011; Gawlicz, et al., 2015; Chmura-Rutkowska, 2019; Buchnat, 2019). Such behavior and relationships are described as discrimination, or "an unjustified negative or harmful action directed against members of a group simply because they belong to it" (Aronson, p. 546). More broadly, discrimination is unequal, inferior treatment of people because they belong to a certain category of people, distinguished on the basis of some characteristic, such as gender, age, skin color, national and/or ethnic origin, religion or worldview, appearance, disability and/or health status, sexual orientation, economic status, family situation, etc. (Olechnicki, Załęcki,1997, pp. 49–50; Dovidio et al., p. 228). Unjustified "actions that deny certain groups access to resources or benefits that are open to others" (Giddens, 2009, p. 1071), which seeks to maintain the privileged position of the dominant group.

A culturally produced "sense of superiority" resulting from the belief that they belong to the category of "normal" and "superior" in opposition to those "different" and "inferior" because of their characteristics and traits can often be a gratifying mechanism and a source of satisfaction for perpetrators of violence. Advantage in social relations can be very subtle, naturalized or socially accepted, and vary in nature: physical advantage (strength, fitness, height, attractiveness of appearance), numerical advantage (group against one person), psychological advantage (emotional, intellectual), advantage in social skills (self-confidence, firmness, willingness to take risks, manipulation), social advantage (membership in a group or category of privileged people, high economic status, social acceptance, higher place in the hierarchy), situational advantage (favorable environment, access to resources) or cultural advantage (resulting from beliefs, rules and regulations, customary or legal norms, traditions). Thus, advantage may arise from characteristics beyond the young person's control: differences in age, gender, appearance, wealth, experience, physical or intellectual prowess, formal function in an institution, ethnicity, skin color, etc. These characteristics and affiliations become criteria for social comparisons, self-assessment, and premises for discrimination and violence (Rigby, 2010; Dąbkowski, 2010; Miłkowska 2013), which, in addition, often intersect and accumulate.

Acceptance of inequality – perceived as a "self-evident" socio-cultural order based on the superiority of some over others, and the ability of privileged groups to arbitrarily impose symbols and signs, and meanings, behavioral patterns, beliefs,

values and norms on subordinated groups – is the result of the operation of what Pierre Bourdieu called covert "symbolic violence." According to the author, it has a real, although often unconscious, impact on every level of people's functioning, including their daily lives, as it reproduces social distances and can legitimize any direct violence (Bourdieu, Passeron, 2006, pp. 73–75; Bourdieu, 2004; Kwieciński, 1995, pp. 123–133). In other words, symbolic violence, while normalizing any direct and institutional violence (with its rules and customs), from the point of view of people caught up in everyday school life, is usually unconscious and invisible, and as a result of socialization – accepted. This is how all sorts of norms, hierarchies, and orders embedded in stereotypical perceptions of other people, or accepted visions of interpersonal relationships that are justifications for hurtful behavior and exclusion work (Fiske, 1993; Nelson, 2003).

From a psychological perspective, stereotypes are understood as generalized, simplified, rigid, resistant to change and value-tainted representations of people belonging to certain social categories, i.e. a particular type of cognitive schemas, constructed in the course of an individual's development during the processes of upbringing and socialization. In socio-cultural approaches, on the other hand, they are described as systems of collective beliefs and a particular kind of functioning patterns in social consciousness and practice, which are an integral part of the socio-cultural structure of a given collectivity, perpetuated and transmitted from generation to generation (Nelson, 2003; Kofta, Jasińska-Kania, 2001; Łukaszewski, Weigl, 2001; Stangor, Schaller, 1999). Simplified and schematic beliefs about other people are the beginning of a kind of chain reaction: stereotypes provide material for the formation of negative attitudes – prejudices, and thus become a source of incentives and excuses for discriminatory behavior and various forms of violence against representatives of a given category or group of people such as avoiding contact, isolating, expressing dislike or contempt, presenting hostility, intimidation, violating psychological and physical boundaries and generally reacting in a biased, negative way (Aronson et al., 1997, 542–547).

For a person who is discriminated against and harmed, school becomes a hostile and threatening place. In their relationships with peers, young people primarily experience a blockage in communication, lack of understanding and lack of acceptance of individuality. In practice, this means marginalization and/or exclusion from peer groups and circles, as well as various forms of violence experienced almost daily – open display of dislike, ridicule, backbiting, name-calling, turning others against them, isolation and rejection, and violation of bodily boundaries (Chustecka et al., 2015). Constant tension and anxiety, lack of a sense of security and the possibility of receiving support is the cause of many difficulties and negative consequences for the daily functioning of the child and young person in and out of school. The escalation of discriminatory behavior or prejudice-motivated violence can lead to a health and life-threatening situation. The stress of a person experiencing discrimination can be so great that it ends

up with deterioration of their health, neurosis, anxiety, depression, self-harm and sometimes even suicide.

Discrimination and peer violence affect almost all male and female students due to the fact that hostile and hurtful situations at school mostly occur in the presence of others (Rigby, 2010; Włodarczyk, Makaruk, 2013; Tłuściak-Deliowska, 2017). Witnesses and those who know who is mistreating whom are the largest group involved in violence and can have a significant impact on stopping or reinforcing it (Salmivalli, Voeten, Poskiparta, 2011; Swearer et al, 2010, p. 39; Huitsing, Veenstra, 2012; Pyżalski, 2018). They can get directly involved with the perpetrator by becoming their assistant or support them passively without helping the victim. The results of ongoing research in this area indicate that the short- and long-term negative consequences of experiencing aggression and school violence do not apply only to its perpetrator and victim, but also to witnesses (Due et al., 2005; Pyżalski, 2012; Klomek et al., 2008; Copeland et al., 2013; Zych, Ortega-Ruiz, Del-Rey, 2015). As education theorists and practitioners point out, anti-discrimination and anti-violence prevention should not only take into account the whole student school community, but should also be focused on diagnosis and support of positive and diversity-accepting peer relations with attention to the context of social hierarchies and mechanisms of inequality. Unfortunately, school-based prevention does not take full advantage of the potential and resources of the peer group (Ttofi, Farrington, 2011).

The Method

The issues and objectives of the research

In this text we present an excerpt from the research carried out for the project "Educational Policy of the City of Poznań 2030," coordinated by the city's Department of Education[1].

The aim of the research was to learn about the experiences of male and female students in Poznań schools in several areas of school functioning, and to determine to what extent these experiences are developmentally favorable, and well examine what factors differentiate these experiences. The practical purpose of the research was to diagnose the problems, needs of children and adolescents functioning in the school context[2]. The areas of students' school experience, …………………………….

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[1] The author of the research concept and the tool was an expert team from the Department of Educational Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

[2] From the perspective of persons in charge of education, the research conducted and the diagnosis prepared provides a substantive basis for determining strategic priorities in the city's education policy – directions for intensifying activities towards schools, management, teaching staff, male and female students and their parents and guardians. Knowing the areas that provide relatively the least oppor-

determining the research problems posed, are as follows: lessons; teacher/male & female student relations; form periods; peer relations; extracurricular activities offered; learning conditions – infrastructure; discrimination – unequal treatment; safety; kindness; psychological and pedagogical assistance; educational and vocational orientation or environmental/climate education.

The main research problem: to what extent do Poznań schools provide students with a context and a source of experiences that support their development? – was detailed based on the aforementioned subfields of the school. Subfields of school experience and at the same time thematic sections of the survey emerged as key areas of school experience of male and female students. The dimensions (sub-variables) examined within them are anchored (generated) in J. Bruner's theory of the culture of education (Bruner, 2006), i.e. the concept of a school supporting the development of students by creating a safe educational environment and opportunities to experience agency, participation, partnership, equal treatment, caring, or reflexivity.

Main research issues:

1. In what areas, to what extent, and in what ways do Poznań schools provide students with a context and a source of experiences that support their development?
2. What is the school's progress in implementing selected priorities of the city of Poznań (student safety, climate education, equality education, education closer to the needs of the labor market)?

Specific research issues analyzed in the article:

1. What is the subjective feeling of acceptance from peers despite differences?
2. What is the subjective feeling of acceptance from peers when expressing a different opinion?
3. What is the subjective assessment of the prevalence of cyberbullying among male and female students from the school?
4. What is the subjective assessment of one's own ability to respond appropriately when witnessing mistreatment by peers at school?
5. What is the subjective assessment of the incidence of discrimination (unequal, inferior, unfair treatment) by peers at school on the basis of the following grounds: ethnic/national origin, skin color, gender, sexual orientation, physical disability, intellectual disability, poor health, illness, appearance, religion, creed or irreligion, worldview, low material status, difficult family situation, and others reported by the respondents?
6. Are there differences in the analyzed phenomena of discrimination and violence based on age and gender, and to what extent?

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tunities for gathering pro-development experience or that are development blockers, it is possible to identify the directions that require the most intensive changes.

The research was planned and implemented to learn about everyday school life from the perspective of male and female students, hence the questions focused on their subjective experiences, opinions, feelings in various fields of school functioning. In the text, we analyze these experiences in the context of the concept of the mechanism of discrimination and violence, as behavior motivated by stereotypes and prejudices and inequality (Aronson et al., 1997), and P. Bourdieu's symbolic violence (Bourdieu, Passeron, 2006; Bourdieu, 2004) which reproduces social distances and inequalities and thus legitimizes many forms of interpersonal and direct violence.

The goal in this perspective is to identify and describe those areas of young people's functioning at school that carry the greatest risk of experiences that violate the well-being and safety of young people at school.

Characteristics of the studied sample

The survey covered male and female students of Poznań elementary schools (class VIII) and secondary schools: general high schools (class III), technical schools (class IV) and trade schools (class III). Excluding special schools.

Exactly 1,043 male and female students participated in the first round of the survey, of which 996 questionnaires were qualified for analysis. The majority of respondents were male and female high school students (735 people, accounting for 73.8% of the total number of respondents) and adults (636 people). Slightly more girls (57%) than boys (39.5%) took part in the survey, and 14 people (1.4%) declared themselves non-binary: including 3 people from elementary school and 11 people from secondary school. Most of the male and female students surveyed came from Poznań (56.4%) or a city outside Poznań (21.5%). Representatives of rural areas accounted for 22.1% of the respondents.

For the analysis of the strength of the statistical relationship, we considered the population of respondents excluding non-binary people (N=959) due to the very low count, affecting the reliability of the obtained analyses by gender. For this reason, their responses were analyzed separately.

The second round of research, which aimed to deepen, supplement or verify selected themes analyzed in the first round of research, involved 172 people, mainly from secondary schools (130 male and female students). Almost half of the respondents (47%) were of legal age. As in the first round, more girls than boys took part in the survey (63.3% vs. 31.9%). Non-binary people accounted for 4.8%. More than half of the respondents (51.2%) resided in Poznań or a city outside Poznań (23.5%). A quarter of the youths (25.3%) were from rural areas.

Data collection procedure and method

The study was carried out by the Department of Education in Poznan in cooperation with school management[3]. It was conducted in two stages, in February 2021 (the main part) and in May 2021 (verification and in-depth studies). The second stage was in response to the need to verify the results due to technical errors in the form, which appeared in three questions in the first round, and the need to expand and deepen knowledge of the various premises and scale of the problem of discrimination, the forms in which it manifests itself, manifestations of kindness and concern, and help and support from adults at school.

The research took place during the period of conducting remote education in primary and secondary schools. Information regarding the questionnaires, along with a request for its dissemination to the student community, was sent to all elementary and secondary schools for which the City of Poznań is the leading authority (via an internal instant messenger). The schools' principals, after reviewing the message, decided whether to join the project. In the case of a minor student, it was necessary to obtain the consent of the parent/legal guardian for the child's participation in the study (via e-register). Parents were also given the survey form for review. After the consent of the parent/guardian was obtained, a link to the survey for the student was sent in the feedback.

Data collection method and techniques

The method used in the study is a diagnostic survey interview. The survey with students was carried out using a survey technique posted on the Internet – CAWI. The Google Drive platform and Google Forms program were used to conduct the study. Great emphasis was placed on obtaining formal consents from the guardians of the minors taking part in the survey, as well as ensuring the anonymity and confidentiality of the information respondents provided.

Research tools

The survey questionnaire used in the study was prepared in two versions:
— an abbreviated version (without the question about the priorities of educational development) for male and female students of elementary school grade VIII,
— extended version for male and female students in grades II and IV of secondary schools.
……………………………….

[3] The author of the research concept and the tool was an expert team from the Department of Educational Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

The survey tool in the 1st stage of the research included the following thematic sections: lessons; teacher/male & female student relations; form periods; peer relations; extracurricular activities offered; learning conditions – infrastructure; discrimination – unequal treatment; safety; kindness; psychological and pedagogical assistance; educational and vocational orientation or environmental/climate education; opinion on teachers at school; educational policy priorities.

The survey instrument in the second stage of the research included the following thematic sections: kindness at school; discrimination – unequal, inferior treatment; learning support from teachers; special problems experienced by students; psychological and pedagogical assistance; educational and vocational orientation; and educational policy priorities.

The survey questionnaire was reliably prepared with high substantive and ethical standards applicable to the social sciences. It was the result of team substantive co-operation and critical reflection and consultation with the steering team of the Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań. The tool meets the criterion of being able to replicate research. The article uses the answers to questions in the sections of the questionnaire on peer relations.

Data analysis

The SPSS program (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was used to build the database, and for its quantitative analysis. Descriptive statistics, frequency analyses, tests of significance of differences (chi-square test of independence) were used to analyze the data.

Analysis of the research results

The text analyzes selected questionnaire questions on peer relations – mutual acceptance, various forms of violence (including cyberbullying), and discrimination based on a number of grounds.

Acceptance despite differences

As can be seen from the answers given, the level of peer acceptance clearly increases with age. In elementary school, one in five young people surveyed expressed the belief that students do not accept each other. In high school, 12% of the students feel a lack of acceptance. Sense of peer acceptance (answer "yes" or "rather yes") was declared by 50% of the students in elementary school and 70% in secondary school, while 20% of the students from elementary schools, and the same number from secondary schools were unable to answer this question.

No statistically significant differences were revealed between girls and boys on this issue. Non-binary people attending elementary school reported a higher than average level of feeling unaccepted 66.6% (2 people) and one person was unable to answer this question. In secondary school, more than half of non-binary people (54.5% – 6 people) were unable to answer this question, 36.4% (4 people) declared a sense of peer acceptance, and one person (9.1%) a lack of it.

Derision in the situation of revealing views

The results of the survey revealed that nearly a third of young people are not comfortable discussing issues with their peers. A third of people at both levels of education are unable to answer this question (one can wonder about the reasons for the lack of answers). In elementary school, there are no statistically significant differences between girls and boys. 33.9% of girls and 34.4% of boys in elementary school believe that revealing views involves the risk of ridicule.

In secondary school, gender differences become apparent: 34.1% of girls and 22.7% of boys believe that revealing views involves the risk of ridicule. Boys in secondary schools are statistically significantly more convinced than girls that the discussion conditions are friendly ($\Sigma 2=18.365$, df=4, p<0.001).

The data show that opinions on whether it is possible to discuss, argue, and express one's doubts in schools without risking ridicule or dislike from classmates change with age, only for boys, who in high school feel significantly more comfortable than girls in the situation of presenting their views in public.

All non-binary elementary school students specified that they did not feel comfortable discussing with their peers. In secondary school, more than 50% of non-binary people (6 people) gave such an answer, while 36.4% (4 people) of non-binary people surveyed were unable to answer this question and only one person (9.1%) declared that they could express their views without risking ridicule or dislike.

Peer violence

The results obtained in the surveys conducted on students' perceptions of the occurrence of student violence are shown in Table 1.

The results reveal that in both elementary and secondary school there are noticeable gender differences in the perception of violent events – but the difference is not statistically significant. In elementary school, boys (56.3%) are more likely to notice violence than girls (46.2%), while in high school, girls (22.4%) are more likely to notice violence than boys (16.8%). Violence in elementary school is a more common experience for both boys and girls (50% of the responses are definitely yes and rather yes) than for youth in secondary school (20%). One in three elementary school and one in four high school youth could not answer this question.

Table 1. Perceptions of the occurrence of student violence situations by students of elementary (N=249) and secondary schools (N = 710)

In my school there are situations of student violence							
Categories		Elementary school			Secondary school		
		K	M	Total	K	M	Total
definitely yes	N	20	29	49	25	11	36
	%	15.4	24.4	19.7	5.7	4.0	5.1
rather yes	N	40	38	78	73	35	108
	%	30.8	31.9	31.3	16.7	12.8	15.2
hard to say	N	26	21	47	114	70	184
	%	20	17.6	18.9	26.1	25.6	25.9
rather no	N	39	27	66	171	106	277
	%	30	22.7	26.5	39.1	38.8	39
definitely no	N	5	4	9	54	51	105
	%	3.8	3.4	3.6	12.4	18.7	14.8
total	N	130	119	249	437	273	710
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

Non-binary people are much more likely than boys or girls to notice peer violence at school. In elementary school, all non-binary people chose an affirmative answer, while in secondary school, more than half of these people (54.5% -6 people) chose it. In high school, 18.2% of non-binary people (2 people) were unable to answer this question, and 27.3% (3 people) said they did not notice peer violence.

Cyberbullying

Table 2 shows the results of the survey on male and female students' perceptions of cyberbullying situations (e.g., heckling someone on the Internet, e.g., FB, TikTok, WhatsApp), broken down by elementary and secondary school.

On average, 30% of young people in primary and secondary schools confirm the occurrence of cyberbullying. In elementary schools, indications confirming the presence of cyberbullying are fewer than indications of violence in general, while in high school the level of cyberbullying was determined to be similar to that of violence in general.

Table 2. Perceptions of the occurrence of cyberbullying situations by students of elementary (N=249) and secondary schools (N = 710)

Among students from my school, there are situations of cyberbullying (e.g., heckling someone on the Internet, e.g., FB, TikTok, WhatsApp)							
Categories		Elementary school			Secondary school		
		K	M	Total	K	M	Total
definitely yes	N	11	20	31	39	20	59
	%	8.5	16.8	12.4	8.9	7.3	8.3
Rather yes	N	27	19	46	84	34	118
	%	20.8	16	18.5	19.2	12.5	16.6
Hard to say	N	40	39	79	137	95	232
	%	30.8	32.8	31.7	31.4	34.8	32.7
Rather no	N	44	29	73	137	89	226
	%	33.8	24.4	29.3	3.4	32.6	31.8
Definitely no	N	8	12	20	40	35	75
	%	6.2	10.1	8	9.2	12.8	10.6
Total	N	130	119	249	437	273	710
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

Girls in high school (28.1%) are more likely than boys (19.8%) to say that cyberbullying situations among their classmates are part of school reality. For adolescents in elementary schools – girls' and boys' experiences are very similar (29.3% and 32.8%). The observed gender differences were not statistically significant.

Non-binary people attending elementary school 66.6% (2 people) said they were unable to answer this question clearly, and 33.3% of respondents (1 person) specified that there is cyberbullying at school. In secondary school, more than half of the non-binary people confirmed the occurrence of cyberbullying (63.7% – 7 people), and 18% of the respondents (2 people) each answered hard to say and no.

In a question about a specific form of violence such as cyberbullying, more people answered "it's hard to say" than for the general question. One in three young people at both levels of education could not answer this question.

Discrimination/unequal treatment

Discrimination in the study was defined as unequal, inferior, unfair treatment (differentiating, ignoring, stigmatizing, excluding, limiting, humiliating, violence,

etc.) experienced by specific individuals or entire groups because of their membership in a certain category of people, distinguished on the basis of some characteristic, such as gender, age, skin color, national and/or ethnic origin, religion or belief, appearance, disability and/or health status, sexual orientation, social and economic status, family situation, etc. This definition was included in the survey tool.

In light of the results, it is clear that the younger teenagers surveyed are more likely to notice and experience discrimination than older ones (Table 3). The rationale most often indicated by younger elementary school teens seemed to be: **appearance** (68.3%), **low material status** (38.2%) **intellectual disability** (38.2%) and **sexual orientation** (32.5%). In contrast, male and female high school students were most likely to perceive inferior and unequal treatment based on: **appearance** (48.2%), **worldview** (26.8%), **sexual orientation** (26.1%), **low material status** (24.9%), and **intellectual disability** (23.8%). (Chart 1. and 2.)

In both age categories, appearance seemed to be the most common reason for inferior, unequal treatment by peers.

Differences by gender were revealed in both primary and secondary schools. For almost all the premises, both younger (14–15 years old) and older (18–19 years old) teenage girls were more likely than boys to declare that they had faced unequal and inferior treatment. The statistically significant differences were in elementary school: appearance ($Chi^2 = 5.051$, $p=0.025$) and low material status ($Chi^2 = 6.029$, $p=0.014$) and in high school again appearance ($Chi^2 = 11.921$, $p=0.001$).

The data for non-binary people for most of the surveys shows that discrimination is much more frequently perceived and experienced, with the highest values and highest overrepresentation of non-binary people for discrimination due to appearance in both age categories.

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* **Methodological Note to Figures 1–2**. Due to a technical error occurred during the construction of the online survey (in the question: *Have you encountered discrimination (unequal, inferior, unfair treatment) at your school?* the following answer option was missing: "no." It was possible to answer "yes" and "it is difficult to say." The obtained answers to the above question were analyzed and interpreted with great care (assuming that the answer "it is difficult to say" is treated as a negative answer). For this reason, this question was repeated and the results verified in the second round of surveys.
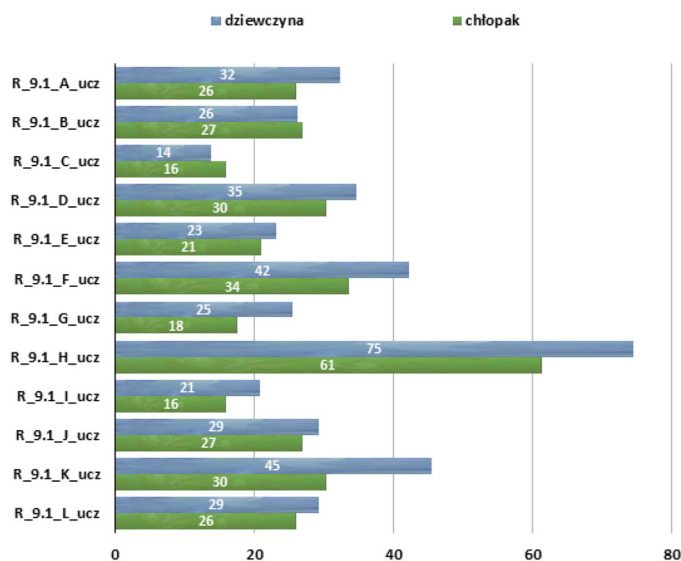
dziewczyna – girl; chłopak – boy

Fig. 1. Elementary school girls' and boys' answer to the question: Have you encountered discrimination (unequal, inferior, hurtful treatment) from peers at your school?

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."
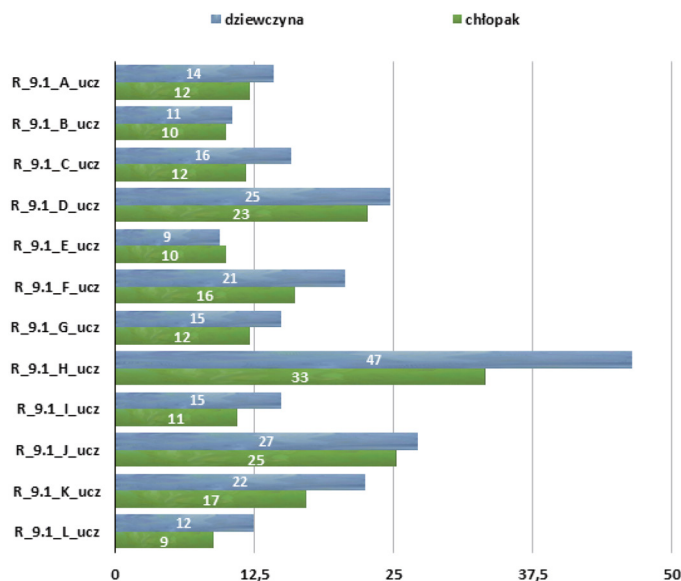
dziewczyna – girl; chłopak – boy

Fig. 2. Secondary school girls' and boys' answer to the question: Have you encountered discrimination (unequal, inferior, hurtful treatment) from peers at your school

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

Table 3. Rationale for discrimination in peer relations indicated by respondents. Comparison of elementary (N = 249) and secondary (N = 710) schools ranked by frequency of indications

Elementary school			Secondary school		
	G	B		G	B
Rationale	% of gender	% of gender	Rationale	% of gender	% of gender
Appearance R_9.1_H_ucz	74.6	61.3			
Low material status R_9.1_K_ucz	45.4	30.3	Appearance	46.5	33.3
Intellectual disability R_9.1_F_ucz	42.3	33.6			
Sexual orientation R_9.1_D_ucz	34.6	30.3			
Ethnic, national origin R_9.1_A_ucz	32.3	26.1			
Worldview R_9.1_J_ucz	29.2	26.9			
Difficult family situation R_9.1_L_ucz	29.2	26.1			
Skin color R_9.1_B_ucz	26.2	26.9	Worldview R_9.1_J_ucz	27.2	25.3
Physical disability R_9.1_E_ucz	23.1	21	Sexual orientation R_9.1_D_ucz	24.7	22.7
Poor health, illness R_9.1_G_ucz	25.4	17.6	Low material status R_9.1_K_ucz	22.4	17.2
Religion, denomination, irreligion R_9.1_I_ucz	20.8	16	Intellectual disability R_9.1_F_ucz	20.6	16.1
Gender R_9.1_C_ucz	13.8	16	Gender R_9.1_C_ucz	15.8	11.7
			Poor health, illness R_9.1_G_ucz	14.9	12.1
			Ethnic, national origin R_9.1_A_ucz	14.2	12.1
			Religion, denomination, irreligion R_9.1_I_ucz	14.9	11
			Difficult family situation R_9.1_L_ucz	12.4	8.8
			Skin color R_9.1_B_ucz	10.5	9.9
			Physical disabilities R_9.1_E_ucz	9.4	9.9

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

Survey results from the second round
– a revision of an earlier stage

The second wave of surveys confirmed observations from the first round in terms of the categories of grounds for discrimination due to which young people treated themselves worse. With percentages generally indicating a lower frequency than in the first round, which may be due to a much lower turnout than in the first wave (N=166) and at the same time a high prevalence of male and female high school students (74.7%).

Overall, almost half of male and female students (47%) from primary and secondary schools believe that **appearance** is the most common reason for discrimination by peers. One-fifth of the youth surveyed cited **worldview** as a reason for such behavior. In contrast, about 17% of girls and boys believe that the reason for inferior treatment from peers is **sexual orientation and intellectual disability**. 13% of adolescents experienced peer discrimination based on **socioeconomic status.** One in ten respondents cited ethnicity and poor health.

Nearly half of male and female students (47%) from primary and secondary schools believe that appearance is the most common reason for discrimination by peers. One-fifth of the youth surveyed cited worldview as a reason for such behavior. In contrast, about 17% of girls and boys believe that the reason for inferior treatment from peers is sexual orientation and intellectual disability. 13% of adolescents experienced peer discrimination based on socioeconomic status. One in ten respondents cited ethnicity and poor health.

Statistically significant differences were revealed between male and female elementary and secondary school students. Elementary school adolescents are more likely than high school adolescents to believe that skin color ($\sum^2$=12.889, df=2, p<0.002) as well as intellectual disability ($\sum^2$=10.606, df=2, p<0.005) are prerequisites for discriminatory behavior among peers. In other categories, the level of education did not significantly differentiate the results obtained.

Discussion

As the collected data shows, the subjective experiences and perceptions of adolescents of the occurrence of manifestations of discrimination, violence or lack of peer acceptance are an everyday occurrence in the context of school relations and vary by gender and age categories. Peer violence at school is perceived by 50% of younger and 20% of older female respondents. In elementary school, boys report experiences of violence and lack of acceptance more often than girls, while in secondary school the situation changes to the disadvantage of girls.

Our study, as well as others (e.g., Brzezińska, Hornowska 2007; Connell, 1995; Olweus 2007; Ranschburg, 1993; Szczepanik, 2007; Watson, 2007) show a preponderance of boys in the manifestation of almost all violent-aggressive behaviors. By early adolescence, differences between boys and girls are evident for all forms of violence – with different proportions of girls and boys for each form. With the increase in brutality and the physical or sexual nature of the acts, the number of boys among the perpetrators is increasing. Girls' aggression and violence are generally characterized by indirectness of forms, verbal nature and defensive motivation. Violence in the cases of younger boys is more likely to take the form of physical boundary violations – hence the likely male preponderance in elementary school. At the late adolescent stage, violence and disapproval take more indirect forms, including cyberbullying. Girls' roles as perpetrators and victims are increasing because of this. Cyberbullying is most often experienced by the same people who are victims of face-to-face violence, and a wider audience is usually involved, which deepens their victimization process (Barlińska, Szuster, Winiewski, 2015; Pyżalski, 2014).

It is significant that despite the feeling of peer acceptance declared by 50% of male and female students in elementary school and 70% in high school, almost a third of young people are not comfortable discussing with peers in a forum. Boys in secondary schools are more likely than girls to express the belief that the conditions for discussing, arguing and expressing their concerns at school are good and that this does not result in exposure to ridicule or dislike from classmates. The implication is that they have better experience in this area than girls, or as the subject's research indicates, a higher level of self-confidence compared to girls resulting from more frequent training in the ability to express one's opinion in public (Brown, Gilligan, 1992).

The findings revealed differences between younger and older teenagers in the frequency of perceived discrimination in peer relationships. The severity of such behavior decreases with age, but appearance, low material status, intellectual disability, worldview and sexual orientation remain the dominant considerations in both age categories. Such a relationship can be explained, on the one hand, by the increased maturity of youth and, on the other hand, by the constancy of social attraction factors. During adolescence, peers become the main reference group and a source of pressure to conform to accepted patterns. Norms and stereotypes unifying ideas about attractiveness and lifestyles imposed by various socialization agendas (symbolic violence) become fuel for the lack of understanding and acceptance towards the (inherent and cultural) diversity of people. Which, in turn, becomes a breeding ground for labeling and discriminating against those whose appearance, fitness, status, worldview or behavior deviate from those accepted by the majority, or those who contest or do not aspire to these patterns. During adolescence, one's position in one's peer group, which in a culture of consumption and social media popularity (as with adults) is built through desirable appearance

and signifiers of economic status. Inability to adapt or nonconformism exposes young people to peer ostracism, discrimination, ridicule, exclusion and violence.

In the context of the results obtained on the premises of discrimination and peer violence, indicating the accumulation of negative evaluative attention and prejudice concerning appearance, material status, intellectual prowess and sexual orientation, the mechanisms of socio-cultural threats of consumerist lifestyles, the influence of the "culture of having," the lack of acceptance of "otherness," weakness and lower prowess – especially in the intellectual sphere, stigmatization resulting from a lack of similarity and understanding, as well as commercialization and sexualization of the body and the still widespread deep-rooted sexist and homophobic beliefs (Giddens, 2002 Bourdieu, 2004; Melosik, 2010 Poteat et al, 2010; Wysocka, 2013 Mmari et al, 2017 Buchnat, 2019; Chmura-Rutkowska, 2019; Pogorzelska, Rudnicki, 2020; Buchner et al, 2021).

In our study, non-binary people attending elementary as well as secondary school were more likely than boys and girls to report a lack of acceptance from peers, an inability to discuss, argue, and express their concerns without risking ridicule or resentment from schoolmates. They are also more likely to notice, probably due to their own experiences and minority group membership, discrimination, peer violence and cyberbullying at school. Research confirms that from the point of view of the average child and young person spending several years at school, violence and discrimination are something that is experienced there frequently and in a variety of forms, and that for a great many reasons one can be "targeted" by bullies or find oneself among the "outsiders" and "inferior." The negative effects of peer discrimination, violence and victimization during childhood and adolescence are well documented in the scientific literature and are no less severe than in adulthood (D. Finkelhor et al., 2012), so the data is alarming.

Summary

In light of the data collected and the analysis of the literature on the subject, it is extremely important that preventive measures in the area of discriminatory, violent and unacceptable behavior be implemented at the early stages of education – at preschool and early school age. The implementation of these programs during the early and middle adolescence of male and female students is no longer effective. During this time, there is an accumulation of discrimination and interpersonal violence, difficulties with peer acceptance and fear of ridicule, and it is effective in prevention to get ahead of risky behavior. These programs should be directed not only against discrimination and violence, but also towards inclusive education, the development of positive peer relations, acceptance of otherness and diversity, and teaching children appropriate methods of relieving tensions. They should also

address the social context, in particular, understanding the mechanisms of social judgment and inequality, abandoning stereotypes and prejudices, and being able to respond adequately as a witness to violations and harm – which is now considered a key element of violence prevention. In the construction of prevention programs, it is worth taking into account that boys, due to stereotypes of masculinity, are a category of people in need of special support in the area of training social skills, acceptance of diversity, as well as distance from dominant and violent patterns of behavior in peer relationships.

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Desistance from crime as a conceptual category of Polish social rehabilitation pedagogy

Abstract: This article describes desistance from crime/abandonment of criminal behavior in the scientific discourse of Polish social rehabilitation pedagogy.

On the Polish ground, it is a research category in social rehabilitation, but virtually absent from the broader pedagogical discourse. Desistance from criminal behavior, or more broadly: deviant, para-criminal behavior or manifestations of social maladjustment, in the light of the analysis conducted in the pages of this article, deserves to be called a pedagogical conceptual category forming, evolving, functioning, as it were, "in a state of creation" (Palka, 2003).

Key words: Desistance from crime, conceptual categories, rehabilitation pedagogy, social rehabilitation.

Introduction

The purpose of the article is to present the position of social rehabilitation educators in relation to the problem of desistance from crime on the map of concepts and categories in pedagogy. The several-year presence of theoretical studies and attempts to research this phenomenon in Polish social rehabilitation pedagogy indicates the theoretical and research potential of desistance from deviant behavior, such as crime, para-crime (e.g. prostitution), engaging in risky, problematic or ad-

dictive behavior, of adults, children and adolescents. For the purpose of outlining the subject of our considerations in the introduction, it can be assumed that withdrawal is, in simplified terms, the abandonment of engaging in behavior described as deviant or criminal, carried out independently by an individual at a certain time without rehabilitative, therapeutic, educational or criminal law intervention. By far the most widely described phenomenon of desistance is described in social rehabilitation pedagogy as desistance from crime, where contemporary researchers define it in diverse contexts or subject it to diagnosis or empirical verification in field studies. In order to attempt to locate desistance on the map of Polish pedagogical categories, it is necessary first to answer two questions: the question of how to describe and explain the problem of desistance in the English-language literature, and the question of what is a pedagogical conceptual category in the pedagogy of social rehabilitation.

Defining the desistance from crime

Definitions and conceptualizations of desistance from crime have evolved over time (Rocque, 2017, p. 47), and desistance was initially described as an "end point" at which the individual's criminality ceases and the individual remains free of such behavior for a specified period of time (Kazemian, 2018, pp. 952–961). These were "binary" or "static" definitions (Bushway, Thornberry, Krohn, 2003; Kazemian, 2007). However, heterogeneity in crime patterns impinges not only on the course or causes of desistance, but also on its very conceptualization. Criminal careers are characterized by a degree of infrequency over the course of a lifetime, which D. Glaser described as a "zigzag path" between committing crimes and ceasing to commit them. "Criminals go from non-crime to crime and back to non-crime again. Sometimes this sequence is repeated many times, but sometimes criminals enter crime only once; sometimes the changes cover a long period, even permanently, and sometimes they are short-lived" (Glaser, 1969, p. 58, quoted from: Laub, Sampson, 2001, p. 54.).

So how long does one have to go without committing criminal acts in order to be considered as someone who has walked away from crime? Criminals spend days, months, or even years, between subsequent offenses, so determining when the crime has finally ended is basically only possible at the time of the person's death, which is not very useful from a cognitive point of view.

Another important issue raised in the literature is the initial level of crime, hence the question of whether it is adequate to study this issue among sporadic criminals or those who committed crimes only in adolescence. As an example, let us use the considerations of Terrie E. Moffit, who distinguished two groups of offenders: those who manifest behaviors that violate the social order throughout the life course (life-course persistent offenders) and those who violate it only

during adolescence (adolescent limited offenders) (Bushway, Thornberry, Krohn, 2003, p. 130.).

The length of time and when the criminal career began is a differentiating factor in the course of desistance, but these are not the only issues complicating the attempt to clearly define desistance. It is also important to take into account the aforementioned remarkable heterogeneity in crime across the lifespan. Some criminals have short careers, others much longer.

In conclusion, the static framing of desistance from crime as a simple "termination of crime" seems unsuitable. Consequently, studies based on such assumptions do not take into account changes in crime rates or progression along the entire process. As Shadd Maruna notes, desistance is an unusual dependent variable for criminologists because it is not a single event, but rather a long-term absence of a certain type of event. Desistance thus does not fit the linear model of causality, considered by criminologists to be the most acceptable (Maruna, 2001, p. 17.).

Criticism of this static approach focuses on three issues: the choice of a threshold point as the boundary between crime and non-crime, the heterogeneity of offenders treated the same regardless of the length of their criminal career, the severity of the acts and their frequency, and the time at which the individual stopped committing the crime. David P. Farrington notes that "even a five- or ten-year period without crime is no guarantee that crime has ended" (Farrington, 1986, p. 201)[1].

As John H. Laub and Robert J. Sampson note, (Laub and Sampson, 2003, p. 36.), deviancy should be viewed as something that people return to sporadically over the course of their lives, rather than viewing criminality as a permanent feature of an individual treated as a criminal or non-criminal. This interpretation will capture the instability in crime over time, which is important for defining a desistance.

Nowadays, desistance is more often defined as a dynamic, multifaceted process experienced by a person (Rocque, Slivken, 2019), which makes it possible to note the progress made by an individual at different stages of this process (Kazemian and Farrington, 2010, p. 139.). Progress is understood here as a shift
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[1] It is worthwhile at this point to look at the issue under discussion from the other side. This was done in their work by K. Soothill and B. Francis, challenging the stereotypical distinction between "criminals" and "non-criminals" by emphasizing that for every person there is a risk of conviction in the future. In their study, they showed that even so-called "non-criminals" can be convicted within the next year – from about 9 in 1,000 at age 21 to about 2 in 1,000 at age 35. Using sentencing risk indicators to compare the trajectories of convicted criminals and non-criminals, they showed how these trajectories begin to converge over time. This leads to the conclusion that after a ten-year period of desistance from crime, previous behavior that violates the normative order is no longer a predictor for future crime. In other words, the statistical probability of committing a crime by a person who has never violated the law before and by a former criminal is the same (Soothill, Fitzpatrick, Francis 2009, p. 161); see also: Soothill, Francis 2009, pp. 373–387.

from a relatively high rate of criminal activity to a lower rate, or as a shift from more serious crimes to less serious crimes, or as a decrease in the frequency of criminal acts (Mulvey et al., 2004, p. 220).

According to S. Maruna, the processual context of desistance should be understood as the maintenance of crime-free behavior despite life's obstacles and frustrations, as "the ability to maintain abstinence may be completely unrelated to the initial cause (or primary reason) for stopping the behavior […] avoidance motives can be powerful catalysts for action, but may not be enough to sustain long-term resolution in the face of powerful temptations" (Maruna, 2001, p. 27.).

Conceptual categories and their functions in pedagogy

Category is rarely defined in the literature; generally speaking, categories are treated as concepts or terms that constitute the conceptual apparatus of the scientific discipline. In pedagogy, "pedagogical category" is strictly defined, although many educators who use "category", e.g.: upbringing, corporeality, quality of life, tend to keep in mind its colloquial understanding (Wysocka, 2014a; Wysocka 2014b; Rogalska, 2022, Czerepaniak-Walczak, 2011). Meanwhile, according to Józef Górniewicz, categories are "elements of real or symbolic reality, constituting a certain functional whole, being a juxtaposition of elements belonging to different objects of reality, also structured in some way" (Górniewicz, 1997, p. 7). They are more than the concepts and terms distinguished in logic. Nowadays, in the era of overlapping of many different contexts, in the era of "post-postmodernism" (Śliwerski, 2015, p. 381; Gajdamowicz, 2010, p. 138) and interdisciplinarity or even transdisciplinarity in science, defining a pedagogical category seems particularly difficult, yet necessary when we care about the clarity and quality of a scientific argument.

It is worth outlining at this point how the status of social rehabilitation pedagogy is currently shaping up. Social rehabilitation pedagogy deals with the upbringing of socially maladjusted people or those at risk of social maladjustment. The notion of social maladjustment is central to social rehabilitation pedagogy, and it grows out of the tradition of special pedagogy, where social rehabilitation is located alongside typhlo-, surdo- and oligophrenopedagogy and focuses on "special education" (Grzegorzewska, 1964, p. 190; quoted from: Pytka, 1990). At the same time, however, the origin of social rehabilitation pedagogy located in social pedagogy is clearly visible (Ambrozik, 2016; Kusztal, 2021). The social origin of the social rehabilitation pedagogy corresponds with the Western tradition of social work with defendants and Mary Richmond's attitude, prescribing the mobilization of the forces of an individual, a group (family) and an environment to strengthen the individual in pro-social functioning (Sztuka, 2013, pp. 85, 186). At present, a manifestation of the heterogeneous status of social rehabilitation pedagogy is its placement as a pathway next to the field of education and at the same time,

just as legitimately, next to the field of special education, as one of the modules developing pedagogical competence in inclusive education (Regulation of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2019). And "social rehabilitation" itself as a practical activity is sometimes situated next to security sciences or psychology or criminology. Significantly, the theory and practice of social rehabilitation remain contemporary in education, using traditional and developing new conceptual and methodological apparatus, based on the methodology of pedagogical sciences and pedagogical theories. At the same time, however, social rehabilitation is growing into an interdisciplinary social science, with psychology, criminology, sociology and legal sciences present (Urban, 2004, pp. 166–167; Urban, 2007, pp. 29–31). The conceptual categories of social rehabilitation pedagogy are and will remain pedagogical categories.

The language of pedagogy as a science, and at the same time the language of the modern educator (including the practitioner) "Must go beyond their modernist, closed structure into polysemantic and theory-creating categories. It must be capable of describing the ambivalent, peripheral, marginal and individual things in the space of discourse about the processes and subjects of education in the cultural conditions of textualization and metaphorization of world perception, in addition to the common and standard" (Gaweł and Bieszczad, 2011, p. 8).

The conceptual category has such potential to "direct thinking and organize research problems in various fields of knowledge, while remaining an object of analysis" (Skarga, 2005, pp.109–110; quoted from: Gaweł and Bieszczad, 2011, p. 8). Although Anna Gaweł and Bogusław Bieszczad make statements about research categories in education, there is no obstacle to transfer the considerations to pedagogy, however, abstracting from establishing their rigid frames of meaning. Pedagogy is full of concepts and categories that dynamically develop, evolve, become "fashionable", then "fade away", go out of date and await new, sometimes critical, sometimes affirmative, reappearance and new discoveries. According to J. Górniewicz, in order for a pedagogical concept to gain the status of a category, it should bring to pedagogy "a peculiar interpretive baggage, a broader context of occurrence and its own history grounded in various fields of science. Categories are constructs on which analyses of various fragments of social reality are supported, […] conceptual categories that have broader application in many social sciences that are also slogans that carry a centuries-old baggage of interpretations, and some even – ideological and concerning world view" (Górniewicz, 1997, p. 12). Pedagogical categories should be set in a historical context and be based on recognized authorities, and while they belong to the discipline of pedagogy and grow out of its traditions, at the same time they have the power to transcend, transgress this discipline and penetrate into the areas of other disciplines[2].

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[2] In my previous research explorations, I have attempted to determine whether and to what extent "child welfare" can be a pedagogical conceptual category (Kusztal, 2018), hence the present scientific

Pedagogical categories can perform various functions in pedagogy (Magier, 2013, p. 28). The cognitive function of desistance focuses on answering questions about what desistance from crime is in social rehabilitation pedagogy, i.e. description and explanation, as well as questions about understanding and giving meaning to this category in empirical research and interpretations in social rehabilitation discourse. The practical function of desistance from crime focuses on the use of desistance as a certain perspective, the context of methodological rehabilitation interventions or the functioning of the social rehabilitation system as supporting or hindering the process of desistance from crime. It is the practical function of the pedagogical category of desistance from crime that makes it possible to contest the thesis that "the task of the system of social rehabilitation interventions is precisely to accelerate and strengthen gentle maturation" (Muskała, 2016, p. 221).

Desistance from crime
in Polish social rehabilitation pedagogy

Although the research on desistance has emerged as a kind of antithesis to institutional social rehabilitation interventions, there seems to be no conflict between desistance and rehabilitation, as reflected in a growing number of studies on "supporting" the process of desistance from crime. A look at the relationship between action, impact and the process of change that results in desistance from crime may seem familiar to educators and be associated with the concept of social rehabilitation. Social rehabilitation would be understood here as defined by social rehabilitation pedagogy, and not in accordance with how it operates in the broad public consciousness and, unfortunately, in legal or legislative circles, i.e., as referring exclusively to behavioral theories, a top-down, even medical model under which specialists try to change or improve socially maladjusted persons[3]. Already nearly forty years ago, the leading representative of the Warsaw school of social rehabilitation pedagogy, Cz. Czapów, clearly emphasized: "We do not equate […] social rehabilitation activity with social rehabilitation, treated as an external-result function of an educational or other socializing system. We treat the relationship between social rehabilitation activities and social rehabilitation analogously to that between treatment and recovery. Sometimes someone is treated and does not co-

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argument is based in part on similar sources presented in a different perspective and updated, cf. also: Górniewicz, 1997, pp. 5–6.

  [3] Clearly this discrepancy is formulated in one of his studies by M. Konopczyński, writing: "Modern social rehabilitation pedagogy knows that the syndrome of social maladjustment cannot be analyzed exclusively in the contexts of behavioral theories, which, as it turns out, is still debatable and unreliable for legal sciences, which, through their representatives, decide on the formal and organizational side of Polish institutional social rehabilitation, not to mention the administrators of various levels who organize and supervise this process under their substantive influence" (Konopczyński, 2013, p. 220).

me to health, and there are times when the disease goes away, despite the lack of medical intervention. Of course, such an attitude does not authorize either the disregard of medical activity or the underestimation of the activity that inspires, directs, corrects and sustains the process of social re-education rehabilitation (social rehabilitation)" (Czapów, 1980, p. 68.).

This understanding of social rehabilitation and related interventions has much in common with what the Anglo-American literature refers to as the desistance paradigm[4]. Therefore, there is no reason to put social rehabilitation and desistance from crime in opposition to each other. Research initiated by James O. Prochaska and Carlo C. DiClemente demonstrate the illusory nature of the distinction between individuals who change with the help of support groups or as a result of participation in programs and those who change without such (Prochaska, DiClemente, Norcross, 1992, pp. 1102–1114; Prochaska, Norcross, DiClemente, 2008.). Whether the change occurs during penitentiary or any other type of interventions, the individual continues to make the change on his or her own (which is well reflected in the term *self-changers*). After all, "in the program", in therapy with a psychologist, one spends only a small part of one's daily life; most of the hard work of changing oneself takes place outside of them. Whether one is subjected to professional intervention or not, change seems to be an internal, individual pursuit anyway.

It is in the desistance-based perspective that the greatest importance is placed on the process to which the person undergoing change is subjected: what this process means to him or her, how his or her personal social and cultural contexts force or hinder the process. Support institutions focus on the individual, but also pay attention to the community and ask how to rebuild relationships between individuals and communities to achieve desistance and reintegration. "The desistance perspective prompts the question of what reintegration (or integration) in communities really means, and what can impede it practically, psychologically and politically" (McNeill, 2012a, p. 98). This perspective mandates an emphasis on human subjectivity, which, as a basic conceptual category in the process of social rehabilitation interventions, has been functioning in social rehabilitation pedagogy from the beginning: "We arrive at […] strategies and procedures for treating a person as the creator of his/her own biographies, his/her own personality not

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[4] Also, references to medicine are quite frequent, as exemplified by the remarks made by L. Kazemian and S. Maruna: "One can draw comparisons from the medical world. Within the immune system, the body has regenerative powers that naturally fight off many infections and complications. […] However, our white blood cells and other protectors can be slow fighters, sometimes allowing annoying and painful symptoms to persist beyond a point we can tolerate. We therefore turn to professional help to intensify the process. Antibiotics, which we are often prescribed, are supposed to work in partnership with our body's natural, self-repairing functions, never underestimating them. Although we sometimes mistakenly attribute our recovery to pharmaceutical treatment, in reality we did the work ourselves with only some help", Kazemian, Maruna, 2009, p. 290.

through negation, but self-development, through affirmation of himself/herself in a different motivational and personal shape" (Pytka, 2010b, p. 19.).

If the offender is set as a target for intervention, two points should be noted. First, with good quality interventions that are based on empirically verified evidence, success depends at least as much on these interventions as on the subject himself (e.g., motivation, hope) and numerous contextual factors. Rather than viewing the social rehabilitative impact as something that produces change, the desistance perspective suggests that change happens over the course of a lifetime, even in the most impenitent criminals as a result of intervention or without it. The task for practitioners is no longer to "produce" change, but precisely to support it (McNeill et al., *2012b,* p. 46.). Social rehabilitation services must think of themselves less in terms of providers of treatments (social rehabilitation interventions) and more in terms of supporting the natural process of desistance from crime, which depends on and belongs to the criminal himself/herself (McNeill, *2006*, p. 46.). In a similar vein is the opinion of S. Farrall, who contrasts the hitherto "crime-oriented" perspective and the deficits of the offender with a "desistance-oriented" perspective that promotes factors associated with desistance from crime (e.g., strong social ties, pro-social involvement and social capital) (Farrall, 2004), namely personal and environmental resources (Antonovsky, 2005).

According to L. Pytka (2010a, p. 31.), positive, constructive, creative themes have been functioning in domestic pedagogical thinking and action for years, if only in the theory of creative independence of a student of Cz. Czapów, or the theory of creative social rehabilitation by M. Konopczyński (2015). The subjectivity of an individual also dictates a different view of the effectiveness of social rehabilitation interventions. Focusing only on the cessation of criminal activities, may not capture the changes in crime patterns present in the abandonment process. If, in the process of evaluating social rehabilitation interventions, these "irregularities in crime", this "zigzagging path of crime" between the beginning and end of a career that the vast majority of criminals follow, are not taken into account, misinterpretations can result. The dynamic nature of desistance from crime, resulting in a variety of pathways to cessation, will require educators, probation officers or, more broadly, social rehabilitation specialists, as well as academics, to revise the way they critically assess whether an offender succeeds or fails.

All of these issues are at the center of considerations and inquiries in social rehabilitation pedagogy, where withdrawal is a firmly established category that requires development through scientific research, the results of which will allow the construction of a concept or theory in Polish social rehabilitation pedagogy.

Contemporary Polish research on desistance from crime

Maciej Muskała (2016) was perhaps the first in Poland to conduct research on desistance, with the aim of to learn about individualized ways (paths) of de-

sistance from crime and the meanings that ex-offenders attribute to the events they experience along the way. Seventeen narrative interviews were conducted with ex-offenders in the qualitative research. Based on participants' reflections on attempts to change, the factors and processes involved in initiating change and the process of maintaining crime-free behavior in the face of life's obstacles and frustrations were analyzed. In the course of reconstructing individual processes of desistance from crime, carried out through retrospective creation of a meaning, the object of research inquiry has expanded to include the relationship between "triggering events" and the mental constructs created in the minds of ex-convicts about them. In subsequent publications, M. Muskała and his research team develop the issue of desistance from crime, especially in terms of the change in the process of social rehabilitation and the conditions for its occurrence (Chojecka, Muskała, 2021; Muskała, 2017; Muskała, 2018; Muskała, 2019).

In the area of research on desistance from crime and the search for a place for it in Polish scientific discourse, it is worth noting the paper written by Krzysztof Biel in 2017, which aimed to show the usefulness of the generativity category in the process of desistance from crime. Generativity is understood in the pages of this publication as "concern for future generations, but it can also be expressed through concern for oneself and the future of oneself and others (Biel, 2017, p. 49), and the literature highlights the theoretical and practical aspects of implementing generativity into the process of desistance from crime by ex-convicts. One of its manifestations is commitment to parenting, and research cited in the article indicates that "parents who begin to care about raising their children are more likely to engage in substance abuse treatment, become professionally active, get an education or consider quitting crime so as not to become a negative model for their children. Thus, convicts focus on playing the role of a parent and therefore strengthen the sense of living for someone" (Biel, 2017, p. 54).

Another paper written by K. Biel presents research conducted among 90 convicts serving their sentences for the first time. Its goal was to measure levels of hope and self-efficacy and to demonstrate the relationship between these variables in the context of the process of desistance from crime (Biel, 2018, pp. 65–77).

The goal of the research described in the next paper was to identify gender differences in the process of desistance. The results of the literature analysis support the hypothesis that "men deviate from crime as a result of factors related to social status (employment, marriage), while women emphasize the role of factors related to personal relationships (family, friends, acquaintances, probation officers, therapists) in the process of change" (Biel, 2021, p. 57).

Research on desistance has been conducted by the Department of Criminology of the Institute of Legal Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences since 2016. An extensive longitudinal research identified a group of 39 male, repeat offenders who were serving prison sentences at the time of the research. The research was conducted using the in-depth interview method, and the goal of the research was

to answer the question: "why did the process of recovery from crime in their cases fail, what stood in their way of this honest life?" (Klaus, 2022, p. 426). The conclusions of the research are multifaceted, pointing to structural and systemic difficulties, many of which are conditioned by the imprisonment itself and the way it is carried out (Klaus, 2022, p. 505).

Desistance from crime is one of the key themes of a trend referred to in the literature as positive criminology (Ronel, Segev, 2014), clearly distinguished from traditional positivist criminology, based on a deterministic theoretical and research paradigm (Błachut, Gaberle, Krajewski, 1997). It is a strongly eclectic trend, combining many concepts, sometimes from different historical periods and different cultural traditions (Drzazga, 2018, pp. 1–7). Desistance from crime is understood here as "the recognition of the mechanisms responsible for not engaging in deviant activity by those previously involved in criminal activity. The question of the etiology of the criminal phenomenon gives way here to questions about the reason for abandoning a criminal career" (Sztuka, 2022, p. 2). Positive criminology refers, as indicated above, to positive psychology or the good lives model, (Wysocka, 2016a; Wysocka, 2016b.; Ostaszewski, 2014). This model has great potential in pedagogical diagnosis, especially in social rehabilitation and prevention, as it emphasizes precisely the resources of the individual or environment (Kwadrans and Konaszewski, 2018; Kusztal et al., 2021)

Final thoughts

Desistance from crime is present in social rehabilitation pedagogy, but also in criminology, legal science, forensic or penitentiary psychology. As a category of contemporary social rehabilitation pedagogy, it could also be assigned an auto-nomous status, as it transcends the sub-discipline of social rehabilitation pedago-gy, grows out of the social rehabilitation reflection developing on the domestic ground, at the same time is influenced by the inspiration of Western science and practice, and is built on concepts and other pedagogical categories, such as, for example, the subjectivity of the pupil or social rehabilitation upbringing. As a re-search category, it is already functioning in Polish social rehabilitation pedagogy, where its research potential is being developed, if only through the adaptation of measurement tools, or attempts to describe and operationalize the conditions for the occurrence of the desistance process. The conceptual apparatus of desistan-ce from crime has already been developed in social rehabilitation pedagogy, and researchers and theorists freely refer to this category in their publications (Szcze-panik, 2017). The question of the institutional determinants of this process in educational and social rehabilitation practice remains open, that is, the question of whether and to what extent social rehabilitation institutions support the pro-cess of "gentle maturation to change" in the individual himself/herself, and to

what extent they generate difficulties and impede this process. Hence the need for further in-depth research into the conditions for the occurrence as well as the course of the process of desistance from crime.

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Degree of demoralization and the social competence of juveniles staying in Youth Educational Centers

Abstract: The aim of the research presented in the article was to determine what relationships occur between the degree of demoralization (intensity of risky behavior and internalization of subcultural beliefs) and the social competences of minors staying in youth educational centers.

The research was carried out using the diagnostic survey method using the A. Goldstein Social Skills Questionnaire (ART) and an original tool to examine the degree of demoralization. The research was conducted in 2019 on a group of 530 pupils from 12 randomly selected youth educational centers in the country.

The obtained results indicate that there is a weak but statistically significant relationship between the degree of demoralization of minors and their assessment of their social competences. A negative relationship exists between subcultural beliefs and the declared social competences of pupils. However, there is no connection between the intensity of risky behaviour undertaken by minors and the assessment of their social competences. Detailed analyses, however, revealed many more interesting relationships.

The degree of identification with subcultural beliefs is more significant in assessing the level of social competences of pupils than the intensity of risky behavior. Therefore, organizing activities aimed at developing the social competences of pupils should include not only the development of the desired skills but above all the change of their negative beliefs about social rules and other people.

Key words: demoralization, social competence, minors, rehabilitation

The concept, size and dynamics
of demoralization of minors

The concept of "demoralization", which is widespread in social rehabilitation practice, is characterized by a rather high degree of ambiguity. The etymology of the term refers to morality and means "promiscuity, perversion, degeneracy and lack of obedience and discipline" (Szymczak, 1978, p. 379). It is mostly expressed in the rejection or non-compliance with moral norms recognized by society, hence for some researchers, the key in defining demoralization is behavior that is an observable indicator of the violation of ethical and legal norms (Korcyl-Wolska, 2001, p. 43) and rules of social coexistence (Grześkowiak, 1984, p. 229; Krukowski, 1982, p. 188). Hence, arguably, in the literature, demoralization is replaced by such terms as: "social maladjustment", "derailment", "deviant behavior", or "moral hazard", which are considered synonyms of it (Stanik, 2007, p. 178; Grześkowiak, Krukowski, Patulski, Warzocha, 1991, p. 18; Czapów, 1978; Bafia, 1984, p. 8). However, putting an equal sign between these terms when defining the essence of demoralization raises many doubts, because in addition to the behavioral aspect, beliefs play an equally important role (Grześkowiak, Krukowski, Patulski, Warzocha, 1991, p. 16; Bojarski, Skrętowicz, 2002, p. 19). This is due to the cognitive-behavioral concept of human functioning (Beck, Kelly, 2012). According to this theoretical orientation, any behavior (including breaking social rules) results from the way one perceives and interprets the surrounding reality. In addition, beliefs about the meaning of adherence to prevailing social norms provide a platform for the development of a person's ties to the conformist order prevailing in a given culture. Thus, adolescents' internalized beliefs that do not agree with it may contribute to engaging in risky behavior (Hirschi, 1969, p. 3) and denying responsibility for the harm done or the existence of the victim (Sykes, Matze, 1957, pp. 77–91), as they weaken their social bond with positive reference groups.

In Poland, the term demoralization was introduced into the Act of Juvenile Delinquency Proceeding on October 26, 1982, distinguishing according to Art. 4 § 1 its symptoms (*truancy, neglect of schooling, running away from home, drinking alcohol, using intoxicants, vagrancy, participation in criminal groups, violation of the rules of social co-existence*), and pointing to a certain repetition or temporary permanence, a tendency as a characteristic feature. It should be noted that the legislator did not define the concept of demoralization, and by using the phrase "in particular" created the possibility of discretionary expansion of the catalog of behaviors treated as manifestations of this phenomenon. Also of interest is the provision in Article 10 indicating the use of the Correction Center as an educational measure when the court decides that the juvenile is "highly demoralized". This

is all the more surprising, since in the Act in question there are no reliably developed criteria for determining the intensity of juvenile demoralization. To make matters worse, in practice there is also a lack of standardized tools to measure its intensity, corresponding to the essence of this phenomenon, taking into account not only the behavioral component.

The consequence of differences in definitions can be doubts about whether or not a particular juvenile's behavior meets the hallmarks of demoralization. All the more so because the risky behaviors undertaken by young people can be an opportunity to achieve important developmental goals. According to R. Jessor (1991, p. 598), smoking, drinking alcohol, drug use, risky driving, and early sexual initiation, despite being a threat to human health, can be helpful in gaining acceptance and respect among peers, creating independence from parents, rejecting the norms and values of conventional authorities, overcoming anxiety, and frustration in the face of experienced failures. They also serve to affirm maturity and honor the transition from child to adult status. Adolescent risk behavior is therefore part of normal youth development, and is necessary and inevitable in the context of overcoming the developmental crises faced by young people (Sęk, Kaczmarek, 2016, p. 666; Jankowiak, 2017, pp. 447–448).

Given the indicated deficiencies and inaccuracies, this study, in accordance with the cognitive-behavioral concept, assumed that the degree of demoralization is determined by the level of internalization of antisocial beliefs, which are associated with engaging in risky behavior, as an expression of antagonistic-destructive attitudes.

Research conducted to date indicates that the majority of socially maladjusted adolescents residing in juvenile correctional centers hold negative beliefs about themselves, other people, the future and the world as a whole (Mudrecka, 2019, p. 46). "They see the social world as a battlefield for temporal goods, where resources are limited, and are convinced that when someone wins, […] someone else loses, that success, especially economic success, is only possible at the expense of someone else's failure" (Różycka, Wojciszke, 2009, p. 67). Minors are highly convinced that *"it's not worth the effort"* because *"the world is bad"* (Siemionow, 2016, p. 185). The consequence of interpreting the world in this way is to perpetuate a belief in its unfairness, uncertainty and unpredictability. This attitude generates negative emotions; anxiety, sadness, but also low satisfaction with life, a sense of injustice, and leads to such behaviors as exclusion from social relations, avoidance of cooperation and escalation of interpersonal conflicts (Różycka-Tran, Boski, Wojciszke, 2014, p. 94). Some studies indicate that there is no relationship between symptoms of social maladjustment and beliefs that hinder social adaptation (Siemionow, 2016, p. 184). However, due to the small sample, this conclusion should be treated with caution and the subcultural beliefs of minors should be made the subject of a larger-scale study. This is also important because of the lack of other reports in the scientific literature to date addressing this issue.

The results of the 2018 survey of 662 wards of the Youth Educational Centers and 1,068 wards of the Youth Sociotherpy Centers indicate that the most common risk behavior exhibited by youth *is cigarette smoking* (67%). More than 40% of participants often or very often engaged in behaviors such as: *lying to others, drinking alcohol, and behavior that causes problems with the police.* About a third of respondents confirmed that they often or very often *use drugs, use verbal aggression against their teachers or caregivers, carry dangerous tools (knives, knuckles), and participate in shoplifting.* More prevalent behaviors (25–30%) in this group include *selling marijuana or other drugs, running away from home, fighting and risky sexual behavior (three partners or more).* The following were relatively the least frequent (9% to 12%) in the study group: *daily smoking of e-cigarettes, arson of other people's property and robberies with dangerous tools.* It is worth noting that in the year prior to the survey, about 25% of the participants exhibited 6 to 10 problem behaviors, and another 20% engaged in more than 11. Among the YEC's wards, boys are more likely to exhibit risky behavior than girls, (Ostaszewski, Bobrowski, Greń, Pisarska, 2019, pp. 302, 306).

Psychoactive substance use is therefore one of the leading risk behaviors among the YEC's wards. The prevalence of alcohol use among wards of educational institutions is evidenced by the results of a study by J. Greń and A. Pisarska (2021, p. 29). 90.6% of minors have drunk alcohol in the past 12 months, and 81.3% have gotten drunk. 51% of the respondents admitted that while under the influence of alcohol they engaged in further risky behavior. One hundred percent of the YEC wards surveyed by A. Kamiński (2018, p. 43) experimented with various types of psychoactive substances; 95% smoked cigarettes, most of them compulsively, 88% consumed alcohol, 83% smoked marijuana in the past, 53% of the wards admitted to using other drugs, i.e. amphetamines and legal highs. Data from the Statistical Management Information Division of the Department of Strategy and European Funds of the Ministry of Justice shows that between 2000 and 2019, the number of minors with manifestations of demoralization increased by 55.5%, and those who committed crimes related to violations of the Law on Prevention/Counteracting of Drug Addiction increased by 465 minors, or 100%. Also of concern is the 56.7% increase between 2000 and 2019 in the number of underage girls showing signs of demoralization. On the other hand, analyzing the data collected in Table 1, it is evident that there has been a decline in the last decade in the manifestation of risky behavior by minors. However, this should be approached with caution, as it may be due to the declining number of births since 2000. Such an explanation for the occurring trend lends credence to the increasing number of demoralized girls, which may be related to the fact that there has been an increase in female births since that year.

Table 1. Number of manifestations of demoralization among minors in Poland in 2000–2019

	Years										
	2000	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Total	8,878	16,118	15,670	15,247	15,184	15,524	14,599	15,189	13,371	14,414	13,805
BOYS (%)	6,918 (78%)	11,434 (71%)	10,811 (69%)	10,485 (69%)	10,222 (67%)	10,301 (66%)	9,767 (67%)	10,177 (67%)	8,999 (67%)	9,655 (67%)	9,277 (67%)
GIRLS (%)	1,960 (22%)	4,684 (29%)	4,859 (31%)	4,762 (31%)	4,962 (33%)	5,223 (34%)	4,832 (33%)	5,012 (33%)	4,372 (33%)	4,759 (33%)	4,528 (33%)

Source: own study based on data from the Managerial Statistical Information Division of the Department of Strategy and European Funds of the Ministry of Justice.

Social competence
– concept and determinants of development

In the literature, there are two ways of defining social competence, which refer to the ways in which the main human needs are met. The social nature of humans grows out of the need for approval and acceptance. This is expressed in the desire to belong to a group, experience acceptance from its members and live in harmony with them. Achieving this depends on the ability to generate social behaviors that enable, facilitate the initiation and maintenance of interpersonal relationships (Rey, Putnam, 2005). These are skills that enable people to establish satisfying relationships with others, both personally and professionally (Matczak, 2001, p. 6; Argyle, 1999; Goleman, 1997; Borkowski 2003). The second way refers to the need to achieve status and power, for which social competence is also a prerequisite for effectiveness in achieving one's own goals in dealing with other people (Rose-Krasnor, 1997, pp. 111–135) and involves the ability to exert social influence (Argyle, 1999).

Social competence is a very complex structure, so there is a divergence in the literature on the elements included in its scope. Many researchers cite the concept of M. Argyle (2002, pp. 107–141) and point to three basic components: cognitive (information processing), motivational (readiness and willingness to engage in behavior) and behavioral (conscious and intentional behavior), which are interdependent. However, most specialists dealing with this issue agree that "the basic components of competencies are skills" (Jeruszka, 2016, p. 20) defined in behavioral terms, which makes it much easier to operationalize and measure them. According to K. Martowska (2012, p. 19), both the cognitive aspect and motivational dispositions can be important indicators of competence, but nevertheless the most reliable indicator is the behavior manifested in various situations.

The skills that make up social competence include, but are not limited to, the ability to obtain, receive and transmit information (verbal and non-verbal), give gratification and support, empathize, solve problems, present oneself, be assertive, change attitudes, behaviors or states, skills that are useful in school, e.g. listening, asking for help, deciding what to do, setting goals; managing emotions, leading a group, supervising others, cooperating in achieving one's goals (Argyle,1999), expressing oneself (Bieńkowska, 2002, p. 99). The following are considered to be the most important in the development of people with deficits in competence or with behavioral and emotional disorders:

I friendship-making skills, e.g., starting a conversation, offering help, complimenting;

II skills for dealing with feelings, e.g. expressing feelings, recognizing feelings, dealing with anger;

III alternative skills to aggression, such as self-control, negotiation, dealing with accusation;

IV stress management skills in situations of denial, coping with loss, responding to failure, dealing with group pressure, decision-making (McGinns, Goldsietn, 2001).

Underlying the development of social competence is the level of development of emotional intelligence, that is, the ability to recognize one's own emotions, manage them, self-motivate, recognize emotions in others (empathy), and establish and maintain relationships with them (Goleman, 1997). Emotional intelligence, understood in such a way, develops through natural socialization experiences or educational interactions organized for this purpose. The basis for effective social functioning is also the possession of a set of skills (Hubbard, Coie, 2001) and social knowledge (Pilecka, Pilecki, 1990), which allow a person to engage in competent behavior. The development of social competence also largely depends on personality traits (self-esteem, lack of self-confidence, neuroticism, rebelliousness, impulsiveness, individual beliefs, e.g. positive beliefs about the use of violence, alcohol use, acceptance of problem behavior, need for stimulation, risk-taking for pleasure) as well as environmental and educational factors (Gaś, 2008; Ostaszewski, Rustecka-Krawczyk, Wójcik, 2008).

Social competence of minors
showing signs of demoralization

Research on the social competence of minors does not provide conclusive results. Some point to their low level (Wojnarska, 2013; Kupiec, 2012; Kudlak, 2016), including in comparison with public school peers (Huget, 2009, p. 121). However, there is significant variation in the degree of their development depending on their type. In terms of interpersonal skills, wards of YECs have low or very

low communication skills (Małachowska, 2017, p. 197; Mielczarek, 2019, p. 289) and assertiveness (Porzak, 2008, p. 272). They show the greatest difficulty during public speaking (68%), expressing opinions (65%) and in situations involving violation of other people's territory (56%). Instead, they are best at expressing requests (83%) and feelings (70%), as well as judgment in expressing and accepting criticism/ praise (65%) (Lewicka-Zelent, Trojanowska, 2012, p. 120). For underage girls, the greatest difficulty is expressing their own opinions, contacting authority figures and making requests, and all three scales correlate positively with anxiety (Ostrowski, Szewczuk, 2002). They also show significant deficits in the sphere of practical skills, which, according to researchers, negatively affects their interactions with others (Sanger, Moore-Brown, Magnuson, Svoboda, 2001, p. 25). Research conducted by P. Huget (2009, p. 121) indicates that the population of students with behavioral disorders is characterized by: a) normal development of the ability to focus attention on the task at hand, b) reduced ability to deal with difficult situations, c) normal development of group interaction skills, d) normal development of the ability to create relationships with peers, e) normal development of empathy, f) reduced ability to apply social rules, and g) reduced ability to solve social problems. In the literature, one can also find results of studies showing that there are no (other than lower assertiveness of wards) statistically significant differences in social competence between minors and public school students (Bartkowicz, 2013).

Most researchers agree that deficits in social competence result in an inability to engage in socially useful activities, perform roles responsibly, and establish positive relationships with others (Bandach, 2013, pp. 82–97). They emphasize their crucial importance in the proper adaptation to life in society, especially for those showing difficulties in proper social adaptation. There are studies that show that there is a negative correlation between the degree of development of social competence and the level of behavioral disorders (Sorlie et al., 2008, p. 143), as well as the crime rate obtained using self-report type scales (Pallmer, Hollin, 1999). The level of social skills also strongly affects the process of social derailment. With a large increase in competence, it is even possible to abandon crime (Stepp et al., 2011).

Methodological assumptions of own studies

The subject of the study was the opinions of minors residing in youth educational centers on their social competence, the degree of internalization of subcultural beliefs, and the intensity of the risk behaviors they exhibited before arriving at the institution. They aimed to obtain answers to the following research problems.
1. What is the relationship between the degree of demoralization and the level of social competence of minors residing in youth educational centers?

2. What relationships exist between the degree of internalization of subcultural beliefs and the level of social competence of minors residing in YECs?
3. What relationships exist between the intensity of risky behavior and the level of social competence of minors residing in YECs?

The following hypotheses correspond to the research problems:

1. It is likely that there is a negative correlation between the degree of demoralization and the level of social competence of minors staying at yecs.
2. It is presumed that the higher the degree of internalization of subcultural beliefs minors have, the lower they rate their social competence.
3. Presumably, the more often minors exhibit risky behavior, the lower they rate their social competence.

A diagnostic survey method was used, which is designed to survey the opinions of large groups of respondents, which, with random sampling, makes it possible to generalize conclusions to the entire population. This method used a questionnaire technique, the use of which consisted of minors completing the Social Skills Questionnaire (ART), by A. Goldstein (2001). The tool consists of 50 questions relating to the measurement of six types of social skills, to which respondents answer by marking on a scale (from 1 – not at all to 5 – very often) the extent to which they can behave in a particular situation.

To measure the degree of demoralization of minors, a proprietary survey questionnaire consisting of two parts was constructed. Filling out the first one consisted of estimating on a 5-point scale (from 1 – not at all to 5 – very often), the frequency of manifestation of 22 types of risky behavior, such as using psychoactive drugs, using violence, or committing criminal acts (theft, robbery, etc.). Part two included 20 statements expressing antagonistic-destructive beliefs characteristic of criminal subcultures. Respondents marked on a 5-point scale the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement.

Internal consistency was calculated for both questionnaires used in the study, and their high reliability is evidenced by the Cronbach's alpha coefficient values for both the entire tool and its individual scales (Table 2).

Table 2. Measures of reliability of questionnaire to measure social skills, internalization of subcultural beliefs and intensity of risk behaviors

	Number of questions	Cronbach's α	Number of participants
Core social competencies	8 (p1-p8)	0.79	459
Advanced social skills	6 (p9-p14)	0.70	451
Ability to regulate emotions	7 (p15-p21)	0.71	453
Ability to control aggression	9 (p22-p30)	0.80	436

	Number of questions	Cronbach's α	Number of participants
Ability of coping with stress	12 (p31-p42)	0.83	451
Ability to plan	8 (p43-50)	0.80	443
Total – social competence tool	50 (p1-p50)	0.80	482
Scale of risky behavior	22 (p1-22p)	0.91	400
Scale of internalization of subcultural beliefs	22 (p1-p20)	0.80	411
Total – a tool to measure the degree of demoralization	42 (p1-p42)	0.91	455

Source: author's own research

Characteristics of the studied sample

The study was conducted from September to November 2019 in 12 randomly selected youth educational centers in zachodniopomorskie, kujawsko-pomorskie and dolnośląskie voivodeships. They were attended by 530 wards (413 boys – 78% and 117 girls – 22%). After rejecting defectively completed questionnaires, 505 questionnaires were finally qualified for statistical analysis. The most common in the sample were older wards, 16-year-old (32%) and 17-year-old wards (36%), as confirmed by the left-skewed distribution of the data (A = -0.96). The average length of stay of wards in the facility is 12 months, with minors with shorter stays (1 to 6 months – 35%) outnumbering in the studied group those with longer stays (13 to 18 months – 13%) and over 18 months (20%). The positive, or right-skewed, distribution of this variable is confirmed by the value A = 1.79. Despite the fact that none of the given characteristics of the studied sample had the character of a normal distribution (no statistical significance of differences in the Kolgomorov-Smirnov test), it shows great similarity to the distribution of these variables in the general population of minors residing in youth educational centers at the time. According to information obtained from the Center for Education Development, in 95 YECs in the country there were 4902 wards of whom 10% were aged 12-14 years, 30% 15–16 years, and 61% 17–19 years, of whom 67% were boys and 33% girls.

Results of own research

The results obtained in the conducted studies indicate that there is a weak but statistically significant relationship between the degree of demoralization of minors and their assessment of their social competence (Table 3).

Table 3. The degree of demoralization and the level of social competence of minors in YECs

Degree of demoralization	Level of social competence			
	low	medium	high	total
Low	8	45	14	67
	11.9%	67.2%	20.9%	100.0%
Medium	30	257	45	332
	9.0%	77.4%	13.6%	100.0%
High	13	44	7	64
	20.3%	68.8%	10.9%	100.0%
Total	51	346	66	463
	11.0%	74.7%	14.3%	100.0%

Source: own research, correlation coefficient rho = − 0.100, p = 0.04.

The negative value of the Spearman's rho correlation coefficient confirms the relationship seen in the table, which shows that wards with a low degree of demoralization rated their social competence higher (11.9% low, 20.9% high) compared to their more demoralized peers (20.3% low, 10.9% high).

A more detailed summary of the results showing the values of correlation coefficients (Spearman's rho) between the dependent and independent variables, allows us to formulate answers to the remaining research problems (Table 4).

Table 4. Risk behaviors and subcultural beliefs and the level of social competence of minors in YECs

Social competences	Boys		Girls		Total	
	risk behaviors	subcultural beliefs	risk behaviors	subcultural beliefs	risk behaviors	subcultural beliefs
Overall level	rho = .063 p = 0.239	rho = -.182 p = 0.02	rho = .026 p = 0.787	rho = -.401 p < 0.001	rho = .058 p = 0.213	rho = -.130 p = 0.01
Basic and advanced	rho = .057 p = 0.289	rho = -.115 p = 0.03	rho = -.058 p = 0.548	rho = -.409 p < 0.001	rho = .041 p = 0.382	rho = -.189 p < 0.001

Social compe-tences	Boys		Girls		Total	
	risk behaviors	subcultural beliefs	risk behaviors	subcultural beliefs	risk behaviors	subcultural beliefs
Regulation of emotions	rho = .091 p = 0.090	rho = .086 p = 0.111	rho= .115 p = 0.230	rho= -.272 p = 0.01	rho = .096 p = 0.05	rho = -.039 p = 0.404
Aggression control	rho = .007 p = 0.900	rho = -.170 p = 0.05	rho= -.108 p = 0.260	rho= -.467 p<0.001	rho= -.012 p = 0.790	rho = -.175 p < 0.001
Coping with stress	rho = .064 p = 0.232	rho = -.253 p = 0.01	rho = .035 p = 0.716	rho = -.351 p<0.001	rho = .055 p = 0.236	rho = -.101 p = 0.033
Ability to plan	rho = .130 p = 0.01	rho = .054 p = 0.318	rho = .126 p = 0.190	rho = -.271 p = 0.01	rho = .117 p = 0.01	rho = -.045 p = 0.344

Source: own study.

Most statistically significant correlations indicate a negative relationship between the degree of internalization of minors' subcultural beliefs and their level of social competence. This means that the more wards agreed with antisocial beliefs, the lower they rated most of their skills. The trend found appeared to be stronger among girls than among boys staying in youth educational centers.

The results of the analysis, however, did not show a statistically significant correlation between the intensity of risk behavior manifested by minors and the assessment of the degree of development of their social competence. Surprisingly, despite the lack of the required level of significance, most of the correlations are positive (all of them in the group of boys, and four out of six in the group of girls). Thus, it can be assumed that regardless of the intensity of risky behavior declared by the wards, they rated their social competence at a similar level.

Although there was no statistically significant difference between boys and girls in the intensity of risky behaviors (χ^2=2.49, df=2, p=0.287), conducting a more sophisticated analysis revealed more significant correlations between certain types of behavior and social skills (more often among boys than girls). A positive correlation was found between the boys' declared intensity of sex and truancy and high scores on all the competencies highlighted. It also turned out that wards who reported smoking tobacco or marijuana more often rated both their general competence and their ability to control emotions, stress and planning higher. Interestingly, such a relationship was not noted when it came to alcohol consumption or the use of stronger drugs.

Negative correlations, however, emerged between making extortions and the ability to control aggression, stress management and planning. Lower ability to control aggression was also associated with boys running away from home more often, belonging to subcultures, and committing theft and vandalism. Lower levels of overall competence were shown by boys who admitted to prostitution.

It is significant that the level of planning skills and the overall level of competence correlate positively and statistically significantly with the boys' manifestation of many risk behaviors (such as smoking tobacco and marijuana, alcoholism, sex, cursing, truancy).

There were far fewer statistically significant correlations in the group of girls, and these included positive correlations between engaging in sexual activity and stress coping and planning skills. Higher levels of emotion control and planning skills were also demonstrated by female wards, who were more likely to report smoking marijuana and committing theft. In contrast, there were negative correlations between the ability to control aggression and the manifestation of such behaviors as jerking and hitting, i.e. physical aggression.

In summary, it can be said that the relationship between the intensity of risky behavior and the assessment of the social competence possessed by minors is not clear. On the one hand, the manifestation of most risky behaviors is not significant in assessing the skills possessed by adolescents. On the other hand, there are a few exceptions to this trend, which indicate that the intensity of certain behaviors (smoking marijuana, truancy and sex) is accompanied by a high rating for some competencies, while undertaking others (mainly of a violent nature) is low. Besides, identification with subcultural beliefs is more important for assessing the level of social competence possessed than the intensity of risky behavior.

Discussion of the results of the conducted research

The results obtained confirm the hypothesis adopted in the study, which assumed that the higher the degree of demoralization of wards staying in a social rehabilitation facility, the lower they rate their social competence. With that said, the correlation found is based more on the relationship between the degree of internalization of subcultural beliefs than on their engaging in risky behavior.

Why do beliefs correlate more strongly with competence assessment than risky behaviors? According to the cognitive-behavioral concept adopted in the study, both behavior and emerging emotions are the resultant of thoughts emerging in consciousness, which are largely related to patterns stored in memory, which are most often activated under the influence of a stimulus in a specific situation. Internalized thought patterns are a kind of interpretive filter in relation to surrounding reality, other people, events and the self (Popiel, Pragłowska, 2008). Thus, it can be assumed that the more adolescents have an internalized belief that the world is evil, hostile, and only force and deception ensure effectiveness in achieving their own goals, the less motivation they have to engage in honest interactions with others in which they could develop their social competence, resulting in low self-esteem in this regard.

In turn, the lack of a significant relationship between the intensity of risky behavior of minors and the assessment of their social competence, found in the conducted research, is in line with the results of research performed by Bartkowicz (2013). This can be explained by the fact that adolescents' tendency to transgress norms is a common phenomenon and is related to overcoming a developmental crisis during adolescence. The results of a number of studies indicate that only a portion of young people – from a dozen to about 30% – make it through adolescence without engaging in behavior posing a high risk to health and development. The majority of adolescents belong to the moderate risk group (experimenters), meaning they engage in a few risky behaviors, while about 25% of them belong to the high-risk group taking risks much more often. Typical behaviors include smoking, drinking alcohol, getting drunk, using psychoactive substances, fighting, early sexual initiation, peer violence and bullying (Woynarowska, 2017, p. 440). Among 900 students of elementary schools in Kraków in early adolescence, 70% were found to have disorders associated with engaging in aggressive behavior (Huget, 2009, p. 121).

The negative correlation between minors' display of aggressive behavior and their assessment of their social skills also requires a separate interpretation. This relationship has already been confirmed in the literature by numerous studies (Frey et al, 2005, pp. 171–175; Volling et al, 1993, pp. 459–463; Sorlie et al, 2008, pp. 123–124). Some researchers even point out that expressions of aggression are evidence of an individual's social incompetence (Stump et al., 2009, pp. 23–37). In turn, a low level of social competence hinders the acquisition of social resources, which can condition the formation of anger, frustration, hostility, which are the substrate of aggressive and violent behavior (Rubin et al., 2012, pp. 26–28). And thus a vicious circle is created, with an unfavorable feedback loop for the social development of young people.

High emotion management scores in boys are associated with smoking and marijuana, and in girls with engaging in sexual activity. Such behavior is followed by a reduction in emotional tension, which in the minds of minors results in an increased sense of control over emotions.

When engaging in certain risky behaviors (such as theft, for example), the ability to plan is important for the expected outcome. However, research conducted to date indicates that adolescents do not consciously construct an action plan before starting their work (Jabłonowska, 2016, p. 206). Minors tend to have low planning skills, including in terms of setting goals and achieving them, the length and forms of their leisure time, the use of medical assistance, or preparing and eating meals (Zięciak, 2020, pp. 169–175). Thus, it can be presumed that, on the one hand, wards perform particular activities in response to the results obtained on an ongoing basis, while on the other hand, the risks involved in prohibited behavior and the accompanying fear of detection force them to at least generally plan the activities they undertake. This is perhaps the reason of the discrepancy between

high planning skills in the context of engaging in nonconforming behavior and low ones with regard to constructive activities related to gaining independence in life.

Why do certain risk behaviors positively and others negatively correlate with the assessment of social competence possessed? It seems that the mark of the correlation (positive or negative) may depend on the extent to which the risky behavior undertaken is harmful to others. All violent behavior (fights, beatings, thefts, etc.) involves harming others and does not provide the perpetrator with confirmation of having the ability to build satisfying interpersonal relationships. It is opposite in case of voluntary sexual intercourse, which can be an affirmation of one's attractiveness and high skills in establishing intimate relationships.

Summary and recommendations for practice

The research confirms that the development of social competence should be an important aspect of social rehabilitation of socially maladjusted youth. Such a need is indicated by the presence of a negative correlation between the degree of demoralization of minors and their assessment of their skills. In the conditions of a social rehabilitation facility such as a Youth Educational Center, this is a difficult task due to the controlling-restrictive social climate that prevails in Poland (Staniaszek, 2018) and the significant restriction on wards to have constructive contacts with people outside the facility.

Despite this, some studies show that the development of social competence in adolescents displaying deviant behavior leads to a reduction in their undertaking of demoralization (Bartkowicz, Wojnarska, 2013) and criminal behavior (Stepp et al. 2011) and can be developed by organizing trainings for the development of social skills (TUS – Social Skills Training), preferably in a weekly cycle of educational classes. Typically, the structure of such a program includes an initial diagnosis of the minors' existing competencies, followed by practice of activities to master the skill in subsequent meetings with the group (Goldstein et al., 2004). In light of the results obtained in the research presented here, it is important that skills training is reinforced by work aimed at changing the antisocial beliefs of wards, since they greatly hinder the application of the skills acquired in practice. This is because the essence of any social competence is based on the expression in interpersonal relations of mutual respect for oneself and others, to realize one's own needs and rights in harmony with the needs and rights of others. Without this awareness, with which subcultural beliefs conflict, the skills learned by minors at TUS may only constitute a repertoire of new behaviors more or less mastered by them, which they will not use in their interactions with people due to their strong internalization of anti-social beliefs. Although they will know how to behave in a given situation, they will not be motivated to do so due to their hostility and distrust of people.

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Perception of risk by offenders. Relevance to resocialisation interventions

Abstract: The paper presents a theoretical elaboration and research results concerning the meaning and assessment of risk in criminal decision-making by perpetrators of economic crimes, offences against the person, and offences against property, including repeat offenders and first-time offenders. The results presented are a fragment of wider qualitative-quantitative research which concerned the characteristics and determinants of the criminal decision-making process. The paper presents the results of research in which the qualitative methodology was used with the application of the method of in-depth interview with elements of narrative interview. The qualitative analysis included 85 specifically selected respondents. The survey was conducted in 6 correctional facilities in Poland. The study revealed the great importance of the perception of risk associated with crime and illegal activities. As the qualitative analysis shows, the picture of risk before committing a crime is underestimated due to a number of factors. Numerous cognitive distortions appear in the narratives of inmates, which should become the subject of further empirical analyses and the basis for designing prevention and resocialisation interventions.

Key words: risk, criminality, cognitive distortions, resocialisation.

Introduction

The creation of resocialisation programmes is connected with the need to recognise the risk factors that are the source of deviant identity formation (Wysocka, 2015).

One of the risk factors may be perception of the risk associated with criminal decisions by socially maladjusted individuals, which is related to the occurrence of cognitive distortions. The cognitive-behavioural concept has had a significant impact on contemporary resocialisation. This approach emphasises the need to combine behavioural therapy, which is based on the use of positive and negative reinforcements, with awareness training. It is thanks to such activities that self-reflection on the reasons for failures and the consequences of one's behaviour appears in the charges (Ciosek, & Pastwa-Wojciechowska, 2016). Such an approach indicates the need for the individual to understand their erroneous thinking and their way of behaving; and the correction of the erroneous perception is possible thanks to the reinterpretation of the social situation in which the charge found themselves. It is assumed that a person's behaviour results from how they interpret themselves, other people and the world around them (Jaworska 2016). Therefore, in order to explain criminal behaviours, it is necessary to first find out about the perpetrator's understanding of their act including their perception of the risk associated with the crime (see de Hann, & Vos, 2003).

Risk in criminal decisions

Risk is involved in every situation in which the law is broken as every crime involves the risk of imprisonment or other negative consequences. As T. Tyszka (1992) writes, risk is associated with threat and danger which may cause harm or hinder the achievement of goals. The concept of risk is considered to be an interdisciplinary one requiring reference to anthropology, society, politics, finance and economics (Chylinski, 2015). Among the concepts of risk functioning today, there is one by T. Zaleśkiewicz (2006) who distinguishes two categories of risk, i.e. risk taken to achieve benefits or avoid losses, the so-called instrumental risk, and risk taken to satisfy needs for sensation, the so-called stimulating risk. Risk can also be a way to provide oneself with pleasurable experiences (Zuckerman, 1994). It is also identified with the probability and amount of loss. Consequently, a person who takes a risk has a subjective idea concerning the probability of a particular outcome, and is able to approximately determine the type and magnitude of the consequences of a possible failure (Studenski, 2004). Committing a crime involves a willingness to take risks so the perpetrator of criminal acts must have a belief in their capabilities (being clever, intelligent and having a great plan of action) and favourable circumstances to break the law (Studenski, 2004; see Jia, et al 1999).

Risk is related to offenders' perceptions of sanctions. In criminology, there are studies that analyse the relation between the perception of sanctions and the characteristics of the individual, e.g. the sense of control (Wright et al 2004). Others link the perception of sanctions to beliefs, offenders' convictions or the nature of motivation (Wikström, 2007; see Wikström, 2019). The most common

concepts that refer to risk in crime are those that consider humans to be rational individuals, guided by the principle of maximising gains and minimising losses (Cornish, & Clarke, 1986, 2014). A rational person considers the inputs and strives for good results of their choices. Crime occurs when it is profitable for the perpetrator. Thus, the assessment of benefits from an action indicates that they are greater than the costs that the offender could potentially incur. Research indicates that offenders compare the final benefit from a criminal offence with the expected punishment (Marszałek, 2011).

In their research on adolescents, M. K. Dhami and D. R. Mandel (2012) considered the importance that risk perception can have for engaging in crime. The results indicate that the intention to break the law is most noticeable based on the respondents' perceived value of the benefits to be gained regardless of any disadvantages or likelihood of the occurrence of a particular option for action. These results indicate the limited rationality of illegal intentions. Another study by R. M. Junger et al (2001) shows a relation between crime and risky traffic behaviour. The results show a disregard for the long-term consequences of one's own actions and may indicate that people who behave in a risky manner on the roads and commit traffic offences, violent crimes, vandalism or property crimes have a tendency to take risks or lack self-control. V.F. Reyna et al (2018), who studied criminals and non-criminals, concluded that most people avoid risk in a situation when they win a prize while the opposite is true for criminals. This research may encourage further considerations on offenders' risk perceptions, as this knowledge might contribute to minimising the phenomenon of recidivism.

The inherent elements of risk are the costs and benefits associated with a particular decision. The costs incurred by offenders include the monetary costs of punishment, such as fine or confiscation of property, and the costs related to the individual's functioning in society, such as stigmatisation. The likelihood of incurring costs or gains is related to the subjective anticipation of whether or not one will be punished. Gains and losses and the predicted probability of their occurrence are related to the rational decision-making model and concern the subjective rather than objective properties of punishment (Apel, & Nagin, 2017). Having experience with crime and with being punished can indeed change the perception of risk. Individuals who have successfully avoided the negative consequences of their actions, on average, perceive the likelihood of their being punished as low. In addition, perceptions of risk are influenced by the situational context, in particular being under the influence of psychoactive substances, or the presence of peers (Appel, 2013). According to M. C. Stafford and M. Warr (1993), perceptions of sanctions are influenced by the experience of being punished or avoiding punishment. Offenders with higher arrest rates perceive their crimes as more likely to be detected. Recidivists, on the other hand, perceive the risk of arrest as lower. Offenders tend to perceive punishment as something uncertain and remote. If such a punishment were to occur, it is perceived as not severe.

The perception of the occurrence of punishment depends on the number of arrests and the number of undetected crimes (Apel, & Nagin, 2017). The variety and regularity of studies on risk perception (see Wright, et al (2004); Thomas, et al (2013); and Pauwels et al (2011)) indicates the great potential for applying such research to the resocialisation practice.

Cognitive distortions in social resocialisation

Cognitive distortions, i.e. irrational beliefs, thoughts and attitudes, have been and are analysed from different research perspectives. R. Opora (2019) points out that distortions occur when a person wants to protect themselves from being accused or losing a positive image of themselves. Additionally, they occur in people who have low levels of skills in controlling antisocial behaviour including aggressive behaviour. In the cognitive-behavioural approach, which has recently been leading the way in resocialisation, it is recognised that cognitive distortions arise as a result of faulty processing of social information (Dodge, 1993). According to A.Q. Barrig et al (2005), cognitive distortions arise from attributing inaccurate or erroneous meaning to one's experiences. In cognitive behavioural therapy, the aim is to understand how people interpret events and their own experiences. There is a striving to identify cognitive distortions, which are the result of incorrect information processing, to reduce distortions and remove cognitive deficits (see Opora, 2019; Mudrecka, 2018).

Cognitive distortions that are fixed at an early age are often the source of disorders in the functioning of children and adolescents. Unfortunately, the earlier a person has erroneous thinking fixed, the more difficult it is to change it in the future (Stallard, 2006). Cognitive distortions are formed by thinking about oneself, the future and the world. Cognitive patterns are a reflection of the meanings that are given to oneself, the future and the surrounding world (Beck, 2005). Socially maladjusted adolescents have a distorted view of reality, and this leads them to behave in socially unacceptable ways (Opora, 2019). In a situation where a person's beliefs about themselves and the world around them are erroneous, distorted and irrational, there emerge emotions and behaviours that are inappropriate to the situation, leading to the occurrence of problems associated with maladaptation (Mudrecka, 2018).

Various classifications of cognitive distortions appear in the literature. One distortion is egocentrism, which is defined as 'adjusting the state of affairs to one's own point of view, one's own expectations, needs, rights, feelings and desires to the extent that the point of view, expectations, etc. of others are given little or no consideration or are completely ignored.' (Goldstein, et al 2004, p. 94). A. Q. Barriga et al (2005, p. 3) write about egocentrism that it is 'putting one's own views, expectations, needs, rights, overwhelming feelings and desires over the legitimate

views of others (and even over one's own long-range interest) to the extent that the latter are taken into account to a very small extent or not at all.' Another distortion is belittling which involves 'treating antisocial behaviour as causing no real harm or as acceptable or even desirable. … Everyone lies. It is not a big deal; If you know you can get away with it, only a fool would not steal; If you are badly beaten, you probably don't feel much pain; We need to get even with those who don't show us respect' (Goldstein, et al 2004, p. 96). Blaming others means 'erroneously assigning blame for one's destructive actions to external factors, or temporary disturbances (influence of alcohol, drugs, bad mood, etc.) or blaming other, innocent people for one's wrongness' (Goldstein, et al 2004, pp. 95–96). Another distortion, i.e. assuming the worst, involves attributing bad intentions to others. I. Mudrecka (2018, p. 72) points out that fatalism is a kind of tendency to predict the worst in a given situation. R. Opora (2009, 2019) lists cognitive distortions that appear in minors. He includes false conformity, anchoring, inductive reasoning, dichotomous thinking, underestimating, exaggerating, predicting the future, fatalism, generalisation, mind reading, personalisation, and thinking with emotions. J.S. Beck (1995) listed such distortions as arbitrary inference, catastrophic confusion, selective abstraction, over-generalisation, exaggerating or downplaying, personalisation, labelling, and polarised thinking (see Corey, 2001).

Cognitive distortions make it difficult to adapt to the surrounding reality, to see the potentials that are present in it and could be used constructively (Mudrecka, 2018). Therefore, in order to take effective action, distorted thinking of socially maladjusted people needs to be recognised at the beginning of the intervention. Performing cognitive restructuring, through cognitive and cognitive-behavioural therapy, can bring the socially maladjusted individual closer to situationally appropriate decision-making and approved actions (Stallard, 2006). Learning about cognitive distortions in offenders can bring them closer to effective resocialisation or designing preventive interventions.

Methodology of own research

The paper presents the results of a study on the understanding and assessment of risk in criminal decision-making by perpetrators of economic crimes, offences against the person, and property crimes, including repeat offenders and first-time offenders. The study presents answers to the following question in the different research groups: What is the importance of risk in criminal decision-making? Did the inmates assess risk before committing a crime and if so, how? It also undertakes a comparative analysis of the perception of risk by offenders in different research groups.

The paper presents the results of a survey in which qualitative methodology was applied using the method of in-depth interview with elements of narrative

interview. By studying narrative it is possible to understand human action and life. Narrative is a way of understanding the world, it is someone's intended story about something (Deręgowska, 2016). Narrative as a way of understanding human action has also been an object of interest for educators for some time. As A. Krawczyk-Bocian (2019, p. 13) writes, 'The narrator undertakes to describe, explain and interpret their world…. The relation between pedagogy and narrative is therefore expressed in the need to view the life of a contemporary person from the perspective of their experiences or biographical facts.'

Narrative studies are particularly important from the point of view of re-socialisation interventions. Surveys that are carried out in prisons often arouse controversy. In the first place, there is the question of whether the respondents are telling the truth. In the case of narrative analysis, however, this question is not so important. The stories, feelings, perceptions and conclusions presented by the offenders can contribute to a better understanding by the researcher of what happened in the lives of the respondents, to an understanding their experiences and learning about the environment in which they lived (Sandberg, 2010). L. Presser (2009) wrote that narratives are the study of how the world is perceived by people; moreover, narratives can influence the future behaviour of a person. Narrative analysis provides us with knowledge about offenders' false beliefs about themselves and the world around them, which is important from the perspective of resocialisation (Piotrowski, Florek, 2015).

The qualitative analysis included 85 respondents. The surveys were conducted in six correctional facilities in Poland (Kraków-Podgórze, Kraków-Nowa Huta, Tarnów, Tarnów-Mościce, Nowy Wiśnicz, and Trzebinia). For the qualitative analysis, from the available interviews (172 interviews) those were selected which contained the largest amount of data relevant to the research problem, were recorded and corresponded to the criteria of deliberate sampling (type of committed crime and criminal past). A preliminary list of issues related to the perception of risk in criminal decisions was prepared for the interview.

The surveys were conducted in the presence of the respondent and the researcher. The place used for the survey was, depending on the prison, the psychologist's or pedagogue's room, classrooms or a library. The statements were recorded with the consent of the respondents and the prison management.

At the beginning of the research, a preliminary list of codes and their definitions, which were derived from the literature, was developed. The analysis of the qualitative research material collected was carried out using MaxQuda 11 software with which the reliability of the coding was also checked (see Gibbs, 2007). At the level of existence of the code in the documents, the reliability was 96%. At the level of the frequency of the code in the document, the reliability was 90%. At the level of consistency of coded utterance segments, the reliability was 79%.

Perceptions of risk by offenders.
Results of qualitative research. Economic crime

The results of the study on those who committed economic crimes have been discussed without distinguishing between the criminal past because the statements of first-time offenders and repeat offenders did not differ significantly from each other. In the interview, respondents talked about the risks that were associated with their crimes. The fact that they took risks for financial gain was indicated by 42% of the respondents. A smaller proportion of respondents took risks in order to avoid losses (21% of respondents), and only one respondent admitted that the risk a stimulant, i.e. it evoked positive emotions in him.

The notion of taking risks in order to gain benefits was associated with an awareness of the possible negative consequences of the action. The respondents accepted the risk because they were oriented towards possessing, i.e. gaining mainly financial benefits. *Well, I was just aware of what I did; I knew I would still be held responsible for it sooner or later'* (R 90); *'No, well, I was aware from the beginning, well, there had to be the normal consequences of this; after all, I was committing a crime, yes. So I was aware of it, but I didn't really think about how it was going to be later on...* (R 67).

The respondents also mentioned that they undertook risky actions, unlawful, illegal because they wanted to avoid losses in this way, most often related to running a business. The fear of greater losses was greater than the fear of imprisonment; this motivated them to take risky action.

The respondents raised several matters in the conversation about their perception of gains and losses. The first issue concerned their awareness of negative consequences. The respondents indicated that they were well aware that they had to reckon with the costs resulting from costs of committing a crime. This awareness was formed based on criminal experience. Moreover, they accepted this risk and factored it into their profit and loss calculations. *No, I knew it was a matter of time. I knew when I took 100,000 that I wouldn't pay it back anyway. I knew there would be reminders* (R 95); *Let me be honest here; of course I did analyse some of the disadvantages of a solution of just this kind... I was aware of the sort of sentence I might get; more or less I knew it... I was aware of all of this, yes... Well, I knew myself very well, however you look at, I was aware; and so, I was held responsible for it, yes.* (R 90).

What was more important for the respondents than the risk was the possibility to obtain quick and easy profits. In this case, the risk did not play a significant role, but the vision of future benefits did. *'Well, it was just such a benefit in my opinion; I just wanted to have money; well, it was the fastest possible profit'* (R 90).

The inmates' statements show that their own experience was important in their perception of risk. Furthermore, both their own and their acquaintances'

experience was important in assessing gains and losses. The more experience the respondents had with avoiding punishment for criminal activity, the lower they rated the risk.

Committing a crime was easier due to the fact that the respondents were not afraid of the negative consequences. And even if they were to appear, it would only be in the distant future. *'I mean, I was aware … that it would probably happen one day, that there would be a sentence, but somehow I just didn't care; I went about my work… Well, it will probably happen one day* [Researcher: negative consequence]' (R 80); *'I felt that one day it would all collapse; no, I felt it inside of me, and I knew that one day they would get me, I just didn't know it would end with such a sentence, that it would end like that…'* (R 87).

The conviction of a low risk appeared as a result of the belief that the actions undertaken did not cause much harm. Moreover, the crime was sometimes perceived as a lawful act. Some of the respondents did not see a high risk associated with their decisions because, as they claim, they were not aware of the consequences of their actions. *'So, well, when committing, when doing it, I didn't treat it as a crime at any time'* (R 89); *'I didn't hesitate because I didn't even think; it didn't even cross my mind that I might have some problems with the police and the court because of this. It did not even cross my mind that I might come to a prison'* (R 77).

The perception of a low level of risk by the respondents was also connected with the knowledge of the legal consequences of their actions. This belief was reinforced by successful crimes for which they did not face punishment. *'Well, yes, I got away with it once, then it went on'* (R 67); *'Paying off in part, for example, explaining myself with the impossibility of repayment because I don't earn that much. This is how it worked with most sentences… Such immunity lasts for years'* (R 95); *'I didn't use violence because I knew the charges would be different then'* (R 87).

When talking about planned gains in the interview, respondents meant financial gains including specific amounts of money or other material goods.

Respondents predicted the success of their crime with high probability. Respondents rarely thought about the negative consequences of their action before committing the crime. Most of them were convinced that they would be able to avoid the negative consequences of their action. They only feared a sentence that might deprive them of their liberty. The subjective probability of incurring costs was low. If there was a threat, it was remote. Most, however, hoped that they would get around the negative consequences of their actions. *'I mean, I was so aware, I was so aware that, that it would probably appear there one day, that the sentence, but somehow I just didn't pay attention, I just walked around, did my work'* (R 80); *'Well, I thought it would just, somehow, I don't know. I will get away'* (R 80).

Perceptions of risk by offenders. Results of qualitative research. Property crime

Presented below are the results of studies on individuals who committed property crimes, including theft, burglary and robbery. These results are presented separately due to the differences between the groups of offences in the study, including differences between repeat offenders and first time offenders.

THEFT / BURGLARY. Offenders serving their first custodial sentence

When committing a crime, respondents were convinced that everything would work out fine. The chances of success were estimated as very high. Therefore, the risk they took was low in their opinion. On the one hand, the respondents expected their actions to be successful. On the other hand, they were aware of the punishment (this punishment is remote) that might befall them. Prior to the crime, respondents hoped that they would not be punished. *'Yes, well, I knew, I was sure I would always be successful'* (R 88); *'Well, I expected to get away with it, but I also knew that, that there might be this worse version of, you know'* (R 66); *'Well yes, from 1 to 5, yes at 4 (Researcher: I judged that it would succeed)'* (R 56).

The perceived risk was low as the respondents were aware that a potential punishment would be low compared with the gains they would make by breaking the law. There was awareness among respondents of the potential consequences which they felt were unlikely to affect them. Thus, the punishment was perceived as something remote distant, unknown or not severe, and therefore of little concern. *'Well, holy crap, I just laughed at him, and said, well, take this stuff, call the police and they'll write me a ticket. He shut up, the police came, they wrote me a ticket, in half an hour I was in the shop, and I robbed them; altogether I was lucky'* (R 88); *'Well, no, I knew that for sure; something would come of it, I just didn't know what… No, I thought, what has to be will be'* (R 78).

The risk perceived by the respondents was also low due to the fact that they had a criminal history. What is more, those who were repeatedly given suspended sentences were less afraid of negative consequences believing that this time too they would avoid prison. Their experience with avoiding punishment reinforced their belief that there was nothing to fear. *'Yes, I am not afraid (Researcher: afraid of negative consequences), I have been to various centres, I am not afraid of being in prison, well staying in prison… I was successful all the time'* (R 88); *'I got away, yes…, I was so lucky'.* (R 85); *'They didn't catch me, not even once'* (R 56); *'I had no previous criminal record, and I knew that I would get a suspended sentence, and so on'* (R 92).

Risk was also estimated as low when respondents were convinced that the circumstances in which they committed the offence were favourable and non-threatening. *'We broke into a house; it belonged to people who knew me, and we knew*

they were just, they were not in that house' (R 86); *'There was little risk that they could catch me… No, I didn't think about it (Researcher: negative consequences) because I thought they wouldn't catch me'* (R 58).

The respondents did not think about the consequences of their actions in cases where the crime was committed in the spur of the moment, on an impulse or because there was an opportunity. *'I set myself in that context. I didn't have any such… thoughts about whether it would work or not. It was simply such an, at least an impulse in my part, we went and…'* (R 86); *'All in all, to be honest, I didn't really think what the side effect of it would be, just how to do the trick and take it'* (R 72).

Those who were accomplices and assisted in the commission of the offence understated the risks by shifting responsibility to those who broke the law in a direct manner. These were e.g. people who drove a car with the loot. *'I was aware of this and I didn't take part in it directly so I treated it a bit differently… I was less afraid because I didn't participate directly… Well, I didn't participate in it too much so I thought it was less of a risk for me and I didn't take it too much into account… They already took the risk on themselves'* (R 82).

Having a plan of action was the factor which, according to the respondents, lowered the risk associated with a violation of the law. When a crime is well thought out, the chances of a mishap are minimal. What is more, the respondents indicated that one should only steal goods of a limited value so that the possible punishment would not be too high. *'I did a lot of planning so that there would be no harm, no consequences… I was able to have 1,500 zloty a day, just misdemeanours, not me all the time… Because I was stealing up to a certain amount'* (R 88); *'The actions were even perfect even; just the human factor (laughing)'* (R 74).

The probability of profits was rated as high by respondents. They were convinced not only that everything would work out, but they were also sure of the profit.

THEFT / BURGLARY. Repeat offenders

Repeat offenders were more cautious in assessing the success of a crime. They were aware of the negative consequences they could face for breaking the law. Nevertheless, they took risks and hoped that the action would be successful. The respondents emphasised in their statements the fact that nothing is certain; therefore it is all right to take risks. *'Let's be honest; just everybody, most people who go for something like that hope they won't be caught… it was a kind of wishful thinking, let's say, that it would definitely work… You hardly thought of any consequences because if you thought about the consequences, you would never go for it'* (R 50); *'Someday I will fail but not now. That's what I thought, too'* (R 38).

If the respondents considered any negative consequences before committing the crime, they tended to perceive the punishment as remote and not severe. The respondents carefully calculated the gains and losses before committing the cri-

me. Gains were perceived as greater than the negative consequences despite the fact that there was a subjective awareness of the risk of being arrested. *'I mean, I thought about the consequences; that if they caught me there would be a sentence; only I didn't think it would be such a long one, no'* (R 46); *'Well, sure, I always reckoned with the consequences. I always considered them; I just always hoped that maybe things would go smoothly; or would they go harshly? … Mostly, I thought it I would get away'* (R 16); *'Well I could, for example, raid jewellery shops with a gun* (Researcher: but I didn't)*; well, 'cause the punishment for that is incomparably more severe'* (R 35).

The respondents reinforced their conviction that the crime was not associated with a high risk due to the fact that they had managed to avoid punishment before. Impunity even motivated them to act. They considered themselves lucky to go unpunished. *'Well, I was so lucky with all those burglaries; that I found everything I went in for'* (R 5); *'I just do it. Routine. There's nothing difficult, dangerous about it, right. Easy money'* (R 17); *'I usually got away'* (R 38); *'I was very successful at first. Later, too. Until someone snitched on me'* (R 12)

ROBBERY. Repeat offenders

Most of the people who committed robbery did not estimate the risk that was associated with breaking the law. Before the crime the respondents thought that risk did not concern them. The perception of risk appeared only afterwards, typically when they were detained by the police. *'I never thought about it; when I was there; yeah, exactly, I never thought I would be doing time, and all that'* (R 9); *'I didn't really think about it at all; only later, after the fact* (Researcher: about the negative consequences of the action)*'* (R 6); *'Failure was out of the question… I was certain. I was sure'* (R 1).

There was a sense of impunity in the respondents. Under the influence of alcohol 'the whole world belonged to them' so they paid no attention to possible risks. Respondents also indicated that they did not pay much attention to risks because they had managed to avoid punishment for their crimes many times in the past. *'Even worse kind of stuff happened; and didn't come out. Bigger deals were done and nothing came out; and I'm doing time for small beer. That's the truth'* (R 21); *'I mean, well, as a rule yes, yes, yes, there were times when it worked out for me'* (R 6); *'Well, we did it for a long time, and in fact if we got our heads round, it was like six months, because we did it week in, week out. And they only proved three shops to us'* (R 1).

In some cases respondents were aware of the punishment that might be meted out to them before committing the crime. However, the severity of the punishment, or imprisonment in itself, did not influence the commission of the crime. When committing a premeditated crime, respondents assessed that their actions would be successful and nothing bad would happen to them. '(Researcher: chances of success are) *100%'* (R 9); *'It's never 100%. Yes, 90%'* (R 6); *'100%*

(Researcher: will be successful)' (R 2); *'Always 100% (Researcher: that it will be successful)*' (R 1).

When faced with considerable gains, the respondents did not pay attention to potential losses. They spoke of temptation overshadowing the potential negative consequences of their action. *'If you see what money there is to make, you don't look the hell what the penalty is. Totally unimportant. I don't care about penalties being made more severe; I don't look at things like that. The temptation is just greater'* (R 19).

Perceptions of risk by offenders.
Results of a qualitative study.
Offences against the person

Presented below are the results of a qualitative analysis concerning the respondents convicted of offences against the person, including involvement in a fight and battery with fatal outcome (first-time offenders and repeat offenders – no distinction was made due to the lack of significant differences between the groups) and murder/attempted murder (repeat offenders).

INVOLVEMENT IN A FIGHT / BATTERY WITH FATAL OUTCOME. Offenders serving their first custodial sentence. Repeat offenders.

The situation in which the respondents found themselves before the offence itself was not perceived as threatening or likely to cause negative consequences. This was due to the fact that the respondents did not think about the consequences of their behaviour before acting. It was only after breaking the law that the respondents started to perceive a potential hazard, such as imprisonment. When the chances of avoiding punishment turned out to be low, respondents pleaded guilty to avoid a more severe sentence. *'No, I did not anticipate (Researcher: negative consequences) … I didn't reckon with the consequences. It was my mistake… Only afterwards. When I once woke up there in the hospital, I had to stop'* (R 65); *'I didn't think about it (Researcher: negative consequences) at all'* (R 63).

Situations in which premeditated actions were taken did not pose a threat to the respondents, as they were convinced that everything would work out anyway. *'Well, I mean, well, if it comes to such situations, as I saw it, so to speak, how good everything will be rather fine'* (R 71); *'That kind of things; not to do it, not to hurt in general (Researcher: one thinks so). More along the lines of yes, to scare a bit. So that he knows that it's no joking, but so that nothing happens to him'* (R 7).

In connection with committing a crime, respondents pointed to two benefits. The first was satisfaction because they made someone happy (in the situation of a revenge motive). The other benefit from criminal activity was gaining respect from the immediate environment. The probability of success of the crime was

rated as high. When committing a crime against the person, the respondents were convinced that everything would work out fine. *'I mean, I knew that I would make it…; it was certain'* (R 73); '(Researcher: I rated the chance of success) *as high… 100%'* (R 65).

HOMICIDE / ATTEMPTED HOMICIDE. Repeat offenders

In situations of unpremeditated offences the respondents did not anticipate negative consequences of their actions as they did not expect they would commit this type of offence. Thoughts about the negative consequences appeared after breaking the law when they had realised the seriousness of the situation in which they were involved. In the situation of premeditated crimes, the respondents were also convinced that nothing bad would happen because they would commit the crime in a careful manner. *'I did not anticipate anything… No witnesses, no traces, no anything; they couldn't do anything to me'* (R 51); *'I was aware of the consequences of what might happen for such a thing, but I never expected that I would do it'* (R 45); *'Well, only when I was in custody. And before that, no'* (R 39); *'I was sure that he would be fine there, that he was just a bit mutilated and that was it'* (R 13).

None of the respondents mentioned any gains from the crime. In the situation of a premeditated action, the chances of success were predicted in two variants, i.e. a success or a failure; it will definitely be a success. The respondents also spoke very little about losses.

Interpretation of research results and suggestions for the theory and practice of resocialisation

In each study group, risks were taken for three purposes: for gains, to avoid losses (see Zaleśkiewicz, 2006) and for pleasure (see Zuckerman, 1994).

In their narratives the respondents commented on risk identifying a number of factors which they believed were the reason why the risk was rated as low, which also allowed them to take criminal actions. In each study group (in the case of offences against the person this concerns planning a murder planning and football hooliganism), the respondents were convinced that their actions involved low risk as they anticipated an almost 100 per cent chance of success for their actions; the likelihood of success was very high. The respondents exhibited over--optimism in relation to the perception of crime-related risks thereby shutting themselves off from any cues that might indicate potential danger associated with their actions (Walters, 1990). The self-confidence shown earlier and the awareness of one's own efficacy may have influenced the perception of risk in the respondents. Having these qualities as well as a plan of action, and awareness of favourable circumstances mentioned by the respondents made them more willing to take risks despite being aware of the possible losses (see Studenski, 2004).

Among respondents committing offences against the person in unpremeditated situations and involvement in robberies, the risks associated with their activity were only perceived after the offence at the time of being detained by the police. Respondents (including some thieves convicted for the first time) indicated that they did not think about the consequences because they acted on impulse, intense emotions or the appearance of an opportunity.

The frequent involvement of alcohol in the commission of a crime made the respondents more willing to take criminal actions. In this case, immediate benefits were more important than a remote punishment. Risky behaviour under the influence of psychoactive drugs became more attractive to them (see Exum, et al, 2017). When an opportunity arises and evokes positive emotions, this obscures the view of the potential losses being the consequence of misguided behaviour. The respondents who committed a crime against the person without planning their action described the situation they found themselves in as non-threatening; they did not expect the crime to occur; thus, they did not think about the risk, either. The contract killers as well as the thieves were convinced that their actions did not involve great risk by virtue of having a good plan of action and their preparation for the crime. According to A. Bandura (1986), people with self-efficacy beliefs are convinced that they have the ability to succeed in specific situations. Strong self-efficacy beliefs promote the achievement of the intended goals, which could be observed in the respondents' narratives.

The respondents who committed economic crimes and those who engaged in theft shared some characteristics lowering the level of perceived risk. These included having an awareness of risk, which was overshadowed by the awareness of the possibility to make significant gains; in the calculation gains outweighed potential losses; more important than the risk is the awareness of quick and easy profit; potential losses were considered as remote and low, and therefore accepted; there was also the awareness of having previously avoided negative consequences, recollection of suspended sentences. Similar conclusions were reached by G. Pogarsky and A. Piquero (2003) who found that committing a crime with impunity impairs the perception of risk associated with committing a crime. Also R. Apel and G.D. Nagin (2017) indicated that risk perception depends on the number of arrests and the number of undetected crimes. The results of the study confirm that avoiding punishments in the past impaired the respondents' perception of risk.

In the case of economic offenders, the risk perception was even lower as the respondents believed that their actions would be smooth and quick; they already had experience that should increase their chances of success. Furthermore, crime was associated with little or no harm, with the belief that their activity was not a crime. When assessing the risk, the respondents questioned the harm. Some of the study subjects acted without thinking about the negative consequences pushing them out of consciousness instead. The negative signals indicating the danger of criminal activity were cut off (see Walters, 1990). Economic criminals,

who had problems in the company, were more afraid of potential financial loss than of a prison sentence when they calculated profits and losses.

The thieves who were punished for the first time were additionally convinced that the punishment would not apply to them; that the circumstances in which they committed the crime were so safe and favourable that there was nothing to fear (see Walters, 1990). They underestimated the risk by dividing it between the participants in the crime in the situation where they had accomplices. They were self-confident and aware that a good plan of action was a good safety net for them. Repeat offenders, on the other hand, additionally believed that it was the inevitability of punishment that could increase the risk associated with criminal activity rather than the punishment itself, which they did not find scary but low and non-existent. This is supported by a study by Fajnzylber et al (2002) who found that the effectiveness of the justice system is a factor that discourages offenders from taking action.

For offenders involved in robbery, the severity of punishment was not important. Before the crime, they did not care about it at all considering that it did not affect them. They were convinced of their impunity; they did not see the risk but believed that 'the world belonged to them', and they were invincible. The low self-control that is associated with robbery, fight and battery and homicide means that criminals perceive low losses while expecting high gains (see Piquero, Tibbetts, 1996).

The above findings indicate that due to various cognitive distortions and group action mechanisms (see Tyszka, 2010), the respondents underestimated the picture of risk by downplaying the harm (Gibbs, Potter, 1995); over-optimism, being strength-oriented and disengagement (Walters, 1990); polarised thinking (Beck, 1995). The logic-driven profit and loss calculation that is present in the narratives is limited by cognitive distortions.

Having experiences, new information from one's own experience, self-education and the experiences of fellow offenders, influenced the perception of crime-related risks lowering it from higher to lower levels. This supports the assumptions of R.L. Matsueda et al. (2006) that offenders update their perceptions of the likelihood of events, including perceptions of crime-related risks.

All the respondents who planned their crime assumed gain various benefits, mainly financial. The likelihood of gaining such benefits was very high. Profit in the case of economic crimes and thieves was almost certain, large, quick and easy. The respondents' propensity towards achieving immediate benefits may indicate their cognitive errors including preference for the present tense. Also the over-optimism, over-confidence, overestimation of one's capabilities manifested by them may distort the picture of risk (see Muskała, 2017).

The calculation of gains and losses did not take place in the situation of unpremeditated crimes and where the respondents distanced themselves from them. In each study group there were people who did not think about punishment before

the crime, or if they did, the likelihood of it occurring was very low. The excessive optimism they displayed, which boils down to people making decisions with the conviction that negative events do not concern them, being oriented towards positive event scenarios, testifies to a distorted view of risks (Szyszka, 2006).

The cognitive errors that appeared in the assessment of risk led the respondents to underestimate the risk associated with their criminal activity. Similarly, R. L. Matsueda et.al (2013) found that cognitive errors that have been formed in offenders as a result of different life experiences influence the perception of risk in such a way that it is overestimated or underestimated. The present study helped to show this problem in different research groups.

Before taking the action, offenders were convinced of a high likelihood of gains and a low likelihood of loss. Gains were to be obtained immediately after the crime was committed, and the respondents dissociated themselves from losses. Gains and losses were not calculated for unexpected situations. The likelihood of gains was mainly estimated by those committing property crimes.

In each study group, the respondents had the experience of avoiding punishment for breaking the law. This reduced their level of perceived risk from a higher level to a lower level, which further facilitated their decision to commit a crime. Such results were also obtained in a study by J. Horney and I. H. Marshall (2006) who found that a higher number of undetected offences led offenders to believe that the likelihood of imprisonment was low (see Kazemian, Le Blanc, 2007).

In their narratives the respondents manifested different kinds of cognitive distortions concerning risk perception, and used neutralisation techniques. This should be an area of interest for re-socialisation educators. Cognitive behavioural therapy, which focuses on changing erroneous, distorted thinking, could be particularly useful in this case.

The perception of risk made it easier for the subjects to commit a crime. The cognitive distortions that occurred in the respondents were relevant in underestimating the perceived risk related to the crime. Frequent dissociation from negative consequences, or overestimation of one's abilities, overestimation of the chances of success is conductive to breaking the law. Therefore, it is worthwhile to take this into account in correctional work and thus use cognitive-behavioural therapies. Such interventions should be introduced from an early age (13–16 years, the age of initiation of crime indicated in the study) and should be interwoven with both prevention and correctional activities, at schools, in care and educational institutions and penitentiary institutions. Consideration should be given to the enforcement of the law because in the case of all the respondents, repeated avoidance or postponement of sentences by the justice system reinforced the respondents' belief that their negative actions do not entail unpleasant consequences, which in fact has an encouraging effect on them. It is worthwhile to extend research on offenders' perception of risk as it can contribute to the development of effective prevention and resocialisation interventions.

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Penitentiary Clinic as the project of effective academic education – learning experiences through retrospective

Abstract: Cognitive curiosity is aroused by the issue of alternative educational areas for students as an experience that stimulates subjective learning and forms the ability to learn independently. Of particular importance is the reflexively deepened, conscious reflection of graduates of social rehabilitation, employed in penitentiary units on the meaning of their participation in the project of the Penitentiary Clinic in terms of pedagogical professional condition. In order to analyze the potential benefits for future penitentiary practitioners, the penitentiary staff in the broadest sense, an attempt to interpret the learning experience, the expectations of the transmission of specialized, unique knowledge that fills certain gaps of current prison system's problems, the possibility of elimination of the total nature of the prison, through retrospective confrontation, was the aim of the study. The presented research is part of a broader project for further analysis made from the perspective of penitentiary staff, and thus for overstepping the limitations of academic education resulting from habits leading to the establishment of an opposition between pedagogical theory and practice. The study fits into the discourse, concerning vocational skills of the social rehabilitation students in the process of alternative, practical education. The interpretative perspective of the research made it possible to consider the respondents as unique, constructive, reflective, taking effective practical actions.
Key words: penitentiary clinic, learning through experience, social rehabilitation graduate.

Instead of an introduction

The project of the Penitentiary Clinic is part of the implementation of one of the important functions of the modern university as a learning organization as defined by P. M. Senge (2002–2012). A learning organization, according to the aforementioned author, is primarily development-oriented and therefore self-reflective, aware and capable of formulating constructive conclusions. Following the theory presented by P. M. Senge, the university as a "learning" organization, with the welfare of students and employees in mind, will be oriented towards development and innovation in both the education system and management, will unite the activities of wards and educators with common aspirations, and will skillfully draw conclusions from its evaluation studies. The task of the university as a "learning" organization is not only to transmit knowledge, but also to survive in the market and provide students with the highest quality educational services. To supervise the quality of education, the university uses external bodies, companies or institutions. The described project is an example of creating innovative methods and forms of didactic work combined with practice. Its classes combine cognitive and practical dimensions. During the course of the project, students attempt, among other things, to diagnose, make periodic assessments of progress in social rehabilitation, prepare an individual program of social rehabilitation interventions, etc. Participation in the project involves students in acquiring theoretical knowledge, which they will be able to apply in prevention, social rehabilitation and probation activities. At the same time, students have the opportunity to make a preliminary identification of their own potentials and professional beliefs. In addition, the implementation of the project contributes to leveling the total nature of the prison through the systematic presence of the university community, and points to new opportunities for cooperation between universities and prisons in the training of students in social rehabilitation.

Assumptions of the Penitentiary Clinic project

The concept of the "Penitentiary Clinic" project was created in the Department of Social Rehabilitation Pedagogy at the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn. In connection with the implementation of the project, a team consisting of staff from the University and officers from the Olsztyn Detention Center was established. The coordinators of the project at the detention center were the head of the penitentiary department and the head of the external ward. The project "Penitentiary Clinic" was addressed to convicts serving time in the external ward of the Olsztyn Detention Center and students of the second year of the Social

Rehabilitation full-time undergraduate program at the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn. Prison staff were also participants in the project being implemented. The "Penitentiary Clinic" combines theoretical academic learning with practical classes on the premises of the external ward of the Olsztyn Detention Center and, due to its innovative nature, was the only such project in Poland.

The project included a module of specialty subjects, among other things, methodology of working in pathological environments. The program of the project evolved, the time dimension of the classes was gradually increased both because of the educational needs of the students and the needs reported by the convicts. The main goal of the project "Penitentiary Clinic" was to transfer information and enrich students' existing knowledge in the field of penitentiary social rehabilitation in its real-world multidimensionality. The specific objectives were: (a) learning about the working conditions of prison staff and the possibilities of conducting penitentiary interventions in semi-open and open prisons, (b) learning about the workshop of educators of the penitentiary department and implementing the actual subjective interaction of convicts, (c) teaching convicts of how to comply with the organizational and order regulations for the execution of imprisonment and internal order, (d) attempts to define the typology of convicts, (e) learning about the scope of activities of the bodies of executive proceedings (penitentiary court, director and penitentiary commission).

The first edition of the project lasted from 22.02.2012 to 16.06.2012. Each inauguration of the classes was preceded by the official signing of a cooperation agreement between the parties: the authorities of the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn and the Detention Center in Olsztyn. The external ward of the Detention Center has 356 places at its disposal, while maintaining the standard for the area of a residential cell in accordance with Article 110 § 2 of the Executive Penal Code, which is 3 m^2 per convict (Executive Penal Code, 1997). At the end of 2017, the ward was populated in 83.4% and housed about 297 convicts. During the eight editions of the "Penitentiary Clinic" to date, a total of 439 students have participated in the classes.

Assumptions of David Kolb's theory of experiential learning

The term "reflective" from the perspective of academic education represents a new ideological, inspirational space. At a time when many young people are faced with careers that impose the need to constantly dynamize their own skills, competencies, and paths to knowledge, are no longer linear, the creation of a new learning ecosystem (Solarczyk-Ambrozik 2021, p. 222) requires constructivist academic design, among other things, in the search for partners in the learning process. In this aspect, the behavioral and cognitive perspectives of thinking abo-

ut learning are rejected. In understanding the learning process, the experiential learning theory of D. Kolb (1986, p. 38) plays a useful role. Reference to this theory will help to emphasize the relevance of the learning process in terms of the reflective development of future penitentiary practitioners. It can contribute not only to the description of students' educational reflexivity, but to confront and catalog their professional experiences with the design offer of academic education, the possibilities of emancipation or a certain demystification of the trajectory of conflicts resulting from the professional roles of graduates.

The analysis of the theory of D. Kolb shows that "learning is a process where knowledge is shaped by the transformation of experience" (ibid.). From its assumptions, it is possible to conclude an individual's learning preferences, which are indicative of his or her fixed, empirical pattern of behavior. The learning cycle includes four scopes: 1) concrete learning – the basis of learning is experience or reinterpretation of the experience held; 2) reflective observation – refers to experience; includes inconsistencies between experience and understanding, causing cognitive dissonance, requiring clarification and explanations; 3) abstract conceptualization – the effect of reflective observation is to enable the formation of new ideas and concepts, or to aim to modify existing ones while generalizing its results; 4) active experimentation of newly learned or modified concepts into practice in order to verify them in future situations, gaining new experience[1].

The learning process occurs after going through the whole cycle, besides, it is considered from two perspectives 1) the process continuum, which indicates the approach to the implementation of action, such as learning by observation or learning by action, and 2) the perception continuum, which is the preference of learning by thinking, feeling and emotion.

At the core of this theory is the assumption that experience and reflection coexist. An adult gathers observations in a reflective manner, reflecting on the reasons for actions, entering into the process of evaluating experiences. In the next stage, he/she arranges some theories, general principles, then moving on to experimentation i.e. testing generalizations in new situations, which in turn leads to a new experience, which closes the cycle of D. Kolb.

According to the cycle's author, four combinations of perception and process (action) help determine one of the four learning styles preferred by an individual. Styles are not a fixed component of the subject's personality, but rather some fixed pattern of behavior, as a continuum of one's experience, hence they can be interpreted in the category of learning preferences rather than styles. Of the preferences distinguished, the author proposed four ranges of learning preferences: diverging, assimilating, converging and accommodating. _Diverging_ – such an individual manifests intuitive and divergent thinking, creative approach to action,

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[1] S. M. McLoad, Kolb – learning styles: www.simplypsychology.org/learning-kolb.html [accessed: February 03, 2022]

perceives a given situation from multiple perspectives, which places him/her in the position of an observer rather than an actor, oriented to feelings and emotions; preferring tasks that require cooperation and ingenuity. This style is preferred by the so-called theorist. He/she learns by looking for connections and relationships between issues, analyzes theoretical models, and draws logical conclusions from observations and experiences. He/she improves its competence when the content he/she learns is part of a larger system, model or theory, and when he/she has time to explain the relationships and dependencies between ideas and concepts. It is important for him/her to know his/her goals and objectives, to have a sense of structured situation. The learning process is hindered for the individual by the situation in which he/she is forced to engage and disclose emotions. _Assimilating_ – such an individual integrates multiple observations and concepts into a whole, creates models and theories, thinks inductively, designs and experiments. An analyst, a reflective person, gathers data, seeks information, considers circumstances and draws conclusions. Learning is promoted by situations in which he/she can reflect on the action, analyze what happened. He/she prefers conditions in which he/she can have time to think about a problem, gather information, and make decisions without time pressure. An impediment to learning is the need to improvise, to act without a prior plan. _Converging_ – practical application of solutions to problems, making decisions and implementing them in practice, attempting to find solutions to technical problems rather than interpersonal ones. He/she is an activist, an empiricist. A person who is open to change, learns by doing in terms of new experiences and problems that need to be solved. He/she treats new tasks as a challenge, gains in the context of active forms of learning, such as: exercises, simulations. He/she does not accept traditional forms of teaching, such as a lecture of a theoretical nature, working according to strict instructions, and repeating the same activities. He/she does not prefer to work independently. _Accommodating_ – trial-and-error activities, adaptation to changing circumstances, intuitive nature of solved problems – exploratory (Kolb, 1999). He/she is a pragmatist. What is significant for him/her is first of all the possibility of applying new knowledge, i.e. putting it into practice. He/she assimilates knowledge most effectively when he/she sees the practical advantages of problems and has the opportunity to try them out, practice them and get feedback from the lecturer. He/she focuses on practical problems. He/she is stimulated by competition in the group, while he/she is disturbed by the lack of practical exercises and task indications. He/she does not accept the situation when the learning process has no direct practical application, and the content presented seems to be different from reality, or when something makes it difficult for him/her to apply the acquired knowledge in the learning process. Class scheme (laying out a plan to improve specific skills, exercises with instructions explaining the benefits of the task, openness to a factual exchange of ideas, and analysis of new examples and specific problems from learners' daily

practice)[2]. I made a brief characterization of learning preferences for the sake of highlighting the possibilities of topological analyses of the Kolb's model, however, due to the volume limitations of the text, I do not undertake them.

The learning process in an adaptation of D. Kolb's cycle theory – experience as a basic form of human development – could be used in the process of teaching skills and content to be experienced, so as to consequently make their reflective analysis, generalization and integration into daily practice (Leśny 2014).

Retrospective self-reference of social rehabilitation graduates to learning in the light of empirical research

According to D. Kolb, every type of learning is experiential learning. M. Ledzińska (2000, p. 127) notes that learning viewed in the category of purpose and means, related to the development of learning strategies, should correspond to the personal preferences and capabilities of the learner. Awareness linked to introspection of experience, known as reflective action, which characterizes the phase of early adulthood, is a unique outcome of learning (Ledzińska 2000, p. 133). Since adult development is guided by the practice of life and its demands, and all learning is experiential learning, involving phases arranged in a cycle: from concrete experience through reflective observation and abstract conceptualization to active experimentation, i.e. back to concrete experience, it will be legitimate to take a constructivist perspective, in which subjects are reflective practitioners, learning by activating constructive processes, allowing to describe the process of education sensitive to change through its reflexive attributes: adequate response to ever-changing requirements, reflection, criticism and developmental orientation. Respondents are learning by experiencing themselves, the actual space, by participating and acting. I focused my research investigation on qualitative data strategies. The research relates to a broader scientific project on solutions for linking academic training with praxis.

The empirical material consists of narratives of social rehabilitation graduates obtained by the method of in-depth (problem-focused) interview as a narrative, in which the researcher can return to the main thread, while supporting the interviewee during the narrative, giving direction to the conversation in the form of additional questions (when moving away from the thread), asking questions about previously unmentioned topics (Krüger, 2021, pp. 163–164). The aim of the research project was to identify educational experiences, through participation in the project of the Penitentiary Clinic, that stimulate subjective, reflective learning for professionally graduates from the faculty of

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[2] See https://psychologiaity.com/2017/02/23/style-uczenia-sie-i-metody-aktywizujace-w-edukacji--doroslych [accessed: February 03, 2022]

social rehabilitation. I analyzed the research material with reference to conceptual categories derived from experiential learning theory. With regard to the accentuated methodological aspects, I have attempted to interpret and describe the statements of the respondents regarding the evaluation of the described solution, certain orientations of reflection regarding the possibility of modifying it, namely: How do social rehabilitation graduates describe the condition of the student of social rehabilitation and professional condition in terms of the meaning given to the participation in the project of the Penitentiary Clinic?; Did, and if so, how did the educational space stimulate reflective learning and create the ability to learn independently? In revealing the survey data, I have refined the area of the survey in the direction of attempting to identify the capabilities necessary to undertake educational work, equip the respondents with competencies and display them, and initiate reflection on the understanding and effective implementation of the learning process in the context of the cognitive process and the development of conceptual structures. In the research intention, I decided to purposively select a sample for the study (which means that the researcher himself/herself decides who will be included in the group of respondents) with graduates of the specialty of social rehabilitation, currently pursuing their careers in prison, and to conduct interviews using selected dispositions, taking into account professional experience. The partial version of the report presented here is the result of self-reconstruction.

After qualitative analysis of the resulting data to search for analytical categories and make reductions, substantive coding was used: open and selective (Rubacha 2008). After adapting the research tool, it can be concluded that the respondents' professional experience is a product of each respondent's prior knowledge, experience, predispositions and preferences, drawn, among other things, from the opportunity to participate in an academic project. The learning process of the study participants is part of the D Kolb cycle in two overlapping dimensions, namely during the project and during the professional role currently being performed. In addition, the two-way learning process is reflected in the constructivist and reflective approach of students to educational academic offerings when confronted with their profession. In analyzing the statements of the graduates, the humanistic orientation of their learning was clearly revealed. Based on the premise that constructivist learning (Pritchard 2009) occurs when: • learners construct knowledge in an active way; • learners activate their prior knowledge; • learners use various sources of information in the process of cognition/solution of a cognitive task; • authentic tasks are posed in a meaningful context for the learner; • reflection on prior knowledge and new learning situations is triggered; • learners interact socially, learn from each other; • autonomy and self-reliance are triggered, this learning will be an active process of individual construction of cognitive schemes, their formation, reconstruction and integration into already existing structures of knowledge, skills and existing understanding of the world. The assumption of constructivism indicates that in

the process of learning, students refer to their own experiences so far, knowledge, acquired during classes at the university and, above all, during participation in the project. In these scopes, the cognitive, emotional and action-oriented activity of students is revealed as components of the assumptions of constructivism. At the same time, the learning process in the cycle, in its first phase involving concrete action, manifests itself in the fact that students during project classes are obliged to conduct educational interviews, draft periodic evaluations of the progress of convicts in social rehabilitation, as well as prepare individual programs of social rehabilitation interventions, where convicts serving a sentence of imprisonment are selected for practical activities. The students participate in a penitentiary court session, carried out on the premises of the prison, get acquainted with, among other things, the criteria for granting convicts conditional early release from the remaining, adjudicated sentence and qualifying convicts to serve their sentences outside prison in the electronic supervision system, or make observations of the work of prison officers, and, above all, confront the knowledge they have already acquired, with the professional knowledge and support of the project coordinators, with their own experience of working in isolation institutions. In the first phase of the cycle of **concrete learning**, students of social rehabilitation undertaking a problematic task arising from the stated goals of the project, verify their previous experience within the framework of specialized, academic knowledge, while cognitively generating new ideas, different from existing ones, arising from the methodology of social rehabilitation interventions, discuss the possibilities of action, and consequently make and implement concrete decisions. New skills introduced into adequate decision-making areas, correspond with the skills, knowledge as well as professional, pedagogical and specialized competencies of staff and students. The "workshop" feature of the project equips candidates with the ability to dig deep into themselves and create pedagogical reflection. For example:

> A1:…the organization of the educational process in the detention center stimulated the need to explore more and more knowledge about people deprived of liberty, how they function in penitentiary units, the interactions that officers must use to help them re-socialize…

> A2:…in my opinion, the premise of the project was to give participants as much practical knowledge as possible, which they will potentially use in their professional work. Thanks to the practical classes, I verified my skills in more than one area of professional work […] Allowing students to penetrate the hermetic world of prison officers gave me a chance to consolidate theoretical knowledge, which was verified by practical skills after participating in the project.

The premise of the thematic blocks that put emphasis on the transfer of information and the use of information in practice made the participants correct

certain attitudes that should not be adopted in penitentiary work, both during the project exercises and the professional work.

> A3: I remember the first face-to-face contact with an inmate. The man's job was to conduct an interview, or more precisely, to allow to conduct with him a preliminary interview. The first conversation between an educator and an inmate. Here the curtains came down and you could see for yourself a person who is homesick, has problems with alcohol, is fed up with his life so far.

> A4: […] the premise was clear from the start – the class allows us to step into the role of a prison officer

In the **reflective observation** phase, graduates analyze specific actions of their own, search for their meaning, interpret their non-obvious elements in the prism of the results achieved and the possibility of their continuation or the need to change their thinking and actions. Commitment, authenticity in the implementation of entrusted activities, openness to staff-initiated systemic, formal actions toward improving the human being in prison will profile social facilitators of reflexivity (Mizerek 2021, p. 138) of students. The collection of interpersonal and intellectual experiences crystallizes the value orientation, life orientation, defines the meaning and legitimacy of the choice of a career path. Going deep into practice, analyzing the results of activities supports the process of learning of subjects, forming their skills and knowledge. Reflection refers to the situation, the event in a multicontextual perspective, involves autonomous perception or choices made. The importance of the process of reflexivity in the way with a lack of reference to experience and understanding, is the motivational charge of the possibility of resolving new, previously unconscious experiences of practice. Of no small importance in considering reflexivity is criticism. The essence of critical reflection is a type of thinking directed at questioning one's own being. Thanks to this, it is possible to discover in the individual and the social environment, barriers to development (Mizerek 2021, pp. 78–79). However, as H. Mizerek (2021, p. 79) states, "not everything that demands opposition and negation can in practice become the content of reflection". According to J. Mezirow (2009, pp. 90–105), critical reflection is retrospective in nature and is a reflection on determining the motives, reasons and consequences of actions and defining those considered normal, and co-occurs with transformative learning, whose frame of reference of a dynamic nature, finds reference in the process of reorientation of habits, especially in a crisis situation, or results from the accumulation of experiences and conscious critical reflection. According to J. Richards and Ch. Lockhart (2007) critical reflection, or a higher level of reflexivity, represents the ability to ask relevant questions, enabling self-evaluation, thoughts in the face of changes to the current way of doing things in order to modify them, and to monitor those changes. The subjects of constructivism embody reflective

practitioners who learn by activating constructive processes (Perkowska-Klejman 2019, pp. 161–162). It is significant to reflect on issues that are new – previously inexperienced elements of practice. A. Perkowska-Klejman (2019, p. 167) notes the definitional complexity of reflexivity, and lists, among others, self-reflection, self-awareness, openness, ability to focus attention, ability to select information, divergence in thinking, creativity, ability to make inferences, responsibility, adding that in the process of cognition, the reflexive subject will efficiently operationalize these predispositions. According to her, a reflective student is a vigilant observer, skillfully processing the information acquired in the course of study, combining it with existing knowledge, exploring the possibilities of new cognition, including practical application (Perkowska-Klejman 2019, p. 167).

A1: …during the course, the student had the opportunity to work directly with a person deprived of liberty. The curriculum included activities in which students could […] take on the role of an educator. An interview was conducted with an inmate, during which the listener paid attention to the family situation, the degree of demoralization, whether the act was intentional or unintentional, and many other factors that allowed the student to establish a personal identification file. […]. …participation in the clinic certainly helped to arouse my curiosity, confirmed my conviction that I feel comfortable with penitentiary topics. Have expectations been met? Actually, not really, but this was due to the fact that I kept wondering how a closed penitentiary facility works.

A2: Classes organized under the Penitentiary Clinic project allowed students to step into the role of prison officers. This was the first practical encounter with the reality that awaits a young person when he/she decides to choose this profession. The opportunity to conduct a simulated introductory interview and contact with a selected group of inmates in my case gave a picture of the responsibilities of taking on the role of an educator. Thanks to the activities provided by the project, I did not feel alienated during my first days in the penitentiary unit, because I knew the assumptions of the prison officer's work. In addition, contact with the surrounding and being in a prison environment gave me the opportunity to become accustomed to many aspects of working in a penitentiary unit […]. The project was a valuable experience for both students and convicts. Both groups learned values from the class that they can use in their interpersonal relations. […] it gave me a full picture of the work being done in prisons and detention centers. Inevitably, there is a certain balance that results from imagining a phenomenon and seeing its real form. The Penitentiary Clinic classes and the human factor introduced into them drew students' attention to how widely truncated the problem of participation in prison life is.

A3: From almost the beginning of my participation in the clinic, I made the decision that I wanted to serve. I thought that they are people, too. […] it was not difficult to see ordinary officers who had little to do with culture, helpfulness and interest in the profession […]. the prison shown to us, the inmates, the employees are completely different from what I expected. […] the visits taught me a lot, for

example that an inmate is not a stereotypical hoodlum, they are first of all human beings – they have a family, feelings.

A4: […] it was after the Penitentiary Clinic that the idea of starting work as a prison officer arose, when I saw what it really looks like, who the inmates are, and what it is like to work in a prison. I learned in real life, with greater or lesser results but always under the active supervision of the instructor.

The next phase of learning for a student of social rehabilitation or in the course of pursuing a profession as a social rehabilitation educator in a total institution refers to **abstract conceptualization**, that is, inference regarding the right or wrong decisions made and the potential correction of irregularities that have occurred. The transfer of learners-respondents from concrete experience to abstract thinking is accomplished by making generalizations, making inferences, formulating directives, principles, rules, criteria, discovering mechanisms. The task of the coordinator is to help construct them and to supplement them with those elements that were missing in the students' work, i.e. cataloging the content, summarizing it, formulating questions in order to draw appropriate conclusions. This is the starting stage for initiating ideas or correcting existing conceptualizations based on the integration of the results of reflective observation.

A1: […] qualifications do not always go hand in hand with professional competence

A2: Before approaching the practical tasks and their verification by the supervisor in charge of us, a big role was played by discussing the given problem in practice groups. A student was not left alone with the task set before him/her. I didn't feel like I was going to hurt someone or compromise myself. Setting clear boundaries and presenting all possible aspects of exercises and the consequences of decisions made, allowed for a different kind of learning, clearly defined the role of the social rehabilitation educator in the penitentiary unit. […] the excitement that accompanied the classes and the prospective ability to cope with the stress resulting from the tasks set in the project and the consequences of their implementation gave me the opportunity to test my skills and learn about the shortcomings that I will have to face in order to fully use my knowledge in my professional work.

A3: Social rehabilitation educator is a very nice term. Very popular and almost insignificant to a person, just like a baker or a locksmith – that's the name. By attending the classes, I was able to detail in my mind the framework of my future profession, both I, the person who squeezed every last from the classes, as well as my colleague who almost cried because she chose the wrong faculty; this is a great success of the clinic.

The final phase of the cycle, **active experimentation**, refers to subjects testing the implications of new theories in practice. Effective learning is about

applying knowledge to practice. The results of abstract conceptualizations find their application when solving new concrete problems. New ideas are tested in practice. Experimentation leads to more experiments, so the cycle can "come full circle". Observing and analyzing the results of their specific actions, students make determinations to correct decision statements or to develop them. It is up to the project leader how he or she will arrange and channel the students' knowledge in order to carry out specific tasks, a specific context, consequently practicing and improving the acquired skills. Among the statements of those taking and performing professional roles, there was no shortage of critical reflection arising from praxis. A few of them:

A1: the current professional role in which I am fulfilling has a practical foundation, resulting from the practice carried out in the clinic. […] practical education has increased my confidence in my profession, I am aware that participation in the project is a prelude to further study but I also know what deficiencies I need to work on […]. I could proverbially touch my future […].

A2: […] thanks to learning about the specifics of penitentiary units, I learned what I would like to do in my professional life. The opportunity to get to know the work of not only educators, but also officers of the Security Department, as well as records department and quartermasters gave a full picture of what I will face in the future. It was in the classes of the Penitentiary Clinic that my view of the work of a prison officer was formed, and the ethos imparted by the lecturers allowed me to solidify my attitude as an officer and constantly update and correct the work I do.

A3: Entering a unit, talking to officers from the unit – during a one-on-one meeting. I very much appreciated short conversations with officers, sometimes substantive conversations, at other times mocking the chosen direction or inmates and social rehabilitation, it certainly affected my interactions in the unit where I work […].

A4: The clinic was organized in the 2nd year of study. If anyone was considering working as a prison officer at the time, these classes were certainly meaningful to them, and could help them choose a career path. However, when we join the prison service a few years later, unfortunately, these classes do not contribute much to our professional future. Firstly, it is a long time to remember something in detail, and secondly, the number of these classes was insufficient. I remember that they were held every 2 weeks and in a large student group. I think that if they could be organized more often and in smaller groups then they would be more effective. Currently, I can't say that participation in the project minimized the disappointment of the workplace as an officer, it was only a small part of the work of an officer […]. If we could somehow learn in stages over several semesters, practice the roles, we would be richer in confidence in the profession.

Analyzing the statements of the surveyed graduates, participants of the project, it should be said that the stages of the cycle, experiential learning in

the course of education "interlock", intertwine, do not remain in isolation, are integrally connected with the various activities undertaken by them in the course of their academic education in the project, as well as in their current service. Referring to Kolb's theory, it can be noted that in the surveyed narratives, the process of learning, the acquisition of knowledge and professional competencies and qualities necessary for professional work, characterized today by permanent changeability of conditions, character, highlights the readiness of candidates to learn, self-develop, while the makeshift nature of the educational biography of the student/employee, in their view, can result in the threat of stagnation and, in perspective, exclusion. The patterns adopted by Kolb can be used in the process of teaching skills and content to be experienced in order to reflectively analyze, generalize and implement them in professional, everyday practice as a consequence.

In lieu of an ending…

The considerations undertaken in the article regarding the possibility of designing and implementing an alternative form of education for social rehabilitation students reveal, in retrospect of professionally active prison officers a sense of the stability of their professional biography through the prism of the meaning given to participation in the Penitentiary Clinic project. The evolving condition of the modern man from the perspective of his/her relationship with the neoliberal economy, devoid of support for an individual, "serving" him/her (who internalizes the need for success) a constant sense of failure (Gromkowska-Melosik 2011, p. 140) may indicate a gap between imagined and found professional realities. The presented case study of alternative teaching can exemplify the possibility of meeting the latest pedagogical trends with constructivism and humanism as paradigms of learning and cognition in the lead role. It exemplifies an educational practice that breaks the traditional frontal teaching that dominates higher education. The described, implemented educational space in the perspective of the idea of lifelong learning of future educators in social rehabilitation can stimulate reflective learning and develop the ability of candidates to learn on their own, which is necessary in an era underpinned by the belief that the education, knowledge, competencies and qualifications possessed are outdated, in an era of constant belief in the deficit of knowledge possessed, in which one does not have confidence (Hassan quoted from: Melosik 2020, p. 43). Student activity centered around the socialization references of the innovative project, highlighting their professional potential, creating socially acceptable constructive independence, is part of the area of a mission and activities of the university transforming in connection with the new needs and strategies.

Theoretical and empirical analysis provides arguments for the desirability and universality of the project in academic education. Teaching in the paradigm of

social rehabilitation requires experiential learning, reflective learning, acquiring the ability to consciously implement educational categories in the further process of penitentiary education, exploring the possibility of liberation from the previously produced and assumed as normative incarcerated space, the formation of appropriate qualities and attitudes of students, conducive to the challenges and social expectations possible in practice. The model of knowledge transfer outside the university is part of an innovative approach to teaching using constructivism, placing the learner at the center of the teaching process. The coordinator formats the didactic path using the cycle of experiential learning, in the course of which students undertake specific activities related to: the arrival of an inmate in a penitentiary unit, designing a periodic assessment, observing the work of the penitentiary commission, the penitentiary court, making various types of assessments, getting to know inmates. They reflect on the effects of their actions, draw conclusions from this reflection and ultimately correct them, learning by specifying concepts and conceptualizing praxis with new educational challenges.

The causal activity of social rehabilitation educators and candidates profiled educationally allows to synthesize experiences, strengthen authenticity and autonomy. The reflection, supported by theoretical premises on learning and teaching, points to the importance of the project of the Penitentiary Clinic in the context of overcoming the limitations of habits leading to the establishment of an opposition between theory and practice.

Nowadays, the categories: individual responsibility for the educational path and access to various forms of education, which are associated with a humanistic approach to the learning process, are at the core of understanding the phenomenon of learning (Solarczyk-Ambrozik 2020, p. 27). Young people's approach to learning provides a rationale for the peculiarities of a fragmented and ambiguous culture, in which the superiority of leaps in development over linear development stems from the need to reconcile change with the need for a sense of stability. The empirical (de)construction of many turning points of biographies often shows that variability is a way of seeking constancy, eventually that "right constancy", but in a culture/discourse of "better", "good" is not enough and again one must improve, hence the subsequent changes (conclusion: stability is often a kind of delay of change). The implementation of educational action plans is a factor that dynamizes the processes of self-identification and self-valorization, shaping the causal attitude of the subject, determining the multidimensional learning of students and employees of the Prison Service.

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The effectiveness of the author's mediation program in terms of increasing the readiness for restitution in convicted men

Abstract: Mediation is one of the most popular forms of restorative justice. It is used in various ranges and types of conflicts. Attempts are also being made to implement it in criminal law. However, while under criminal law it has a proper place at the stage of preparatory proceedings, it is still underestimated at the stage of enforcement proceedings. So far, individual attempts have been made to implement proprietary mediation programs in prisons, but the results of their evaluation are not known. Therefore, the article aims to answer the question: Is it possible, and if so to what extent, to develop a willingness to compensate in people serving a prison sentence as part of deliberately planned interventions carried out in the mediation program?

The study used a quasi-experimental procedure with an experimental and control group, with two measurements. The article analyzes the results obtained from two tools: the M. Davis Interpersonal Reactivity Index adapted by A. Lewicka-Zelent and the A. Lewicka-Zelent Readiness for Restitution Scale. It was decided to determine the level of not only the convicts' readiness to satisfy the victims, but also their empathy, which is an important predictor of this readiness. Despite the small samples, a comparison of the results between measurements I and II was carried out to see if there were any changes in the level of both variables.

The results of the study indicate the need to implement mediation programs with the participation of people deprived of their liberty due to their low level of compensation and deficits in empathy and the possible high effectiveness of programs in the process of preparing convicted persons to participate in mediation after the verdict.

Key words: mediation after the verdict, mediation program, restitution, empathy.

Introduction

The academic discussion on restorative justice began in the 1970s and continues to this day. However, restorative justice has its roots in primitive societies, in which, in a situation of violation of a binding customary or legal norm, a meeting of the entire community was convened to collectively decide on the further fate of the perpetrator of the crime (Woolford, Ratner, 2003, 178–179). This idea was also used in antiquity, for example, in Greece (Gavrielides, 2007, p. 20).

Restorative justice is "a philosophy that replaces punishment with reconciliation, revenge against perpetrators with help for victims, alienation and insensitivity with community and reunification, negativism and destruction with repair, forgiveness and grace(Consedine, 2004, p. 12)." Tony Marshall (1996, p. 22) views restorative justice as a process that brings together all parties involved in a particular crime. Its goal is not only to collectively undo the effects of the crime, but also to prevent its implications in the future. The main tenets of restorative justice are to allow the parties (the victim and the offender) to have a dialogue, to take responsibility for the harm caused, and for the offender to repair the damage done (Wright, 2005, p. 5).

Today, the paradigm of restorative justice does not replace that of a traditional, retributive nature. It is its complementation, not an alternative (Ciepły, 2009, p. 191). One form of restorative justice is mediation (Wright, 2005a), which is conducted in various cases: criminal, juvenile, civil, school, etc. Mediation in criminal cases can be conducted at the stage of pre-trial proceedings, court proceedings, but also at the stage of executive proceedings. The problem is that Polish law clearly regulates the conduct of mediation during the first two proceedings, but with regard to the stage of execution of the sentence, the provisions on post-sentence mediation are very laconic and vague. This type of mediation is only mentioned in Article 162 § 1 of the Executive Penal Code, which takes the following wording: "The penitentiary court shall hear a representative of the prison administration, and the court probation officer, if he has applied for conditional release, and shall take into account the settlement reached as a result of mediation." Agnieszka Rękas (2015, p. 149) highlights the residual possibility of post-judgment mediation according to this provision.

The main purpose of mediation in criminal cases, including post-conviction, is to resolve the conflict between the accused or perpetrator of the crime and

the victim with various forms of redress or compensation (Rękas, 2011). Taking corrective action by the perpetrator of the crime is related to their assumption of responsibility for the committed act (Grudziecka, Książek, 2013, p. 67). This means that post-sentence mediation is part of the purpose of imprisonment as defined in Article 67 of the Executive Penal Code, related to the process of social readaptation and rehabilitation of persons deprived of their liberty. Moreover, according to the idea of restorative justice, the most important subject in mediation is the victim. A positive outcome of mediation also brings many benefits to the victim, including an important sense of security resulting from the regularization of the relationship with the perpetrator of the crime. It is not uncommon for such a person to fear the completion of the offender's sentence because of a potential desire for revenge on their part. Participation in post-conviction mediation therefore gives them a chance to reduce the level of this anxiety (Karbarz-Górka, 2009, p. 171).

Regardless of the stage at which mediation is conducted, the basis for participation in mediation, whether in criminal cases or at the stage of execution of a sentence, is a willingness to make amends with the person accused or convicted of committing a crime. Agnieszka Lewicka-Zelent attempted to define readiness for reparations. According to the author (Lewicka-Zelent, 2015, p. 189) this readiness means that the perpetrator of criminal acts has "the intention (is willing and determined) to compensate the injured person for the losses and the harm they have suffered." The perpetrator can offer the victim two types of reparations: emotional & material, and service. The former mainly manifests itself in a willingness to apologize and donate money or certain items, while the latter refers, for example, to undertaking therapy or work, performing services for the victim or the community (Lewicka-Zelent, 2015, p. 169). The results of the study show that people serving prison sentences are mostly characterized by low levels of overall willingness to take restitutive action (Lewicka-Zelent, 2016, 2017).

Attempts to pinpoint the determinants of the willingness to make reparations of those serving a sentence of absolute imprisonment were made by A. Lewicka-Zelent. The results of the obtained research indicate that one of its important predictors is emotional & cognitive empathy. The greater the ability to take other people's perspectives in the offender, the greater the overall readiness for reparation and the readiness of an emotional and material nature of the convicts. In addition, a positive relationship exists between responding empathetically in difficult situations and taking other people's perspectives and service gratification (Lewicka-Zelent, 2017, p. 182–197). This means that by improving the cognitive dimension of empathy, it is possible to develop at the same time the general readiness of perpetrators to take corrective action for the benefit of victims, as well as its service and emotional & material dimensions.

Based on an analysis of available rehabilitation programs, it can be concluded that in Poland, no programs aimed at preparing inmates to participate in post-conviction mediation in terms of increasing their willingness to make reparations

have been implemented in penitentiary units to date. There were informational meetings organized for convicts in prisons to familiarize them with the idea of mediation (Lewicka-Zelent, Trojanowska, 2017, p. 242–243), however, the possibility for them to participate in mediation after sentencing was very much limited until 2020 for organizational and legal reasons. Earlier attempts were made to arrange mediation meetings with the participation of persons deprived of their liberty and persons wronged in the Prison in Chełm in 2000 or in the Prison in Jastrzębie Zdrój in 2001. However, they did not end with the popularization of the solutions undertaken (Marcinkowski, 2012).

The idea of restorative justice is used in the process of readaptation of people deprived of their liberty in many countries not only in Europe, but also in the world – in Germany, Hungary, Italy, the United States or Australia (Johnstone, 2014, p. 6–9). In Poland, too, steps have been taken to implement the idea of post-conviction mediation in prisons under the "Pilot program implementing the idea of restorative justice on the territory of the District Inspectorate of the Prison Service in Lublin," financed by the Justice Fund at the disposal of the Minister of Justice. The project ran from April 2020 to June 2022. Its main goal was to reduce recidivism and improve the situation of people victimized by crime through the use of mediation as a form of restorative justice[1]. Those serving prison sentences thanks to the project were able to participate in post-sentence mediation.

Methodological foundations of own research

Because the authors of the article have been conducting a mediation program with detainees for several years, they decided to partially disseminate the results of its evaluation.

The program "Mediation as an opportunity for oneself and others" was developed and carried out by Agnieszka Lewicka-Zelent and Ewa Trojanowska at the Włodawa Prison. It included 24 hours of classes. The main goal of the program was to increase the willingness to make amends of those serving prison sentences. Topics included developing empathy, especially its cognitive dimension, developing a sense of responsibility, positioning restorative justice in the hierarchy of values, and raising convicts' knowledge and awareness of criminal, post-sentence and family mediation.

The purpose of the author's own research was to determine the effectiveness of the author's program aimed at increasing the level of readiness to make amends among people deprived of liberty.

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The main research problem can be contained in the question: Is it possible, and if so, to what extent, to develop the readiness for reparation of persons serving prison sentences as part of the deliberately planned interventions implemented in the mediation program?

The following specific questions were formulated for the research problem:

1. What level of general readiness for reparation and readiness for emotional- -material and service reparation do the surveyed men have?
2. What level of emotional & cognitive empathy do the respondents have?
3. What changes have occurred in the level of willingness to make amends and its components among people serving prison sentences who have participated in a mediation program?
4. What changes occurred in the level of emotional & cognitive empathy and its components in people serving prison sentences who participated in a mediation program?

It is presumed that as a result of the conducted program, there will be a significant statistical increase in the average scores of the overall readiness for reparation and its components as well as emotional & cognitive empathy in the program participants.

The results of the study by A. Lewicka-Zelent and E. Trojanowska (2019) concerning the development of emotional & cognitive empathy in those serving prison sentences indicate that it can be developed. Also in the UK, there was a social rehabilitation program, one of the goals of which was to develop empathy in convicts in prisons. The results obtained confirm this possibility (Beech, Chauhan, 2013). In addition, it is worth recalling that emotional & cognitive empathy is one of the important determinants of readiness for reparation in convicts (Lewicka-Zelent, 2017).

The study was conducted according to a quasi-experimental design with an initial and final measurement, in two groups – experimental group and control group. The program started with 12 convicts. One person opted out of attending. One convict was transferred to another prison and was therefore not included in the evaluation. Each group consisted of 10 men. The control group was selected according to the balancing principle.

In order to answer the research problem, a set of research tools was used, which were filled out twice by people in the experimental and control groups. However, the article will only present results on willingness to make amends and empathy. To measure the above variables, the Readiness for Reparation Scale (Skala Gotowości do Zadośćuczynienia – SGZ) by A. Lewicka-Zelent and the Interpersonal Reactivity Index by M. Davis in the Polish adaptation by A. Lewicka-Zelent were used.

Through the use of the Personal Data Survey Questionnaire by A. Lewicka-Zelent and E. Trojanowska, the characteristics of those participating in the program were made. The group of respondents was not homogeneous in terms of

the crime committed, however, all of the people – both the program participants and members of the control group – had a court-imposed obligation to make reparation or compensation for the harm caused as a result of committing a crime to the victim or to make restitution.

Men aged 27 to 60 participated in the program. Most of them lived in the city before incarceration (n=9). Half of the respondents had vocational education. Four participants were in informal relationships. Four of the respondents had no children, while the others had between one and five children. Most had been serving a current prison sentence for more than 3 years (n=5). Seven participants in the program were not addicted. Two convicts declared alcohol addiction, and one person declared cigarette addiction. Half of the respondents had regular contact with their mother, and four had regular contact with their wife/life partner.

The control group included men between the ages of 23 and 54, most of whom permanently live in the city outside of prison (n=7). Half of them have completed vocational or high school. Seven people have no family of their own, but four of them have offspring. Three convicts admitted that they have a problem with alcohol and nicotine abuse. Two men were not visited by anyone in solitary confinement.

Results of own studies

The Readiness for Reparation Scale (SGZ), which consists of two subscales, "Emotional & Material Reparation" and "Service Reparation," was used to assess readiness for reparation. The tool has sten norms, so it was possible to determine the level of the variable.

Six participants in the program were characterized by a low level of readiness to take corrective action in general and emotional & material terms before the start of the classes. In contrast, half of the respondents were characterized by a high level of willingness to make service reparations (Chart 1).

The majority of people in the control group in the initial measurement had low levels of both general willingness to make reparations (n=7) and emotional & material reparations (n=6). Half of the respondents had an average level of willingness to take corrective measures of a service nature, and three had a high level (Chart 2).

In order to check the changes in the subjects in question in the experimental and control groups, the Student's t-test for dependent samples was used due to the confirmation of a normal distribution.
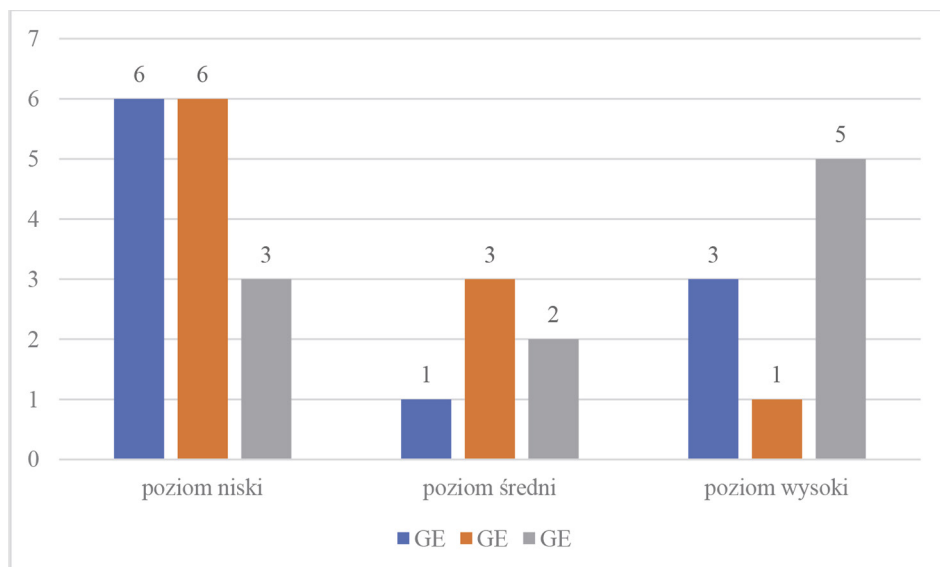
Explanations: poziom niski – low level; poziom średni – average level; poziom wysoki – high level.

Chart 1. Level of willingness to make amends in program participants before the start of classes
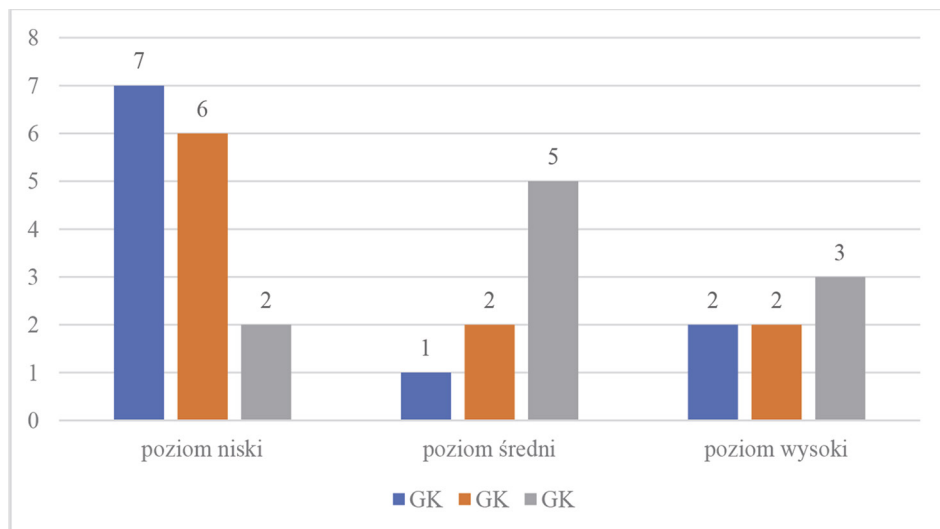
Chart 2. Level of willingness to make amends in control subjects at initial measurement

Table 1. Comparative analysis of the results of readiness for restitution in the experimental and control group (measurement I-II)

Scales		GE				GK			
		M	Sd	t-distribu-tion	p	M	Sd	t-distribu-tion	p
Pair 1	SGZ-1	27.20	13.57			29.60	7.54		
	SGZ-2	34.30	9.36			27.10	10.27		
	S G Z - 1 - SGZ-2	-7.10	8.17	-2.748	0.023*	2.50	11.62	0.680	n.i.
Pair 2	ZEMSGZ-1	17.40	3.38			19.50	5.70		
	ZEMSGZ-2	22.70	5.98			16.00	2.11		
	ZEMSGZ-1 -ZEMSGZ-2	-5.30	5.96	-2.810	0.020*	3.50	6.60	1.676	n.i.
Pair 3	ZUSGZ-1	9.80	5.61			10.10	2.37		
	ZUSGZ-2	11.60	3.23			8.90	2.13		
	Z U S G Z - 1 - ZUSGZ-2	-1.80	3.58	-1.588	n.i.	1.20	2.14	1.765	n.i.

Explanations: GE – experimental group; GK – control group; SGZ – Readiness for Reparation Scale; ZEMSGZ – Readiness for Emotional & Material Reparations; ZUSGZ – Readiness for Service Reparations; 1 – Measurement I; 2 – Measurement II; 1-2 – difference between the first and second measurements; * p<0.05

In the experimental group, there was a statistically significant (p<0.05) increase in the mean values for overall readiness for reparations and readiness for emotional-material reparations. Slight changes are also observed in the mean values of the Readiness for Service Reparation Scale, although this means there are no statistical differences between the pretest and posttest. In the control group, there were no statistically significant changes in the measurements compared.

To determine the empathy of convicts, M. Davis' Interpersonal Reactivity Index in A. Lewicka-Zelent's Polish adaptation was used. The tool consists of the following subscales that address different aspects of emotional & cognitive empathy:
— empathic imagination – which allows measuring the tendency to move into fictional situations through imagination;
— taking the point of view of others;
— empathic response in difficult situations – representing the tendency to feel adequate sensations in connection with a situation that evokes strong negative emotions;
— empathic response to the negative experiences of others meaning the tendency to feel distress being a reaction to the observed negative experiences of others (Lewicka, 2006, p. 103).
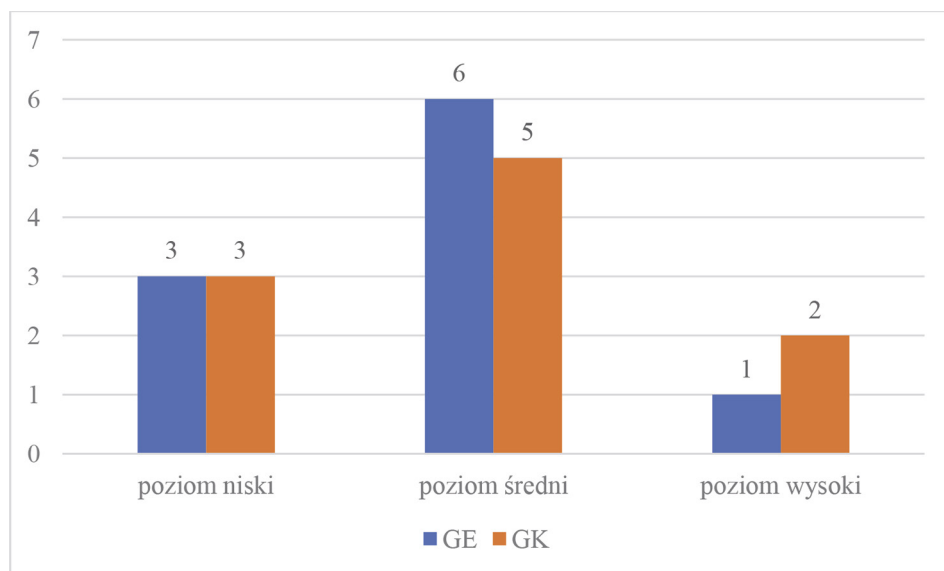
Chart 3. The level of empathy of the subjects before the start of the program (n)

The tool has tens norms for the overall emotional & cognitive empathy score, which made it possible to determine the level of this variable.

Both groups – experimental and control – were dominated by people with average levels of emotional & cognitive empathy. Three people from each group showed low levels of empathy before the program. High levels of emotional & cognitive empathy were characteristic of one class participant and 2 control subjects.

The Student's t-test for dependent samples was used to determine the changes that occurred in the empathy of the subjects in the experimental and control groups (a normal distribution was confirmed).

Table 2. Comparative analysis of empathy scores in the experimental and control group (measurement I-II)

Scales		GE				GK			
		M	Sd	t-distribu-tion	p	M	Sd	t-distribu-tion	p
Pair 1	IRI-1	38.30	6.48			40.40	8.18		
	IRI-2	44.20	6.86			44.10	3.87		
	IRI-1-I-RI-2	-5.90	7.65	-2.438	0.037*	-3.70	8.11	-1.443	n.i.

Scales		GE				GK			
		M	Sd	t-distribu-tion	p	M	Sd	t-distribu-tion	p
Pair 2	F-1	9.20	2.97			9.60	2.22		
	F-2	12.00	2.86			10.00	2.00		
	F-1-F-2	-2.80	4.49	-1.971	n.i.	-0.40	1.95	-0.647	n.i.
Pair 3	ER-1	10.70	3.59			13.40	4.00		
	ER-2	13.00	4.71			15.60	1.57		
	E R - 1 - ER-2	-2.30	6.01	-1.208	n.i.	-2.20	4.31	-1.612	n.i.
Pair 4	EO-1	6.20	1.93			6.80	2.97		
	EO-2	5.90	3.66			6.30	1.76		
	E O - 1 - EO-2	0.30	4.39	0.216	n.i.	0.50	2.54	0.620	n.i.
Pair 5	PP-1	12.20	2.69			10.60	3.47		
	PP-2	13.30	4.27			12.20	2.04		
	P P - 1 - PP-2	-1.10	2.60	-1.337	n.i.	-1.60	3.53	-1.432	n.i.

Explanations: IRI – general empathy; F – fantasy; ER – empathic response in difficult situations; EO – empathic response to negative experiences of others; PP – taking other people's point of view; *p<0.05

Significant changes were found in the experimental group in terms of increased levels of empathy. There was a statistically significant increase in mean scores on the Interpersonal Reactivity Index total score. There were no statistically significant differences between the mean values in the IRI and its component subscales between measurements taken before and after the author's program.

Summary

The purpose of the conducted author's research was to determine the effectiveness of the author's mediation program in developing a readiness for reparation in persons serving prison sentences.

The results indicate that both program participants and control group respondents were characterized by low levels of overall readiness for reparations and readiness for emotional & material reparations in Measurement I. In contrast, they were slightly more ready for the notion of service-oriented remediation.

The main goal of the "Mediation as an opportunity for oneself and others" program was to increase the level of willingness to make amends among those serving prison sentences. This is because it was considered the basis for reaching

a satisfactory agreement between the parties – the perpetrator and the victim. The results obtained confirm the adopted objective and working hypothesis. Three of the program's participants said they were willing to participate in mediation after the verdict, and the results of the survey indicate that they are ready to make amends to the wronged party, especially in emotional and material terms, and they are more empathetic, which increases the likelihood of entering the dialogue with an inner conviction of the rightness of their conduct.

Discussion of the results

The results of our own research determining the level of readiness for reparation of persons serving a prison sentence correspond with the results obtained by E. Trojanowska in a group of penitentiary recidivists (Trojanowska, 2017) and those convicted of abuse of a family member or loved one (Trojanowska, 2020). On the other hand, the results of A. Lewicka-Zelent's study (2017) indicate that most of the surveyed inmates are characterized by low levels of emotional & material and service reparation. In contrast, the results of another study by this author show a low level of general willingness to take corrective action for the benefit of victims by the respondents serving a sentence of absolute imprisonment (Lewicka-Zelent, 2016). Thus, they confirm the need to arrange interventions aimed at preparing people deprived of their liberty for a mediation meeting with the participation of victims.

The results indicate that the level of emotional & cognitive empathy of the program participants and control subjects is average. Similar results of research conducted among recidivists in penitentiaries were obtained by E. Trojanowska (2017). Also D. Jolliffe and D. Farrington (2004), based on their meta-analysis, concluded that there is a strong relationship between low levels of cognitive empathy and committing crimes. This means that offenders have deficits in their ability to take other people's perspectives.

Analysis of the results of the surveys from the initial and final measurements allows us to conclude that in the group of program participants, there was an increase in the overall willingness to make reparations and in the willingness to make emotional & material reparations. However, it is difficult to compare them with the results of other authors, because, as indicated earlier, such mediation programs have not yet been implemented in Poland (or have not been popularized). Unfortunately, the results of a study conducted in the UK in seven prisons indicate that although convicts were more motivated to change their behavior after completing the program and were more interested in the fate of the victims, there was no increase in their sense of responsibility (Beech, Chauhan, 2013). However, this does not provide a complete reference point for the current results of the author's study due to the lack of detailed information

on the course of the program and its components, as well as the research tools used for the evaluation.

In the experimental group in our own study, there was an increase in empathy after the program. The possibility of developing emotional & cognitive empathy in convicts during the implementation of a rehabilitation program is indicated by the earlier results of studies by A. Lewicka-Zelent and E. Trojanowska (2019). The effectiveness of the then-implemented program was tested using the same research plan with an initial measurement and an end measurement with an experimental and control group as at present. In the group of participants a statistically significant increase in the mean scores of overall emotional-cognitive empathy and its components such as empathic imagination, empathic response in difficult situations, and taking other people's point of view was found after completing the classes.

At the Detention Center in Lublin, A. Lewicka-Zelent, K. Korona and M. Lesiuk (2013) conducted a program aimed at improving the psychosocial functioning of inmates classified into three different groups, distinguished on the basis of the art therapy methods used in their work with them. Among other things, the results of these studies indicate that each of the three experimental groups showed a significantly statistical increase in emotional & cognitive empathy, and two groups showed an increase in the ability to take another person's point of view.

In conclusion, mediation programs can be one of the valuable and effective proposals for interacting with convicted prisoners in solitary confinement. We can successfully expect an increase in the sense of responsibility for the crime committed in their participants, the taking of corrective measures by offenders for the benefit of victims, motivated internally, as well as their active participation in mediation proceedings at the stage of execution of sentences with the participation of convicted persons, culminating in the writing of a settlement agreement and the fulfillment of commitments made. A pilot program conducted at the District Inspectorate of Prison Service in Lublin by the SWWS in Warsaw, with financial support from the Ministry of Justice, confirms the possibility of making the idea of post-conviction mediation based on the paradigm of restorative justice a reality in Polish penitentiary units. We therefore look forward to making the results of the survey and recommendations obtained public, which will provide valuable guidance for their implementation in penitentiary practice.

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Inclusive & exclusive context of seniors' quality of life

Abstract: The aim of the article is to analyze the quality of life of seniors as well as the factors influencing the sense of its shape. The authors defined the notion of old age, pointed to the concepts of old age, as well as selected approaches to the quality of their lives. The issue of the inclusive and exclusive thread relating to the place of seniors in contemporary society was also taken up. The study indicates, on the one hand, the possibilities of taking action in the context of perceiving the potential of seniors in the rehabilitation process of prisoners, but also – on the other – the specificity of old age and aging in conditions of penitentiary isolation.
Key words: seniors, quality of life, inclusion, exclusion, process of social rehabilitation.

Introduction

Modernity, marked by the unpredictability of meanings, forcing the undertaking of many activities, the ability to cope with constant changes, both in the educatio-

nal and professional spheres, significantly affects the perception of an individual's value through the prism of their social utility. In particular, this view raises the question of the place of the old age person in the modern world, full of threats, both military, economic and related to the loosening of human ties. Thus, the necessity to think about the need, or lack of need, to include seniors in active participation in the prevailing reality, the need to break the stereotype of the ethos of the old age person, or to give in to the idea of reductionism in every sphere of life appears. This reflection requires an analysis of the space for the functioning of seniors both in the conditions of freedom and penitentiary isolation, where a significant increase in this group of inmates is observed.

Old age – terminological justifications

Old age is common to all and begins from the moment a person comes into the world and ends when they die. According to D. B. Bromley (1969, pp. 36–37), human aging is a set of changes occurring in the structure and functioning of the body and in the adaptive processes of the individual. Old age can result from the accumulation of diseases and injuries to the body or the natural aging processes of cells and tissues. The biological changes most characteristic of the aging process are those related to external appearance, the first changes in organs, changes in physical condition or mental performance. B. Rysz-Kowalczyk recognizes old age as a time lasting from birth until death. This life cycle is the process of satisfying a person's needs, which enable then to achieve the minimum possibilities of their development (Rysz-Kowalczyk 1995, p. 35). Thus, the stage in a person's life called old age is preceded by the entire cycle of changes associated with the aging process, leading to a decline in the quality of life.

Old age is determined by metric age, determined by date of birth (Leszczyńska-Rejchert, 2010, pp. 40–41). As assumed by researchers, employers and the public, senectitude begins at age 60 or 65. In Poland, this age is demarcated by gender – for women from the age of 60, for men from 65. Old age is an important stage of our functioning, it is the last stage of ontogenetic development of humans, it is also defined as the final stage of the aging process. Old age is also known as late adulthood or the third age of life. This stage of development ends with death. Some researchers (Nowicka, 2006, p. 17) distinguish the following in the course of old age:
— early old age (up to 75 years of age);
— late old age (over 75).

According to World Health Organization (WHO) experts, the following periods of old age have been distinguished:
— pre-old age (from 45 to 59 years of age),

— age of aging, or early old age (from 60 to 74 years of age) – this age range also includes the so-called young-olds;
— old age, otherwise known as late old age (from 75 to 89 years of age);
— longevity (90 years of age and older) – this is the age that the so-called long-lived live to (Nowicka, 2006, p. 18).

According to another division, people over 65 are called people of the third and fourth ages. In the third age, the elderly are active, lead an independent lifestyle, while the fourth age represents a period when the elderly are less active, become dependent on others (Steuden, 2011, p. 20).

The presented depictions of old age differ in the perspective of depictions adopted, but all authors point to old age as a stage of human life that leads to death.

Old age as an object of theoretical interest

Theorists, due to the research perspective adopted, formulate diverse theories of aging. Among these the following can be distinguished:

1) Social theories of aging develop on the basis of sociological theories, capture old age in macro-social (inclusion activities, age stratification, political economy) and micro-social (exchange, phenomenological, compensatory, P. Paltes') dimensions. Theories from the macro-social group take as their starting point the belief that the determining influence of social norms and roles on an older person's identity and behavior. They treat old age in macro-structural terms. Theories from the micro-social group seek explanations for the social aspects of aging and old age in microstructural, interpersonal, consciousness categories. They focus on the individual's interpretation of old age, and the subjective experiences of the individual.

   Social theories thus point to the perspective of aging from the perspective of the community within which older people function. Some of them point to the role of the elderly, while others emphasize the individual dimension of the process.

2) Activity theory analyzes aging in the context of loss of fulfilled social roles, through which tensions related to self-perception accumulate. Activity here is embedded in the social role of the elderly, and is linked to social status and prestige, affecting self-esteem. A person, striving for social acceptance, on the one hand tries to stay in line with their own needs, and on the other hand shapes their behavior according to the expectations of others.

3) Inclusion theory, looks for the sources of isolation of the elderly in the reduction of interpersonal contacts, which leads to social withdrawal, weakening of social ties, narrowing of living space. According to this concept, all social systems, in order to maintain their equilibrium, must work to exclude old and aging people from activity.

4) Age stratification theory assumes the division of society into age groups, emphasizing differences in wealth, positions held. Two dimensions of age are emphasized here, namely the lifespan dimension, during which humans function in different age groups, and the historical dimension, which takes into account the common experiences of the age groups in question through the prism of historical conditions. Social systems are based on the roles assigned to people of a certain age.

5) Subculture theory states that older people, through the prism of age, are mainly in contact with their peers, making them isolated from those in other age groups. The social status of the elderly is considered lower than that of younger people.

6) Policy theory of the economics of old age emphasizes the relationship of old age with social policy, economic and social disparities, where elderly people are limited in access to many goods, their social position is reduced, as a result of being treated as dependent on others.

7) Social exchange theory treats interpersonal relations from the perspective of mutual benefit. The elderly have little exchange value in this view, so they receive little from others.

8) Life course theories are characterized by a great deal of arbitrariness in defining the concept itself. So they analyze them at the level of macro-structures, taking into account demographic and cultural changes, or pay attention to the subjective experience of life changes. Theories of life treat old age as a natural consequence of earlier stages of development, with their tasks, opportunities and limitations.

9) Phenomenological theory individuates the aging process, attributing to the individual, through interaction with other people, the main role in constructing their own image of old age.

10) Modernization theory explains the historical conditioning of social attitudes toward old age. It notes that the modernization of industrialized societies, the numerical growth of the elderly and the emergence of new professions, the development of universal education and mass media have contributed to the depreciation of the elderly. Opposing views are also being formulated, showing positive changes in the social position of the elderly.

11) The theory of competence formulates the view that the functioning of an elderly person is a relationship directed by the demands placed on them and the resources to meet those demands. Behavioral competence is considered in physical, cognitive and social dimensions.

12) E.H. Erikson's theory stresses that the individual in the last phase of life faces the necessity of facing the struggle for their own integrity, for a new quality of life, by accepting something that had to happen.

13) Gerotranscendence theory points to spirituality and intangible desires that appear mainly in old age. Gerotranscendence occurs on three levels: the cosmic, one's own self, and social and individual relationships.

The theories presented are usually formulated in a complementary manner. The references shown indicate aging mainly through the prism of social conditions understood as social references to the issue of old age, historical conditions indicating the creation of attitudes towards old age, economic and political conditions, as well as individual attitudes of seniors towards their age and the surrounding world.

Quality of life of old people – terminological justifications

The origins of the concept of quality of life are difficult to determine due to the ambiguity of the term, its evolution and the lack of linguistic precision in this area.

The concept of quality originated in ancient times, from the Greek *poiotes*. Plato was the first to use it, recognizing that the quality of things determines the degree of their perfection. For Aristotle, a quality is a difference of essence, making it possible to divide all concepts into logical groups (time, place, quantity, substance, relation, position, disposition, action, being subject to action, quality). Descartes pointed to a dualistic view of quality: primary quality inherent in the object, secondary quality emitted by the object. In Kant's view, quality meant a set of characteristics of a distinguished fragment, subjectively perceived objective reality (Horbaczewski, 2006, p. 10).

The term quality of life first appeared after World War II in the United States and was seen as material well-being. The first attempts to construct measuring tools appeared in the interwar years, and were developed in the 1950s, and they flourished in the 1960s. Along with statistical studies equating quality of life with the socioeconomic conditions of human functioning, particularly the degree to which needs are met, interest in environmental characteristics of quality of life increased, reaching its peak in the 1980s and 1990s. According to M. Wnuk, Cambell's research project (1971), which resulted in the introduction of indicators of human existence analogous to economic indicators of psychological aspects of functioning became the landmark event for the spread of research on quality of life (Wnuk, Marcinkowski 2012, p. 23). On the heels of the Cambell project, similar measurements began to be used in medicine, where they sought to determine the value of therapeutic methods for beneficial effects on treatment. Within the research on the quality of life of sick people, two dimensions have been pointed out: behavioral and experiential. In psychology, on the backdrop of humanistic philosophy and a focus on human functioning, questions arose about the determinants of human happiness and the meaning of life. Within sociology, in the 1970s, attention turned to the ways and the degree to which human needs were satisfied. Many concepts of quality of life have emerged from each of the sciences.

Quality of life as an object of theoretical interest

The concept of quality of life is marked by a multiplicity of approaches, depending most often on the scientific discipline represented by the researchers.

Philosophical approach

— Plato, who pointed to *poiotes* or the degree of perfection of things and phenomena in a value sense. The term, for Plato, had a subjective dimension;
— Aristotle, a person in pursuit of full and lasting satisfaction with their life should live in harmony with their *daimon,* i.e. the inner spirit that restrains us from evil acts; engaging in activities that serve the common happiness is a condition for achieving individual happiness (Tatarkiewicz, 1988, p. 115–163).

Psychological approach

— T. Tomaszewski recognized that the quality of life can be regarded as the most appropriate measure of the quality of the world and the quality of man. To measure the quality of life, which is characterized by relative stability, the author uses five criteria: the richness of experiences, the level of consciousness, the level of activity, creativity and human coexistence with other people. So he indicates subjective factors (Znaniecki, 1999).
— J. Czapiński equated quality of life with a sense of well-being and happiness. To measure quality of life, he uses objective factors relating to living conditions, and subjective factors, i.e. individual value criteria (Czapinski, 1992).

Sociological approach

— A. Campbell stressed that quality of life is influenced by such factors as family and work life, interpersonal relations, social relations, health, leisure activities, housing and financial conditions, the education one has and standard of living (Campbell 1981, pp. 117–124);
— A. Michalos pointed out that the quality of life is determined by the state of discrepancy between the need and the level of its satisfaction. This is especially true for particularly important needs, as not meeting them in particular can determine perceptions of quality of life. What is important here is not only the material needs of the individual, but above all higher-order good (Michalos, 2004, pp. 339–354; 1985, pp. 347–413);
— J. Raeburn, I. Rootman argued that quality of life includes development, realization of one's abilities, change, environmental belonging and rest. Our

quality of life is also affected by intangible aspects like spiritual, mental, emotional factors (1996, pp. 75–88).

Economic approach

— A. Sen believed that the quality of an individual's life is influenced by the conditions created by the state, mainly in terms of social policy. At the same time, the author believed that material factors are an important element of quality of life, as they provide opportunities for psychological well-being, related to the achievement of higher-order needs (Kot, 2012, pp. 24–29).
— J.S. Mill stressed that an essential element of quality of life is to establish rules for the optimal distribution of the produced product both individually and from a general (social) point of view (Stanaszek, 2015, p. 104).

Pedagogical approach

— R. Nawroczyński pointed, on the one hand, to the normative dimension of quality of life (the world of values), on the other hand, he related it to the realization of the world of values (quality of life). In the normative dimension, personality is treated as a supreme value – a spiritual structure. Below it is character determined by moral values, followed by education as a combination of the individuality of the educated person and cultural assets. Even lower is moral freedom as an instrumental value, while the lowest are the practical values: national, state, civic, general human. In the functional dimension, culture is not just a product, but primarily a spiritual process taking place on the basis of values. Therefore, the formation of the spiritual structure and the creation of cultural values as manifestations of the functional determination of these activities leading to the realization of the world of values is of great importance. The concept builds a world of values in a non-dogmatic way and connects it to the possibility of realization (Gofron, 2013, pp. 10–16).
— J. Maciaszek believed that the quality of life can be considered in relation to the realization of values from the hedonistic, vital and spiritual levels (with reference to Scheller's values).
In the first case, these are values relating to sensuality, and quality is determined by the level of satisfaction of physiological and material needs. Preference for vital values related to everything in the opposition noble – common, that is, physical vigor and fitness relates quality of life to that which pertains to fortune and success – to fame, power and influence. Quality of life can be based on the realization of spiritual and religious values. In the first case, there is the experience of moral goodness and beauty, the knowledge of truth, in the second case, the realization of religious values is based on their unique experience (Maciaszek, 2013, pp. 63–67).

— B. Suchodolski emphasized that quality of life includes decisions made by people and their individual choice of values, according to which they want to create their own life. The author saw the necessity to follow cognitive and developmental needs leading to self-determination, i.e. striving to be someone. This is because it also gives the opportunity to see the value in other people and therefore the need to enter into relationships with others beyond the dimension of one's own benefit. As a result, the individual feels psychological comfort, harmony of life, which guarantees the feeling of happiness. For B. Suchodolski, the quality of human life is determined by both objective and subjective factors (Suchodolski, 1987, p. 214).

— M. Adamiec, K. Popiolek claimed that "the quality of life is a set of conditions that enable a certain way of human life, determined by a set of generative values, expressed in properties and skills that enable the subject possessing them to perform autonomous, individualized and personalized actions" (Adamiec, Popiołek, 1993, p. 94).

Medical approach

— The World Health Organization has positioned quality of life as mental, physical and social well-being.

— L. Wołowicka, K. Jaracz believed that the quality of life is determined by the state of health, so the sense of health is one of the basic factors of good quality of life (Wołowicka, Jaracz 1998, pp. 81–85).

In summary, philosophy as well as psychology primarily addresses the subjective feeling of satisfaction – dissatisfaction with the quality of life. Sociology points to quality of life on a macro level, as meeting the needs of society as a whole. Economics emphasizes the quality of life at the macro level, with particular attention to the role of the state in the possibility of resolution of material issues treated objectively. Pedagogy primarily considers the quality of life from the perspective of educating the younger generation, emphasizing mainly the individual's subjective beliefs about the world, their own life, their living environment. Medical science in relation to quality of life today emphasizes the importance of the subjective approach, where psychological and social factors are pointed out, the effectiveness of the intervention of medical actions in improving the health of the patient.

Within the individual sciences as well as each science considered separately, one can see a wide divergence in the understanding of quality of life, which is due to a different field of interest and, above all, a lack of focus in defining the phenomenon itself.

The exclusive & inclusive dimension of old age

It is an undeniable fact that modern societies are aging. Therefore, considering whether it is necessary to pay due attention to this age group is something unfounded. However, despite widespread recognition of the need to target seniors and their often specific needs and expectations, they experience discrimination due to underdevelopment of relevant legislation, cultural biases and stereotypes.

The source of marginalization of the elderly is becoming a limitation of their ability to use existing social resources often resulting from disabilities, mobility limitations, intellectual limitations, as well as poor material situation. Such factors as loneliness, isolation, lack of prospects, and perceived indoctrination are not insignificant. The senior as a socially excluded individual becomes a member of society in geographical terms, but cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society (for reasons beyond their control).

Seniors' social exclusion refers to both their attitudes toward themselves and others, as well as social attitudes toward the elderly. These two elements remain in a coherent relationship to each other. Seniors noticing social negativity towards their own age group create attitudes of withdrawal, of possible survival in an unfriendly reality, while in the face of such attitudes of seniors, people in other age brackets perpetuate the image of the old person as unnecessary, inefficient, hindering others and limiting their freedom.

However, for individual and social reasons, the need to integrate seniors into society is indisputable. Integration activities should refer to the creation of the right social mentality, open to both able-bodied and disabled, young and old, educated and uneducated, through proper upbringing, education and, ultimately, socialization. Also within the framework of the integration of the elderly, proper social policy, which is part of the social security system, plays a major role. Its goals are indicated by the direct catalog of the rights of the elderly, proclaimed in 1991 by the UN General Assembly and recommended to member states, as well as the 1998 Kobe Declaration. Such provisions are also included in the revised European Social Charter, which emphasizes that older people should have the conditions to remain full members of society for as long as possible. The year 2012 has been established as the European Year of Active Ageing and Solidarity between Generations by a decision of the European Parliament and the Council of the Union. One of the primary indications was the recognition that community involvement and activation of the elderly can simultaneously bring economic benefits to society as a whole and improve the quality of life of seniors. The current national document is the government program *Polityka społeczna wobec osób starszych 2030. Bezpieczeństwo. Uczestnictwo. Solidarność* (Social policy towards the elderly 2030. Safety. Participation. Solidarity), which

takes into account the internal diversity of the elderly population and promotes measures to keep the elderly active and ensure their participation in society, as well as measures targeting those with limited independence. The program is based on three pillars: security, participation and solidarity. These elements are key, as they are a guarantee that the quality and standard of living of the elderly will be significantly improved. The document provides for the implementation of a number of measures towards the elderly in general within the following areas:

1. Shaping a positive perception of old age in society,
2. Participation in social life and supporting all forms of civic, social, cultural, artistic and sporting;
3. Creating conditions for exploiting the potential of older people as active participants in economic life and the labor market, adapted to their psychophysical abilities and family situation;
4. Health promotion, disease prevention, access to diagnostics, treatment and rehabilitation of seniors;
5. Increasing physical security – preventing violence and neglect of the elderly;
6. Creating conditions for solidarity and intergenerational integration;
7. Education for the old age (care and medical staff), to the old age (the whole society), through the old age (from the youngest generation) and education in the old age (the elderly);
8. Development of diverse forms of social activity through the dissemination of volunteerism, participation in decision-making processes, in community life and the participation of the elderly in the formation of public policy.

In addition, the program for the first time designed measures targeting dependent elderly people:

1. Reduction of the scale of dependence on others by facilitating access to services that enhance independence and adapting the residential environment to the functional capabilities of these individuals;
2. Ensuring optimal access for seniors to health, rehabilitation and care services adapted to the needs of older people who are dependent,
3. A network of community and institutional services provided to elderly, dependent people;
4. A support system for informal carers of dependent older people by public institutions.

Seniors (and their potential) in the process of social rehabilitation

The aging of Poland's population has accelerated in recent years. This is indicated by trends of change in the proportion of the population in the post-working age group. Figures from the Central Statistical Office show that Poland's population

will be 37.9 million in 2021. Of this group, more than 8.5 million were over the age of 60. Between 2000 and 2021, the size of this community increased by almost 2.9 million, and its percentage increased from less than 15% to more than 22% during this period (Cierniak-Piotrowska et al., 2022). Of course, this more than doubling in this period is mainly due to the lengthening of human life expectancy, which makes people of senior age a large group of social potential that, on the one hand, can become a resource that can also be used in social rehabilitation programs. On the other hand, however, it raises challenges for many areas of social life, including the penitentiary system, which must take into account the specifics of this age group of inmates in the design of social rehabilitation, correctional, therapeutic interventions.

The use of the potential of seniors in the process of social rehabilitation of people in prison isolation is not widespread, and there is also little public awareness of the possibility of supporting inmates by including seniors in prison volunteer structures. And yet, people from older generations have a variety of competencies, and as much professional as life experiences, which can prove valuable and usable in the process of social rehabilitation. Research conducted by the VOLPRIS project in five European countries – Germany, Belgium, Romania, Portugal and Poland – suggests that this type of volunteering can be particularly beneficial for prisoners. Volunteers have been proven to have a significant impact on changing prisoners' attitudes and can significantly reduce the risk of recidivism (Salselas, Pinto de Costa, 2021). Volunteer visits provide rare opportunities for inmates to establish developmental interpersonal relationships, which, given the harshness of ordinary prison life, is an important factor that makes a real difference in inmates' personal characteristics. These observations have been also described in a study conducted in the state of Florida, USA (Mears, Cochran et al., 2011; Cochran, 2012), and the Netherlands (Schuhmann, Kuis et al., 2018). They found that volunteer visits, while contributing to the establishment of social relationships during punishment, contribute to the development of a more positive view of the future, and thus can be a supportive element in prisoners' acquisition and development of developmental-creative potentials, understood by Konopczyński (2014) as personal and social resources and predispositions that enable innovative and approved ways of solving specific problematic situations, satisfying needs and searching for a new identity. A similar finding was reported in another study conducted in Hong Kong, highlighting the importance of the role of volunteers during incarceration, where volunteers help prisoners build and improve their personal, family and social relationships, creating a real opportunity for positive readaptation through an automatically triggered destigmatization process (Chui, Cheng, 2012). Polish experience in this field was gained, among others, in the framework of the *Senior w akcji resocjalizacji* (*Seniors in Resocialization Measures*) project implemented in the Prison in Bydgoszcz-Fordon together with the Fundacja Bez Nazwy and Bydgoszcz seniors.

Harnessing the potential of seniors in the process of social rehabilitation of inmates in penitentiary units brings benefits not only for the inmates, but also for the seniors themselves. It seems that senior citizens' volunteerism – including the penitentiary volunteerism at issue here – can satisfy their fundamental needs, including coping needs, expressive needs, support needs, influence needs, and transcendent needs. Activities in the volunteer space can create an inclusive space for them, in which voluntary roles can have many positive effects. This is possible through: detachment from one's own daily problems, strengthening one's sense of meaning and self-worth, positively influencing self-esteem, increasing positive mood and enhancing integration into the social environment, based on social skills and interpersonal relationships (Midlarsky, 1991). Research suggests that volunteering by seniors is a predictor of greater life satisfaction and a better perception of their own health (Van Willigen, 2000). In their experimental research, Midlarsky and Kahana (1994) found a significant effect of seniors' volunteerism on their affective balance, self-esteem, morale and subjectively assessed level of integration into the social environment by which, as Oman, Thoresen and McMahon (1999) suggest, these mechanisms affect the body through psychoneuroimmunological pathways, reducing mortality in the elderly. This team's 1990–1991 prospective study of 2,025 people aged 55 and older found a 44% lower mortality rate among those involved in volunteer activities than among those not involved.

The aging trend in Poland's population is reflected in the convicted population, which increasingly includes people over the age of 60. At the end of 2001, there were 652 senior inmatesin Polish penitentiary units, accounting for 0.8% of all those in prison isolation. Over the ten years, the percentage of senior inmates in the general population of detainees is as follows: 2.6% in 2013, 3% in 2014, 3.1% in 2015, 3.6% in 2016, 3.8% in 2017, 4.1% in 2018, 4.5% in 2019, 4.7% in 2020. As of December 31, 2021, the number of pretrial detainees and convicts was 71139. This includes 1,366 people aged 61–63, 929 aged 64–66 and as many as 1,111 aged 67 and over. Overall, the percentage of seniors in the total prison population is already 4.8%, which means that the population of people in prison isolation is aging (Centralny Zarząd Służby Więziennej Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości, 2022, p. 16). Polish legal regulations – executive penal code and executive regulations – do not contain any special regulations for inmates over 60 years of age. They are subject to the same conditions of incarceration and rehabilitation interventions as other prisoners. Meanwhile, the aging process in penitentiary isolation is specific and, compared to conditions outside prison, far less favorable. Due to progressive biological and psychological processes, the elderly tend to be more vulnerable to: withdrawal from participation in prison community life, loneliness, distrust, helplessness, illness (not infrequently chronic), lower physical fitness, disability, infirmity and dependence on others, and thus risk personal safety and economic exploitation by fellow inmates. This means that in addition to the issue of changing the attitudes of this group of prisoners – and especially those with the prospect of long-term imprisonment – health care, caregiving and

psychopedagogical support that will allow them to cope with the usually negative balance of life and prepare for dying and death become equally important (Stępniak, 2017; Jaworska, 2012). Recognition of "imprisoned old age" (Szlęzak-Kawa, 2014) must take the form of a comprehensive range of activities at various levels. It should operate simultaneously at the individual (penitentiary interactions), organizational (management) and social (policy) levels. Elements such as undertaking and adapting interventions that take into account the specifics of this age group of convicts, preparing the staff of penitentiary units to work with seniors, paying attention to architectural barriers, selection of cellmates, its equipment, proper health care, proper, age-appropriate nutrition become important here (Siemaszko, 2018). In fact, more and more programs are being designed and implemented to take into account the peculiarities of seniors in the penitentiary system, it is worth noting that these are impacts implemented by individual units. There is still a lack of broader solutions and regulations that take into account the inclusive perspective of old age and aging of prison inmates, and without taking immediate, comprehensive, real and, due to the aging of the population – which is worth emphasizing – unavoidable measures, the functioning of this group of inmates will continue to be relegated to the margins of prison daily life.

In conclusion

Thinking about the quality of life of the elderly justifies the need to reduce stereotypes and create tools and a climate that counteracts the stigmatization and social exclusion of seniors not only in prison conditions, but also in the space of prison isolation. Thus, the need for a change in the perception of seniors is indicated, and in this process biomedical, social, cultural, economic and political perspectives overlap, which consequently affect both those whom society counts as old people, and the society itself. However, regardless of the attitudes promoted, and resulting from the need related to the aging of the population, pointing to the experience and wisdom of old people, indifferent, dismissive and often hostile attitudes still prevail. Therefore, a new paradigm for and through education is emerging, namely the creation of such attitudes that will be open to inclusion seen as a remedy for the social marginalization of old people. This upbringing should therefore support social consciousness toward legitimizing the rationality and equality of all differences, including those arising from age differences. Hence, education is first and foremost to equip society with functioning and flexible mechanisms for learning about and participating in the world of diversity and difference, and to give tools for understanding this ever-changing reality. This is to lead to the constitution of attitudes of tolerance treated not only as awareness and acceptance of differences, but also as an open and positive attitude towards contact with representatives of different age groups.

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School burnout as a mediator variable in the relationship between time perspective and intensity of depression in adolescents

Abstract: epressive disorders and school burnout syndrome in students are phenomena that are characterized by a long duration and a gradual escalation of symptoms. The research results so far have confirmed that both of these issues constitute significant factors hindering or even blocking the development of an individual. At the same time, both are associated with the loss of resources enabling efficient functioning in the environment and coping with challenges. One such resource is the ability to maintain balance between different time perspectives. The aim of the conducted research project was to examine the mediation role of school burnout on the relationships between time perspective indicators and the level of depression in the group of adolescents. The study sample was 355 students (61.6% of whom were girls) from 3rd grade of post-primary schools (mean age 18.5). The study utilized three psychological tools i.e. the SSBS Secondary School Burnout Scale, full version of the Perspective Inventory by Zimbardo and Boyd and the Kutcher Adolescent Depression Scale. The data obtained confirmed the presence of significant relationships between time perspective indicators and depression and school burnout in students. The results of the mediation analysis revealed that the past time perspective and the fatalistic present time perspective are

both directly linked to depression and may be related to it through school burnout. It has also been shown that concentration on short-term hedonistic goals becomes significant for the severity of depression only after the level of school burnout is taken into account in the model. The future time perspective was only indirectly related to the level of depression via the mediator variable – school burnout. The obtained data suggest the necessity to design aid measures aimed at adolescents experiencing depression and school burnout that take into account the development of effective mental time management.

Key words: time perspective, school burnout, depression, mediation.

Introduction

The rapid development of civilization, as well as cultural transformations, have a significant impact on the functioning of students in modern schools. Nowadays, the demands on youth fulfilling compulsory education are higher than in the previous century. Continuous educational reforms introduce changes in the scope of tasks to be performed by students. In the past, teachers used to have a directive approach to conducting lessons, but now students are given more freedom in performing the exercises included in the curriculum, thus gaining greater responsibility for the shape of the educational process. It needs to become more creativity-oriented, as modern education is evolving away from a solely reproductive approach to completing tasks School is also a place where the child is constantly evaluated. Each portion of material is connected with the necessity to take an exam to summarize the acquired knowledge. This generates permanent stress related to the belief that school achievements are a measure of the student's worth in the eyes of their teacher, parents, and sometimes even peers (Banasiak, Wołowska, 2015). Unfavorable educational conditions, interpersonal conflicts, excess of duties, constant stress accompanying a student may lead to a number of negative consequences such as the emergence of school phobia, overload, or exhaustion syndrome. School burnout syndrome is understood as a prolonged reaction to experiencing chronic stress in a situation of depletion of a student's personal resources with simultaneous excessive demands from the environment (Parker, Salmela-Aro 2011, quoted from: Tomaszek, Muchacka-Cymerman, 2018; Salmela-Aro, Upadyaya, 2014). This condition generates excessive and intense involvement in professional (or educational) activities, which exceeds the energy resources possessed by the individual (Aypay, Sever, 2015). Burnout syndrome – also referred to in the literature as exhaustion syndrome – in the most popular structural view, consists of three aspects, i.e. a state of chronic energy depletion (referred to as emotional burnout or burnout), adopting a cynical attitude (referred to as depersonalization), as well as a sense of dissatisfaction with personal achievements or inadequacy (Tucholska, 2009; Tomaszek, 2020). However, Aypay (2011) analyzing the symptoms of burnout syndrome in adolescents revealed a 7-element structure of this phenomenon, pointing to such areas as: exhaustion

from studying, burnout from parental pressure, loss of interest in school, burnout from preparation of homework, burnout from teacher pressure, need for rest and free time, and a sense of one' s own ineptitude at school.

This phenomenon was described based on the concept of occupational burnout, which has been addressed by researchers since the mid-1970s. Yet, many researchers equate work with studying at school, pointing to the analogies between the demands at work and at school and the need to disburse one's own resources (personal, social, organizational) to fulfill the duties inherent in the role of both employee and student (Tomaszek, 2020).

The problem of school burnout, as a psychological construct derived from the theory of occupational burnout, is discussed relatively rarely in studies, and the empirical heritage in this area on the domestic ground is very poor and indicates the need for extensive research. Deepening knowledge on the phenomenon is important because school burnout is a serious social problem which entails a number of negative consequences. The research findings to date show that the experience of school burnout is associated with: low self-esteem, discouragement, helplessness, and a sense of loneliness (Wilsz, 2009: Mehdinezhad, 2011), pathological perfectionism (Ulu et al., 2012, quoted from: Tomaszek, Muchacka-Cymerman, 2018) lack of self-development, lack of motivation to act, a sense of one' s own incompetence, procrastination, lack of life satisfaction, and aggressiveness, (Capri et al, 2012; Raiziene et al, 2014; Çakır et al, 2014; Wang et al, 2015, quoted from: Muchacka-Cymerman, Tomaszek, 2017). Also of concern is the fact that school burnout has a significant association with greater susceptibility of students to depression and high risk of suicidal tendencies (Wang et al., 2015; Tomaszek, 2020). A broader analysis of this phenomenon is also important from the point of view of revalidation efforts because, as numerous research results demonstrate, experiencing by a student burnout related to their educational functioning is a significant predictor of social maladjustment and problem behaviors, i.e., substance abuse, addiction to modern information technologies such as the Internet and mobile phone, involvement in deviant groups, and violation of social and legal norms (Ang et al, 2015; Dolzan et al, 2015; Walburg et al, 2015).

Mental health disorders in adolescents are increasingly common. According to epidemiological studies, there is a continuous increase in the cases of adolescents with depression. The prevalence of depressive symptoms ranges from 13.25 to 33.3% (Zagdańska, Kiejna, 2016). The roots of this phenomenon are complex and ambiguous. Research on risk factors of depression in adolescents is extremely important because this disorder affects the overall functioning of an individual. For students with normal intellectual and physical development, school is a place providing positive experiences. Its perception, however, may be different for students with developmental disabilities or chronic illnesses. According to research, depression leads to poorer academic performance and a decline in participation

and involvement in school activities (Dudek, 2014). These factors, in turn, are the main components of school burnout syndrome.

Adolescents suffering from depressive disorders experience higher levels of fear, as well as strong anxiety about the future, manifested through a sense of inability to achieve a satisfactory level of life in adulthood in terms of obtaining an education, material status, or finding a life partner. Moreover, depressive disorders also result in difficulties in functioning at school. They involve difficulty in focusing attention, lack of persistence in their activities, or a sense of unoriginal thinking. Adolescent depression is also accompanied by low self-esteem, the conviction of inevitability of failure, and the ineffectiveness of one's own actions. There is a feeling of boredom, anhedonia, and inability to experience pleasure. Also typical for the described disorder is disruption of daily rhythms, going to bed late, problems with getting up in the morning or significant neglect of appearance and hygiene (Bomba, 2012). Decreased motivation, anhedonia, sleep deprivation, and neuroendocrine disorders, which are symptoms of depression, negatively affect the attitude and approach to school responsibilities. The above fact is worrisome because as studies have shown, the consequence of lack of engagement at school, school alienation and burnout among students is often the functioning of the individual on the margins of society. This is linked to low socio-economic status resulting from lack of proper education and thus lack of good job opportunities (Awang-Hashim, et al., 2015).

Zimbardo, an American researcher (Gonzales, Zimbardo, 1985), pointed out that human behavior always remains in relation to temporal segments on a timeline: past, present, or future, although the individual is not always aware of it. It is this attitude to time that he named *time perspective*, which expresses a personal attitude to time. This mechanism allows a person to organize their experiences and make individual decisions. The attitude towards time shapes the choices of an individual in all spheres of their life. Optimal for human functioning is to develop a balanced time perspective that is characterized by a strong rootedness in positive memories and past experiences *(past positive time perspective)*, with a slightly increased tendency to dwell on negative events of the past *(past negative time perspective)*, a moderately increased tendency to engage in behaviors motivated by hedonistic pleasure *(present hedonistic time perspective)*, and a weak tendency to perceive and interpret current experiences pessimistically *(present fatalistic time perspective)* as well as a strong tendency to build rational plans for the future *(future time perspective)*. A different pattern of time perspectives may result in the emergence of problems in functioning of an individual.

Undoubtedly, the pattern of time perspectives affects the educational performance of students and their involvement in school activities. Studies have found that individuals with higher indicators regarding past negative time perspective are characterized by shyness, anxiety, aggression, lower self-esteem, or susceptibility to depression (Zimbardo, Boyd, 1999). Research conducted in

2004 found a negative relationship between present perspective and academic performance (Simons, et al., 2004). This perspective has been found to be a predictor of procrastination (Ferrari, et al., 2007). Procrastination, in turn, is one of the factors found in students with school burnout syndrome. In the light of the research results to date, future time perspective is associated with diligence, involvement in school activities or awareness of the consequences of one's own behavior (Zimbardo, Boyd, 1999). Adolescents with higher levels of future time perspective set themselves more long-term goals and have more ambitious expectations related to the educational process, are characterized by higher self-esteem, an internal sense of control and positive experience of psychological well-being (Adelabu, 2007; Kałużna-Wielobób, 2013, 2014). These factors may serve as protection against the occurrence of burnout in students. Tabera (2013) points out that for making career planning decisions, a combination of past negative, present hedonistic, and present fatalistic time perspectives is least favorable.

An inappropriate attitude toward time is also associated with higher incidence of depression. Research to date suggests that the greater the severity of depression, the higher the indicators for past negative time perspective. Recollecting negative past events and revisiting past decisions to analyze what should have been done differently to make it better are significant predictors associated with the occurrence of depressive disorders (Stolarski, et al., 2014). Furthermore, it has been revealed that higher indicators on the past negative time perspective scale are significantly linked to higher prevalence of suicidal thoughts and intentions in adolescents (Shahnaz, Saffer, & Klonsky, 2019). At the same time, as demonstrated by the findings of Boyd and Zimbardo (2011), the higher the score on the scale measuring past positive time perspective, the lower the level of depression. People who revisit events from their past with a positive affect, remembering the good events rather than focusing on the negative ones, are less likely to develop depression (Boyd, Zimbardo, 2011). There is also a relationship between a higher level of depression and higher scores on the present fatalistic time perspective. People adopting this perspective tend to have a high level of pessimism. They see no chance for improvement of their situation. Don't believe in their causative power. They claim that everything comes from a higher and more powerful force than them and that there is nothing they can do to change the course of their lives. Such people are also unable to shape their own future. Moreover, they do not revisit any positive events from the past and remain stuck in the present, without any active attitude that could change their situation (Boyd, Zimbardo, 2011).

Research conducted in a group of Polish adolescents indicates that the most intensified in them is the past negative time perspective (Paszkowa-Rogacz, 2015). It is characterized by constant recalling of unpleasant events from the past, rumination and dwelling on past decisions, especially those with negative consequences. The negative time perspective is a significant predictor that can lead

to the onset of depressive disorders, and these are in turn not often associated with symptoms indicative of student burnout syndrome.

Research hypotheses

The main purpose of the presented research was to examine the mediating role of school burnout in the relationship between time perspective indicators and depressive states. Based on the literature review, it was assumed that:

    H1. Negative time perspective on the past and present and a hedonistic attitude toward temporary pleasure or avoidance of difficulties are positively related to the level of depression and school burnout.

    H2. Positive time perspective on the past and the ability to construct future states are negatively related to the level of depression and school burnout. When justifying the research hypotheses made, it is worth referring to the relationship of unbalanced time perspective with mental health disorders such as emotional dysregulation, manifested by a higher level of depression and maladaptive behavior (Stolarski et al., 2013). Time perspective orientation is one of the permanent aspects of human existence, as demonstrated by its significant influence on our perception of the surrounding reality, as well as selection and organization of experiences that take place in different time intervals (Boyd, Zimbardo, 2011). As noted by Zawadzka et al. (2014) the above process is reflected in the formation of mental well-being, especially in the case of excessive dominance of fatalistic perceptions of one's past, present, and future. The findings to date confirm that obsessive concentrating on painful and aversive events that took place in the past is strongly associated with depression, as it disrupts the individual's cognitive processes – logical thinking or planning ability (Zawadzka, Byrczek, 2012; Mostowik, Cyranka, 2018). Zawadzka et al. (2014) showed that the dominance of negative past and present fatalism in the pattern of time perspectives that is a regulator of an individual's behavior are risk factors for maladaptive anti-health behaviors, i.e.: non--adherence to medical recommendations. At the same time, a future-oriented perception of time is conducive to a sense of quality and meaning in life and exhibiting pro-health behaviors (Zawadzka et al., 2012). It is worth noting that Bianchi and da Silva Nogueira (2019) revealed that depressed and burned-out individuals present similar negative cognitive schemas regarding themselves and the social world. Both groups demonstrated great difficulty in controlling negative affective states and an increased tendency to recollect negative information and less frequently recall the positive ones. According to some researchers (MacLeod and Byrne, 1996), negative perspectives (i.e., negative mental representations

of the future) may be a major causal mechanism for the emergence of depression. Roepke and Seligman (2016) go as far as considering that the entire cognitive triad of depression distinguished by Beck i.e. negative beliefs about the self, environment, and future may boil down to a negative future perspective of perception and thinking about reality, as it is a blocking and discouraging factor in the struggle for one's own more positive future and health.

H3. Higher levels of depression occur jointly with higher levels of school burnout. In the literature on the subject there are many authors who emphasize the strong links between depression and burnout. Already Freudenberger pointed out that people struggling with symptoms of burnout react in a manner similar to people suffering from depressive disorders (Tucholska, 2009). Schaufeli and Enzmann (1998), when characterizing the symptoms of exhaustion, noted that exhausted individuals feel helpless, hopeless, and powerless. According to Leiter and Dorub (1994, quoted from: Tomaszek, 2020) the feelings of overwhelm, exhaustion, and sadness are states identical to the emotional aspect of exhaustion syndrome, while the tendency to social isolation corresponds to the component of depersonalization in burnout. It should be noted that meta-analyses of the strength of the correlation between these variables revealed a moderate intensity of correlation ($r = 0.520$, SE = 0.012, 95% CI = 0.492, 0.547), thus ruling out the validity of the thesis that the phenomena of depression and burnout are identical in terms of scope (Koutsimani et al., 2019). Studies by authors such as Salmela-Aro and Upadyaya (2014), Salvagioni et al. (2017) or Tomaszek (2020) provide empirical support for the above theses. In light of the findings of these researchers, the experience of burnout in the educational context by children and adolescents is a significant predictor of depressive states.

H4. School burnout is a mediator variable in the relationship between time perspective indicators and depression. Support for this research hypothesis is provided by the study conducted by Akirmak and Ayla (2019) who analyzed the importance of occupational burnout in the relationship between adoption of a time perspective and the level of job satisfaction of bank employees. The authors referred to the Hobfoll's theory of conservation of resources (COR), finding that a balanced time perspective is an important buffer against occupational burnout and a factor enhancing job satisfaction. In the course of the analyses, it was demonstrated that individuals with a more balanced time perspective exhibit lower burnout, which leads to higher job satisfaction. These results suggest that this variable may play an important role in minimizing the negative impact of burnout syndrome on the loss of mental well-being, an indicator of which may be increased depressive states.
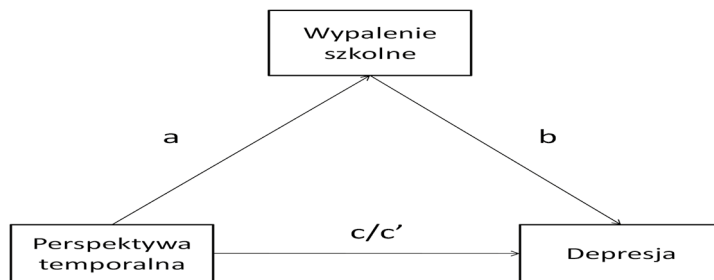
Explanations: Wypalenie szkolne – School burnout; Perspektywa temporalna – Temporal perspective; Depresja – Depression

Fig. 1. Graphical representation of the mediation effect tested

Source: own research

Method

Respondents

The study was conducted in 2019 in 3rd grade classes in five general secondary schools in three cities in the Małopolskie voivodeship.[1] A total of 388 students participated in the research. Ultimately, only 355 surveys were accepted for analysis. The remaining ones were rejected due to lack of completely filled questionnaires.

The participants in the study included 140 males (39.4%) and 214 females (61.6%). The average age of the students surveyed was 18.5 years. 31% of the respondents were attending a humanities class, while the remaining 60% were attending a science class. The place of residence of 222 people (62.5%) was a village, while 133 students (37.5%) came from a medium-sized town (population of up to 100 thousand). 83% of the respondents had siblings. Most of the students surveyed came from complete families (N=295, 83.1%). 16.9% of the respondents (N=60) came from a divorced family. Only 6% of the respondents did not have a friend/close person that they can always count on. A higher level of a sense of security and acceptance in the family was declared by 51% of the study group. 77.2% of respondents (N=274) assessed their family's financial situation as good.

Procedure

The criteria for participation in the study were consent of the school principal and attending the 3rd grade of high school. Participation in the study was

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[1] The study was conducted in the framework of a master's thesis project: Macałka, E. (2020). Depression versus time perspective and school burnout in adolescence. Institute of Psychology. Pedagogical University of Krakow. Unpublished master's thesis.

voluntary and anonymous. Students completed the questionnaires in one meeting. All study participants were of age.

Research tools

The study was conducted using three research questionnaires and a personal questionnaire.

Secondary School Burnout Scale (SSBS) – by A. Aypay in the Polish adaptation prepared by Tomaszek and Muchacka-Cymerman (2018). The tool consists of 34 questions answered by the respondents on a 4-point Likert scale. It allows you to calculate the general level of burnout and its 7 dimensions. The test contains reversed items. The higher the overall score, the higher the intensity of the burnout syndrome in the surveyed person. Reliability calculated with the Cronbach's alpha coefficient is 0.87. The scale was developed on the basis of Aypay's (2011) theory of burnout in students.

The brief version of Kutcher Adolescent Depression Scale is the Polish adaptation of the Kutcher Adolescent Depression Scale (KADS) prepared by Mojs and collaborators in 2015. The questionnaire consists of six items relating to the following symptoms: 1. Sense of sadness, 2. Lack of self-confidence, 3. Sense of physical exhaustion, 4. Belief that life is difficult and grueling, 5. Sense of fear and anxiety, 6. Emerging suicidal thoughts and plans. Respondents select answers on a 0–3 scale, indicating the frequency with which they experienced these emotions and feelings (rarely, sometimes, often, always). A score equal to or higher than 6 indicated a risk of depression. The reliability of the scale in Polish was calculated using the Cronbach's alpha coefficient and was 0.82. This tool is commonly used in North America as a screening assessment for depression in adolescents (Mojs et al., 2015).

The Time Perspective Inventory by P. Zimbardo is a Polish adaptation of the "Zimbardo Time Perspective Inventory" – ZTPI (Zimbardo, Boyd, 1999) created by A. Przepiórka in 2011. It contains 56 statements assigned to five subscales: *Past Negative Time Perspective* (PN) "I often think about what I should have done differently in my life", *Past Positive Time Perspective* (PP) "Thinking about my past makes me happy", *Present Fatalistic Time Perspective* (PF) "Everything in my life depends on destiny", *Present Hedonistic Time Perspective* (PH) "I believe that getting together with friends to have fun is one of life's essential pleasures", *Future Time Perspective* (F) "I do a profit and loss account before making a decision". The respondents answer on a 5-point Likert scale. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient of reliability for individual subscales in the Polish version is: 0.85 (PN); 0.61 (PP); 0.72 (PF); 0.72 (PH); 0.80 (F). The questionnaire is widely used worldwide to examine time perspectives and their importance to optimal functioning that people assign to particular time segments, because it is the perception of time that reflects values, beliefs, and attitudes (Boyd, Zimbardo, 2011).

Personal questionnaire: it allows to determine the factors differentiating the group in terms of gender, as well as the individual situation including the composition and structure of the family, the level of its functioning in relation to the sense of security and acceptance of the person surveyed among its members, and the family's financial situation. Another group of questions relates to functioning at school (class profile) and among peers (relationships with friends)

Results

The first step in verifying the research hypotheses was to calculate the means and standard deviations for all psychological variables in the entire group of respondents. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 1. In order to demonstrate the interrelationships between the measured variables the Pearson's r correlation analysis was used. The data obtained indicate that higher levels of depression (DEP) and school burnout (SSBS) co-occur with higher scores on scales measuring the past negative perspective (PN) (r_{DEP}= .22, p<.001; r_{SSBS}= .49, p <.001) and the present fatalistic perspective (PF) (r_{DEP} = .17, p<.01; r_{SSBS} = .31, p <.001) as well as with lower scores on scales measuring the past positive perspective (PP) (r_{DEP} = -.33, p<.001; r_{SSBS} =-.20 p<.001). Furthermore, school burnout was positively correlated with the present hedonistic time perspective (PH) (r_{SSBS} =.18, p<.01) and negatively correlated with the future perspective (r_{SSBS} =-.26, p<.001). In light of the data, the higher the level of school burnout, the greater the severity of depression in the group of respondents r=.27, p<.001) (Table 1).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the psychological variables analyzed and the correlations between them (N=355)

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.PN	32.09	7.22	-						
2.PP	27.99	5.09	-.30***	-					
3.PF	26.26	4.10	.33***	-.08	-				
4.PH	54.66	7.55	.14**	.20***	.37***	-			
5.F	36.09	6.40	.02	.16**	-.26***	-.16**	-		
6.SSBS	87.32	13.00	.22***	-.20***	.31***	.18**	-.26***	-	
7. DEP	5.14	4.19	.49***	-.33***	.17**	-.07	-.06	.27***	-

p < .05; **p* < .01; ***p* < .001
Legend: PN – Past Negative Time Perspective; PP – Past Positive Time Perspective; PF – Present Fatalistic Time Perspective; PH – Present Hedonistic Time Perspective; F – Future Time Perspective; DEP – depression; SSBS – school burnout.

The main part of the statistical analyses, which included testing the relationship between a time perspective and depression as a function of school burnout, was conducted in the IBM SPSS ver21 software with the PROCESS macro (model 4) (Hayes, 2013). The mediation analysis was used to test the significance of five models of mediation that included all indicators of time perspective (5 independent variables), school burnout (mediator variable), and depression (dependent variable). The results of this analysis are shown in Table 2.

A direct effects analysis of all five models confirmed significant correlations between depression and three time perspective indicators i.e. past negative time perspective (PN) (ß=.48, p<.0001), past positive time perspective (PP) (ß=-.33, p<.0001) and present fatalistic time perspective (PF) (ß=.17,p=.001). In all models, the time perspective indicators were statistically significantly related to the mediator variable and regression coefficients ranged from ß=-.26, p=.0001 (model 5) to .31, p<.0001 (model 3) depending on the model. The mediator variable was significantly predictive of depression levels in all five models and regression coefficients ranged from ß=.17, p=.0003 (model 1) to .27, p<.0001 (model 5) (Table 2) depending on the model.

A conditional indirect effects analysis calculated by means of the *bootstrap* method using the macro PROCESS software revealed that school burnout was a mediator in all models tested (Table 2). This variable significantly mediated the relationship between depression and negative past time perspective (b=.03, 95%CI[.01;.07], partial mediation), positive past time perspective (b=-.03, 95%CI[-.08;.01], partial mediation); present fatalistic time perspective (b=.06, 95%CI[.04;.12], full mediation). It should be noted that the data obtained suggest that through school burnout, depression levels were also influenced by those independent variables that had non-significant direct effects, i.e., the present hedonistic time perspective (PH) (b=.03, 95%CI[.02;.09]) and the future time perspective (b=-.05, 95%CI[-.11;.03]). With respect to the variable PH, it was revealed that school burnout reinforced the strength of the relationship with depression in a statistically significant degree i.e. once taken into account in the mediator model, the regression coefficient for PH became a significant predictor of depression (ß= -.12, p=.024) (model 4).

Table 2. Mediation effects of school burnout on the relationship between time perspective indicators and depression (N=355)

Model number	Tested effects	Path	B	SE	ß	t	p	95%CI
Model 1	Direct effects	PN→DEP(c)	.28	.03	.48	10.42	<.0001	[.23;.33]
		PN→SSBS(a)	.39	.09	.22	4.17	<.0001	[.21;.57]
		SSBS→DEP(b)	.05	.02	.17	3.63	.0003	[.03;.08]

Model number	Tested effects	Path	B	SE	ß	t	p	95%CI
		PN→DEP(c')	.26	.03	.45	9.56	<.0001	[.21;.31]
	Indirect effects	PN-SSBS→DEP	.02	.01	.04			[.01;.07]
Model 2	Direct effects	PP→DEP(c)	-.27	.04	-.33	-6.52	<.0001	[-.35;-.19]
		PP→SSBS(a)	-.51	.13	-.20	-3.84	.0001	[-.77;-.25]
		SSBS→DEP(b)	.07	.02	.21	4.18	<.0001	[.04;.10]
		PP→DEP(c')	-.24	.04	-.29	-5.69	<.0001	[-.32;-.15]
	Indirect effects	PP-SSBS→DEP	-.03	.01	-.04			[-.08;-.01]
Model 3	Direct effects	PF→DEP(c)	.15	.04	.17	3.29	.001	[.06;.24]
		P→SSBS(a)	.83	.13	.31	6.15	<.0001	[.56;1.09]
		SSBS→DEP(b)	.08	.05	.24	1.84	<.0001	[.04;.11]
		P→DEP(c')	.08	.05	.10	1.84	.066	[-.01;.18]
	Indirect effects	PF-SSBS→DEP	.06	.02	.07			[.04;.12]
Model 4	Direct effects	PH→DEP(c)	-.04	.03	-.07	-1.23	.219	[-.09;.02]
		PH→SSBS(a)	.31	.09	.18	3.44	.0007	[.13;.49]
		SSBS→DEP(b)	.09	.02	.29	5.56	<.0001	[.06;.13]
		PH→DEP(c')	-.07	.03	-.12	-2.26	.024	[-.12;-.01]
	Indirect effects	PH-SSBS→DEP	.03	.01	.05			[.02;.09]
Model 5	Direct effects	F→DEP(c)	-.04	.03	-.06	-1.18	.238	[-.11;.03]
		F→SSBS(a)	-.53	.10	-.26	-5.11	<.0001	[-.74;-.33]
		SSBS→DEP(b)	.09	.02	.27	5.06	<.0001	[.05;.12]
		F→DEP(c')	.01	.03	.01	.15	.883	[-.06;.07]
	Indirect effects	F-SSBS→DEP	-.05	.01	-.07			[-.11;-.03]

Legend: PN – Past Negative Time Perspective; PP – Past Positive Time Perspective; PF – Present Fatalistic Time Perspective; F – Future Time Perspective; PH – Present Hedonistic Time Perspective; DEP – depression; SSBS – school burnout.

Discussion of the results

Time perspective refers to the peculiar automatic mechanism of assigning individual experiences to distinguished time segments (past, present, and future) and giving them emotional meaning (negative vs. positive) and is considered by re-

searchers to be a fundamental dimension in the psychological time construction and one of the significant predictors of mental disorders, i.e., increased anxiety or depression (Altan-Atalay et al., 2020). School burnout, on the other hand, is one of the risk factors of mental health abnormalities in children and adolescents, which are characterized by the dominance of negative emotions, dysregulation and disorders in many spheres of functioning of the individual (Bianchi et al., 2019; Tomaszek, 2020). The presented research tested the significance of school burnout as a mediator of the relationship between time perspective indicators and depression.

In line with the assumptions of the hypothesis no. 1, it was confirmed that the negative time perspective, both past and present, is positively correlated with the level of depression and school burnout. At the same time, higher hedonistic attitudes toward temporary pleasure and avoidance of difficulties only co-occurred with greater intensity of school burnout syndrome. Partially confirmed was also the hypothesis no. 2, which is that the positive past time perspective negatively correlates with school burnout and depression. At the same time, future time perspective orientation was only negatively correlated with school burnout. The presented research also proved the hypothesis no. 3 concerning positive correlations between the severity of depression and the level of school burnout. The analyses confirmed that school burnout is a significant mediator of the relationship between all indicators of time orientation and depression (hypothesis no. 4). The results of the mediation analysis revealed that the independent variables – time perspectives related to the past (negative and positive) and the currently perceived sense of lack of control over one's own destiny (present fatalistic time perspective), are both directly correlated with depression as well as may be linked to it through school burnout. It has also been shown that an individual's focus on short-term hedonistic goals and pleasures becomes significant for the severity of depression only when the level of school burnout is taken into account in the model. Future time perspective, in contrast, is correlated with the level of depression only indirectly through the mediator (school burnout).

The results of the correlation and mediation analysis obtained in the presented own research are consistent with data obtained in other age groups and with theoretical approaches regarding the analyzed psychological constructs. Adopting a specific time perspective allows the prediction of current emotional states and those that the individual recalls in the context of past situations (Stolarski et al., 2013). The structuring of these experiences is related to the degree of accessibility of autobiographical content that an individual finds meaningful to their present experiences (Mattews, Stolarski, 2015). According to Stolarski et al. (2013) the strongest predictors of mood disorders are two of the five time perspectives, i.e. the past negative time perspective and the hedonistic attitude towards the present. Åströmii et al. (2018) demonstrated that the severity of depression in older people is positively related to the past negative time perspective (negative feelings about

one's past experiences) and fatalistic interpretation of the present and negatively related to the past positive perspective and the future perspective allowing planning and optimistic interpretation of one's future. According to the authors, the mechanism underlying these relationships is the "shrinking of time horizons for the future" and the ruminative recall of past negative life events. Ahmadi et al. (2019), based on studies conducted in a group of healthy adolescents (control group) and adolescents with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and major depressive disorder (MDD) (clinical group), demonstrated significant difficulties in perceiving and assessing the time between time segments. Such a result may suggest that severe stress and depressive disorders disrupt an individual's ability to correctly assess time and flexibly transition between the three time horizons. Negative thoughts about the past can "tinge" the perception of events occurring "here and now", generating a negative mood (Matthews, Stolarski, 2015). However, the foundation here is the cognitive operations made by the individual that determine their affective response to imagined time spans (past, present, and future). This may be the reason why people suffering from school burnout syndrome are highly prone to negative attributions of past and present events (Tomaszek, 2020). At the same time, it seems to be characteristic of them to narrow their perspective to the "here and now" and to engage in disadaptive behaviors in the form of avoiding confrontation with currently experienced stressors that are regarded as too burdensome. It is worth mentioning that according to classical theories concerning depression, negative beliefs about one's own future (i.e., pessimism, sense of hopelessness) are key symptoms and even triggers of the disease process in the course of depression (Korn et al., 2017). Moreover, in addition to the devaluation of the self and the dominant negative mood (sadness), the characteristics of depression also include chronic fatigue, apathy, withdrawal, and a sense of failure (Beck, 1970). This fact confirms that the clinical picture of subdepressive states and burnout are partially similar and the cognitive mechanisms underlying both phenomena may be comparable. Previous research and theoretical approaches emphasize that the exhaustion syndrome is associated with engaging in risky and self-handicapping behaviors, i.e. engaging in health-risk behaviors, violating social norms, addiction to the Internet, truancy (Tomaszek, 2020). In this context, it is worth mentioning the ego depletion model (control exercised by the Self over the Self) by Baumeister et al. (2006, quoted from: Karolczak, 2010). This model assumes that the dominant reactions of an individual are replaced by less adaptive ones due to the depletion of resources that determine the ability to exercise self-control (i.e., energy, willpower). At the same time, the loss of these resources generates a decrease in performance and a significant increase in experienced stress (Karolczak, 2010). Such a mechanism seems to be closely related to the regulatory role of time perspective suggested by Stolarski et al. In light of the results obtained, the deficits in maintaining the balance of time perspectives, through dysregulation of coping mechanisms,

the indicator of which is the burnout syndrome in students, entail a greater susceptibility to depressive disorders. In addition, referring to the theory developed by Hobfoll (2006) on incurring personal costs in the form of loss of resources in order to adapt to the demands of the environment, it can be assumed that each student who engages in school education must invest the resources they possess in order to be able to achieve their goals. Thus, fulfilling school responsibilities may lead to a reduction or complete loss of resources. However, failure to achieve a satisfactory state may be associated with disappointment related to the fact that the investment of resources did not yield the previously intended gains (Dudek et al., 2007). Disappointment and inability to achieve the goals set, along with experienced school failure, may be a significant predictor of depressive disorders in adolescents (Kołodziejczyk, 2008). In light of the research presented, it also seems significant that the balanced time perspective is an important personal resource for an individual that enables them to adapt to the demands of the environment as well as to achieve their goals (Akirmak, Ayla, 2019).

The research project carried out and the conclusions drawn on its basis have some limitations. The data for the study were collected only in general secondary schools, excluding students from technical and vocational schools. In addition, the respondents were residents of Małopolskie voivodeship only and all of them came from villages and towns with population up to 100 thousand. The respondents were also of similar age, which makes it impossible to draw conclusions that apply to the general population of high school students. The study was conducted by means of a questionnaire, which did not allow for in-depth and detailed answers. Considering the disturbing data formulated on the basis of the conducted study and the scale of the phenomenon, it becomes important to replicate this study taking into account a larger number of respondents and additional variables, i.e. sociodemographic data allowing for a better understanding of the examined psychological constructs.

The obtained results support the thesis assuming that a time perspective, and especially its components that imply disadaptive behavior, is a significant risk factor for depressive disorders. At the same time, the obtained data are consistent with the results of empirical studies conducted in a group of adults by Akirmak et al. (2019), according to which a time perspective can activate and aggravate symptoms of burnout and in this way reduce the mental well-being of an individual. This is because the research presented in this paper proved that such a path of relationships may increase the susceptibility of students in adolescence to experiencing depressive states. In this context, the it proved the usefulness of the time perspective construct for understanding, on the one hand, the ways in which a dysfunctional pattern of time perspectives has an impact on abnormalities in the mental functioning of young people and, on the other hand, the mechanisms of loss of mental strength in the form of school burnout. At the same time, in light of the results obtained, it becomes necessary to look

at the above problems from the perspective of the loss of personal and social resources and methods of strengthening them. Knowledge of the relationship between time perspective orientation and school burnout or depression has its specific practical implications. First of all, it outlines one of the possible and important areas of preventive and rehabilitative measures – integration of experiences from different time perspectives. The results of conducted research and detected empirical correlations unambiguously indicate that people working with adolescents struggling with stress, school burnout and depression, as well as their behavioral consequences such as substance abuse, risky sexual behavior, involvement in deviant groups, conflicts with the law, should incorporate methods of time management and techniques suggested by the Time Line Therapy (TLT) model into their practice. According to James and Woodsmall (1988), each person stores all of their memories chronologically, in the form of a time line (which may not necessarily be a straight line). This phenomenon is related to the fact that a person mentally "localizes" themselves by focusing on a particular event (often from the past) and building their self-image by referring to that event. As a result, they approach their current and future actions in relation to that situation (their emotions, thoughts, and actions at that point in their lives). The main goal of using TLT techniques is to systematically reduce all negative emotions (or their intensity) associated with difficult and often traumatic past memories (Ahmad, 2011). Its goal is not to erase these difficult memories, but rather to remove the affective states and beliefs that are associated with them, and which continue to have a detrimental effect on current functioning of the individual. The theoretical and empirical analyses presented in the paper support the postulate of the authors of time therapy to consider time orientation as an important psychological variable, which has a significant impact on the functioning of young people with mental and behavioral difficulties.

To sum up, the problems discussed in the paper, as well as the results of the quoted and conducted research, constitute an important premise for undertaking not only clinical efforts towards adolescents who more and more frequently struggle with depression, but also social rehabilitation efforts towards teenagers experiencing school burnout, resulting in both antagonistic and destructive attitudes towards school duties, as well as a high risk of social marginalization due to dropping out of school, lack of skills and knowledge necessary to continue education at a higher level, and failure to undertake normative tasks of adulthood (professional work, social, parental and civic responsibility) with broad social consequences thereof.

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Treatment, resocialization and readaptation of women struggling with drug addiction: barriers and challenges

Abstract: Indications of psychoactive substance use by women and men are increasingly equalizing, and helping women who use these substances is a major challenge for today's social and treatment services. The purpose of the research conducted was to learn about the resources, opportunities and life plans of women who use psychoactive substances, especially the difficulties they face during the recovery process and the fulfillment of social roles. Seventeen women participated in the study, and a standardized interview questionnaire was used to collect data, asking about family support options, education, gainful employment, place of residence, self-esteem and life plans of the respondents. The research was conducted between 2017 and 2021 in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship in Poland. The results indicate both that there are few opportunities for support from loved ones and that the respondents' low capital makes it difficult to perform life roles independently. Reported barriers to recovery include helplessness due to past experiences, fear of stigmatization, reluctance to disclose one's experiences, and lowered self-esteem.
Key words: women, psychoactive substances, social stigma, barriers to treatment.

Introduction

For several decades, global indications of illicit psychoactive substance use among women and men appear to have leveled off, both in terms of use and treatment enrollment (NCDAS 2021; UNODC 2021, pp. 13–15). The data also confirms that deaths among female drug users are increasing (Van Houten et al., 2019, p. 1).

As recently as the early 1980s, the estimated ratio of male to female alcohol abusers was considerably higher, at 5:1 (Helzer et al., 1991, p. 82–112). However, in the first decade of the 21st century, statistics on the use of various psychoactive substances indicated a narrowing of previous gender differences (Greenfield et al., 2010, p. 339). According to data presented in the World Drug Report 2021, the rate of drug use at the global level is still higher among men, but it is estimated that one in three users of psychoactive substances is a woman (UNODC 2021: 13). According to some estimates, the percentage of women using these substances ranges from 10% in Asian countries to as high as 40% in European countries (Boroumandfar et al., 2020, p. 1).

The use of psychoactive substances by women has almost always been met with a negative public perception (Lal et al., 2015, p. 280). On the other hand, however, women were the group targeted by many "miracle" medicinal drugs designed to bring relief. In the 19th century in the United States, non-prescription drugs containing alcohol and opiates were marketed to women as antidotes to treat pain and discomfort associated with menstruation, childbirth and menopause, among other things (Becker et al., 2016, p. 1056). In the second half of the twentieth century, doctors often prescribed new "miracle" drugs to stimulate mood disorders and weight control to women; in particular, the sedative *Valium* (Metzl, 2003, p. 263) and appetite suppressants produced from amphetamines and cocaine, among others, became popular (Hendricks 2017, p. 224). Cultural role models of obedient and shapely women have fostered more frequent prescribing by doctors of drugs to stimulate mood disorders and weight control for this group. In turn, they themselves, in order to conform to cultural expectations, tried to follow them (Becker et al., 2016, p. 1056).

Social attitudes toward women who use psychoactive substances differed from those toward men who use them. In the last decades of the 20th century, the negative image of women struggling with addiction was exacerbated by media portrayals of African-American women who sold their bodies for drugs or for money to buy drugs. They were portrayed as bad mothers, but above all as sexually promiscuous women. This image was very likely to perpetuate pejorative beliefs about women who use drugs (Campbell, 2000, pp. 3–9). Additionally, almost worldwide, culturally entrenched gender disparities expose women struggling with addiction to greater stigma compared to men with similar

problems (The Global Coalition on Women and AIDS 2011, p. 3). However, this situation began to change; in Europe, the first treatment programs for women drug users were established in the second half of the 20th century. Similarly, in the United States, under a law passed by the Congress in 1988, a decision was made to allocate adequate funding for treatment programs for women struggling with addiction and care for their children (Bukowska, 2012, pp. 341–342).

Observers and researchers of the phenomenon of women's use of psychoactive substances point out the peculiarities of this group, but especially the difficulties faced by women who decide to enter treatment. The image established in the social space of addicted men differs significantly from that of addicted women, who face ostracism and stigmatization both during the development of addiction and during treatment attempts (Smith, Marshall, 2007, pp. 168–169; Eggertson, 2013, p. 1562; Jeal et al., 2017, p. 3–7). Negative attitudes toward women who use drugs are related to the spectrum of consequences attributed to women who use these substances, including unwanted pregnancy, prostitution, transmission of infectious diseases, among others (Boroumandfar et al., 2020, p. 2). According to a study conducted in nine European Union countries, the average HIV prevalence was more than 50% higher among women who use injection drugs than among men (Malinowska-Szempruch 2015, p. 96). Women attempting drug treatment sometimes face much more stigma than men (judgment by staff, fear of losing custody of children). In addition, they have lowered self-esteem and have difficulty maintaining supportive relationships due to their previous experience of violence (Neale et al., 2018, p. 990–992).

Objective

The purpose of this paper is to present the resources, opportunities, life plans of women who use psychoactive substances, as well as the reported needs and barriers to returning to life stability. The results presented here are part of a project in which men were also interviewed. However, in order to highlight the needs reported by the women participating in the study, as well as the empirical material collected, the underutilization of which could be considered an unwarranted omission, a selection of the material was undertaken and this issue is discussed in a separate paper.

Material and methods

The data presented here comes from a broader research initiative carried out in 2017–2019, which aimed to determine the socio-cultural determinants of respondents' drug initiation (Motyka, 2018; Motyka, Jedynak, 2020) and from interviews

carried out in 2020–2021 with young women from the Podkarpackie Voivodeship who reported to support facilities for people experiencing problems resulting from drug use, for consultation, counseling, therapy, or seeking support in self-help groups after detoxification.

The study used a purposive convenience sampling of respondents. The information was collected from women reporting to three facilities in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship in Poland, employing one of the authors as a full-time addiction therapist. The research was planned and carried out in accordance with the current Polish *Code of Ethics for Addiction Therapists* and the *Code of Ethics for Sociologists*. All interviews were conducted and recorded with the consent of the respondents with assurances of confidentiality and full anonymity of the places and people given. From May 2017 to August 2019, data was collected from 14 women, while three more interviews were conducted in 2020–2021 during meetings with women who had completed detoxification and were seeking support in maintaining abstinence. Consent was also obtained from the female respondents to transcribe these interviews. A total of 17 interviews were collected and analyzed. Participation in the interviews was offered to more than a hundred women applicants, However, most did not consent to participate in the study.

The research tool used for data collection was an interview questionnaire consisting of 39 questions. In addition to questions relating to the socio-cultural determinants of drug use, which was the primary goal of the main project, the interviews established the respondents' current family situation, asked about the quality of relationships between them and other family members, probed the resources they have: education, financial background, employment, asked about life plans, dreams and their realization. The reported consequences of psychoactive substance use and losses associated with their use were also recorded. A detailed description of the survey tool along with the questions is presented in another study (Motyka, 2018, p. 283). Depending on the openness of the respondents, additional questions were also asked to obtain more complete information.

For the initiative undertaken, research problems were formulated that determined the directions of analysis.

1. What support from relatives can respondents count on?
2. Where can they go back to after the treatment ends?
3. What kind of education do they have?
4. Are they employed and what are their economic opportunities?
5. What is their self-esteem?
6. What are their dreams/life plans?

Eleven questions in the aforementioned interview were used to obtain answers to the formulated problem and for the purpose of the presented research, which made it possible to collect interesting research material. The sections below provide selected responses. Some are interesting research material due to the comprehensiveness of the information provided, while some are concise statements

answering more or less the questions asked. When describing the results of the study, in order to better characterize the female respondents while maintaining their anonymity, each interview was assigned a number from 1 to 17.

Survey data

Basic data on female participants in the study

All study participants were young women who came in for consultation, advice or treatment related to the abuse of psychoactive substances other than alcohol or concurrent use with alcohol. Their ages oscillated between 18 and 34; three were under 20, one was over 30, and the largest number was in their twenties – 13 women. Six of them named large cities in the voivodeship as their places of residence, seven named smaller cities, and three of them lived in rural areas.

Four respondents are mothers and have started their own families. However, these relationships have not survived through substance abuse problems, with two of them having their parental rights restricted and one terminated. The others have not started families or have not yet thought about starting one. The research sample also included a woman who admitted she was transgender.

For most of them, this was their first contact with a drug treatment facility. The others had already had several to multiple treatment attempts. Each respondent admitted that she first used psychoactive substances other than alcohol before the age of 19; the earliest indications were at 10 and 12 years old. For ten of them, the initiation drug was marijuana, for two it was amphetamine, for three it was new psychoactive substances (NPS), one pointed to "brown sugar" heroin as the initiation drug, and one admitted that she first intoxicated herself with drugs containing pseudoephedrine. The psychoactive drugs that respondents used most often before reporting to treatment facilities were marijuana, amphetamines, NPS, cocaine, heroin, medicinal drugs containing intoxicants. These agents were most often combined with alcohol, or attempts were made to reduce their withdrawal symptoms with the help of alcohol.

Support from the family

According to the data collected, seven of them grew up in broken homes (lack of one or both parents) and at the same time in dysfunctional families (addiction in the family). Seven of them grew up in families where deficits were identified (either a broken home or family with an addiction problem), while three indica-ted that they grew up in families that were complete and without dysfunction. Some of the respondents' statements provide insight into what growing up under difficult and complicated conditions looked like from their perspective:

> Mom is dead, both parents are alcoholics. Father has already been to therapy several times here, but it didn't help. He still drinks and will probably end up here again (R: 7).

> […] my father was a drug user, he died when I was young. Mother lives in Germany, has her own family, we have no contact (R: 14).

It can be inferred from the statements that growing up in an atmosphere of love, support, security, while benefiting from the behavioral patterns observed in loved ones was complicated or not very possible for them. However, even in families that can be considered complete and without addictions, female respondents indicated experienced deficits:

> […] mother has been working in Italy for as long as I can remember. She is a caregiver but earns a lot. Dad is at home, working. Our house has everything but it feels empty. My sister and I have our rooms upstairs, my dad has the downstairs. He gets home from work late and just asks us if everything is ok and if anything needs to be bought (R: 8).

Despite the young age of the respondents, not all of them could count on the support of their immediate family; only a few lived with their parents, who provided care and gave a sense of security. In an attempt to get an idea of the potential for parental support, statements were collected suggesting very difficult relationships with parents or a complete lack thereof:

> My mother is a prescription drug addict. She sits at home on a pension and seemingly does something but I know she takes Relanium and some other medication all the time. She goes to a psychiatrist and gets it, but I also know that she obtains it in other ways. And she also drinks (R: 13).

Those women who moved away from their parents after starting their families currently also indicated a lack of support from their partners:

> We are separated. We have a child, but we do not live with each other. My parents did not agree to marriage because my boyfriend does drugs and deals speed [amphetamines] (R: 9).

> We lived in my partner's house and had the whole floor to ourselves. But when he died it started to get worse (R: 16).

The ties that bind siblings together – as long as they have not been damaged – can be a very important help to a family member in crisis. However, in the statements of female respondents, it is difficult to find the possibility of using this form of support. Two of them have half-siblings with whom they have no emotional ties, seven have siblings however they believe the relationship between

them is bad, two women admitted that their brother or sister uses drugs, while the other six indicated they have no siblings.

Residential options

Returning to a safe environment is an important part of recovery for those suffering from substance abuse. For most respondents, the place to return to was their parents' home, where they currently lived. Three of them indicated that they were living together with friends or extended family members, and four reported having no place to live or having an unstable housing situation:

> I don't know my dad, he died when I was young. I do not live with my mother but we are in touch. There are only two rooms there and there is not enough room for three people, I live at my grandmother's (R: 4).

> My guy threw me out of the house. I'm not going back to my house. I live in a shelter; I mean I think they will take me in when I finish therapy (R: 7).

Education

Education that meets one's own needs, strengthens one's self-esteem and allows for development is an important capital both when creating one's life path and when reconstructing one's status after a crisis. For female participants in the study, the situation is not satisfactory. Nine of them reported a completed education at the junior high school level, five had graduated from vocational schools, but did not work in their learned profession, and three had completed high school. Despite their dissatisfaction with this level of education, only three of the women continued their education.

Jobs and economic opportunities

Of the survey participants, currently none have a permanent job, and most indicated that they are supported by their relatives. Two respondents admitted that they had ways of satisfying their substance use needs during their drug binges:

> I earned money by phone. I also stole from my sponsors (R: 14).

> […] I used to shoplift clothes and sell them. I was never caught (R: 15).

Only a few indicated sources of ad hoc income, such as distributing advertising flyers, weaving wreaths for florists, shelf-stacking in markets, and giving manicures. However, even these measures taken met the minimum of their needs.

Self-esteem

There was no direct question about self-esteem in the interview, but based on statements about losses associated with substance use, as well as additional reported information, statements that expressed this self-esteem were recorded. Six female study participants did not indicate any losses related to substance use. However, the others had no difficulty pointing out such losses, and sometimes used critical self-assessment. Some of them reported preliminary consequences, especially social:

Trust of friends, time, money (R: 4)

Some acquaintances turned away from me (R: 6)

In several cases, substance use has disrupted puberty:

I had a probation officer and an order for institutional treatment. Three juvenile detention centers and four psychiatric hospitals (R: 1).

I have had two stays in youth centers (R: 12)

Some women cited dramatic events in their lives when asked about losses caused by substance use:

I lost my baby when I was pregnant. I had never thought of becoming a mother, but this killed me (R: 7).

Self-respect. I did various things that I'd rather not talk about here. I don't have normal girlfriends. I suck, I know it but I don't have the strength to do anything (R: 8).

Children, one miscarried and one taken away. In my first pregnancy, I didn't know I was pregnant. I smoked [heroin] all the time and had pains and bled. When they took me to the hospital, they said I was pregnant (R: 14).

Dreams and life plans

Some of the female respondents were unable to identify dreams or needs that motivate them to take appropriate action. One of the addicted women admitted:

I don't have any, I don't know, "no future" as the punks say. I don't believe you can live without amphetamines once you've learned what they do. […] I don't even have anyone to talk to because out of my friends everyone is snorting amphetamines and a few are jacking up, but that's the rock bottom (R: 8)

At the same time, their dreams oscillated toward the need to maintain abstinence. Some signaled the need to move out of the family home, continue their education, start a family, and obtain a detective's license. For several of them, the dreams were related to previous difficult experiences:

> To have my own house, to settle down, to have a guy who won't beat me (R: 6)

> Get my son back (R: 14)

One statement, despite being heavily saturated with suffering related to previous difficult experiences, contained hope, a will to live and a willingness to act. A respondent who admitted to being a trans woman confessed:

> I want to look like a woman and live like a woman and no longer be afraid that someone will see that it is different. This is the most important thing for me. […] Maybe now I'll start doing something but I don't know how to start, for everything you need documents and I don't have any. I have nothing. You know, I've often thought about killing myself. Now it's less frequent, because I have T. and it's a little different. The worst thing for me was that I felt terribly alone, so terribly alone, until it hurt. Once I was about to kill myself but I probably didn't take enough drugs and woke up. But only once. I know that you can live differently, I still believe in it, and you know what, despite what I've been through I think I like life, maybe it's not that I like everything, sometimes it's ok (R: 15).

The dream of the women living in the countryside was primarily a desire to relocate due to awareness of the stigma in this small community:

> I want to go abroad to work. Everywhere they look at me as an alcoholic because I am the daughter of an alcoholic (R: 11).

Similar fears of returning to one's hometown, neighborhood, townhouse or family, but also from the period before receiving treatment prior to reporting to a particular facility, were indicated by other respondents.

Discussion

The picture of the women in the study and their worlds presented during the interviews looks unstable, and their descriptions are full of needs they cannot clearly verbalize. The respondents indicate little support from the family environment, poor education, lack of steady and stable employment, and a safe place to live. The consequences of substance use are conductive to lowered self-esteem, experienced loneliness, and lack of resourcefulness. Many of them reported a lack of dreams and life plans hampering their motivation to take corrective action. The

deficits reported by the respondents make it possible to name these problems, and at the same time draw attention to existing support options, as well as to revise access for those facing similar difficulties. This is especially true for young women who start using substances early, are unaware of entering into a highly risky activity and, above all, are cut off from access to appropriate help.

Problems occurring in women who use psychoactive substances are a consequence of significant differences occurring in this group compared to male users. These relate to a higher susceptibility to the development of dependency, as well as complications concerning recovery and a higher risk of relapse. Women move from substance abuse to addiction much more frequently and quickly than men; are more likely to engage in self-medication with illicit substances; are more likely to experience health consequences associated with substance abuse and overdose; and are more likely than men to experience relapse (Bezrutczyk, 2021).

In one of the most interesting studies conducted in Poland among men and women with addiction problems, it was undertaken to determine whether gender – especially psychological predispositions – matter in the therapy process, and in doing so, whether there is a need to introduce interventions appropriate to the needs occurring separately due to gender. The study involved 109 patients at one of the country's addiction treatment centers. It was found that women entering treatment are in a more difficult psychological situation compared to men; they are characterized by a higher intensity of perceived stress, lower intensity of introducing coping strategies in difficult situations, lower self-esteem, stronger suppression of depression, lower acceptance of addiction. It has been requested that therapy for women with addiction problems be expanded to include elements of stress and anxiety management, as well as work on improving self-esteem. It has been proposed to modify the therapy program and change the previous confrontational approach (Chodkiewicz, 2005, p. 62).

Another study conducted on a sample of 55 women suffering from addiction found that they showed significantly lower life satisfaction than women without such experiences, particularly in areas such as self-esteem, marriage, sexuality, and health. It has been postulated that attention in the therapy process should be paid to creating and strengthening self-efficacy, which could promote both increased motivation to enter treatment and the effectiveness of therapeutic initiatives in this group (Juczyński, 2010, pp. 33–34).

Interesting findings on the social readaptation of drug-addicted women leaving prisons have been presented by researchers at the Institute of Psychiatry and Neurology in Warsaw. In a survey of 45 women, it was found that most of them, after leaving prison, have difficulties in terms of psychosocial functioning; with finding a job, a place to live, continuing their interrupted education. In addition, due to long-term isolation and also problems related to previous drug use, these women report difficulties in organizing their lives, coping with stress, and controlling their emotions. They have a great need for support, both institutional

and from loved ones. Lack of such support, difficult social and living conditions, emotional problems and sustaining contacts with drug addicts are unfortunately the most common causes of relapse. At the same time, protective factors against a return to previous problems include help from the immediate environment and fulfilling new social roles, such as those of a parent, partner, student or employee (Klingemann et al. 2008, p. 132–133).

Research on the stigmatization of people entering drug treatment conducted at two Polish treatment facilities for people with addiction problems has also yielded important results. The study, which involved 50 patients and 14 addiction therapists, found, among other things, that the gender of those entering treatment influences the extent of stigmatization. According to women, stigmatization is more strongly felt by them, which is related to the greater social acceptance of analogous behavior observed in men. The patients' beliefs are shared by therapists. People with addiction problems are also stigmatized in their environment even when they enter therapy. The stigmatizing effect of addiction treatment facilities makes patients reluctant to admit to treatment (Wieczorek, 2015, pp. 114–115).

A review article by Iwona Jagielska et al. (2013), one of the few devoted to the needs of female problem drug users, highlighted gender differences in use, and it too called for appropriate therapeutic interventions aimed at women. The authors described women's drug addiction as a multidisciplinary problem that requires the integrative work and cooperation of doctors, psychologists, social workers, as well as the families of such women. According to the authors, appropriately directed prevention aimed at adolescent girls is also essential (Jagielska et al., 2013, p. 176).

Interesting research, despite a small study sample (n=4), was also conducted in Krakow with women in crisis of homelessness who had concurrent difficulties related to a diagnosed addiction syndrome. For the female participants in the study, the biggest challenges are the awareness of permanent rejection and the need to hermetically seal themselves in their world. The change in image and lack of support from loved ones are the most severe consequences. It is not uncommon that returning to their hometown is combined with experiencing a stigma, while building a new world in a completely new place means they have to rely almost exclusively on themselves. The biggest reported difficulties in returning to life stability are low skills in establishing and maintaining relationships, resolving conflicts, and, above all, lost dignity and lowered self-esteem (Majerek, Frączek, 2017, p. 62).

Analogous results are presented by authors of studies conducted in various places around the world. Women who identify a problem in themselves and think about seeking treatment often do not enter therapy due to fear of stigmatization, or if they are mothers, for fear of having their parental rights restricted or taken away (Cormier et al., 2004; Opora, 2012, pp. 323–325). It also happens that even the closest members of their families are sometimes opposed to their seeking

help, not believing in their powerlessness to undertake permanent abstinence on their own (Opora, 2012, p. 323). However, for women who have decided to seek help and enter therapy, recovery and the proper performance of social roles can often be complicated. The resources they have in many cases are insufficient to help them consolidate the abstinence they have just begun. Many are in crisis of homelessness and have nowhere to return to, especially if they have served time in prison for drug-related crimes (van Olphen et al., 2009; Greenfield et al. 2010, p. 346). Their families of origin are often families with addiction problems or family relationships have been so damaged that it is difficult for them to rely on the support of loved ones (Abasi, Mohammadkhani, 2016, p. 3; Zolala et al. 2016, pp. 3–4), they have poor education (Zolala et al., 2016, p. 3), they have never worked or have been unemployed for a long time (Jagielska et al., 2013, p. 174), they feel lonely (Mannes et al., 2016, p. 600; Polenick et al., 2019, p. 2090), are experiencing acute health damage (both somatic and mental) related to psychoactive substance use (Cormier et al., 2004; O'Hagan, Wilson, 2018, p. 95). It also happens that they are non-heteronormative women which causes them additional fear of stigma from the environment in which they live, as well as during the therapy process, when they are stigmatized by other participants (Conner, Rosen, 2008, p. 247; Mericle et al. 2018, pp. 401–404; Wilson, Cariola, 2020, p. 188). These problems are multidimensional, complex and particularly acutely experienced.

Women drug users are more stigmatized than men because their use of intoxicating substances runs counter to socially established perceptions of female identity. Women are expected to be the caretakers of the household hearth, take care of raising children and be more family-oriented than men. Women are usually aware of these double standards and try to hide their drug use (Lee, Boeri, 2017, p. 68). Stigma shapes treatment practices and, as many researchers note, women are not studied to the same extent as men in clinical and preclinical research (Beery, Zucker, 2011, p. 565; Clayton, Collins, 2014, p. 282). Only the modern focus on women's health and gender differences has brought to public attention the need to interpret these differences when making therapeutic and diagnostic decisions. Today, in many cases, this approach is the result of strong feminist movements (Opora, 2012, p. 317).

In addition, the attitudes and beliefs of health care professionals have a significant impact on the treatment of addicts by shaping treatment practices and research priorities. However, many healthcare professionals would prefer not to work with addicts (Reyre et al., 2014, pp. 183–184), as this often has to do with the so-called "contagious stigma" associated with the fact that those who study or treat highly stigmatized populations may also experience stigma (Becker et al., 2016, p. 1058).

For women who use substances, motherhood is highly stigmatized socially; these are two completely contradictory roles in the public perception. A mother

who uses psychoactive substances is seen as an indifferent and selfish person and one who should be kept away from her children (Lee, Boeri, 2017, p. 78). Drug-using mothers are often easily separated from their children through unfair loss of custody. Their drug abuse is sometimes demonized, and their maternal ability is routinely questioned. Addicted women who are pregnant face social hostility, which is often compounded by hostility from health care professionals, by their families, but also by other substance users (Malinowska-Szempruch, 2015, p. 96).

The use of psychoactive substances by pregnant women has negative effects on the fetus. Numerous studies indicate that alcohol and drug use, especially when combined with poor nutrition, poor health, and mental health problems and lack of proper prenatal care, have the most negative effects (Cormier et al., 2004). Pregnancy, however, often proves to be the motivation and impetus for fighting addiction (Flanagan, Kokotailo, 1999, p. 185; Kolbowska, 2007, p. 43). As many as 10 of the 13 patients succeeded in maintaining abstinence or taking substitution treatment during pregnancy, the study reports. The additional responsibilities that come with the responsibility of motherhood cause many of them to upgrade their skills in order to get a good job that will allow them to make a decent living in the future (Kolbowska, 2007, p. 43).

The social status and economic situation of female users is much worse than that of male users. They are much more likely to be unemployed or have a lower income while working, which becomes a double jeopardy in the case of motherhood (Hedrich, 2000).

Many women who use substances may have mental health problems (depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, eating disorders or paroxysmal anxiety). According to statistics, these women often contemplate suicide or are victims of suicidal action (Stidham et al., 2013, p. 284; Lal et al., 2015, p. 278). Mental illnesses, phobias or depression can promote the abuse of mood-altering drugs. There is a high degree of co-occurrence of drug abuse with psychiatric and mood disorders (Cormier et al., 2004). Women's regular use of psychoactive substances, such as cannabis, can have a negative impact on their mental health. There is evidence that taking them during adolescence can cause psychotic symptoms and mental disorders in later years (Greenfield et al., 2010, p. 344). It should also be added that both somatic illnesses and various emotional life situations (falling in love, losing money, having children taken away, divorce) can be inflammatory factors for reaching for psychoactive substances or the occurrence of symptoms of relapse into addiction (Bukowska, 2012, p. 346).

Women who use psychoactive substances are incarcerated for drug-related crimes more often (van Olphen et al., 2009; Van Demark, 2007). This group also has a high abortion rate, and substance use is a common cause of divorce (Lex, 1994, pp. 218–219). The need for substance use is also sometimes the reason for engaging in prostitution (Lex, 1994, p. 217; van Olphen et al., 2009; Khajedaluee et al., 2015). The lifestyle of addicted women, which can be accompanied by an

exchange of sexual favors for intoxicants and a distorted social perception that intoxicated women are more sexually available, puts them in the position of a potential victim vulnerable to sexual violence (Opora, 2012, p. 320).

A separate issue is the non-heteronormativity of substance users, especially transgenderism / gender incongruence identified in cases of uncompleted gender correction during stays in health care facilities, police stations, sobering stations, etc. For transgender people, psychoactive substance use is often an escapist behavior, more often than not an alternative to suicide. Transgender people are significantly more likely to turn to these drugs than their non-transgender peers (Day et al., 2017, p. 733). In recent years, in many countries, despite the growing acceptance towards the community known as LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer), these people are treated much worse than the rest of society. They are often exposed to poverty, difficulties with health needs, they experience discrimination, and are aware of low support from many institutions (Ruppert et al., 2021, p. 11–13). They are a group that is particularly vulnerable both to the possibility of "escaping" the awareness of stigmatization resulting from the "otherness" they are constantly reminded of, as well as to the dangerous consequences associated with substance use or addiction (Chakrapani et al., 2017, p. 260–262).

An additional problem is low self-esteem, which can stimulate the mechanism of substance initiation, abuse, and can also be the cause of addiction and relapse. However, low self-esteem alone does not explain the mechanism of psychoactive substance use. Attention should be paid to an individual's social environment, which has a significant impact on the behavior in question (Bukowska, 2012, p. 343). However, many authors take the position that the most likely causes of psychoactive drug abuse, especially among young people, are low self-esteem, peer pressure, boredom, curiosity, biological predisposition and negative examples from adults (Matejovičová et al., 2015, p. 254).

According to the researchers, mental suffering and low self-esteem have an impact on the use of psychoactive drugs. Women who use psychoactive substances, in addition to increasing their self-esteem, "enter" their own social reality in which they feel more comfortable. Using drugs, they find a sense of self-worth, strive to perform tasks and achieve goals they believe society sets for them. Drug use is a way for them to cope with feelings of stigmatization or disrespect, superficially raising their self-esteem for a short time (Lee, Boeri, 2017, p. 78).

Conclusions

For several decades, the problems of women in addiction crisis have been more widely and frequently publicized, but despite this, deficits in the support system for this group are still reported. For women who use injection drugs, underfun-

ded health care systems and difficulties in reaching harm reduction and drug treatment programs are serious barriers to accessing health care and entering treatment (Malinowska-Szempruch, 2015, p. 96). Women addicts who undergo the therapy process in coeducational wards find it difficult to properly participate in the therapy process. These difficulties are due to both the differences between the dynamics of addiction in this group (causes, pace, consequences, emotions) and insufficient competence on the part of therapists, who, when implementing therapy programs, for various reasons overlook the specificity of problems occurring in women or deal with them insufficiently (Włodarczyk, 2018, p. 266).

A major factor that discourages women from entering treatment is the concern about child care during treatment. For most women, the threat of losing custody of their children is a significant barrier to treatment, although it happens to be a motivation for a significant number of participants to seek help. In addition, women report social stigma in both personal and professional contexts as a barrier to treatment (Schamp et al., 2021, p. 175). Many women who come for treatment point out the significant shortcomings of gender-sensitive treatment programs and flexible treatment systems that take into account their limitations and increased household responsibilities. It happens that many of them, having no choice, continue to use psychoactive drugs (Lal et al., 2015, p. 282; Fattore et al., 2008, p. 59).

The stigma associated with the use of psychoactive drugs by women also affects service providers. Women often face misinformation, inaction and incorrect attitudes from specialists. Barriers to accessing supportive treatment are greater for pregnant women and mothers with children. Very rarely are specialized programs aimed at both mothers and their children (Cormier et al., 2004).

Among the significant barriers to treatment cited by women themselves is their poor and unstable economic situation. Many women lack the financial resources to provide care for their children during therapy. Nor can they rely on the trustworthy social network of their immediate environment (Schamp et al., 2021, p. 183).

The aforementioned factors, as well as probably many others reported individually, play an important role in both the decision to seek treatment and in maintaining sustained abstinence once the process is completed. It is worth noting that only an appropriately integrated model of care (such as *case management* or mothers staying together with children during therapy) can significantly contribute to improving women's functioning, and at the same time reducing the crimes committed and returning to fulfilling social roles and carrying out the tasks that are assigned to these roles (Bukowska, 2012, pp. 347–349).

Social support, the foundation of which is empathy, forbearance and acceptance both when helping women with an addiction problem and even before it occurs, is a still underestimated source of the basis of prevention in both counteraction and social readaptation (Maxwell et al., 2022, p. 5–6).

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An analysis of the relationship between the hardships of the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, family functioning, depression and internet addiction among 11–16 year olds

Abstract: The aim of the presented research was to analyze mutual correlations between hardships related to the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, family relations, depression and Internet addiction. The study was conducted remotely among 509 adolescents aged 11–16. The survey questionnaire was constructed from standardized research tools. The results showed that depressive symptoms correlated positively with staying in compulsory quarantine/isolation. In addition, depressive symptoms and Internet addiction positively correlated with experienced hardships during the pandemic (relationship difficulties with loved ones at home and increased number of daily responsibilities) and negatively with good quality family relationships. A reciprocal correlation was also observed between symptoms of depression and Internet addiction. Most interestingly, the results indicated that difficulties associated with the pandemic period correlate heterogeneously with depression and Internet addiction. It seems that the pandemic itself was not the most important factor generating depression and addiction, but reinforced already existing problems. The best protective factor was found to be well-functioning family relationships.

Key words: mental health, covid-19, family relationships, depression, internet addiction.

Introduction

Children and adolescents are experiencing mental health difficulties more and more often (Tanaś, 2016, pp. 5–10; Supreme Audit Office [NIK], 2017, pp. 2–17; Dębski, Bigaj, 2019; pp. 10–17; Institute for Research and Analysis of Local Government Units, 2020, pp. 2–5). Among the most common problems cited are depressive symptoms and Internet addiction (Białecka, Gil, 2020, pp. 13–24; Bieganowska-Skóra, Pankowska, 2020, pp. 66-73; Makaruk et al., 2020, pp. 35–44; Ptaszek et al., 2020, pp. 23–31; Grzelak, Żyro, 2021, pp. 17–28). These problems are becoming increasingly evident in the community of children and adolescents living in Poland as well (CBOS, 2015, pp. 8–10; Makaruk et al. 2019, p. 6; Buchner, Wierzbicka, 2020, pp. 68–71; NASK, 2021, pp. 67–71). Excessive use of the Internet, especially when it begins to replace real-life peer contact, has been shown to be linked to such mental disorders as depression and addiction (Makaruk, Wójcik, 2012, p. 23; Li et al. 2014, pp. 4–5; Lam, 2014, p. 1; Morrison, Gore, 2010, p. 123; Chen et al. 2020, p. 5). Although the two phenomena are sometimes linked, it is difficult to say unequivocally whether people with depressed moods are more likely to use the Internet problematically, or whether the opposite is true, addiction to being online leads to depression (Majchrzak, Ogińska-Bulik, 2010, p. 89). Depression and addiction also show links with family relationships. The more supportive, conversation-based, and shared leisure time relationships with parents, peers, and teachers, the less "runaway" motives for using cyberspace and such *online* activities as gambling, watching erotic content, or various types of online games (Pawłowska, Dziurzyńska, 2012, p. 204; Solecki, 2017, pp. 163–164). Protective factors also include parents having conversations with their child about online safety and the parent's interest in the child's online activities (Makaruk et al., 2019, pp. 36-37).

Studies conducted during the pandemic show an increase in depressive symptoms and problematic Internet use. According to the report: "Objawy depresji i lęku wśród Polaków w trakcie epidemii COVID-19" ("Symptoms of depression and anxiety among Poles during the COVID-19 epidemic"), both were most strongly associated with difficulties experienced at home (difficult relationships with loved ones, feelings of lack of privacy, fatigue from excess responsibilities) and anxiety and uncertainty related to the spread of the epidemic (Gambin et al., 2020, pp. 22–23). COVID-19 anxiety has been linked to Internet addiction disorder (intrapersonal and interpersonal conflicts) (Servidio, 2021, p. 5). Excessive Internet use exacerbated symptoms of depression (Zalewska, Galczyk et al., 2021, p. 6). The pandemic situation has caused children and young people to face new difficulties in various aspects of their functioning. In an attempt to identify the stressors associated with functioning during the pandemic, the researchers

proposed several questionnaires that allowed them to assess what youth find most difficult.

The research presented in this article aimed to answer the following question: What is the correlation between symptoms of depression and Internet addiction among schoolchildren and their perceived difficulties during the pandemic and the quality of family relationships?

Method

Determining the detailed structure of the interdependence between the variables under study is difficult to predict, so it remains an area for exploration in the ongoing project. However, based on the theoretical considerations and empirical data presented, several hypotheses were formulated:

H1: Symptoms of depression and Internet addiction correlate positively with the experience of one's own COVID-19 illness on or the illness of a household member and a stay in mandatory quarantine/isolation.

H2: Symptoms of depression and Internet addiction correlate positively with the hardships experienced during the pandemic.

H3: Symptoms of depression and Internet addiction correlate negatively with good family relationships.

H4: Symptoms of depression positively correlate with symptoms of Internet addiction.

The research was conducted among schoolchildren aged 11–16, in March 2021. Data from 488 respondents: 257 girls and 231 boys were included in the analyses. The subjects attended schools located in the Małopolskie voivodeship.

The surveys took place with the permission of school principals, took place during lessons conducted in remote learning mode, via an electronic form accessible via the Internet; they were anonymous and voluntary.

Research tools

Questionnaires for the Diagnosis of Depression in Children and Adolescents (CDI 2)

The original version of the scale was developed by Kovacs (2003). The authors of the Polish adaptation are Wrocławska-Warchala and Wujcik (2017). In the research presented here, an abbreviated self-report version was used. It contains 12 items that reflect various symptoms of depression.

Internet Addiction Test (IAT)

The original scale *(Internet Addiction Test – IAT)* in an abbreviated version, consisting of 8 items, was developed by Young (1998). This paper uses the version adapted for use with schoolchildren aged 16-17 by Solecki (2016).

Survey of difficulties faced by young people related to the pandemic and remote learning (Ankieta trudności związanych z pandemią i nauką zdalną dla młodzieży – ATP)

The tool was developed by Woźniak-Prus and Gambin (2021). It consists of 13 items rated using a 5-point scale, where 1 means – not at all challenging/difficult for me and 5 means – definitely challenging/difficult for me.

Family Relationship Questionnaire (Kwestionariusz relacji rodzinnych – KRR)

A scale to measure family relationships was developed by Plopa and Połomski (2010). Six versions of this questionnaire are available. In the present study, the *My Family* (*Moja Rodzina*) version was used to assess the family as a whole. It contains 32 statements, with eight of each to assess the dimensions of communication, cohesion, autonomy-control and identity. Those completing the questionnaire are asked to indicate on a 5-point scale the degree to which each statement describes their own family situation.

Demographic variables

Additional variables analyzed included the gender of the subjects, their age, the voivodeship in which they live, their own COVID-19 illness or that of someone in their household, and their stay in mandatory quarantine/isolation.

Results

In the initial analysis, the ATP factor structure was checked. For this purpose, an exploratory factor analysis was performed using the principal components method, with Varimax orthogonal rotation. The measure of sampling adequacy (KMO) was equal to 0.822, and Bartlett's sphericity test reached a high level of significance ($\chi2 = 2122.45$, df = 78, $p < 0.001$), confirming the validity of performing factor analysis (Wieczorkowska, Wierzbinski, 2005). Factor loadings characterizing each test item are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Results of exploratory factor analysis for ATP items

Content of individual items	Factor			
	I	II		III
	ŁC$_S$	ŁC$_S$		ŁC
1. Fear of contracting the coronavirus	-0.03	0.85		0.09
2. Fear of coronavirus infection of a family member/other close relative	0.15	0.82		0.04
3. Uncertainty related to the current situation and concerning the near future	0.12	0.79		0.17
4. Remote learning	0.32	0.29		0.36
5. Inconvenience of wearing masks/visors in public spaces	0.52	0.04		0.31
6. Inconvenience of having to maintain social distance and restrictions on gatherings	0.66	0.04		0.36
7. Closure of gyms/cinemas/theaters/restaurants/pubs	0.71	-0.16		0.21
8. Limitations to physical activity	0.80	0.10		0.05
9. Restrictions on pursuing passions and interests	0.76	0.26		0.06
10. Limitations of actual meetings with friends/acquaintances	0.71	0.26		-0.01
11. More frequent use of computer/phone for relaxation/as a means of leisure	0.32	0.35		0.32
12. Difficult relations with loved ones at home (feeling that we are getting on each other's nerves)	0.13	0.09		0.79
13. Increased number of daily responsibilities	0.10	0.11		0.75
Eigen value	4.29	1.91		1.14
Percentage of variance explained	33.00	14.70		8.80

Annotation. ŁC – ładunki czynnikowe (factor loadings). Loadings exceeding the value of 0.40 were singled out.
Source: the author's own study.

The analysis performed resulted in three components explaining a total of 56.5% of the total variance. The first component is represented by item happiness, whose factor loadings reach high values in the range of 0.52–0.80. The background of each survey item reflects the various restrictions put in place in connection with the pandemic. The second factor consists of three items describing the fears experienced by young people during the time of the pandemic. The factor loadings of each item have high values in the range of 0.79–0.85. The third factor is represented by only two items with charge values of 0.75 and 0.79. The content of these items reflects the difficulties experienced during the pandemic in relationships with loved ones and the excess of daily responsibilities. In addition to the structure described, there were items about remote learning and using a computer or phone more often.

Table 2 shows the intercorrelations between the ATP items and the explained variables: symptoms of depression and Internet addiction. The results indicate that not all correlations turned out to be statistically significant, and confirmed correlations reached low strength of association.

Tabela 2. Pearson's r-Pearson correlations between ATP items and symptoms of depression (CDI) and Internet addiction (IAT)

ATP Items	CDI	IAT
1. Fear of contracting the coronavirus	-0.25***	-0.09
2. Fear of coronavirus infection of a family member/other close relative	-0.19***	-0.12**
3. Uncertainty related to the current situation and concerning the near future	-0.12**	0.01
4. Remote learning	-0.03	-0.04
5. Inconvenience of wearing masks/face pads in public spaces	-0.13**	-0.07
6. Inconvenience of having to maintain social distance and restrictions on gathering	-0.08	0.05
7. Closure of gyms/cinemas/theaters/restaurants/pubs	0.04	0.08
8. Limitations to physical activity	-0.14**	-0.08
9. Restrictions on pursuing passions and interests	-0.15**	-0.11*
10. Limitations of actual meetings with friends/acquaintances	-0.15**	-0.05
11. More frequent use of computer/phone for relaxation/as a means of fulfilling leisure time	-0.16***	-0.12*
12. Difficult relations with loved ones at home (feeling that we are getting on each other's nerves)	0.15***	0.11*
13. Increased number of daily responsibilities	0.08	0.19***

Annotation. ATP – Survey of difficulties faced by young people related to the pandemic and remote learning; CDI – Questionnaires for the diagnosis of depression in children and adolescents; IAT – Test of problematic Internet use.
* $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$.
Source: the author's own study.

It is noteworthy that test items 12 and 13 showed a significant association with either depressive symptoms or Internet addiction, but it is positive, that is, different from the other ATP items. This indicates the varying nature of individual ATP claims in the context of symptoms of depression and addiction. It should be added that items No. 12 and 13 formed a separate component in the factor analysis, which further confirms their meaningful distinctness from the other ATP items. Taking into account the discovered specificity of this questionnaire, for the purposes of this research, items that were not among the components in the extracted factor structure and those that did not correlate significantly with any of the explained variables were removed.

Thus, 9 test items were left in the ATP, for which acceptable results were obtained in the re-run factor analysis: The KMO measure was equal to 0.758, and Bartlett's sphericity test reached a high level of significance (χ^2 = 1297.65; df = 36; $p < 0.001$), confirming the validity of the statistical procedure performed. Based on the Kaiser criterion, three components were obtained explaining a total of 65.7% of the variability in the results. Each of the test items included in the given factor obtained loadings exceeding the recommended value of 0.40 (Bedyńska, Cypryańska, 2007) and significantly lower values in the other factors. Taking into account the content of the statements representing each component, the hardships studied were assigned the following terms:

ATP1 – limitations (4 items; items no. 5, 8, 9, 10; explains 35.3% of the variance)

ATP2 – concerns (3 items; items no. 1, 2, 3; explains 17.9% of the variance)

ATP3 – relationships and responsibilities (2 items; items no. 12, 13; explains 12.5% of the variance).

The numerical indices for the extracted ATP dimensions are calculated as the arithmetic mean of the raw scores of the individual items included in the given factor. Although test items 12 and 13 formed a single component, due to the content differences between these items and the different strength of each item's association with depression and addiction symptoms, it was decided to treat them as separate variables in further calculations.

Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics of the quantitative variables analyzed and their mutual correlations. The distribution of the results of each variable shows a deviation from the normal curve. In most cases, however, it is not large. This is because in practice, it is considered that the deviation from the normal distribution is small if the values of skewness and kurtosis are between -1 and 1, and for acceptable, between -2 and 2 (Bedyńska, Książek 2012).

Table 3. Descriptive statistics of the analyzed quantitative variables and r-Pearson correlations between them

Variable	M (SD)	As (K)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Age	13.1 (1.17)	0.17 (-0.84)										
2. Limitations	3.15 (1.05)	-0.14 (-0.6)	-0.05									
3. Concerns	2.81 (1.05)	-0.11 (-0.66)	-0.15**	0.29***								
4. Relationships	2.64 (1.21)	0.12 (-0.79)	-0.02	0.26***	0.19***							
5. Duties	2.60 (1.21)	0.34 (-0.74)	-0.05	0.24***	0.20***	0.40***						

Variable	M (SD)	As (K)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6. Communication	32.12 (6.27)	-1.01 (1.07)	-0.06	0.12**	0.14**	-0.27***	-0.16***					
7. Cohesion	33.16 (6.38)	-1.29 (1.76)	-0.1**	0.14**	0.16***	-0.28***	-0.18***	0.89***				
8. Autonomy	31.62 (6.0)	-0.85 (0.88)	0.05	0.05	0.11**	-0.31***	-0.13**	0.79***	0.73***			
9. Identity	33.15 (5.68)	-1.09 (1.47)	-0.08	0.16***	0.16***	-0.25***	-0.19***	0.88***	0.88***	0.72***		
10. Symptoms of depression	5.32 (4.61)	1.08 (0.96)	0.18***	-0.19***	-0.22***	0.15***	0.08	-0.50***	-0.53***	-0.41***	-0.49***	
11. Internet addiction	2.51 (2.02)	0.59 (-0.34)	0.05	-0.10**	-0.08	0.11**	0.19***	-0.25***	-0.26***	-0.21***	-0.26***	0.51***

$*\ p \leq 0.05$; $**\ p \leq 0.01$; $***\ p \leq 0.001$.
Source: the author's own study.

The severity of depressive symptoms reveals the strongest negative correlation with cohesion, characterizing family relationships ($r = -0.53$), followed also by a negative relationship with communication ($r = -0.50$), identity ($r = -0.49$) and autonomy ($r = -0.41$). Each of these correlations reveals a moderate strength of relationship between the variables. Clearly weaker associations exist between depressive symptoms and difficulties experienced due to the pandemic, with negative associations for concerns ($r = -0.22$) and limitations ($r = -0.19$), while positive for difficulties experienced in relationships with loved ones ($r = 0.15$). A positive correlation also applies to the severity of depressive symptoms and the age of the subjects ($r = 0.18$). However, the strength of this relationship is very low.

Symptoms of Internet addiction negatively correlate with every dimension of family relationships, but the strength of the relationship is low (from $r = -0.21$ to $r = -0.26$). Problematic Internet use, moreover, shows an even weaker positive association with relationship difficulties with loved ones ($r = 0.11$) and excess responsibilities ($r = 0.19$), and a negative association with restrictions experienced due to the pandemic ($r = -0.10$). At a moderate level, symptoms of depression and Internet addiction are directly proportional to each other ($r = 0.51$).

Subsequent analyses examined the relationship between the severity of depressive and addictive symptoms and the youth's personal experiences, such as getting over COVID-19, the illness of someone in the household, and one's own stay in quarantine/isolation. The Student's *t*-test for independent groups was used for this purpose. The only association between the analyzed variables was found

between depressive symptoms and personal quarantine/isolation (see Table 4). Considering Cohen's *d* effect size measure, it can be concluded that the averaged level of depressive symptoms among those who experienced quarantine/isolation is significantly greater than those who did not, but the difference is small.

Table 4. Comparison of mean scores in severity of depressive symptoms among those who did not experience (No), or experienced (Yes), quarantine/isolation

Variable	vase No n = 91	Yes n = 397	Differences between groups		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t (df)	p	Cohen's d
Symptoms of depression	6.58 (5.04)	5.03 (4.67)	2.70a (124.37)	0.008	0.34

Annotation. a *t*-Test for unequal variances.
Source: the author's own study.

Potential differences between girls' and boys' scores on scales measuring the severity of depressive symptoms and problematic Internet use were also analyzed. It turned out that the girls revealed higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to their peers, and the magnitude of this difference, determined by Cohen's *d* measure = 0.43 (see Tab. 5). No significant differences were found between adolescents' gender and symptoms of Internet addiction.

Table 5. Comparison of mean scores of girls and boys in severity of depressive symptoms

Variable	Girls n = 257	Boys n = 231	Differences between groups		
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t (df)	p	Cohen's d
Symptoms of depression	6.24 (4.89)	4.29 (4.06)	4.80a (482.95)	< 0.001	0.43

Annotation. a *t*-Test for unequal variances.
Source: the author's own study.

A hierarchical regression method was used to capture the more complex relationships between the variables under study. Due to the high level of correlation between the various dimensions of family relationships (see Table 3), a series of regressions were performed separately for communication, cohesion, autonomy and identity. However, a similar pattern of relationships was observed between each of the mentioned aspects of the KRR and the other variables. Taking this into account, in order to reduce the number of analyses presented in the article, it was

decided to create a variable representing the overall quality of family relationships (JRR). Its values were calculated as the arithmetic mean of the four KRR scales. It obtained the following statistical properties: $M = 32.52$; $SD = 5.65$; $As = -1.08$; $K = 1.38$. Table 6 presents model 1, determining the contribution of difficulties experienced during the epidemic and JRR in explaining the variance in depressive symptoms among adolescents.

Table 6. Interrelationships between depressive symptoms and family communication, hardships of the epidemic and level of Internet addiction

The model and its para- meters	Variable	Beta	t	p
1. F = 41.43; df1 = 5; df2 = 482; p < 0.001; R2 = 0.301; R2 corrected = 0.293	Limitations	-0.12	-2.72	0.007
	Concerns	-0.13	-3.19	0.001
	Relationships Duties	0.06 0.03	1.36 0.75	0.175 0.453
	Quality of family rela- tionships	-0.46	-11.00	0.001
2. F = 63.42; df1 = 6; df2 = 481; p < 0.001; R2 = 0.442; R2 corrected = 0,435	Limitations	-0.07	-1.84	0.066
	Concerns	-0.11	-2.92	0.004
	Relationships Duties	0.05 -0.04	1.29 -1.09	0.196 0.275
	Quality of family rela- tionships	-0.38	-9.97	0.001
	Internet addiction	0.40	11.03	0.001

Source: own study.

The model explains about 29% of the variation in depression symptoms. The results indicate that they co-occur to the greatest extent with low JRR ($\beta = -0.46$). Concerns ($\beta = -0.13$) and limitations ($\beta = -0.12$) make a small but significant negative contribution to explaining variation in depressive symptoms. In the next step of the analysis, the severity of Internet addiction was added to the earlier set of explanatory variables (model 2). This variable was found to be most strongly associated with depressive symptoms ($\beta = 0.4$) and the explanatory power of this model increased to about 44%.

Subsequent analyses using the hierarchical regression method examined the extent to which Internet addiction symptoms are explained by difficulties experienced during the pandemic and by individual variables describing the quality of family relationships. As in previous analyses, calculation procedures were carried out separately for each of the KRR variables in two models: with and without the introduction of the depression symptom variable. In these cases, too, a similar pattern of interrelationships between variables was observed for different aspects of the KRR. Table 7 presents only the results of the analysis with the

JRR's overall score are presented. The first model explains only about 10% of the variance in problematic Internet use. Overloaded with responsibilities ($\beta = 0.19$) and, with the opposite sign, JRR ($\beta = -0.2$) showed the greatest contribution to explaining the variation in dependency scores. It should be noted, however, that it is small. The contribution of the limitations variable proved even smaller.

Table 7. Interrelationships between Internet addiction levels and family communication, epidemic difficulties and depressive symptoms

The model and its parameters	Variable	Beta	t	p
1. F = 11.67; df1 = 5; df2 = 482; p < 0.001; R2 = 0.108; R2 corrected = 0,099	Limitations	-0.11	-2.37	0.018
	Concerns	-0.06	-1.29	0.200
	Relationships	0.02	0.45	0.653
	Duties	0.19	3.88	0.001
	Quality of family relationships	-0.20	-4.27	0.001
2. F = 32.42; df1 = 6; df2 = 481; p < 0.001; R2 = 0.288; R2 corrected = 0,279	Limitations	-0.06	-1.28	0.203
	Concerns	0.01	0.17	0.868
	Relationships	-0.01	-0.18	0.858
	Duties	0.17	3.96	0.001
	Quality of family relationships	0.03	0.67	0.504
	Symptoms of depression	0.51	11.03	0.001

Source: own study.

The introduction of depressive symptoms into the analysis increased the model's explanatory capacity to about 28%. This variable also proved to be the best predictor of addiction symptoms ($\beta = 0.51$). Its presence has made limitations and concerns, as well as JRR, lose their previous explanatory power. However, responsibility-related difficulties remained associated with addiction ($\beta = 0.17$).

Discussion

The difficulties experienced by adolescents during the pandemic, which the survey used in the research allowed us to capture, can be boiled down to three main areas: 1) fears generated by the possibility of illness and the consequences of the pandemic in the future; 2) limitations associated with being away from home; 3) difficulties in relationships with household members and an increased number of responsibilities. Unfortunately, the survey did not provide insight into the

nature of these responsibilities. It is possible that they relate to the respondents' functioning at home.

The difficulties studied appeared to be associated with negative consequences in different ways. Increased symptoms of depression and problematic Internet use are associated with respondents' reported relationship problems with household members and more household responsibilities. This correlation seems obvious and coincides with the results of Woźniak-Prus, Gambin and Cudo (2020, p. 2), who found a positive correlation between the mentioned difficulties estimated with ATP and depression in adolescents aged 16–18. In general, the positive association of difficulties with the level of depression and Internet addiction is indicated by the results of studies by various authors (Gambin et al., 2021, p. 5; Ptaszek et al., 2020, pp. 28–30; Brudzińska, Godawa, 2021, pp. 135–141; Lin, 2020, p. 206; Chen et al., 2020, p. 5; Servidio et al., 2021, p. 5).

More surprisingly, there appears to be a negative association between adolescents' experience of pandemic-related limitations and symptoms of depression and, to a lesser extent, Internet addiction. Wozniak-Prus, Gambin, and Cudo (2020, p. 2) found a positive correlation between the hardships of the pandemic period's limitations and depressive symptoms. However, the relationship was noticeable by the researchers in November 2020, that is, just after the transition to remote learning. The results presented in this article are from a study conducted in March 2021 and therefore from a period when students have already had several months of experience with remote learning. At the time, it seems that the pandemic restrictions limiting outside activity were experienced as a significant difficulty only by those who had willingly, satisfactorily enjoyed it before the pandemic. It can be assumed that these were persons less likely to experience symptoms of depression and addiction, which tend to lead to withdrawal from active leisure activities outside the home. (Hammen, 2006, pp. 51–52; Kobylarek, 2009, pp. 46–47; Augustynek, 2010, p. 40). There was a similar relationship between fears experienced by adolescents about the pandemic and depressive symptoms. It seems that such concerns in a situation of real danger are a sign of a healthy reaction. The less concern in such a situation, the more possible symptoms of depression, manifested in indifference, a sense of futility of various efforts in the face of piled up troubles and, in the extreme, anticipation of unfavorable situations. (Hammen, 2006, p. 14). Experiencing anxiety, on the other hand, showed no significant relationship with problematic Internet use. It seems, therefore, that it is not the addiction to the virtual world per se, but precisely the depressiveness that co-occurs with a particular way of experiencing danger.

Symptoms of depression appeared to be clearly related to the quality of family relationships, defined by aspects of communication, cohesion, autonomy and identity. Adolescents show fewer depressive symptoms if mutual understanding, openness to each other and the ability to communicate flexibly are present in their family; individual family members are able to cooperate with each other,

care about the well-being of individuals and show support for each other. In addition, there is the opportunity to speak freely about one's beliefs and opinions; family values are also clear, and joint efforts are made to deal with tasks considered important by all. Since individual aspects of family functioning toward its members correlated similarly with depressive symptoms, it can be concluded that in the perspective analyzed, they make up the overall assessment of the quality of family relationships. The better the relationships present in the family, the less the respondents rated relationships with loved ones during the pandemic as a current difficulty. The link established in the study between depressive symptoms and relationships at home is consistent with the findings of other authors (Radziwiłłowicz, 2010; Pilecki et al., 2013, pp. 389–391; Wendołowska, 2017, pp. 98–99; Radoń, Samochowiec, 2017, pp. 85–85).

Negative relationships were also observed between the quality of family relationships and problematic Internet use. These results also remain consistent with the findings of other researchers (Pawłowska, Potembska, 2011, p. 227; Pawłowska, Dziurzyńska 2012, p. 204; Porzak 2013, p. 81; Sitarczyk, Lukasik 2013, pp. 143–145; Komsta-Tokarzewska, 2019, pp. 121–122; Sela et al., 2020, pp. 5–6). However, the magnitude of the correlation in this case in the present study was found to be smaller compared to family relationships and depressive symptoms. Multiple regression analyses showed that the contribution of depressive symptoms to explaining the severity of Internet addiction in the context of the other variables was greater than the contribution of problematic Internet use to explaining depression. Therefore, it can be concluded that depressive symptoms are more closely related to the quality of family relationships and are sometimes additionally combined with Internet addiction. Problematic Internet use with relationship quality and depressive symptoms is no longer so strongly associated. Conducting the analyses in a way that looked for an explanation of the symptoms of depression the first time and the symptoms of problematic Internet use the second time also indicates that the difficulties experienced by adolescents during the pandemic and the quality of family relationships explain the symptoms of depression much better than addiction. Although the research conducted does not allow to draw causal conclusions, it can be assumed that the etiology of addiction is more complex and not necessarily a consequence of troubled family relationships and adolescent depression. This also seems to be indicated by the lack of correlation of the addiction variable with the age of the subjects. Meanwhile, depressive symptoms have been shown (albeit to a small degree, but significantly) to correlate positively with the age of the adolescents. This is consistent with the insights of modern researchers: In people under the age of 12, symptoms of depression are found in about 2–3% of those surveyed, above this age the percentage rises to 6–8%. Data from recent years further indicate that the age at which depressive symptoms first appear in children and adolescents is decreasing (Link-Dratkowska, 2011, pp. 84–85). The greater likelihood of

mood disorders in older children and adolescents may also be related to the increasing challenges of adolescence. As Wendołowska points out (2017, pp. 89–90), these can be a significant burden, especially at the threshold of maturity, when the severity of multiple changes co-occurs with limited support factors. The regression analyses performed also noted that the difficulties experienced by adolescents due to increased daily responsibilities during the pandemic period reveal a significant association with Internet addiction symptoms, but not with depression. Perhaps more time spent online means young people have less of it to pursue other activities, or more responsibilities, especially if they are experienced as an unwanted burden, cause them to use the Internet as a form of escape and relaxation. It is also impossible to know to what extent the excess of duties declared by the respondents as a difficulty is really related to the pandemic itself and not to the increasing demands characteristic of the age of the respondents.

The study found that the averaged level of depressive symptoms among adolescents who had been in quarantine/isolation was significantly higher than those who had not experienced such a situation, but the difference was small. Perhaps the greater intensity of depressive symptoms in those in isolation is a derivative of the more stressful circumstances in which the subjects found themselves. It is also noticeable that girls revealed significantly higher levels of depressive symptoms compared to boys. This is a regularity observed in studies conducted in different countries and using different research methods: depression rates are up to twice as high for women compared to the results of men (Hammen, 2006, pp. 63–64). In a study of 17-year-olds, depressive symptoms as assessed by the Beck scale were 33.6% for girls and 18.2% for boys (Modrzejewska, Bomba, 2010, p. 585).

In the present study, no correlation was found between the subjects' gender and symptoms of addiction. This could indicate that the risk of addiction is the same regardless of gender, which is consistent with the findings of other authors as well (Kamieniarz et al., 2012). However, there are studies that indicate that male gender is one predictor of Internet addiction (Chen et al., 2020, p. 7).

It is noteworthy that in the perception of adolescents, the recognition of remote learning as a difficulty does not correlate with either symptoms of depression or addiction. It seems, therefore, that it is not the mode of the classes itself that is associated with negative consequences, but the various kinds of restrictions and burdens associated with prolonged residence at home. Perhaps the time of the pandemic by having to spend more time at home has brought out or exacerbated all sorts of difficulties in relationships between household members. Some of them had been of poor quality for a long time, which during the pandemic intensified the associated negative consequences. Others, while generally good, provided more burdens than usual.

Studies conducted indicate that the difficulty of using the computer/phone more often for relaxation/as a means of fulfilling leisure time in the pandemic

correlates negatively with depression and Internet addiction. This could mean that seeing a problematic situation in such activity is a sign of proper assessment of one's own behavior and the risks involved. Adolescents who are experiencing depression and addiction symptoms may not view more frequent computer/phone use as a hardship, or they may not view this activity as relaxation.

Relating the results of the study to the hypotheses set forth in the paper, it can be said that the first hypothesis was only partially confirmed. Only symptoms of depression, but not Internet addiction, positively correlate with a stay in mandatory quarantine/isolation. Such a relationship has not been confirmed for the illness of oneself and other members of the household. Also, hypothesis two was partially confirmed: Symptoms of depression and Internet addiction positively correlate with experienced difficulties during the pandemic, but only those that relate to difficulties in relationships with loved ones at home and increased daily responsibilities. It should be added, however, that difficulties in relationships with loved ones are primarily linked to the quality of family relationships and depression, while difficulties resulting from more responsibilities are linked to problematic Internet use. Hypothesis three was positively verified. Symptoms of depression and Internet addiction negatively correlate with good quality family relationships. At the same time, it can be added that this relationship is particularly clear and strong in the case of depressive symptoms. The fourth hypothesis was also confirmed: Symptoms of depression positively correlate with symptoms of Internet addiction.

The present study succeeded in indicating that the difficulties associated with the pandemic period correlate heterogeneously with depression and Internet addiction. This indicates that the two phenomena, although related, have slightly different factorials. The low correlation values between the difficulties of the pandemic period and depression and addiction showed that the quality of family relationships has the greatest significance in the manifestation of both phenomena, including in a pandemic situation. Therefore, looking for application indications, it remains to reiterate after other authors the need and value of trying to make family members function as well as possible (Bednarek, Andrzejewska, 2009, pp. 231–233; Grzelak, 2015, p. 86; Porzak, 2013, p. 81; Chen et al., 2020, p. 5; Day et al., 2020, pp. 5–6). All measures taken by both the school and the parents themselves to improve mutual communication with their children, naming and expressing their needs and emotions, leisure time spent together and early intervention in family system crises seem to be valuable protective factors against depression and addiction. Also, increasing the diagnostic skills of parents in terms of catching early and disturbing signs of children's risky behavior, education on the subject, as well as strengthening the authority of the parent, should improve family functioning.

Although it was not the focus of this study, it remains interesting to explore more closely the relationship between adolescent depression and Internet addiction.

For this purpose, it could be valuable to perform structural equation modeling on the collected data. It should be noted, however, that determining how much depression is a source and how much a consequence of addiction is difficult and remains a challenge raised by many researchers (Morrison, Gore 2010, p. 123; Makaruk et al., 2012, p. 23; Li et al., 2014, pp. 4–5; Lam, 2014, p. 1).

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Risky Use Scale (RUS)
– a screening method for the study of risky use of alcohol and other psychoactive substances Scale characteristics and psychometric properties

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to present the psychometric properties of the Risky Use Scale (RUS), used to measure the severity of alcohol and other psychoactive substance use based on the diagnostic criteria of the ICD-11 classification. The survey covered 1,062 people, including 592 women and 470 men, with a diverse sociodemographic profile. To verify the accuracy of the RUS, two screening questionnaire tools were used to assess psychoactive substance use: AUDIT (Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test) and DUDIT (Drug Use Disorder Identification Test). The internal consistency analysis method was used to determine the reliability of the RUS.

The study showed high relevance and reliability of the RUS and revealed the univariate nature of the constructed tool. Criterion relevance was calculated by correlating the data obtained in the RUS with the results of the AUDIT (women: $r = .92$, $p < .01$; men: $r = .89$, $p < .01$) and DUDIT (women: $r = .50$, $p < .01$; men: $r = .49$, $p < .01$) questionnaires. The coefficients of internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha) for men and women were .94 and .97,

respectively, and the inter-rater reliability coefficients (with Spearman-Browne correction) for the RUS scale were: .90 and .95.

RUS is a screening tool that can be successfully used in clinical practice. The questionnaire's design allows for accurate and quick assessment of subjects' behavior toward risky use of psychoactive substances. The Scale's properties also allow it to pick up people with suspected addiction syndrome.

Key words: risky substance use, alcohol, psychoactive substances, ICD-11.

Introduction

The use of alcohol and other psychoactive substances is currently one of the most serious threats to human life and health. It contributes to a number of somatic diseases and mental disorders, and causes high-risk behaviors such as unsafe sexual behavior and driving under the influence of substances (Rehm et al, 2017; Griswold et al, 2018; Friesen et al, 2022). The use of psychoactive substances is deeply rooted in many societies. In recent years, changes in drinking patterns and alcohol and drug use can be observed around the world. Rates of consumption and heavy, episodic use are on the rise in many countries, especially among adolescents (Tschorn et al., 2022).

According to the latest global estimates, about 5.5% of the population between the ages of 15 and 64 have used drugs at least once in the past year, and 36.3 million people, or 13% of the total number of drug users, suffer from substance use disorders, according to the World Drug Report published by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2021).

Between 2010 and 2019, the number of users of psychoactive substances increased by 22%, due in part to global population growth. Based on demographic changes alone, current projections suggest an 11 percent increase in the number of drug users worldwide by 2030 (UNODC, 2021).

European studies show similar results. According to a report by the European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA, 2021), some 83 million, or 28.9%, of adults (aged 15 to 64) in the EU have tried psychoactive substances at least once in their lives, while in the year before the survey, 16.6% of young people (15–34) had taken drugs.

Alcohol drinking has also increased over the past decade. Overall per capita consumption of pure alcohol increased from 5.7 liters in 2000 to 6.4 liters in 2010 and 2016. This equates to an increase from 570 to 640 units per year and results in an average of one glass of wine (125 ml) or bottle of beer (330 ml) each day (WHO, 2018). This is worrisome, as even small or moderate alcohol consumption can have harmful effects on health. Studies indicate an increased risk of cardiovascular disease (Wood et al., 2018), cancer (Bagnardi et al., 2015), aggressive behavior (Heinz et al., 2011), and reduced cognitive performance or even dementia (Livingston et al., 2020; Rao et al., 2021).

With the increasing number of users of alcohol and other psychoactive substances, there is a need to identify early signs that foreshadow the later development of addiction. The ICD-11 classification has introduced modifications to the diagnostic process within the addiction diagnosis (Grant, Chamberlain, 2016; Gaebel et al, 2017; Modrzyński, 2019). The aforementioned changes have resulted in some prioritization in this group of disorders, leaving addiction and harmful substance use patterns as mutually exclusive entities. An important risk factor for addiction-related disorders added in the ICD-11 is risky substance use, which was previously included in the DSM classification (Saunders, 2017; Modrzyński, 2019). In DSM-IV and DSM-5, the understanding of risky substance use is limited to the use of substances in physically dangerous situations. In ICD-10, the term "risky substance use" was removed at the final stage of development, and in ICD-11 it was reinstated as a healthrisk factor (Poznyak et al., 2018; Modrzyński, 2019; Rehm et al., 2019; Saunders et al., 2019). Due to the changes introduced in the new ICD-11 classification, the Polish marketcurrently lacks screening methods for detecting risky substance users. The answer to this diagnostic gap is the construction of the Risky Use Scale (RUS).

Characteristics of the Risky Use Scale

The Risky Use Scale (RUS) is a proprietary tool based on the concept of risky substance use according to the ICD-11 classification. Risky substance use is defined here as a pattern of use of alcohol or another psychoactive substance that, if left without intervention, such as medical or social, can turn into a harmful pattern of use or addiction. Thus, it is not a diagnosis of mental and behavioral disorders related to the use of psychoactive substances, but only focusing on the person's behavior regarding the intake of certain substances. Risky substance use behavior refers to the amount and frequency of consumption, taking into account a person's daily functioning and paying attention to how substance use affects a person's fulfillment of daily responsibilities, pursuit of interests or functioning in interpersonal relationships. Another factor is the harmful route of ingestion, which includes, for example, using the same needles multiple times or drinking alcohol from unknown sources. Yet another are the tendencies to engage in risky behavior while intoxicated. Such behaviors can include working at height, exposure to infections or contamination, fines for consuming substances in public places, possession of substances in unauthorized amounts, casual sexual contact, quarrels with loved ones or driving under the influence of psychoactive substances (Poznyak et al., 2018; Modrzyński, 2019; Rehm et al., 2019; Saunders et al., 2019). Important factors indicating the onset of risky substance use include the duration of its effect (usually short-lived, immediate) and the long-term cumulative mental and physical health effects, relating to the well-being or consequences incurred by

the person after consuming alcohol or other psychoactive substances. The above factors, left without proper recognition and intervention, can lead to harmful consequences in the area of physical health and mental functioning of the person and their environment (Subramaniam et al., 2017; Poznyak et al., 2018; Modrzyński, 2019; Wawrzyniak, 2020; Verhoog et al., 2020).

The proposed RUS scale will allow those working in the medical (especially in the area of primary health care), social (e.g., municipal consultation points) or school environments (educators and psychologists working with high school graduates) to identify the potential risks of risky substance use present in a given person, and to introduce early interventions already at this stage, aimed at stopping the development of further consequences of substance use. Thus, the purpose of using the RUS is to estimate the severity of alcohol and other psychoactive substance use, which significantly increases the risk of harmful consequences to a person's physical or mental health.

The RUS consists of 10 items relating to the dimensions of: frequency of psychoactive substance use, risk behaviors associated with substance use, including the context of use, and short- and long-term effects on physical and mental health. The person completing the RUS evaluates their own behavior on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 means "no given experience," 1 – "occurs less than once a month," 2 – "occurs once a month," 3 – "occurs once a week," and 4 – "given behavior occurs daily or almost daily." With each item it is possible to receive from 0 to 4 points.

The interpretation of the RUS is both quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative evaluation is carried out by tallying the total points assigned to each answer. The result can be related to the cutoff points to determine the degree of psychoactive substance use. Qualitative analysis, on the other hand, is concerned with characterizing the behavior and likely problems in a person's functioning associated with meeting a given criterion. *Table 1* shows the Risky Use Scale worksheet.

Table 1. Risky Use Scale (RUS) Worksheet

Risky Use Scale (RUS) by: Robert Modrzyński, Agnieszka Pisarska, Izabela Małecka-Kostrubiec	
Instructions: Below are statements about drinking alcohol or using other psychoactive substances, e.g. opiates, sedatives, sleeping pills, cannabinoids, hallucinogens, and cocaine and other stimulants. Read them carefully and next to each sentence mark with a cross the one answer that best describes your drinking or substance use in the past 12 months.	
1. I happen to get drunk or be under heavy influence of substances. – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily	6. I have difficulty fulfilling my obligations at work because of alcohol or other substance use. – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily

Risky Use Scale (RUS) by: Robert Modrzyński, Agnieszka Pisarska, Izabela Małecka-Kostrubiec	
2. In situations of nervousness, anxiety, joy, socializing or relaxation, I reach for alcohol or other substances. – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily	7. I neglect household duties due to drinking alcohol or using other substances. – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily
3. Under the influence of alcohol or other substances, I sometimes engage in risky behavior, such as driving, fighting, destroying objects, reckless sex, overspending, etc. – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily	8. I continue drinking or continue using substances even though it worsens my relationships with other people. – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily
4. It has been brought to my attention that, being under the influence of alcohol or other substances, I behave in a way that is dangerous to my health or that of others – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily	9. My previous interests, pleasures, health or taking care of myself play second fiddle due to alcohol or other substance use. – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily
5. When drinking alcohol or using other substances, I did things that I later regretted or was ashamed of – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily	10. When I "recover" from drinking or taking other substances, I feel bad physically or mentally, e.g. I experience anxiety, irritability, mood swings, sleep problems, nausea, etc. – never – less than once a month – once a month – once a week – daily or almost daily

The purpose of this article is to present the psychometric values of the Risky Use Scale (RUS) measuring the severity of alcohol and other psychoactive substance use, conceptualized according to the ICD-11 classification.

Material and methods

The study used a proprietary tool, the Risky Use Scale (RUS), as well as Polish versions of the *Alcohol Use Disorder Identification*Test (AUDIT) and the *Drug Use Disorder Identification Test* (DUDIT).

The AUDIT test, developed by the WHO, has been widely recognized as the "gold standard" for assessing the presence of current alcohol use disorders. The psychometric properties of the AUDIT test in many populations analyzed in terms of sociodemographic and cultural factors are very high: Cronbach's alpha scores range from .80 to .94, and the temporal stability is r=.88. The AUDIT score is a good predictor for health and social problems related to alcohol consumption (Deady, 2009). The AUDIT has been translated into many languages. The Polish adaptation of the AUDIT questionnaire consists of 10 questions and has high reliability (r = .91) (Babor et al., 2001; Moehring et al., 2019; Noorbakhsh et al., 2018; Klimkiewicz et al., 2021).

The DUDIT is a screening test, consisting of 11 questions, designed to identify drug use problems. It complements the AUDIT questionnaire, used to diagnose alcohol use problems. The DUDIT was developed in 2004 by Swedish specialists at Karolinska Institutet (Berman et al., 2005). The Polish version of the questionnaire is characterized by high reliability, Cronbach's Alpha was .92. The *Receiver Operator Characteristic* (ROC) analysis indicated a cutoff point of 7, with a sensitivity of .929 and specificity of .974 (Klimkiewicz et al., 2020; Klimkiewicz et al., 2021). The authors used the indicated tests in their analysis to assess the relevance and reliability of the presented Scale.

RUS preparation procedure

Research aimed at constructing the Risky Use Scale was conducted in four stages.

The first stage involved the development of questions by psychologists employed within the structures of addiction treatment facilities with specialized directional training in this area. 30 statements were extracted based on the criteria for risky substance use, according to the assumptions of the ICD-11 classification.

The second stage of the study used the competent judge procedure. 48 people, specialists in addiction psychotherapy, were given statements that they rated on a six-point scale from 1 to 6, where 1 means that the item does not relate at all to the conceptualization of the criterion, and 6 means that it relates fully. On this basis, the 10 items that received the highest scores in terms of compliance with the adopted criterion were singled out.

The third stage was a pilot study involving 70 adults (SD = 12.21; age range: 18–63): 40 patients of outpatient addiction treatment facilities and 30 people declaring abstinence from psychoactive substances (control group). AUDIT and DUDIT questionnaires were used during the pilot. An additional element was the introduction of an opportunity for respondents to comment on the constructed Scale.

At the fourth stage, the comments were analyzed and the RUS items were refined in terms of content and language.

Stage five was a further pilot study, the procedure of which mirrored the earlier pilot. The results indicated the need to expand and enlarge the number of

people surveyed. However, the analyses indicated satisfactory statistics with regard to the reliability and relevance of RUS.

The sixth stage is research proper. The sampling procedure mirrored previous procedures.

Study subjects/Characteristics of study subjects

The survey covered 1,062 people, including 592 women and 470 men. The age of the studied group ranged from 16 to 88 years. The mean age was 40.05 (SD = 16.77, range: 16 – 88 years). Women were found to be statistically significantly younger (t = -3.19, p < .001). Women were more likely than men to be in younger age groups (under 30) and less likely to be in older age groups (chi^2(7) = 76.61, p < .001). More than 35% of the respondents were under 30 years old. The 31–40 and 41–50 age groups were of comparable size (17.70%, 19.87%). Thanks to the participation of people over 51 years of age (27.11%), the share of each age group was even. The respondents' place of residence was mainly a city of more than 100,000 (3.98%) and a rural area (31.01%). More than 60% of respondents were married (41.82%) or in a civil partnership (22.42%), while 24.41% had no partner. Regarding marital status, women were less likely than men to opt for marriage while remaining in a civil partnership (chi^2(4) = 33.03, p < .001).

In addition, the study showed gender differences in education and employment. Men were more likely than women to declare vocational education (chi^2(7) = 57.47, p < .001), and more likely to be working, retired or out of work/education (chi^2(3) = 67.85, p < .001). The vast majority of women remained in education (chi^2(7) = 57.47, p < .001).

Significant differences between male and female respondents can be seen in the type of psychoactive substances used. In the area of stimulants, men are more likely than women to take: alcohol (chi^2 = 8.01, p = .005), cannabis (chi^2 = 25.96, p < .001), cocaine (chi^2 = 31.10, p < .001), amphetamines (chi^2 = 34.05, p < .001), hallucinogens (chi^2 = 25.25, p < .001), opioids (chi^2 = 31.37, p < .001) and other substances with similar effects on the central nervous system (chi^2 = 16.37, p < .001). Among women, use of depressants was predominant (chi^2 = 10.60, p = .001). The use of psychoactive substances by gender of the subjects is shown in Fig. 1.

Due to significant gender differences in demographics in the study group, all analyses for the Risky Use Scale were performed separately for men and women.
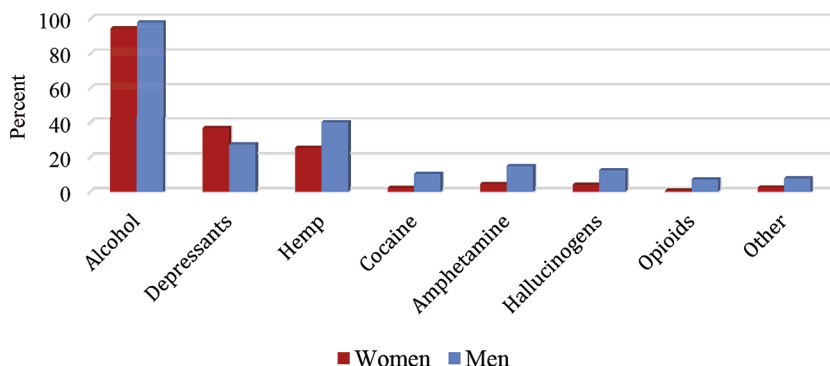
Fig. 1. Psychoactive substance use among men and women

Procedure

In order to obtain a sample with diverse sociodemographic characteristics, the research group was assembled based on two leading selection strategies. First, people in the process of treatment for substance abuse were invited, and then the "snowball" method was used, thus obtaining a diverse sociodemographic profile of the participants. The anonymous survey was conducted in Lublin from November 2021 to June 2022.

All subjects were informed about the purpose and course of the study, including the likely duration, as well as the possibility of withdrawal at any stage of the study and of receiving feedback in connection with participation in the research procedure. As a condition of participation in the study, the participant's consent to the survey and the completion of questionnaires on psychoactive substance use were required. Respondents were able to proceed to complete the questionnaires at any convenient time, taking into account any interruptions. They did not receive material benefits in connection with their participation in the study.

Results

Statistical analyses were performed using SPSS PS IMAGO 8 software. An analysis of the theoretical relevance of the RUS was conducted, followed by a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to formally verify the phenomenon of risky use of psychoactive substances using the scale and to determine the factor structure of the tool. The results obtained allow us to confirm the univariate nature of the structure of the Risky Use Scale, both in the group of female and male respondents. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) coefficient was .95, indicating a very high adequacy of variable selection. The research assumption that the included RUS scale items

are correlated with each other and measure one factor of risky use of alcohol and other psychoactive substances was confirmed.

Criterion accuracy of RUS

The criterion accuracy of the RUS was determined using the r-Pearson statistic, by correlating the data obtained from the Risk Use Scale with the results of the AUDIT and DUDIT screening questionnaires, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Results for the criterion relevance of the RUS, AUDIT and DUDIT questionnaires

	RUS Overall result	
	W	M
AUDIT Overall result	.92**	.89**
DUDIT Overall result	.50**	.49**

**p < .01

Analysis of the results indicates high criterion relevance of the RUS. Correlations with the AUDIT test are very high in both the female (r = .92) and male (r = .89) groups studied. The strength of the relationship between the RUS and DUDIT scale scores oscillates on the border of moderate correlation for men (r = .50) and women (r = .49). All results achieved statistical significance. The research conducted confirms the accuracy of the Risky Use Scale.

Reliability of RUS

In order to assess the reliability of the RUS, it was decided to use the internal consistency measures of reliability analysis method. This method involves examining the consistency of subjects' responses to individual test questions. The assessment is made by determining the so-called Cronbach's alpha coefficient. It was assumed that a questionnaire is characterized by reliability when it obtains Cronbach's alpha coefficient values above .70

Table 3 shows the internal reliability coefficients (Cronbach's Alpha) and inter-rater reliability coefficients (with Spearman-Browne correction) for the RUS scale in the female and male groups.

Table 3. Assessing the reliability of the Risky Use Scale

	Women	Men
Cronbach's alpha	.94	.97
Inter-rater reliability*	.90	.95

*Inter-rater reliability with Spearman-Browne correction

From the data obtained, the value of the inter-rater reliability index is .90 for women and .95 for men. The expected correlation of a scale randomly divided into two halves is confirmed.

The items included in the single-factor RUS scale are highly correlated with each other. The consistency of the items included in the RUS, as measured by the Cronbach's alpha index, is .94 for women and .97 for men, respectively. This means that the subjects answered each question in a similar way. It can definitely be said that the items of the RUS scale measure the same phenomenon, which is risky use of psychoactive substances.

For each question in the RUS questionnaire, discriminatory power (APUP – Cronbach's alpha after removing items) was calculated and the reliability of the scale after removing items (SKIS) was determined. The discriminatory power of each question, representing the correlation of a given Scale question with the total score minus that question, is high. Detailed data is presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Discriminant power and Cronbach's alpha after item removal

	SKIS		APUP	
	W	M	W	M
1. I happen to get drunk or be under heavy influence of substances.	.80	.85	.93	.96
2. In situations of nervousness, anxiety, joy, socializing or relaxation, I reach for alcohol or other substances.	.61	.76	.94	.96
3. Under the influence of alcohol or other substances, I sometimes engage in risky behavior, such as driving, fighting, destroying objects, reckless sex, overspending, etc.	.69	.79	.93	.96
4. It has been brought to my attention that, being under the influence of alcohol or other substances, I behave in a way that is dangerous to my health or that of others.	.71	.78	.93	.96
5. When drinking alcohol or using other substances, I did things that I later regretted or was ashamed of.	.76	.82	.93	.96
6. I have difficulty fulfilling my obligations at work because of alcohol or other substance use.	.75	.85	.93	.96
7. I neglect household duties due to drinking alcohol or using other substances.	.83	.89	.93	.96
8. I continue drinking or continue using substances even though it worsens my relationships with other people.	.83	.90	.93	.96
9. My previous interests, pleasures, health or taking care of myself play second fiddle due to alcohol or other substance use.	.83	.91	.93	.96
10. When I "recover" from drinking or taking other substances, I feel bad physically or mentally, e.g. I experience anxiety, irritability, mood swings, sleep problems, nausea, etc.	.83	.86	.93	.96

The above results show a very high level of reliability of the Risky Use Scale, enabling its practical application in clinical practice.

Cut-off points for initial diagnosis using RUS

ROC (Receiver Operator Characteristic) analyses were performed for the Risky Use Scale score, according to cutoff points for the AUDIT questionnaire (0–7: low-risk drinking; 8–15: risky alcohol use; 16–19: harmful alcohol use; 20 and above: possible dependence) and for the DUDIT questionnaire (0–6: low risk or abstinence; 7–25: existence of risk factors; 26 and above: suspected dependence).

Cutoff points for the RUS were determined guided by the trade-off between sensitivity and specificity. The AUC (Area under the curve) was calculated each time to determine the quality of diagnosis, along with statistical significance analysis for the AUC, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. *Areas under the curve* (AUC) – diagnosis according to AUDIT AND DUDIT

	AUC	SE	p	95% CIs	
				Lower	Upper
AUDIT – Risky	.95	.01	<.001	.94	.96
AUDIT – Harmful	.98	.01	<.001	.96	.99
AUDIT – Addiction	.98	.01	<.001	.96	.99
DUDIT – Risky	.87	.02	<.001	.84	.90
DUDIT – Addiction	.93	.03	<.001	.87	.98

Based on the results, it can be concluded that the areas under the curve (AUC) indicate very good differentiation of initial diagnosis according to the AUDIT and slightly weaker, but still satisfactory differentiation according to the DUDIT.

Cutoff points were calculated according to ROC curves based on AUDIT and DUDIT tests. Measures were used to assess the relevance of the test in the form of sensitivity, i.e. the tool's ability to diagnose people actually showing the existence of problematic behavior, and specificity, detecting healthy people. Based on the analyses of the results, cutoff points were proposed for the Risky Use Scale, shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Cut-off points for the RUS scale and their sensitivity and specificity according to the AUDIT and DUDIT questionnaires

Patterns of use	SUR	Sensitivity		Specificity	
		AUDIT	DUDIT	AUDIT	DUDIT
Low-risk use	0 – 6	-	-	-	-
Risky use	7 – 14	83%	95%	93%	70%
Suspected addiction	15 – 40	93%	94%	94%	82%

Considering the proposed cutoff points, it can be concluded that the sensitivity of RUS is satisfactory for all patterns of psychoactive substance use. In the range of raw scores for RUS ranging from 7 to 14 points, 83% (according to the AUDIT) and 95% (according to the DUDIT) of risky users were accurately detected. These rates are even higher for those with suspected substance abuse whose raw scores were between 15 and 40 on the RUS questionnaire, at 93% according to the AUDIT and 94% according to the DUDIT, respectively.

RUS specificity, or the ability to detect low-risk substance users, is high for alcohol use (AUDIT) and slightly lower for drug use, calculated according to the DUDIT test. This means that out of 100 alcohol or drug users at low risk of health harm, only 7 (according to AUDIT) and 30 (according to DUDIT) received an improper initial diagnosis of risky use. With regard to addiction, 6 (according to AUDIT) and 18 (according to DUDIT) people are referred to here.

Discussion of the results

The purpose of this article was to present the author's Risky Use Scale (RUS) and describe its psychometric properties. The RUS scale is used to measure risky use of alcohol and other psychoactive substances in adults. It is a screening tool for identifying early risky substance use behaviors that, if left without early intervention, can develop into a full-blown addiction syndrome. The scale does not differentiate alcohol use from other psychoactive substances. It was developed in response to the introduction of new diagnostic criteria and risk factors for addiction in the latest ICD-11 classification. An additional factor in favor of the Scale's construction was the scarcity in clinical and therapeutic practice in Poland of screening tools corresponding to the changes described (Grant, Chamberlain, 2016; Gaebel et al., 2017; Modrzyński, 2019; WHO, 2022). The study revealed that using RUS, it is possible to identify risky users and suspected addicts.

The presented studies proper were preceded by pilot studies that pointed to specific directions. The increase in the number of subjects and the diversity of the group in terms of age contributed to an increase in the value of the criterion accuracy and reliability of the presented Scale. In addition, the analyses showed the possibility of making a preliminary diagnosis with greater accuracy using the RUS screening method in terms of its specificity and sensitivity values.

The study proper confirmed that the Risky Use Scale is a single-factor tool constructed to measure the severity of alcohol and other psychoactive substance use. This was demonstrated by the confirmatory factor analysis performed. The reliability of the presented Scale is very high, both for women (r=.94) and for men (r=.97). This means that the RUS scale is a screening tool that measures the use of alcohol and other psychoactive substances at the level of risky alcohol use with high accuracy. The RUS's criterion tractability was calculated by correlating

the Scale with AUDIT and DUDIT test scores. Correlations with the AUDIT were very high (women: r=.92; men: r=.89). In contrast, correlations with the DUDIT were at a moderate level (women: r=.50; men: r=.49). The reason for this difference may be that the DUDIT test is designed to measure drug use only. Those surveyed were much more likely to admit to using alcohol than drugs, which may have affected the relevance value. However, the criterion relevance of the RUS has been confirmed in studies.

The discriminatory power and its high values indicate the significant diagnostic value of the RUS. This means that the presented Scale can be used in a wide range of clinical practice, mainly by professionals in contact with problematic users of alcohol and other psychoactive substances. Cut-off points for risky use and substance abuse were proposed based on the AUDIT and DUDIT tests – taking into account the sensitivity and specificity aspect. Risky substance use was accurately indicated by the RUS in 83% (according to the AUDIT) and 95% (according to the DUDIT). Suspicion of alcohol and other psychoactive substance addiction was indicated by the RUS, respectively, at 93% (according to the AUDIT) and 94% (according to the DUDIT). The analyses conducted in terms of specificity showed higher values for the AUDIT test than for the DUDIT test. This means that during the initial diagnosis of users of psychoactive substances other than alcohol, there is a danger of making an incorrect diagnosis in terms of risky use. Diagnostic caution and complementing the result with a patient history are recommended here. The results obtained are similar to those of the pilot study. They may indicate the nature of the research group's specific substance use – individuals were more likely to admit to using alcohol than other psychoactive substances. In addition to the AUDIT and DUDIT questionnaires used in the study, there are also tools such as CAGE, SAAST (Self-Administer Alcoholism Screening Test) and SUA (Scale of Alcohol Use) on the Polish market. The RUS scale, however, identifies alcohol use problems more accurately than the CAGE or SAAST questionnaires and shows similar psychometric properties to the SUA (Kroch et al., 2001; Suwała, Gerstenkorn, 2006; Poprawa, 2013; Arciszewska, Czabała, 2020).

The strength of RUS is that it enables initial diagnosis of people struggling with alcohol and other psychoactive substance use with a single tool. The clear design of the questions and the five-point response scale, which allows a person to place their behavioral patterns on a continuum, enables early identification of substance use problems as early as the risky use stage. This makes it possible to introduce early interventions and other appropriate support measures. The initiation of therapeutic interventions at the stage of risky use of alcohol and other psychoactive substances is conducive to improving the patient's health and is characterized by greater effectiveness than interventions aimed at those who meet the criteria for psychoactive substance dependence. In addition, early interventions require less funding (Stewart, Connors, 2004; Prokop, 2005; Majcherczyk, Głowik,

2011; Pilowsky, Wu, 2012; Wojcieszek, 2014; Cherpitel et al., 2015; Klimkiewicz, 2018; Poznyak et al., 2018; Carvalho et al., 2019; Rehm et al., 2019; Saunders et al., 2019; King et al., 2022). Diagnosing risky use of psychoactive substances using RUS goes beyond identifying behaviors involving only substance use in physically dangerous situations (according to DSM-IV and DSM-5 classifications). The scale takes into account, in line with the ICD-11's treatment of risky substance use, the psychological aspect of an individual's functioning. Items refer, among other things, to behaviors associated with direct deterioration of functioning in areas of life that are important to the individual, such as health, relationships, interests, or work, causing psychological discomfort, or affecting self-image (Saunders, 2017; Poznyak et al., 2018; Modrzyński, 2019). The questions also relate to behaviors that "pave the way" for habit-building responses associated with the possible later development of addiction (q. 2).

An additional advantage of the RUS scale is that it was preceded by a pilot study. Compared to the pilot study, care was taken to have a demographically diverse study group, including people over the age of 65. People in this age group are prone to risk factors such as falling out of social roles, which is associated with their use of alcohol or other psychoactive substances (Suwała, Gerstenkorn, 2006; Mossakowska et al., 2011; Kościńska, 2016; Świderska, 2016).

The RUS scale also has its limitations. The conceptual framework for RUS is the ICD-11 classification, but the tools used to validate it (AUDIT and DUDIT) were created based on the ICD-10 classification. The above is due to the research objective of constructing the Scale based on the latest classification studies, within which there are no screening tools in the area under analysis (i.e., risky substance use). In addition, the Scale reveals differential diagnostic indices for individual substances, which are higher for respondents' alcohol use than for drug use. This means that at the initial diagnosis of substance use disorders, the diagnostician should, in addition to using the method, conduct a diagnostic interview, which will consequently give a realistic picture of the patient's problem.

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Self-image in relationships with others in men and women addicted to alcohol

Abstract: This work is an attempt to explore the area of interconnectedness between retrospective perceptions of parental attitudes and self-image in adulthood in alcohol addicts, taking into account the differences between men and women. The study was conducted on a sample of 69 patients of the alcohol addiction therapy unit (34 women, 35 men). The Retrospective Assessment of Parent Attitudes (KPR-Roc) questionnaire in M. Plopa (2008) and Jerry S. Wiggins's Interpersonal Adjective Scales (IAS) (2016) were used to measure variables. The difference tests were performed using 2-ANOVA, and the r-Pearson correlation coefficient was used to analyze the relationship between the variables tested. Statistically significant differences between men and women addicted to alcohol concerning the maternal image have been confirmed. However, there were no differences in the paternal image. In addition, there were statistically significant links between the image of the self and the image of both parents. Research shows that in alcohol addicts, there are clear differences between women and men in perceived parental attitudes of mothers. In addition, the memory of parental attitudes is important for the formation of the self-image of addicts, both with regard to the parental interactions of their mothers and fathers. The limitations of the studies and some of their clinical implications are discussed.
Key words: alcohol addiction, parental care, self-image.

Introduction

In social rehabilitation practice, working with addicts is a daily occurrence. Indeed, an analysis of the criminal path of those deprived of liberty indicates that some crimes are committed by people who are addicted to and/or under the influence of psychoactive substances such as alcohol and drugs. The custodial sentence is to trigger in the prisoner the will to cooperate in developing his/her socially desirable attitudes, and in particular, a sense of responsibility and need to respect legal order, and thus to refrain from returning to crime (Urban, Stanik, 2022). The therapeutic measures taken for inmates are therefore also aimed at treating their alcohol problems (Cekiera, 1992).

Knowledge of how alcohol addicts function is important to the therapeutic measures taken. A frequent question that arises in this area concerns the direct and indirect links between parenting and offspring functioning, both during childhood and adolescence, as well as in later periods. Direct links relate the relationship between the quality of parental functions and the level of mental health and its disorders in offspring. Previous research results indicate that there is a relationship between the quality of parental care provided and offspring functioning (Bradshaw, 1994, Cierpiałkowska, Grzegorzewska, 2016). Studies have shown a positive correlation between the quality of parental care and the level of anxiety in children (Bögels, Brechman-Toussaint, 2006), in particular the relationship between low levels of parental emotional warmth and high levels of rejection and overprotection, and social phobia and fear of heights (Arrindell et al., 1983). A link has also been found between a parent's high level of anxiety and their increased control of the child in the parenting process, and generalized anxiety syndrome, as well as separation anxiety in offspring (Muris, Merckelbach, 1998). There is also a link between the occurrence of depression in a child and parental characteristics such as rejection, overprotectiveness and low levels of emotional warmth (Perris et al., 1986, Richter et al., 1995). In addition, a link has been found between high levels of parental anxiety in the parenting process and levels of rejection, and the child's level of worry (Muris et al., 2000), self-esteem (Hopkins, Altman Klein, 1993), or feelings of happiness experienced by offspring (Cheng, Furnham, 2004). Studies have also been conducted on offspring self-image and the quality of parental care provided, distinguishing between maternal and paternal care (Altman Klein et al., 1996). They point to the special importance of an authoritative parenting style by the mother for female offspring.

Attempts have also been made to study the relationship between parental interactions and the occurrence of addictions, both behavioral and substance abuse, in offspring. For example, compulsive Internet use (Xiuqin et al., 2010) has been linked to experiencing a lack of emotional warmth, overprotectiveness and rejection

from a parent. It is specifically related to alcohol abuse, as confirmed by numerous studies. The liberal parenting style of parents has been shown to directly affect the level of impulse control, and indirectly alcohol abuse, in same-sex offspring (Patock-Peckham, Morgan-Lopez, 2006). It has also been discovered that having an authoritarian father is associated with higher levels of neuroticism in male offspring. In these boys, neuroticism was a mediator of pathological reasons for alcohol use and alcohol abuse problems (Patock-Peckham, Morgan-Lopez, 2008). Also, the exercise of control by parents, understood as attention and interest, is negatively related to children's substance abuse, especially for girls (Choquet et al., 2008). Although longitudinal studies of the bonding relationship, parental care and early alcohol use in adolescents have shown that a good-quality bond between parents and offspring is not a factor preventing an adolescent from reaching for alcohol (van der Vorst et al., 2016), however, the mere fact of reaching for alcohol does not determine the further development of harmful drinking or addiction. However, there are many indications that the relationship between the performance of parental functions and the quality of the child's functioning may be modified by the child's gender.

Indirect links between the exercise of parental functions and offspring functioning concern the relationship between offspring's perceptions of parents and the formation of their personality traits. Bonding theory (Bolby, 2007) and object-relations theories (Segal, 2005) describe how humans form internal representations of themselves and the environment around them. These representations are formed on the foundation of the earliest known relationship, that of a bonding figure in early childhood. The object's reaction creates expectations in the person about the caregiver's subsequent reactions, which in turn are transferred to expectations about the environment's reactions in the future. This first important relationship is a kind of matrix based on which a person will build their relationships in later life. This does not apply only to interpersonal relations but also to the attitude towards the world around them. In the case of deficits in care or care leading to the development of a negative self-image, psychopathology is likely to develop. The results of the study indicate that in the young adult population, the manner parents are perceived significantly relates to the child's personality as an adult. Young adults whose parents' representations were generally bonding-oriented described themselves as less prone to emotional stress (lower neuroticism); more interpersonally–oriented and experiencing positive emotions (higher extraversion); more peaceful and trustworthy (higher agreeableness) and more dutiful, resourceful and reliable (higher conscientiousness). The manner of perceiving parents related to giving autonomy was correlated with higher levels of openness to experience, but lower levels of conscientiousness and extraversion (Pincus, Ruiz, 1997). Also, a study by Drodge (1997) confirms the existence of a relationship between parental image and personality traits. Drodge specifically notes the particularly high correlation of the image of a strongly punitive mother with a negative self-image. Other studies

have further proven (De Jong, Jacobs, 2010) that there are statistically significant correlations between self-image and memories of the quality of parental care in alcohol-dependent individuals. In addicted men, a significant negative correlation was found between the level of self-satisfaction and rejection by the mother. In addicted women, there was a positive significant correlation between the level of dominance and the father's emotional warmth, and a negative significant correlation between the level of dependence and the emotional warmth of both parents.

In light of the above research, it seems interesting to ask about the existence of gender differences in parental image and to explore relationships in the area of parental image and self-image in interpersonal relationships in alcohol addicts.

Research objectives

The survey covered (N=69) people, including (n1=34) women and (n2=35) men in rehabilitation treatment at the 24-hour Alcohol Addiction Treatment Unit. All of the respondents are people with alcohol dependence syndrome diagnosed according to ICD-10 criteria (F10.2). The objectives of the study are:

Assessing differences in retrospectively perceived mother's attitude and father's attitude between alcohol-dependent women and men.

An analysis of the relationship between retrospective perceptions of maternal and paternal attitudes and self-image in addicts, both men and women.

Tools and research

Research group

The research group consisted of people undergoing rehabilitation treatment in the 24-hour Alcohol Addiction Treatment Unit at the Voivodeship Specialist Hospital for the Neurotically and Mentally Ill in Cibórz. The average age of the respondents was 49, the youngest respondent was 19, while the oldest was 72. 38 respondents (55%) had at least one addicted parent, while 31 respondents (45%) had non-addicted parents. An analysis of demographic, social and clinical data is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic, social and clinical variables

Variables	Study group (N = 69)
Gender	W: 34 (49%), M: 35 (51%)
Age	M=49
Marital status	Single 35%, in a relationship: 27%, divorced: 26%, separated: 6%, widowed: 6%

Variables	Study group (N = 69)
Education	Higher 15%, secondary 44%, vocational 30%, junior high 1%, primary 10%
Residence	City of over 100 thousand: 23%, city of 50–100 thousand: 7%, city of 25–50 thousand: 15%, city of up to 25 thousand: 26%, village: 29%
Professional activity	Employed: 39%, unemployed: 44%, retirees 10%, disability pensioners 7%
Prior detoxification treatment	46%
Prior use of pharmacological aversive agents (disulfiram, anticol)	26%
History of rehabilitation treatment	Prior outpatient treatment: 22%, prior inpatient treatment: 46%

Study methods used

Plopa's (2008) Retrospective Assessment of Parent Attitudes (KPR-Roc) questionnaire was used to assess parental attitudes. The tool consists of two questionnaires to separately measure the attitudes of the mother and father. On a 5-point scale, respondents describe their perceptions of their parent along six dimensions: attitude on the acceptance-rejection continuum (Acceptance/Rejection), overly demanding attitude (Demanding), attitude of autonomy given by the parent (Autonomy), inconsistent attitude (Inconsistency), overly protective attitude (Protecting). The author used several varieties of theoretical relevance, the intergroup difference test method, the scale intercorrelation matrix and criterion relevance to evaluate the test's relevance, and rates the tool's relevance as high.

Self-image was measured using Wiggins' Interpersonal Adjective Scales, in a Polish adaptation by Sękowski and Klinkosz (2016), in which on an 8-point scale the respondent responds to 64 adjectives describing their self-image in relation to other people, along eight dimensions: *Confident–Dominant, Arrogant–Calculating, Cold–Indifferent, Restrained–Introverted, Indecisive–Submissive, Not vain–Honest, Warm–Accordant, Social–Extroverted*. In the text, the terms "parent image" and "parent attitude" are used interchangeably, but the authors point out the retrospective dimension of this variable. This variable should be understood as the tendency of parents to have a certain attitude towards the child in the course of upbringing, taking into account the subjectivity of the evaluation made by the child, which is underpinned by the child's characteristics, such as temperament, ability to self-regulate, etc. The factor accuracy of the tool is satisfactory, with the two main factors explaining 75.3% of the total variance.

For statistical analysis, tests of differences were deployed using the 2-factor ANOVA test and the r-Pearson correlation coefficient. The significance level assumed was $p=0.05$. All calculations were made using IBM SPSS Statistics version 25.0.0.1.

Results

First, differences were tested between a group of female and male addicts regarding the image of the mother

Statistically significant differences were found between the study groups in retrospective perceptions of maternal care in terms of autonomy (F=4.131; p=0.046), and inconsistency (F=4.92; p=0.03). Addicted men perceive their mothers as giving them more autonomy (M2=36.284) than addicted women (M1=32.661). In the realm of inconsistency, on the other hand, addicted women perceive mothers as more inconsistent (M1=29.696) than addicted men (M2=24.778) (Tab. 2.).

Table 2. Differences between the group of addicted women and men regarding the image of the mother (2-ANOVA, n1=34, n2=35)

	A retrospective view of the mother's attitude				
	Acceptance – rejection	Demanding	Autonomy	Inconsistence	Protection
women M1	34.693	30.668	32.661	29.696	33.621
(SD)	(11.152)	(9.804)	(7.057)	(10.216)	(9.392)
men M2	38.196	27.25	36.284	24.778	34.574
(SD)	(8.314)	(7.208)	(7.461)	(8.23)	(6.501)
F	2.231	2.672	4.131	4.92	0.239
p	ns	ns	0.046	0.03	ns

ns – statistically insignificant result
Source: own study.

Correlations of mother's image and self-image in the group of addicts

An analysis of the relationship between the mother's image and self-image across the sample was conducted. The highest number of correlations and with the highest intensity between personality traits and perceived parental attitudes were found for the attitude of acceptance of the mother. This aspect of maternal caregiving attitudes shows a negative association with the *Restrained-Introverted* trait (r=-0.428; p<0.001) and a positive association with the *Social-Extroverted* trait (r=0.427; p<0.001). Mother's protective attitude is also correlated with these two traits(*Restrained-Introverted* r=-0.312; r=0.009; *Social-Extroverted* r=0.434; p<0.001). Also, the attitude of providing autonomy to the child shows a relation-

ship of similar strength and sign with the traits *Restrained-Introverted* (r=-0.301; p=0.011) and *Social-Extroverted* (r=0.304; p=0.011). In addition, a mother's attitude of providing autonomy correlates moderately negatively with the trait *Arrogant-Calculating* (r=-0.35; p=0.003). It also turns out that the trait *Restrained-Introverted* is favored by the image of a demanding (r=0.313; p=0.009) and inconsistent (r=0.319; p=0.009) mother (Table. 3.).

Table 3. Mother's image vs. human characteristics in relationships with other people in addicts (r-Pearson, N=69)

Personality traits	A retrospective view of the mother's attitude				
	Acceptance – rejection	Demanding	Autonomy	Inconsistence	Protection
Confident-Dominant	0.248*	-0.074	0.145	-0.141	0.156
Arrogant-Calculating	-0.187	0.187	-0.35**	0.204	-0.072
Cold-Indifferent	-0.237*	0.204	-0.282*	0.249*	-0.061
Restrained-Introverted	-0.428**	0.313**	-0.301*	0.319**	-0.312**
Undecided-Submissive	-0.254*	0.111	-0.14	0.15	-0.199
Not vain–Honest	0.179	-0.205	0.13	-0.221	-0.025
Warm–Accordant	0.272*	-0.159	0.277*	-0.207	0.288*
Social–Extroverted	0.427**	-0.19	0.304*	-0.185	0.434**

* Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 (two-sided),** Correlation is significant at the level 0.01 (two-sided).
Source: own study.

Relationship of mother's image and self-image in the group of addicted women

In the group of female addicts, as in the entire sample, numerous associations were found between maternal attitudes and traits on the intro-extroversion continuum, with these appearing more pronounced in women. The mother's attitude of acceptance shows a strong negative relationship with the trait *Restrained-Introverted* (r=-0.555; p=0.001) and a strong positive relationship with the trait *Social-Extroverted* (r=0.504; p=0.002). Furthermore, the mother's attitude of acceptance correlates with the characteristics of female offspring on the dominant-submissive continuum (respectively: *Confident-Dominant* r=0.357; p=0.038; *Undecided-Submissive* r=-0 .446; p=0.008). Also, high levels of attitudes providing autonomy to the child and attitudes of protection by the mother are correlated with traits on the intro-extroversion spectrum, whereas, as with attitudes of acceptance, the higher the intensity of these attitudes the greater the shift toward

extroversion (respectively: autonomy – *Restrained–Introverted* r=-0 .352; p=0.041; autonomy – *Social–Extroverted* r=0 .438; p=0.01; protection – *Restrained–Introverted* r=-0.373; p=0.03; protection – *Social–Extroverted* r=0.416; p=0.015). Parental attitude of placing high demands on the child also shows a relationship with personality traits on the intro-extroversion continuum, the higher the demands the greater the shift toward introversion (*Restrained-Introverted* r=0 .481; p=0.004; *Social-Extroverted* r=-0.343; p=0.047). Similarly, the attitude of inconsistency correlates strongly positively with the offspring's introversion (r=0.5; p=0.003), but interestingly, there was no correlation of this parental attitude with extraversion, which lies at the opposite pole.

Table 4. Mother's image vs. human characteristics in relationships with other people in the group of addicted women (r-Pearson, N=34)

Personality traits	A retrospective view of the mother's attitude				
	Acceptance – rejection	Demanding	Autonomy	Inconsistence	Protection
Confident-Dominant	0.357*	-0.192	0.171	-0.206	0.154
Arrogant-Calculating	-0.17	0.045	-0.254	0.069	0.011
Cold-Indifferent	-0.141	0.154	-0.171	0.168	0.086
Restrained-Introverted	-0.555**	0.481**	-0.352*	0.5**	-0.373*
Undecided-Submissive	-0.446**	0.295	-0.204	0.308	-0.293
Not vain–Honest	0.054	-0.118	0.075	-0.074	-0.107
Warm–Accordant	0.183	-0.148	0.225	-0.167	0.189
Social–Extroverted	0.504**	-0.343*	0.438**	-0.296	0.416*

* Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 (two-sided),** Correlation is significant at the level 0.01 (two-sided).

Source: own study.

Relationship of mother's image and self-image in the group of addicted men

In the group of male addicts, on the other hand, the relationship between all of the aspects of the mother's parenting attitudes and the personality traits of the male offspring is outlined on two trait axes: on the *Arrogant-Calculating* and *Not vain–Honest* continuum, and on the *Cold-Indifferent* and *Warm–Accordant* axes. The mother's attitude of acceptance is moderately positively correlated with the trait *Not vain–Honest* (r=0.481; p=0.003) and highly negatively correlated with the trait *Arrogant-Calculating* (r=-0.567; p<0.001). At the same time, the same mother's attitude of acceptance is strongly positively related to the *Warm–Accor-*

dant trait (r=0.51; p=0.002) and moderately negatively related to the *Cold-Indifferent* trait (r=-0.364; p=0.031). In addition, high levels of maternal acceptance attitudes have a moderate positive relationship with male offspring's extraversion (r=0.338; p=0.047). The mother's attitude of inconsistency is strongly associated with personality traits on the *Arrogant-Calculating – Not vain–Honest* spectrum (r=0.547; p=0.001; r=-0.598; p<0.001, respectively), and moderately negatively associated with the *Warm–Accordant* trait (r=-0.38; p=0.025). The mother's attitude associated with excessive demands correlates similarly with inconsistent attitudes on the *Arrogant-Calculating – Not vain–Honest* continuum (r=0.542; p=0.001; r=-0.478; p=0.004, respectively). The image of a mother providing autonomy is strongly negatively associated with the trait *Arrogant-Calculating* (r=-0.585; p<0.001), and the association of this aspect of parental attitude with traits on the *Cold-Indifferent – Warm-Accordant* continuum is also evident (r=-0.393; p=0.019; r=0.439; p=0.008, respectively). The relationship between protective attitudes and character traits in addicted men also seems to show the same trend. The image of a protective mother shows a strong positive association with the *Warm-Accordant* trait (r=0.507; p=0.002) and a moderate association bearing the opposite sign with the *Cold-Indifferent* trait (r=-0.348; p=0.041). Moreover, the attitude of protecting offspring, like the attitude of acceptance, correlates moderately positively with extraversion (r=0.476; p=0.004) (Table 5.).

Table 5. Mother's image vs. human characteristics in relationships with other people in the group of addicted men (r-Pearson, N=35)

Personality traits	A retrospective view of the mother's attitude				
	Acceptance – rejection	Demanding	Autonomy	Inconsistence	Protection
Confident-Dominant	0.054	0.149	0.096	-0.016	0.152
Arrogant-Calculating	-0.567**	0.542**	-0.585**	0.547**	-0.252
Cold-Indifferent	-0.364*	0.231	-0.393*	0.32	-0.348*
Restrained-Introverted	-0.106	-0.127	-0.194	-0.118	-0.156
Undecided-Submissive	0.134	-0.283	-0.021	-0.173	-0.001
Not vain–Honest	0.481**	-0.478**	0.311	-0.598**	0.126
Warm–Accordant	0.51**	-0.254	0.439**	-0.38*	0.507**
Social–Extroverted	0.338*	0.034	0.194	-0.057	0.476**

* Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 (two-sided),** Correlation is significant at the level 0.01 (two-sided).
Source: own study.

Differences between the group of addicted women and men regarding the image of the father

A comparison was made between male and female addicts in terms of retrospective attitude of the father image. None of the differences proved to be statistically significant (Tab. 6).

Table 6. Differences between the group of addicted women and men regarding the image of the father (2-ANOVA, n1=34, n2=35)

	A retrospective view of the father's attitude				
	Acceptance – rejection	Demanding	Autonomy	Inconsistence	Protection
women M	35.739	26.464	34	23.632	31.304
(SD)	(13.551)	(11.09)	(11.007)	(10.172)	(10.168)
men M	33.895	29.167	34.538	25.595	30.147
(SD)	(10.426)	(10.949)	(7.968)	(9.812)	(8.545)
F	0.428	1.066	0.055	0.746	0.272
p	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns

ns – statistically insignificant result

Source: own study.

Relationship of father image and self-image in the group of addicts

In terms of the relationship between the retrospective assessment of the father's attitude and self-image in the entire study sample (in addicts), the strongest correlations were found for the aspect of the father's parental attitude of inconsistency. The father's high inconsistency score correlates strongly negatively with the trait *Warm-Accordant* (r=-0.512; p<0.001) and moderately negatively with the traits *Not vain–Honest* (r=-0.401; p=0.001) and *Social-Extroverted* (r=-0.332; p=0.005). Also, the attitude of excessive demands by the father shows a negative relationship with the traits *Warm-Accordant* (r=-0.459; p<0.001) and *Not vain–Honest* (r=-0.433; p<0.001). We also found that the *Warm-Accordant* trait is fostered by high levels of father acceptance (r=0.355; p=0.003) (Table 7.).

Table 7. Father's image vs. human characteristics in relationships with other people in addicts (r-Pearson, N=69)

Personality traits	A retrospective view of the father's attitude				
	Acceptance – rejection	Demanding	Autonomy	Inconsistence	Protection
Confident-Dominant	0.175	-0.152	0.149	-0.259*	0.054
Arrogant-Calculating	-0.176	0.251*	-0.228	0.255*	-0.009

Personality traits	A retrospective view of the father's attitude				
	Acceptance – rejection	Demanding	Autonomy	Inconsistence	Protection
Cold-Indifferent	-0.045	0.23	-0.158	0.245*	0.139
Restrained-Introverted	-0.19	0.055	-0.168	0.148	-0.104
Undecided-Submissive	-0.169	-0.128	-0.201	-0.004	-0.181
Not vain–Honest	0.134	-0.433**	0.121	-0.401**	-0.071
Warm–Accordant	0.355**	-0.459**	0.294*	-0.512**	0.149
Social–Extroverted	0.244*	-0.233	0.17	-0.332**	0.092

* Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 (two-sided),** Correlation is significant at the level 0.01 (two-sided).

Source: own study.

Relationship of father's image and self-image in the group of addicted women

In the group of female addicts, as in the entire sample, there was a negative correlation of the father's inconsistency attitude with the traits *Warm-Accordant* (r=-0.557; p=0.001), *Not vain–Honest* (r=-0.364; p=0.034) and *Social-Extroverted* (r=-0.367; p=0.033). Analogous to the sample as a whole, there was also a negative association of the attitude of excessive demands with the traits *Warm-Accordant* (r=-0.5; p=0.003) and *Not vain–Honest* (r=-0.4; p=0.019). In addition, correlations were found between attitudes of paternal acceptance and personality traits on the dominance–submissiveness continuum. The higher the level of acceptance, the higher the level of dominance of female offspring (respectively: *Confident-Dominant* r=0.394; p=0.021; *Undecided-Submissive* r=-0.386; p=0.024). The attitude of paternal acceptance is also related to the level of extraversion (r=0.36; p=0.036). It turned out that the *Undecided-Submissive* trait is also fostered by the father's attitude of providing a low level of autonomy to his offspring (r=-0.347; -p=0.044) (Table. 8.).

Table 8. Father's image vs. human characteristics in relationships with other people in the group of addicted women (r-Pearson, N=34)

Personality traits	A retrospective view of the father's attitude				
	Acceptance – rejection	Demanding	Autonomy	Inconsistence	Protection
Confident-Dominant	0.394*	-0.262	0.271	-0.244	0.185
Arrogant-Calculating	-0.037	0.094	-0.065	0.167	-0.034

Personality traits	A retrospective view of the father's attitude				
	Acceptance – rejection	Demanding	Autonomy	Inconsistence	Protection
Cold-Indifferent	0.021	0.173	-0.097	0.084	0.159
Restrained-Introverted	-0.331	0.199	-0.254	0.254	-0.195
Undecided-Submissive	-0.386*	0.061	-0.347*	0.113	-0.321
Not vain–Honest	0.072	-0.4*	-0.032	-0.364*	0.012
Warm–Accordant	0.335	-0.5**	0.247	-0.557**	0.389
Social–Extroverted	0.36*	-0.316	0.196	-0.367*	0.208

* Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 (two-sided),** Correlation is significant at the level 0.01 (two-sided).

Source: own study

Relationship of father's image and self-image in the group of addicted men

A study of the relationship between the father's parental attitudes and personality traits in a group of addicted men showed similar patterns to the study of the mother's parental attitude picture in the same group. The relationships of aspects of fathers' attitudes of care with their sons' personality traits on two axes are quite clear: the *Arrogant-Calculating* and *Not vain–Honest* continuum, and on the *Cold-Indifferent* and *Warm-Accordant* axes. This applies to all aspects of care provided by the father except for protecting. The attitude of inconsistency in the upbringing process has a strong relationship with the *Cold-Indifferent* trait (r=0.527; p=0.001) and a moderate relationship bearing the opposite sign with the trait at the other extreme, namely *Warm-Accordant* (r=-0.456; p=0.006). This aspect of the father's parental attitude also correlates with the trait *Arrogant-Calculating* (r=0.366; p=0.031) and with the opposite sign with the trait *Not vain–Honest* (r=-0.434; p=0.009). A parental attitude characterized by a high level of autonomy given by the father correlates with the trait *Not vain–Honest* (r=0.38; p=0.024) and, at the opposite extreme, with the opposite sign with the trait *Arrogant-Calculating* (r=-0.547; p=0.001). The same high autonomy-giving attitude score correlates with the *Warm-Accordant* trait (r=0.401; p=0.017). It also found that traits such as *Arrogant-Calculating* and *Cold-Indifferent* are fostered by high levels of demanding attitudes (p=0.447; p=0.007; r=0.366; p=0.031, respectively). At the same time, at the other extreme of these traits, a negative correlation can be observed with the same attitude of excessive demands made by the father (*Not vain–Honest* r=-0.451; p=0.007; *Warm-Accordant* r=-0.406; p=0.015). In addition, this attitude is negatively related to submissiveness (r=-0.379; p=0.025). Also, the father's attitude of acceptance, although its role

in this study group seems to be smaller than the importance of the mother's attitude, has a relationship with the *Warm-Accordant* trait (r=0.385; p=0.022) and a negative relationship with the *Arrogant-Calculating* trait (r=-0.402; p=0.017) (Table 9).

Table 9. Father's image vs. human characteristics in relationships with other people in the group of addicted men (r-Pearson, N=35)

Personality traits	A retrospective view of the father's attitude				
	acceptance rejection	demanding	autonomy	inconsistence	protection
Confident-Dominant	-0.156	-0.033	-0.059	-0.291	-0.127
Arrogant-Calculating	-0.402*	0.447**	-0.547**	0.366*	0.042
Cold-Indifferent	-0.191	0.366*	-0.266	0.527**	0.097
Restrained-Introverted	0.08	-0.145	0.043	0.008	0.054
Undecided-Submissive	0.203	-0.379*	0.088	-0.157	0.035
Not vain–Honest	0.2	-0.451**	0.38*	-0.434**	-0.197
Warm–Accordant	0.385*	-0.406*	0.401*	-0.456**	0.137
Social–Extroverted	0.058	-0.13	0.132	-0.289	-0.078

* Correlation is significant at the level 0.05 (two-sided),** Correlation is significant at the level 0.01 (two-sided).

Source: own study.

Discussion

We have more and more empirical data on the specifics of alcohol drinking and the development of addiction in men and women. These differences relate not only to the course of the disorder, but as the results of these and other studies indirectly indicate, also to the etiology and pathogenetic mechanisms. The sources of pathology can be traced back to childhood. The research conducted and described in this paper showed that addicted women differed in their images of their mothers from addicted men. Addicted women perceived their mothers as more inconsistent and giving less autonomy than addicted men. The mother, seen through the eyes of an addicted woman, seems to be more both controlling and unpredictable. This image of the mother correlates in addicted women with self-image as an introverted person, i.e. one who tends to internalize problems (Grzegorzewska, 2011, 2013). Research by Margaret Dragan (2016) proved that the etiology of problem drinking in women should be sought, among other things, in adverse life experiences and related general difficulties in regulating emotions. The relationship between the mother image and self-image in addicted women

is also confirmed by the following research. The results of the study showed that this relationship is particularly strong on the introversion-extroversion continuum. The mother's behavior of rejection, lack of protection, excessive demands, inconsistency and lack of autonomy seems to play an important role in the formation of introversion and reticence in addicted women. The more rejecting, demanding, inconsistent and less protective the mother, the more introverted self-image in addicted women. These results can probably be explained by turning to one's inner self as a response to the lack of a role model in the identification process with the mother. Experiencing rejection, inconsistency, they tended to turn to the world of inner experiences, as contact with reality could be too painful.

In addicted men, on the other hand, the relationship of the mother image with such traits as arrogance, calculation, insensitivity at one pole and sincerity, warmth, accordance at the other seems interesting. The more rejecting, demanding, inconsistent and controlling (giving less autonomy) the mother, the greater the level of calculation, arrogance and conceit, and the lower the level of honesty, tenderness and emotional warmth. It is possible that addicted men facing deficits in their mother's care became more calculating, insincere, perhaps even manipulative, in order to make up for these deficits. These are characteristics of a dissocial personality disorder (Pastwa-Wojciechowska, Izdebska, 2016). A picture emerges from the research presented here, in which women and men presumably chose different coping strategies in response to maternal care deficits. Girls steered toward the world of inner experiences, withdrawing from contact, while boys leaned toward calculation, arrogance and conceit. Memories of the mother's behavior play the greatest role in the formation of self-image in relationships with others in addicts, confirming previous empirical findings (De Jong, Jacobs, 2010; Drodge, 1997, Pincus, Ruiz, 1997). In the image of paternal care as perceived by women, attention is drawn to the negative relationship between his inconsistent and overly demanding attitude and the perception of oneself as warm and compliant, as well as non-vain and honest. The attitude of a father who is consistent and stable, as well as not overly demanding, is particularly important for the development of a kind of emotional warmth in a group of addicted women.

In the group of male addicts, the direction and strength of the associations of self-image with that of both parents seems to be similar, especially in terms of arrogance and calculation, emotional warmth, and perceiving oneself as an honest and non-vain person. The observation that only for the mother's attitude the level of protection is related to the emotional warmth of addicted men seems interesting. It is possible that this is about protection from an addicted, unpredictable father.

The research presented here indicates that the quality of retrospectively perceived parenting is important for the formation of self-image in interpersonal relationships in addicts. This is in line with ideas about the influence of upbringing on the formation of the child's and later the adult's behavior in relations with others. It is also important in planning treatment for alcohol addicts. Particularly

important for understanding the peculiarities of the course of alcoholism in men and women as well as the selection of therapy goals is to take into account the self-image formed, among other things, in the context of parental attitudes presented by their mothers and fathers. Treatment programs are not sufficiently prepared for the specifics of women's alcoholism, although women are increasingly overcoming various internal and external barriers by entering therapy.

The research presented here has its limitations. First, the retrospective picture of parental attitudes was studied, not the parent's actual behavior in dealing with the child. Therefore, the results of the study in no way authorize the determination of cause-and-effect relationships between upbringing and its influence on the formation of interpersonal self-image. In addition, the study does not have a control group to explain the differences between addicts and non-addicts in the area under review. So, we cannot answer the question of whether the relationships obtained are specific to addicts or not. There is also a lack of information on disorders and possible addictions in the subjects' parents, which may have significantly affected their memory of the parental attitudes displayed. Undoubtedly, the relatively small number of people surveyed also does not entitle us to make generalizations. The issue of addiction in the population of offenders and its relevance to the rehabilitation process also needs further verification.

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Inclusive education in the process of rehabilitation of Youth Educational Centers' wards

Abstract: The studies concerning an inclusive education in Youth Educational Centers (YEC) are presented in the article. The popularization of ambivalent attitudes and values among youth makes them at risk of life destabilization, and often leads to social maladjustment. The inclusive education fits into the organization of any rehabilitative actions in an innovative way, which takes diversity of wards into account. In a broad sense, it serves the idea of social integration and protection against re-exclusion from social life. Thanks to the studies that had been taken up, minors residing at Youth Educational Centers were able to express their opinions on the inclusive education they currently participate in. Analysis of the survey data showed that wards notice the inclusive actions conducted by the institution, and that they express desire to change their past functioning. The research shows that there is merit in coordinating cooperation between parents and institutions, and directing more attention to caring for a good atmosphere in the centers.

Key words: youth, social inclusion, inclusive education, rehabilitation, Youth Educational Centers

Introduction

Social existence of a man is inextricably linked to his/her entering into relationships with other people. This creates a peculiar network of interpersonal relations supported by the relatively permanent interaction of people with each other, de-

termined by their personalities, judgments and mutual feelings, as well as by the norms and social roles they perform. In this regard, it should be noted that currently in the process of education, great importance is attached to the issue of the quality of social functioning of young generations (Wach 2016, pp. 71–72). This is due to the significant increase in deviant and pathological behavior among young people, which causes many young people to begin to function on the margins of social life (Pospiszyl 2010). In the interests of their successful development, a number of social rehabilitation measures are taken towards them, within the framework of which issues in the field of inclusive education are implemented, the purpose of which is to prepare young people for renewed and active inclusion in the fabric of social life.

This paper, therefore, addresses the issue of inclusive education implemented as part of social rehabilitation activities in Youth Educational Centers (YEC), one of the important tasks of which is to prepare minors to function properly in society. The very idea of inclusion and integration of all students in the educational process is not a completely new issue in pedagogy, it has found its special place of implementation in relation to children and adolescents with disabilities, and is now increasingly being applied in activities of a social rehabilitation nature (Szczepaniak 2014, pp. 144–145). A significant base in terms of inclusion has been developed by the European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education. The materials posted there show opting for the use of inclusive education across a broad spectrum (see European … [2009, 2011, 2017]).

The search for alternative ways of working with socially maladjusted people has prompted numerous researchers (L. Pytka, M. Konopczyński, A. Bałandynowicz, T. Zacharuk, P. Szczepaniak, S. Sobczak, S. Śliwa, T. Wach) to take an interest in the issue of inclusive education on the ground of social rehabilitation interventions. Among the many scientific studies on this issue, we also find some that deal with juveniles in social rehabilitation facilities or under probation supervision. This is because young people who manifest a significant level of demoralization are referred by family courts to various types of social rehabilitation centers for juveniles (Dobijański 2017, pp. 112–115). Among which an important place is occupied by Youth Educational Centers, which house young people who require the use of special organization of learning, methods of work, upbringing, psychological and pedagogical assistance as well as social rehabilitation. The task of this type of institution is to eliminate manifestations of social maladjustment in wards and prepare them for independent and responsible life in society (Regulation…[2015]). Currently, many centers are developing and implementing proprietary social rehabilitation projects, of which issues of inclusive education are an important part. The centers where the study was conducted, as two institutions out of all YECs in Poland are implementing a pilot project of Specialized Centers to Support Inclusive Education.

Numerous signals about the positive results of including issues of social inclusion in juvenile social rehabilitation programs have inspired research on the issue of supporting the inclusive education of juveniles. The aim of the research was to find out the opinions of wards of youth educational centers regarding the implementation and their participation in inclusive education activities. The empirical research undertaken centered around the search for answers to the question: How do the wards of youth educational centers perceive the inclusive education activities implemented in the process of their social rehabilitation? The research used a diagnostic survey method, with the use of a survey technique and a research tool in the form of a survey questionnaire. The research was carried out at the Youth Educational Centers for girls in Podgłębokie and for boys in Nowy Brzeg. 58 minors took part in the study. The results of the study and the analysis carried out allowed us to formulate interesting conclusions and insights, and to put forward several pedagogical postulates aimed at the broader social and educational environment.

Inclusive education in the process of social rehabilitation

The coexistence and interaction of people with each other is a natural process in which individuals express themselves, discover the richness and potential of inter-personal relationships and ties, and are able to develop and improve themselves in cooperation with others. Man discovers this need for contact with others from the moment of his/her birth, and then sustains and develops it throughout his/her life. A well-functioning community should therefore be a place where every human being feels accepted and needed regardless of the difficulties and problems that arise (Łuczyński 2016, pp. 161–162). Therefore, a person in the process of education, opening up to new patterns of interaction and new styles of social functioning must be ready to break down any barriers that hinder or prevent the full integration of all people living in the community.

One of the reasons for paying close attention to the issue of inclusive education is the growing cultural identity crisis in the lives of the younger generation and the antisocial behavior increasingly encountered among young people bearing the hallmarks of social maladjustment (Wach 2014, pp. 24–26). Adolescents, therefore, living in the reality of "global change" in which ambivalent attitudes and values are becoming increasingly prevalent, are at risk of destabilizing their living environment (family, peers), which is even crucial to their further development and social functioning. The unfavorable impact is also evident from the currently dominant so-called "instant culture", which assumes an "instant" life; while the lack of deeper reflection on one's own behavior promotes the appearance of risky behavior in the lives of young people (Melosik 2007). In addition, young people going through the difficult period of adolescence, also burdened with

many adolescent dilemmas, easily succumb to the illusory temptation of absolute freedom, which allows them to act in an unfettered manner, without the need to appeal to the moral or social rules functioning in a given society (Bukowski et al. 2006, p. 52). In addition, the virtual world of the media reinforces their illusory belief of an "easy life", without effort, without engaging in anything, as long as they become uninhibited in their thinking and behavior. Over time, this creates disappointment and moral confusion in the lives of young people, leading them to an existence somewhere on the periphery of their human capabilities. Thus, adolescents, feeling the need for "self-affirmation", which is natural for their age, easily enter the world of so-called pseudo-values, which destabilizes the delicate fabric of their daily lives, often setting them on the path of various addictions and deviant behaviors and attitudes.

Educational efforts towards children and adolescents by various institutions and social organizations cannot therefore be indifferent to issues related to inclusive education. This is because education itself, as B. Śliwerski emphasize, fulfills two essential functions: socialization and liberation. The first is mainly expressed in the field of socialization of the human individual, making him/her capable of resolving conflicts by discursive means as well as controlling and sublimating emotionality in socially acceptable ways. The second, on the other hand, boils down to such recognition and liberation of people from abnormal claims in the living environment as to enable them to creatively develop their own agency and turn to qualitatively new practices and forms of social and individual life, to qualitatively new ways of human existence (Śliwerski 2003, pp. 905–906). Viewed in this way, education therefore responds to the needs of both individuals and society as a whole, as it provides opportunities for development and self-realization on the one hand, and builds and strengthens social capital on the other. This prevents the intensification of social marginalization among young people and promotes the reintegration into society of those young people who have been socially excluded.

Thus, it is not difficult to see that modern education emphasizes in its activities goals aimed at supporting young people in integral development and active and creative participation in social life. It should also be stated that the increasing manifestations of social maladjustment of many young people, expose the weaknesses of existing educational solutions in the area of constructive support of youth in the process of their socialization and social integration (Zacharuk 2010, p. 222). This prompts the search for innovative solutions to enable children and young people with special educational needs (disabilities, social maladjustment) to integrate fully into society. At the same time, this is awakening a growing interest in inclusive education, which by its "definition" is not a unified theoretical and practical concept, and different ways of understanding it complement each other. This is because in the case of socially maladjusted youth, inclusive education is such a way of organizing all social rehabilitation and upbringing activities, which

takes into account the diversity of wards and is intended to serve their social integration in the broadest sense and prevent their re-exclusion process. It is nowadays advocated to boldly move in the direction of creative social rehabilitation, which is centered around the creative construction of a new identity for the pupil on the basis of the cognitive, emotional and operational potentials that exist in him/her (Konopczyński 2006). In doing so, inclusive education should take into account not only the needs arising from social maladjustment, but also from any other diversity of young people, equaling opportunities and giving them prospects for self-realization, development of their personal potential and abilities, and a sense of dignity and self-esteem. The main characteristics of inclusive education understood in this way should include balanced goals of educational and social rehabilitation interactions, taking into account the harmonious development of the pupils, a flexible support system of cooperating specialists and a common educational program (Podgórska-Jachnik 2021, pp. 8–9) .

Until now, in the traditional so-called segregated education system, there was a belief that socially maladjusted youth should be educated and socially rehabilitated in special centers designed for this purpose, with a program adapted to their needs and educators with the appropriate training. Therefore, it can be said that the education system, which takes into account the so-called principles of inclusion of minors in selected areas of social life, that breaks this "traditional" stereotype of thinking. This is because inclusion, even if only limited (volunteering, celebrations, concerts, meetings with peers), opens up the perspective and opportunity for minors to gain positive experiences and come into contact with new values and interesting people who, with their example of life, can significantly influence the change of minors' life "orientation" (Konopczyński 2014, pp. 17–24). Full social inclusion of minors into the fabric of social life is therefore the goal, and so-called educational inclusion is the means that leads to it. However, the introduction of inclusive education in an educational or socially rehabilitating institution does not mean only its one-time transformation in terms of a program and organization, but implies a long-term process of improving the quality of educational and socially rehabilitative interactions in an improving institution, looking for solutions and methods adequate to the needs and expectations of its charges, which will enable it to work effectively in the so-called open environment aimed at:
— reasonable adjustments and improvements based on the individual needs of minors;
— effective means of individualized support in the environment, maximizing personal and social development, in line with the goal of full inclusion (Podgórska-Jachnik 2021, p. 9).

In the paradigm shift in thinking about the social rehabilitation of juveniles, the thing goes that in every situation, in relation to every pupil, thinking about his/her "education" should be inclusive, never segregative, exclusionary, marginalizing thinking (Zacharuk 2010, p. 223).

Thus, inclusive education is able to significantly dynamize the process of social rehabilitation of minors, because in its essence, it seeks to support and build the process of integral development of each pupil. In addition, it appears as a variety of "civic pedagogy" (open, supportive), the intention of which remains the inclusion and immunization of the individual, against the negative influences of the environment, through its appropriate reorganization (prevention), whose overriding interest is to be the welfare of the pupil. The principle of "inclusion" in social rehabilitation refers primarily to an activity focused more on the alumni than on the social rehabilitation program itself (Zacharuk 2010, p. 223). Thus, it is a process of increasing the active participation of all wards first in the life of the facility and then in various areas of the local environment. This belief is based on the assumption that the social rehabilitation of juveniles in "society and by society" will produce much better, and more lasting, results than when it takes place in an artificial and closed environment such as a social rehabilitation center (Bałandynowicz 2002). This is because its core message is to treat the process of social rehabilitation as a process of personal and social development of the individual, and not as a "corrective" process. Thus, inclusive education in the process of social rehabilitation appears as a creative activity aimed at using the creative potentials inherent in a young person in order to adequately readapt him/her to social conditions, so that he/she can solve problem situations in an innovative, but socially acceptable way (Konopczyński 2014, pp. 23–24). It also fosters the activation of so-called social forces, individual and collective (individuals, institutions, organizations) in the local environment that can support the integral development of minors. Social rehabilitation understood in this way ultimately leads to social integration, which means that the individual regains the ability to function properly in society again.

Youth Educational Centers towards inclusive education

Serious disorders in the development and social functioning of adolescents, usually require an early and appropriate response from relevant social and educational institutions. Unfortunately, supportive intervention in these cases is particularly difficult due to the fact that adolescents affected by various forms of demoralization often require placement in appropriate social rehabilitation facilities. Such establishments include Youth Educational Centers, which in the system of juvenile rehabilitation are institutions of the custodial and educational type that are part of the structures of the Department of National Education (Śliwa 2013, pp. 53–55). They are obliged to accept children and adolescents who are socially maladjusted and require special organization of education, upbringing, social rehabilitation. Young people are usually sent to the centers because they have come into conflict with the law, due to demoralization, for not fulfilling compulsory schooling

obligation, using aggression and violence in the school environment or in their immediate surroundings. In the face of such serious disorders occurring in juveniles, educational centers implement innovative social rehabilitation programs, the essence of which revolves around inclusive education (Stańkowski 2018, pp. 115–122). This makes it possible to modify educational activities in such a way that they provide minors with positive social experiences, and thus teach them to respect the norms and principles of social and moral coexistence.

The introduction of inclusive education in Youth Educational Centers makes the hitherto "restrictive" system of social rehabilitation interventions being modified by completely new and unconventional aspects of educational activities, aimed at the process of permanent empowerment of a pupil through the development of his/her personal potentials. Thus, it is a totality of interactions for the formation (change, development) of minors' life skills (Rubacha 2003, p. 25). On the one hand, it gives the wards of educational centers a chance to form correct attitudes in society, and on the other hand, it becomes an indispensable condition for their natural and creative development. The entire organizational system of the center and the educational work methods used in it should be subordinated to such a goal. This entails a far-reaching opening of the centers to the non-institutional environment and the implementation of the wards into non-institutional social contacts by permanently providing them with positive models and role models in the open environment (Konopczyński 2014, pp. 21–22).

Following this lead, many Youth Educational Centers enable their wards to participate in multifaceted and integrated social activities that combine the tasks of social rehabilitation and inclusive education. In practice, they are expressed in didactic and corrective-equalizing activities, care and therapy, preparation for professional work, and also include cooperation with social organizations and associations, as well as cultural and recreational and sports activities (Śliwa 2013, pp. 58–59). The strength of inclusive education seems to be that it is a flexible form of work, adapting to the needs and requirements of minors. It is a face-to-face operation, where contact and the trust built on the basis of that contact are the primary working tools. It simply gives young people the opportunity to receive help while trying to understand their problems and life situation (Kozdrowicz 2005, pp. 117–118). However, this involves breaking down the barrier of distrust in minors towards the adult world and skillfully directing them to correct their own value system, while at the same time awakening in them a desire to actively participate in social life.

When applying inclusive education in social rehabilitation centers for juveniles, it should also be borne in mind that all contacts and activities with the wards should be conducted peacefully, without imposing or forcing anything on them. In social rehabilitation work, therefore, it is important to accept and stand in solidarity with the wards, as well as to provide the appropriate time he/she needs to reflect and decide whether to change his/her life. This is intended to restore

a young person's self-confidence and awaken in him/her "moral sensitivity" and a sense of being rooted in the social environment. In the implementation of the so-called social inclusion of minors, Youth Educational Centers should always be guided by principles that take into account:

— the welfare of a young person;
— acceptance of the young as they are;
— social activity of the wards, work for the benefit of others;
— organization of their free time;
— mutual trust and discretion;
— multifaceted assistance, activating the young person to work on himself/herself;
— integrating wards into the local community (Booth, Ainscow 2011, pp. 2–4).

In an optimally functioning system of juvenile social rehabilitation, Youth Educational Centers should "mediate" between the wider society and juveniles awaiting effective help and support. However, such specificity of cooperation can only be provided by a modern, creative model of juvenile social rehabilitation, where the elementary assumption is the full cooperation of "the individual and the environment", thus creating a social network of support for minors (Konopczyński 2006, 2014). Understood in this way, systemic and multifaceted cooperation is an important part of the modernization and reorganization of the system of social rehabilitation of minors in Youth Educational Centers. It also fosters the development of an optimal model of social rehabilitation work, adapted to various conditions, in which inclusive education creates favorable conditions for juveniles to establish social interaction. Thus, Youth Educational Centers can create with their charges in the open space of social life a specific "micro-world" in which everyone functions based on a coherent system of mutual relations and social ties, which define mutual aspirations and ideas about themselves and others (Balchan, Lasota 2010, pp. 22–25). Only in such conditions can minors find a "safe space" in which they learn to fulfill their responsibilities and exercise their rights. They also reacquaint themselves with the basic components of social life, such as justice, love, peace, truth, beauty, sensitivity to the needs of others, and readiness to help and forgive others. The essence of this mutual belonging of "the individual and the environment" becomes a universal platform on which minors can reorganize their own lives, and at the same time broaden and tighten their ties with society (Kurzeja 2010, pp. 101–103).

Inclusive education, which is an important part of creative social rehabilitation programs in many educational centers, is one of the few able to show a juvenile the right "path" back to society (Śliwa 2013, pp. 146–147). An important and characteristic feature of the activities of Youth Educational Centers must therefore become "inclusive openness" to the wards, taking into account their needs and expectations. The implementation of inclusiove activities also demands that educators in Youth Educational Centers have the courage with their authority

and competence to support their charges in building their self-esteem as well as personal and social identity (Dobijański 2017, pp. 223–224). This makes it easier for the wards to form an attitude of openness to the world around them and develop normative awareness in themselves. Thus, the inclusive activities implemented by the Youth Educational Centers are a broad program of activities aimed at preparing minors for a wise and valuable life in society. The inclusive education carried out in the process of social rehabilitation of minors should guarantee their inner and social enrichment, as well as their conscientious, enthusiastic and creative undertaking their daily duties.

Inclusive education in the work of Youth Educational Centers – own research

The research carried out is aimed at revealing the opinion of young people on the activities to support the development of their individual predispositions in an inclusive approach carried out in Youth Educational Centers. 58 survey questionnaires were analyzed. 40 respondents (accounting for 69% of the total surveyed) are women, 18 people (accounting for 31%) are men.

The most numerous group of respondents were people aged 16 (31%) and 17 (31%). The least numerous groups were wards aged 15 (17%) and 14 (10%). Among those surveyed were adult wards – four 18-year-olds (7%) and two 13-year-olds (4%). The age span of the respondents varied through which we get a more complete view of the scope of the study from the perspective of elementary and secondary classes. A significant number of wards (48) reside in the city (83%), while fewer come from the rural areas – 10 (17%).

Analyses of the research make it possible to present significant findings in the context of inclusion. The research posed two main problems in the form of the following questions: how do Youth Educational Centers implement inclusive education for their wards?; and – what are the opinions and experiences of the wards of Youth Educational Centers participating in inclusive education activities (programs)?

Activities carried out to support the development of the wards of the surveyed facilities

Social rehabilitation activities serve to integrate wards staying in social rehabilitation facilities into proper functioning in social life.

Survey respondents were asked about the length of their stay in YECs. The analysis of responses is presented in Graph No. 1.
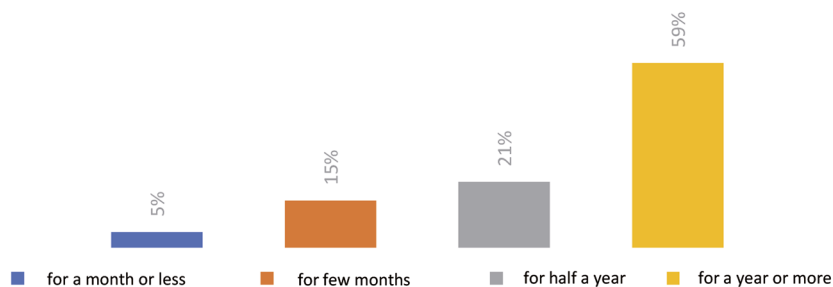
Graph No. 1. Length of stay of wards in YECs.
Source: author's own research.

59% (34 people) of the youth have been in the center for more than a year, while 21% (12 people) of the wards have been in YEC for six months. 15% (9 people) of those surveyed have been at the facility for several months, while 5% (3 people) have been there for a month or less.

Respondents were asked how their stay at the center affected their lives. Respondents had the option of choosing more than one answer.
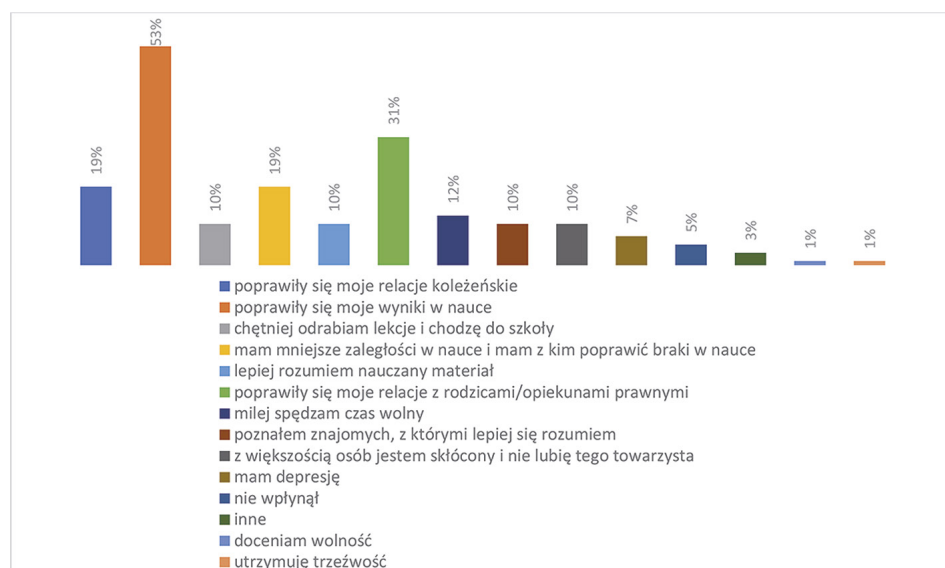
Explanations: poprawiły sie moje relacje koleżeńskie – my relations with peers improved; poprawiły się moje wyniki w nauce – my performance at school improved; chętniej odrabiam lekcje i chodzę do szkoły – I am more willing to do homework and go to school; mam mniejsze zaległości w nauce, mam z kim poprawić braki w nauce – I am less behind in my studies and I have someone to correct my learning deficiencies with; lepiej rozumiem nauczany materiał – I understand the material taught better; poprawiły się moje relacje z rodzicami/opiekunami prawnymi – my relations with parents/legal guardians

improved; milej spędzam czas wolny – I am spending my free time in a more pleasant way; poznałem znajomych z którymi lepiej sie rozumiem – I have new friends whom I understand better; z większością osób jestem skłócony i nie lubię tego towarzystwa – I am at odds with most people and don't like their company; mam depresję – I am depressed; nie wpłynął – it had no influence; inne – other; doceniam wolność – I appreciate freedom; utrzymuję trzeźwość – I am staying sober.

Graph No. 2. The impact of staying at the center on the lives of the wards.
Source: author's own research.

53% of those surveyed gained improvements in the realm of better learning performance by staying at YEC. In 31% of respondents, relations with parents and legal guardians improved. An equal score of 19% each was given to the areas of improving relationships with colleagues and compensating for academic deficiencies and getting help to catch up with schoolwork. 12% of respondents indicated that they spend their leisure time more pleasantly during their stay at the center. In four different areas, respondents indicated the following responses (10% for each answer): I have a better understanding of school material, I am more willing to do my homework and go to school, I have made friends with whom I understand each other better, and I am at odds with most people and don't like the company. 7% of people felt that their stay in the facility resulted in a deterioration of their quality of life and suffered from depression as a result. 5% of the youth are not affected by the stay. 1% of respondents valued freedom because of this and maintain abstinence. Due to the possibility of indicating more than one answer, the percentages do not add up to 100.

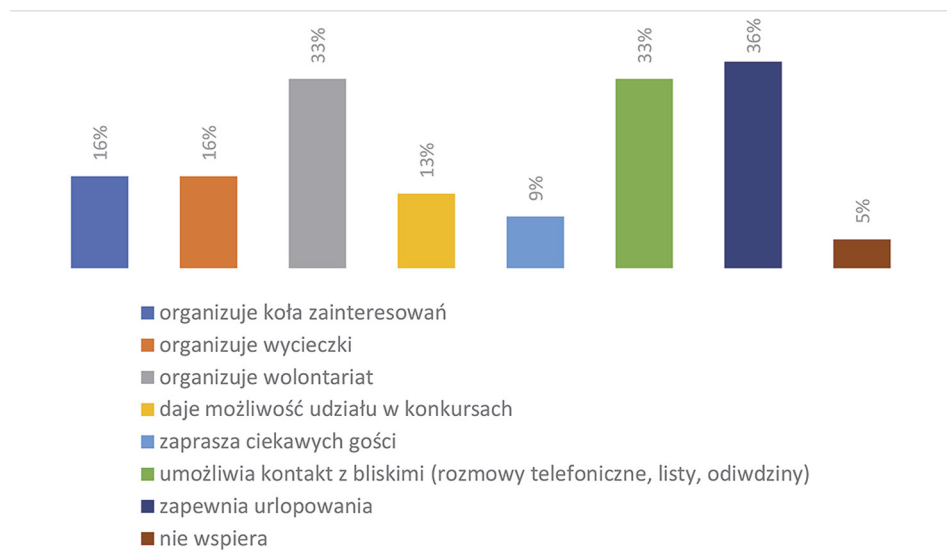Respondents were asked about the atmosphere in the social rehabilitation center.
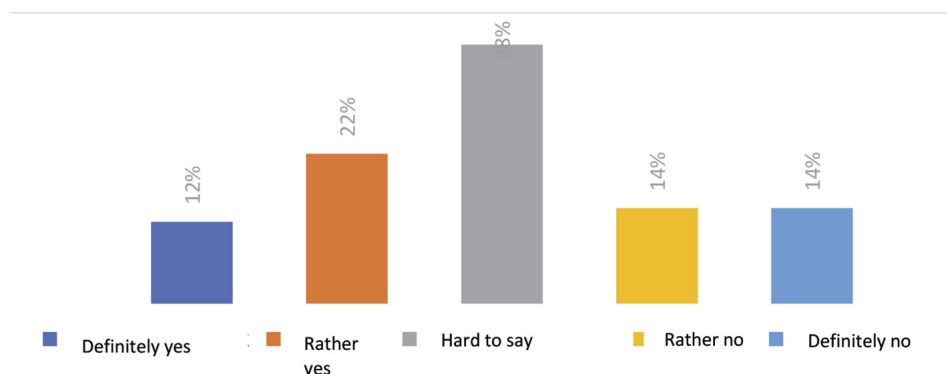
Graph No. 3. Youth satisfaction with the atmosphere at YECs.
Source: author's own research.

38% (22 people) of respondents did not explicitly indicate their level of satisfaction with the atmosphere at the centers. 22% (13 people) of wards described themselves as rather satisfied with the climate in the facilities. 14%

(8 people) of the youth indicated that they were rather dissatisfied with the atmosphere in the educational centers, and just as many responded that they were definitely dissatisfied with it. 12% (7 people) of respondents specified that they definitely feel satisfied with the climate of the facilities.

Wards were asked how does the center support their social interactions? The answers are presented in Graph No. 1. Respondents had the option of choosing more than one answer.

- organizuje koła zainteresowań
- organizuje wycieczki
- organizuje wolontariat
- daje możliwość udziału w konkursach
- zaprasza ciekawych gości
- umożliwia kontakt z bliskimi (rozmowy telefoniczne, listy, odiwdziny)
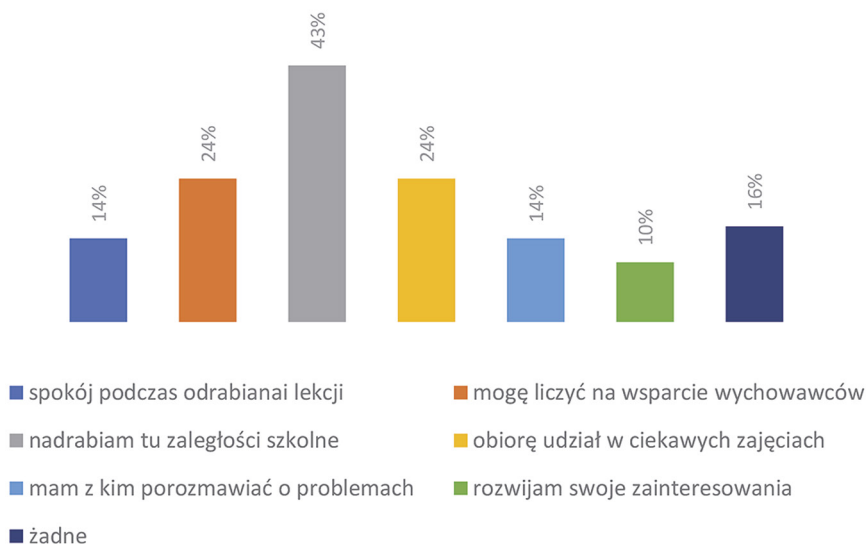- zapewnia urlopowania
- nie wspiera

Explanations: organizuje koła zainteresowań – organizes groups of interest; organizuje wycieczki – organizes trips; organizuje wolontariat – organizes volunteer service; dzje możliwość udziału w konkursacj – gives an opportunity to participate in competitions; zaprasza ciekawych ludzi – invites interesting guests; umożliwia kpntakt z bliskimi (rozmowy telefoniczne, listy, odwiedziny – allows for contact with the loved ones (phone conversations, letters, visits); zapewnia urlopowania – provides leaves; nie wspiera – does not support.

Graph No. 4. Support of social contacts of wards by YECs
Source: author's own research.

The vast majority of respondents identified many ways in which YEC supports their social contacts. The option of holidays received the most responses – 36%. Both the form of volunteer service organization and enabling people to maintain contact with relatives were indicated by 33% of respondents. 22% of wards value opportunities to participate in competitions. The same score of 16% of responses went to the option of organized interest circles and excursions. 9% of respondents considered inviting interesting guests as a form of developing their social contacts. In contrast, 5% of the youth identified a lack of support by the center in this regard.

The youth were asked which their needs and deficiencies are being met by the center. A summary of their responses is presented in Graph No. 2. Respondents had the option of choosing more than one answer.

- spokój podczas odrabianai lekcji
- mogę liczyć na wsparcie wychowawców
- nadrabiam tu zaległości szkolne
- obiorę udział w ciekawych zajęciach
- mam z kim porozmawiać o problemach
- rozwijam swoje zainteresowania
- żadne

Explanations: spokój podczas odrabiania lekcji – peace when doing homework; nadrabiam tu zaległości szkolne – I am catching up on school work here; mam z kim porozmawiać o problemach – I have someone to talk to about problems; żadne – none; mogę liczyć na wsparcie wychowawców – I can count on educators' support; biorę udział w ciekawych zajęciach – I participate in interesting classes; rozwijam swoje zainteresowania – I develop my interests.

Graph No. 5. Ways of meeting the deficiencies and needs of young people by the center.
Source: author's own research.

A significant number, 43% of respondents, pointed to catch-up learning as an important form of supporting the development of their potential. 24% pointed to each of the answers: the possibility of educational support and the organization of interesting activities. 16% of respondents specified that the center does not support their needs in any way. Equal scores of 14% were given to each of the answers: being able to talk about one's problems as well as peace and quiet while doing homework. 10% of wards appreciated the opportunity to develop interests in the facilities.

Wards were asked how educators are interested in their problems. Respondents had the option of choosing more than one answer.
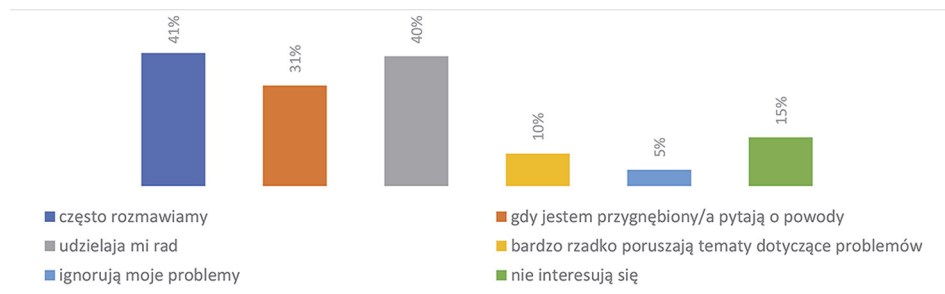
Explanations: często rozmawiamy – we talk often; udzielają mi rad – they give me advices; ignorują moje problemy – they ignore my problems; gdy jestem przygnębiony/a pytają o powody – when I'm sad they ask for reasons; bardzo rzadko poruszają tematy dotyczące problemów – they very rarely talk about problems; nie interesują się – they are not interested in.

Graph No. 6. The interest of YEC educators in the problems of their charges.

Source: author's own research.

41% of those surveyed indicated that educators take an interest in their problems through frequent conversations. Slightly fewer respondents – 40% – specified that educators' interest in their problems is expressed in the form of giving advice. 31% of the youth perceive the sensitivity of educators to their problems by simply asking why they are depressed. 15% of wards pointed to the lack of interest of the educational staff in the difficulties they were experiencing. 10% responded that staff very rarely bring up the topics of their problems, while 5% of respondents indicated that their difficulties were ignored by educational staff. Due to the possibility of indicating more than one answer, the percentages do not add up to 100.

Wards were asked how educators help them learn. Respondents had the option of choosing more than one answer (Graph No. 7).

52% of those surveyed indicated that employees provide them with assistance with homework. 26% of wards specified that they were motivated by the teaching staff to learn. 20% of people are receiving help to catch up. 17% of respondents can count on repetition of material with educators. 14% described the assistance as organizing a peaceful learning environment. 7% of wards said they do not receive assistance in this area, while 5% of wards do not need such support. 5% indicated the answer "other" without providing details, while 1% responded that not all employees are willing to help with learning. Due to the possibility of indicating more than one answer, the percentages do not add up to 100.

Respondents were asked what they missed most about their family home. Respondents had the option of choosing more than one answer (Graph No. 8).
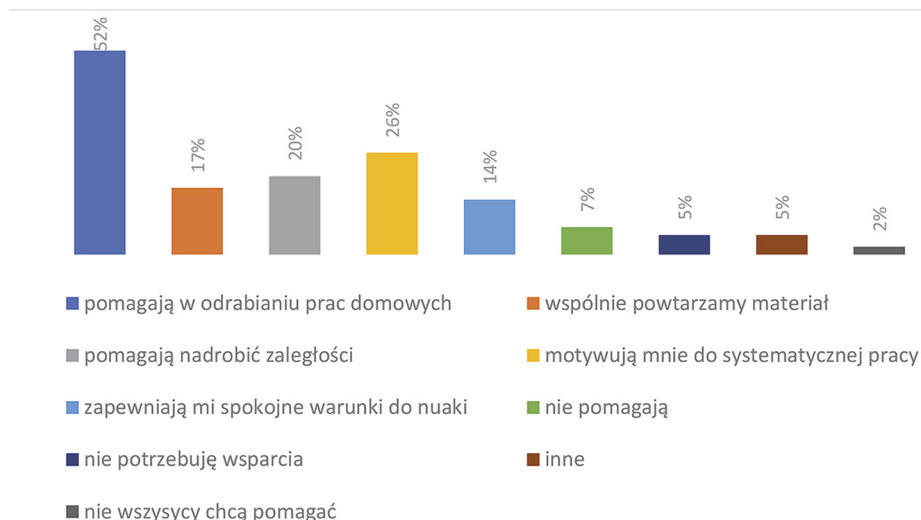
Explanations: pomagają w odrabianiu prac domowych – they help me do homework; pomagają nadrobić zaległości – they help me with catching up; zapewniają mi spokojne warunki do nauki – they ensure peaceful learning environment; nie potrzebuje wsparcia – I do not need support; nie wszyscy chcą pomagać – not everyone wants to help; wspólnie powtarzamy materiał – we revise the material together; motywują mnie do systematycznej pracy – they motivate me to work systematically; nie pomagają – they do not help; inne – other.

Graph No. No. 7. Supporting facility wards in their process of learning.

Source: author's own research.
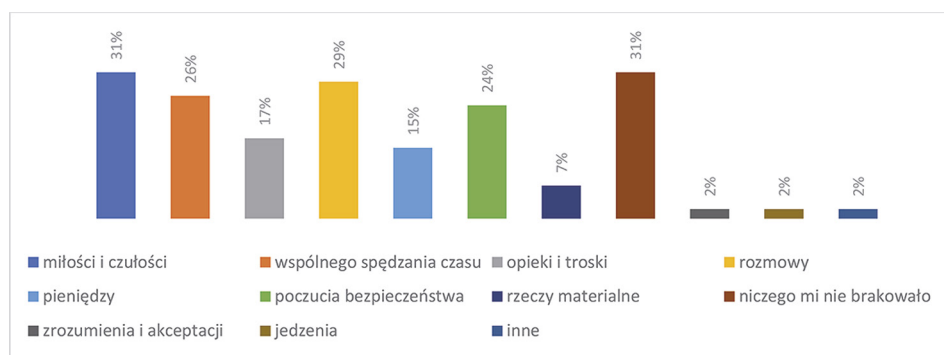
Explanations: miłości i czułości – love and affection; pieniędzy – money; zrozumienia i akceptacji – understanding and acceptance; wspólnego spędzania czasu – spending time together; poczucia bezpieczeństwa – a sense of safety; jedzenia – food; opieki i troski – care and concern; rzeczy materialnych – material things; inne – other; rozmowy – conversations; niczego mi nie brakowało – nothing was missing.

Graph No. 8. Deficiencies in the family home.

Source: Own research

31% of people reported a lack of love and affection in the family. 31% of the youth specified that they did not lack anything in their family home. 29% of respondents mentioned a lack of conversation with their loved ones. 26% of wards missed spending time together with their loved ones. 24% of people did not feel an adequate level of security in the family. 17% of the youth did not receive adequate care and attention. 15% of the wards did not have enough money, and 7% did not have material things. 2% of the youth (for each answer) indicated deprivation in the form of food, understanding and acceptance, and gave the answer "other" without specifying in detail. Due to the possibility of indicating more than one answer, the percentages do not add up to 100.

Respondents were asked whether YEC staff cooperate with their parents/ legal guardians.
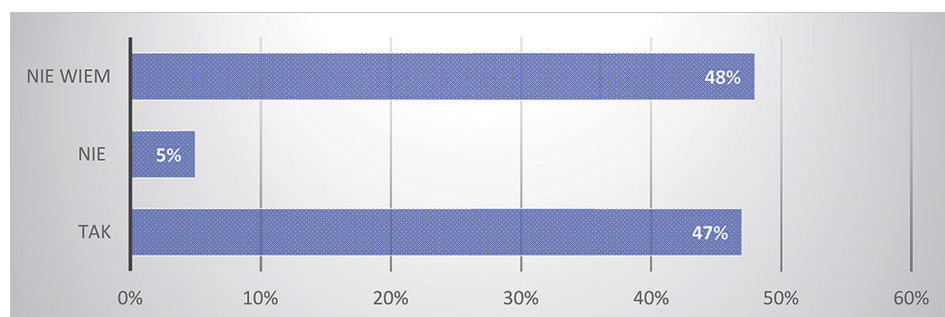
Explanations: nie wiem – I don't known; nie – no; tak – yes.

Graph No. 9. Cooperation of YEC staff with parents/legal guardians of wards.

Source: author's own research.

48% of the youth specified that they do not know if the staff cooperate with their guardians and parents. Slightly fewer, 47%, specified that the staff cooperate with their guardians, while a clear minority of respondents, 5%, indicated a lack of cooperation.

Young people's expectations of changes in their functioning

Identifying and recognizing the needs of wards is a very important part of social rehabilitation. Upbringing, rehabilitative, educational or therapeutic activities should respond to the needs of the child in order to allow his/her full development.

Respondents were asked about their needs in the context of changing specific areas of their lives to better function in the social environment.

A question was asked about the need to improve communication with the family.
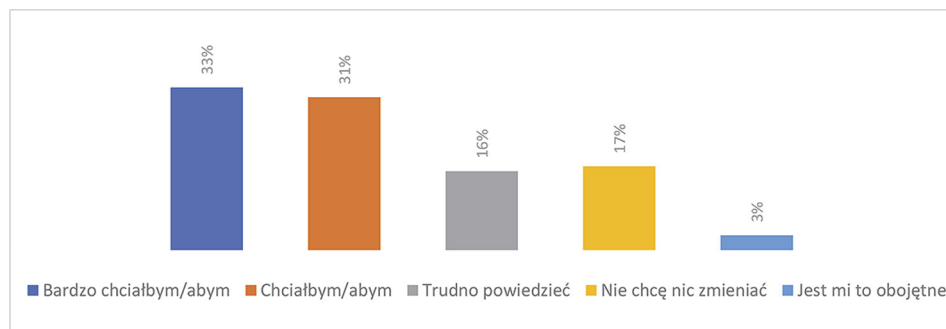
Explanations: Bardzo chciałbym/ałabym – I would love to; chciałbym/ałabym – I would like to; trudno powiedzieć – hard to say; nie chcę nic zmieniać – I need no changes; jest mi to obojętne – I don't care.

Graph No. 10. Improving communication between family members.

Source: author's own research.

33% (19 people) responded that they very much want to improve communication with their loved ones. 31% (18 people) indicated that they would like to change this area. 17% (10 people) specified that they did not want to change anything. 16% of the youth indicated that it was difficult for them to identify their needs in this regard. 3% (2 people) indicated that the need for change in this area was indifferent to them.

Respondents were asked about the need for change in the area of providing security and psychological support.

Explanations: Bardzo chciałbym/ałabym – I would love to; chciałbym/ałabym – I would like to; trudno powiedzieć – hard to say; nie chcę nic zmieniać – I need no changes; jest mi to obojętne – I don't care.

Graph No. 11. Ensuring safety and psychological support.

Source: Own research.

33% (19 people) responded that they would very much like to see improvements in this area and similarly 31% (18 people) would like to change this area. 15% (9 people) find it difficult to determine whether they would like to change something in terms of their security and psychological support. 12% (7 people) do not want to change anything, while 9% (5 people) are indifferent.

Respondents were asked if they wanted to improve showing affection and helping other people.
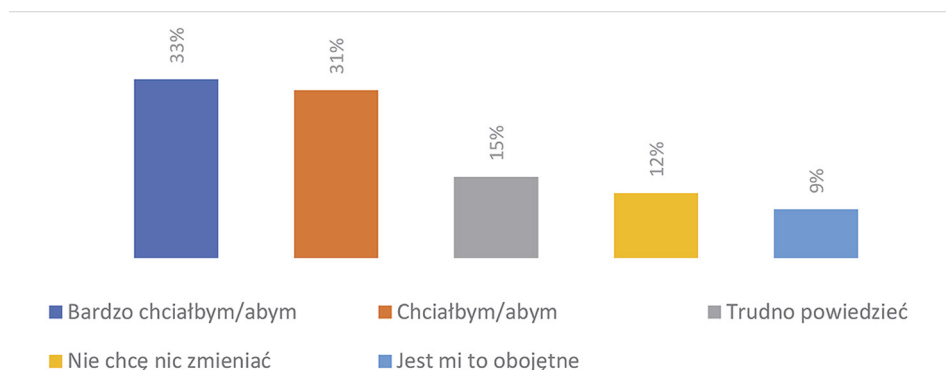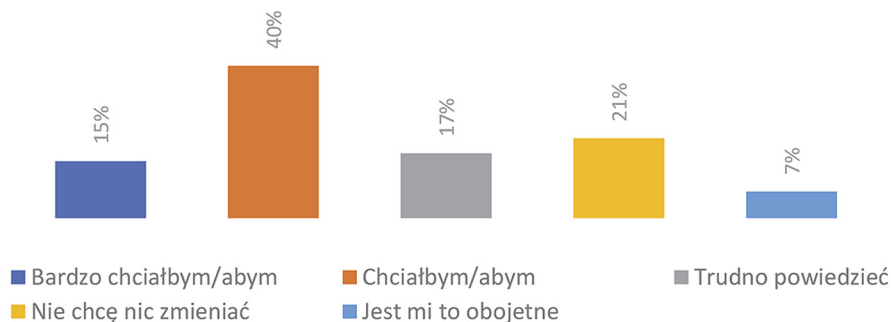

Explanations: Bardzo chciałbym/ałabym – I would love to; chciałbym/ałabym – I would like to; trudno powiedzieć – hard to say; nie chcę nic zmieniać – I need no changes; jest mi to obojętne – I don't care.

Graph No. 12. Showing affection and helping other people more often

Source: author's own research.

40% (23 people) of wards would like to strengthen in themselves the ability of showing affection and helping others. 15% (9 people) of respondents care very much about change in this regard. 21% (12 people) do not want to change anything, while for 17% (10 people) it is difficult to determine the legitimacy of working on this sphere. 7% (4 people) spoke in a tone of indifference to the issue.

Conclusions of the study

The vast majority of wards of the surveyed social rehabilitation centers perceive the support they receive from the center's staff in improving their social contacts. This shows that social rehabilitation is being carried out to adapt young people to return to the environment. A smaller number of respondents (16%) specified that the YEC does not support their needs. An overwhelming number of wards indicated that their stay at the facility brought positive changes in their functioning. In the area of impact on the change resulting from their stay at the center, 10% specified that they had numerous conflicts with friends from the YEC, and 7% indicated that they were depressed by their stay.

Cooperation between parents/legal guardians of wards and the YEC staff should be clarified. This is confirmed by the two areas from the study. Firstly, the young people pointed out many deficiencies they experienced in family relationships (31% – lack of love and care, 31% – nothing was missing, 29% – lack of conversation, 26% – lack of spending time together with the loved ones, 24% – lack of security, 17% – lack of care and concern, 15% – lack of money). Secondly, a large percentage of respondents – 48% – do not know if there is cooperation between the YEC staff and their guardians. It is important to undertake changes if only by expanding the YEC's social rehabilitation offerings in this area.

It should be noted that there are wide discrepancies among respondents as to how they rate their level of satisfaction with the YEC climate. The largest number of people (38%) answered that it was difficult for them to determine this issue. 33% have a positive view of the center's atmosphere, while 28% expressed dissatisfaction in this aspect.

The vast majority of respondents see the need for change in the area of improving family communication (64%), 16% are undecided, and 17% do not want to change anything. To sum up, 64% of the wards need a change in the form of taking care of their mental health and safety, and 55% are concerned with improving the way they show affection and help other people. This shows that young people recognize the need to improve the quality of their lives, and this bodes well for the conduct of social rehabilitation activities, including inclusion in the open environment.

Final thoughts

Inclusive education appears today as one of the important and leading directions of social rehabilitation strategies for socially maladjusted people. It reorganizes the process of social rehabilitation of juveniles in educational institutions in such a way that it becomes open to social integration and tailored to the individual pace of learning, talents, difficulties of each ward. Thus, there is a pressing need for minors to acquire social competence so that they themselves can discover the value and possess the ability to form positive social relationships with other people. Therefore, the social inclusion of minors that takes place in Youth Educational Centers initiates in them the process of accumulating positive experiences that improve their relationships and social functioning.

One of the goals of inclusive education in the process of social rehabilitation of juveniles in Youth Educational Centers should be to develop the wards' readiness to change their style of functioning from demoralized to socially adjusted. The authors postulate that in further social rehabilitation work carried out in the spirit of inclusion, attention should be directed to the following areas:

— continuation of YEC's cooperation with the external environment in order for young people to gain positive role models, reinforcement and experience (e.g., trips to volunteer work, the theater, inviting guests, participation in competitions, cooperation with young people from mainstream schools).

— expanding the social rehabilitation offer to strengthen cooperation with parents and legal guardians of wards. This could be done by involving parents in the life of the facility (e.g., organizing a family day, joint workshops for parents and children or trips) and in a therapeutic context (e.g., family therapy or training for caregivers).

— building a friendly atmosphere at the center by ensuring interaction, kindness, good communication, support, appreciation or setting clear goals. A good climate is important in achieving high performance, and it also makes satisfaction and commitment increase. Hence, it is worth putting these basics into practice and organizing psycho-educational classes on the subject.

The above suggestions could be reflected in concrete educational and upbringing activities to strengthen the quality of the social rehabilitation carried out.

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(Not) a good school? Image of the contemporary school in students' opinions – directions of future changes. Poznań Educational Research 2021

Abstract: The main purpose of this article is to present the image of contemporary school, seen through the eyes of students participating in the survey carried out as a part of the project "Educational Policy of the City of Poznań 2030," coordinated by the City Department of Education. The purpose of the study was to learn about the experiences and opinions of

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male and female students of Poznań schools and to determine the extent in which these experiences facilitate adaptation process and to examine factors which may differentiate the outcomes. A total of 1043 male and female students participated in the study; ultimately, due to missing data, 936 surveys were included. The study took into account the variables of gender, stage of education, place of residence of the respondents and the mean grades obtained by them during the previous school year. The authors' assumption was that these variables may be relevant to the way the respondents perceive and experience the school environment, as well as their expectations. The research meant to give an answer to the question what kind of school young people want, indicating areas they consider to be deficient and in need of change.

Key words: vision school, involved school, teacher-student relations, support, change.

Introduction

The vision of a school open to the needs of all, engaged (not only didactically), on the basis of which the identity of the entire school community will be built and including a wide range of cooperating institutions, is an almost ideal vision, and thus largely utopian. We realize that building a school that flexibly responds to all the challenges of today, with professional staff and material resources, inclusive, understanding, non-exclusionary and effective, in which everyone will feel comfortable, is a difficult task. School principals have limited opportunities to invest in facilities, organize extracurricular spaces, but also to expand their offer in the field of, for example, extra-curricular activities. Such situations may be due, among other things, to low financial resources, which from a formal point of view provides some justification for inaction from a managerial perspective, but does not preclude care and responsibility for the common educational space, both in the material and, perhaps above all, non-material dimensions. Money is important for development, but more important seems to be the sense of community, reciprocity and kindness, these are what make us identify with a place, making us engaged and responsible members of the school, local, global community. An important task that modern schools can and should carry out is to build a pro--development space based not only on results but on mutual relationships. After all, a particularly important factor shaping the vision and identity of a school is the people who make it up: teachers, students, parents.

As J. Delors wrote, the modern school is tasked with teaching, educating, shaping and meeting the demand for certain educational services necessary in the 21st century. This educational perspective is reflected both in the individual lives of each student but also fills in a much broader context, related to the responsibility of education for the shape and future of societies. In addition to the necessary professional qualifications, the school should shape the necessary competencies, skills and knowledge to function satisfactorily and effectively in today's world. It should teach to be, to know, to act and to live in community (Delors, 1998).

One of the most important aspects of modern education should become the pursuit of free and full human development. The importance of subjectivity in human life is becoming increasingly important due to, among other things, the democratization of social life and the progressive expansion with it of the space of individual distinctiveness and independence (Smykowski, 2012, p.70). From this perspective, it is particularly important to pay attention not only to the content and teaching methods, but also to the current needs of young people standing on the threshold of unpredictable adulthood. Setting directions for modern education, the Delors Commission emphasizes the need for schools to develop learning skills; to impart basic knowledge and skills; to develop competencies adequate to the requirements of the labor market, but also to prepare for social life and shape the ability to decide the right action to take. The forms of implementation of the last two indications focus on creating opportunities for a variety of individual and social experiences, adequate assessment, modeling joint actions of students, taking care of the quality of cooperation of adults (parents, teachers, local government) involved in the organization of education, instructing students how to control their own behavior, thinking and learning, and how to systematize knowledge and skills (Jabłoński, Wojciechowska, 2013, p.7)

As A.I. Brzezińska and T. Czub note (Brzezińska, Czub, 2013, p. 38), what today can be considered key personal and social competencies include: readiness to make choices, take risks and bear responsibility for one's decisions; the ability to make decisions in not fully defined, unstable conditions; constructing a flexible plan of action and multivariate projects for its implementation with different time horizons, including the project of one's own life; establishing relationships based on emotional contact with different people, including however different; the ability to cooperate with others regardless of personal sympathies and antipathies; organizing the conditions for action for oneself and others. According to the concept of R.M. Ryan and E. L. Deci (Ryan, 1993; Ryan, Deci, 2000), however, these competencies will form and develop only in individuals in whom their underlying needs are met – for connection and positive relationship with others, autonomy and competence. Success will be possible when in the social environment of development and learning, that is, primarily in the family and school environment, relationships and all interactions are based on trust (Ryan, Deci 2000, p. 69).

Despite fairly clear guidelines, it seems that school practice is far from ideal. Analyzing the educational plans of schools at different levels of education, it can be seen that schools indicate in them the importance of the process of upbringing, but they all set almost the same goals, which would prove that "upbringing is one" and there is no need to take into account the specifics of development at different stages of life, the specifics of the environment and families from which students come. It is difficult to see the individual "identity" of schools here, they become carbon copies, created on the basis of "external" guidelines. It can be considered

that the modern school is becoming a kind of "closed set" pursuing primarily its own "internal" goals, based on "external," often political indications. It does not become an institution that equips students with a variety of competencies, enabling them not only to use the accumulated knowledge and skills in the implementation of "typical" professional and life tasks, but also does not enable them to further expand and modify them in such a way that the participants in the process can make decisions concerning them independently, be flexible in the actions they take and derive satisfaction from their lives. According to some researchers, the school is becoming an example of the incompatibility of generations living side by side. The divergence of the world of teachers and the world of students is still present. There is a clash of new ways of life with the old culture with incompatibility of experiences, dissimilarity not only of life patterns, but above all of perspectives, visions of the future. The adult's optics are immersed in the past and do not enter the future, hence they seem unattractive to young people looking at a different side of the world (Przyszczypkowski, Brzezińska, Solarczyk-Ambrozik, 2006, p. 240). In this situation, it seems all the more important to emphasize the importance of relationships and social-emotional development of all entities involved. Actions in this direction help not only to bridge the indicated gap but also build functional capacity to operate in a dynamic and changing reality. Despite the rather obvious virtues of such a solution, it can be seen that schools still mostly prefer the "technological" rather than the "social" model. In the implemented "technological" model, the educational function of the school dominates, while the pursuit of a kind of balance between education, upbringing and care is marginalized. There is an emphasis on achieving the "right level" of students and rewarding high achievement often at the expense of authentic developmental progress.

In the "technological" model, there is a selection of weak students, there is a risk of labeling, while in the "social" model, individualization is dominant. In the first model, the teacher is viewed and treated instrumentally by educational authorities and parents, and so are the students. Such a school is dominated by object-oriented interpersonal relations, and the principal is the person "managing the institution" rather than a leader (cf. Szafran, 2019; Śmietańska, 2016).

In the second, unfortunately still marginalized, "social" model – teachers and students are treated subjectively, and good interpersonal relations are the expected and dominant form of contact. The school is a community, and the teacher, students and parents are "participants" in the educational process. In the "social" model, the development of teachers and students is important. The exam "serves" the school in this case. The school is becoming a learning organization (Przyszczypkowski, Brzezińska, Solarczyk-Ambrozik, 2006, pp. 237–242). The director at such a facility is a team leader. The school is characterized by strong ties to the local environment. It incorporates various institutions into its "own" life. In this way, it enriches its educational offerings. Unfortunately, it is often the case that the efficiency of education as measured by exam pass rates becomes the

priority in schools. As a result, students are treated objectively, according to the principle: a successful student is a student worth paying attention to.

When discussing the image of the modern school, it also seems reasonable to pay attention to the perception of the teaching profession and its prestige. The meaning of this seemingly missionary profession is constantly evolving. As D. Walczak noted, "today, in the work of a teacher, individual social capital – position and relationships in social groups – and cultural capital, understood as skills, customs, habits, language styles, types of schools completed, tastes and lifestyles, are of particular importance. This is because in the evaluation of teachers by students and their parents, teachers' resources of a social and cultural nature are of key importance, although teachers themselves would like to have primarily material resources – high economic capital (money and material objects) – and symbolic resources, i.e. symbolic capital that would institutionalize the superior position of teachers vis-à-vis other people taking part in the life of the school" (Walczak, 2018, p. 458). It is worth noting that a good teacher is not only a good didactician or methodologist, but also and in many cases above all, a good psychologist. They are a person who is able to convey knowledge in an accessible way, relate it to experience, engage students in joint projects, but is also available, cordial and open to conversation. Another extremely important teacher competency is fairness and following a code of ethics towards all people. The above indications seem quite clear and theoretically simple to implement, but practice says otherwise, which was also expressed by the students we surveyed.

In order to understand how important mutual understanding and good interpersonal relations are for building a positive image of an educational institution, it is useful to refer to the concept of school climate. To quote H. Fend, "by school climate […] we mean what students and teachers create when they form animated forms of teaching and learning interactions using the established legal and institutional regulations of the school" (Otręba, 2014, p. 249). It should be emphasized that inherent in the school climate is a collective, not just individual, view. Hence, as R. Dubs notes, when studying the effectiveness of a school organization, it is worth paying attention precisely to the climate of the school, which, in addition to the atmosphere and evaluation of student performance, can be one of the main determinants of the image of the school in the opinions of students, teachers and parents. Moreover, Dubs, in an analysis of his research, showed that the open organizational climate of a school has a positive effect not only on principals, who feel supported and more confident in their decisions, or teachers, who show a high degree of confidence in themselves and their competence, but also on students, who feel they are subjects in decisions concerning their education (Dubs, 1994, p.18). The atmosphere in the school was also highlighted by our respondents.

The vision of a school focused on continuous change, resulting from real tasks, is the optimal model of an environment that allows the realization of

the principles of cooperation in an environment of individuals diverse in their development potentials and limitations. As S. Jabłoński and J. Wojciechowska note, the vision of school as an environment that prepares people for life in other environments requires that it be in constant and direct contact with institutions that allow both teachers and students to confront their competencies (formed at school) with the level of required skills in an engagement characteristic of adults (Jabłoński, Wojciechowska, 2013 p.54). According to the concept of a learning organization, the possibility of smooth functioning of a school is possible, among other things, when a continuous dialogue between its members is observed in the organizational structure (Elsner, 2003, pp. 12–18). What is worth emphasizing is that it is not about talking, it is about talking, not just listening but hearing, because only this form of communication has a real interactive, empowering and pro-development dimension.

We tried to contrast the above considerations with the realities of Poznań-based schools. The developed piece of research is primarily intended to answer the question of what kind of school young people want, indicating those areas they consider deficient and in need of change.

The Method

The issues and objectives of the research

In this article we present an excerpt from the research carried out for the project "Educational Policy of the City of Poznań 2030," coordinated by the city's Department of Education[1].

The aim of the research was to learn about the experiences of male and female students in Poznań schools in several areas of school functioning, and to determine to what extent these experiences are developmentally favorable, and to examine what factors differentiate these experiences.

The essential research problem: to what extent do Poznań schools provide students with a context and a source of experiences that support their development? was boiled down to several areas, such as: lessons; teacher/male & female student relations; form periods; peer relations; extracurricular activities offered; learning conditions – infrastructure; discrimination – unequal treatment; safety; kindness; psychological and pedagogical assistance; educational and vocational orientation or environmental/climate education.

Male and female students were also given the opportunity to speak freely about identified deficits and the most significant areas in need of change at their

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[1] The author of the research concept and the tool was an expert team from the Department of Educational Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, established for this purpose.

school. It is the analysis of the answers to the open question: *What would you most like to change in your school?* is the essence of this study.

The analysis of the data was intended to make it possible to identify those areas of everyday school life that respondents believe need the most urgent change, showing not only the neglected issues, but also their importance to male and female students.

The Participants

The survey covered male and female students of Poznań elementary schools (class VIII) and secondary schools: general high schools (class III), technical schools (class IV) and trade schools (class III) (excluding special schools).

A total of 1,043 male and female students took part in the survey, including 362 (38.7%) boys and 560 girls (59.9%). Ten respondents described themselves as non-binary, one as transgender, and two described themselves as gender fluid. These individuals will be included in further analysis in the aggregate category "Other" (1.4%). Due to data shortages, 936 surveys were eventually included in the analysis of variables directly related to the topic of this article.

The study sample consisted of students born between 1999 and 2007, with a clear predominance of those born in 2002 (41.7%). The details are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Year of birth in the sample

Year of birth	Frequency	Percent
1999	3	0,3
2000	13	1,4
2001	173	18,5
2002	390	41,7
2003	47	5,0
2004	32	3,4
2005	32	3,4
2006	179	19,1
2007	67	7,2
Ogółem	936	100,0

Source: own research.

The largest percentage of respondents attended high school (43.3%) and the smallest number of questionnaires were completed by students of trade schools (4.9%). The details are presented in Table 2.

More than half of the students surveyed lived in the city of Poznań (56%), 21.3% of students lived in smaller towns near the big city, and 22.8% declared themselves to be rural residents.

The majority of respondents (63.8%) earned a grade point average between 3.5 and 4.75 in the school year prior to the survey. Slightly more than a quarter (26.9%) are students with an average above 4.75, and only 9.3% with a grade point average below 3.5.

Data collection procedure

The survey was carried out in February 2021 by the Department of Education in Poznań in cooperation with school principals using a survey technique posted on-line – CAWI. The Google Drive platform and Google Forms program were used to conduct the study. Information regarding the questionnaires, along with a request for its dissemination to the student community, was sent to all elementary and secondary schools for which the City of Poznań is the leading authority (via an internal instant messenger). The schools' principals, after reviewing the message, decided whether to join the project. Consents were obtained from parents of underage female and male participants. All students were informed about the goals of the study, its anonymity and the voluntariness of their participation.

Analysis of research results – conclusions

The analyses took into account the variables of gender, stage of education, place of residence of the respondents and the grade point average they obtained. The authors' assumption was that the variables listed could affect the way people perceive and experience the school environment and the demands placed on it.

The open-ended question: *What would you most like to change in your school?* received varied responses. Those surveyed pointed to many areas in need of change at their school. Analysis of the respondents' answers made it possible to group them into categories, which were sorted by importance (number of indications). The labels used were arbitrarily assigned by the authors of the paper during the development of the results and are a consequence of a detailed analysis of the content of the answers provided by the respondents. The discretionary nature of the categories may be questionable, related, for example, to over-interpretation of the respondents' intentions, but this was necessary for grouping the data and determining the level of a given indicator. In the case of one-two word answers, e.g., "teachers," "people," "nothing," "atmosphere," "education system,"

the same labels were given, while in the situation of elaborate and multithreaded statements, an effort was made to define the areas indicated, give them a name, and then put all the issues raised in the appropriate categories.

Various issues emerged among the declared problem areas in need of change in the opinions of those surveyed. They are summarized in Table 3.

This study focuses on the categories with the highest indication scores – those that received more than 100 responses from male and female respondents. These are respective responses from the category: teacher-student relations focusing on teachers' attitudes towards students; the next area is infrastructure, environment and equipment; further are issues related to programs, teaching methods and educational content; and the fourth category is the answer "nothing."

The frequency of indicating each area according to gender, level of education, place of residence and average grade are indicated in Tables 4, 5, 6 and 7, respectively.

Among the students' responses, statements indicating the need for changes in the area of teacher-student relations predominated, with expectations of a change in teachers' approach to students and more subjective treatment of them. The above content is exemplified by the statements of male and female students:

> Teachers' approach to students. Because a lot of teachers tell us that we don't know how to do anything, and we won't achieve anything with this approach to life. I expect more understanding on the part of the teachers, patience […]

> So that there is tolerance between students as well as teachers, so that teachers do not judge students by their orientation, religion.

> The most? Only one thing? It's hard to choose. I think the most universal facilitation would be a partnership between students and teachers. Mentor not supervisor. Then we would be able to push through a lot of good changes.

Those most often emphasizing the importance of this area were girls (14.2%), high school students (8.4% of indications), and those living in Poznań (9.5% of indications), with a mediocre grade point average (12.2% of indications by the group of people with average scores between 3.5 and 4.75).

Another important aspect for male and female students turned out to be the school's infrastructure, environment and equipment. Students highlighted issues related to the poor exterior and interior appearance of the building, inadequate equipment and outdated organization of classroom space, the school's environment, and the lack of a rest area. In the statements of those surveyed there were calls for the school to be retrofitted with electronic equipment or a better Internet connection. Below are some statements from male and female respondents illustrating expectations in this regard:

Table 2. The level of education in the sample

Szkoła, do której uczęszczasz	Częstość	Procent
Liceum	405	43,3
Szkoła branżowa	46	4,9
Szkoła podstawowa	247	26,4
Technikum	238	25,4
Ogółem	936	100,0

Source: own research.

Table 3. Total number of areas requiring change as indicated by students

Obszar	Łączna liczba wskazań
relacje nauczyciel- uczeń	181
infrastruktura, otoczenie, wyposażenie	158
programy i metody nauczania, treści kształcenia	140
nic	129
nauczyciele	89
nie wiem/trudno powiedzieć	77
zajęcia pozalekcyjne/ dodatkowe	59
dyskryminacja/nierówne traktowanie	45
dyrekcja	34
system edukacji	33
dbałość o dobrostan psycho-fizyczny	31
doradztwo zawodowe	29
inne	28
kompetencje nauczycieli	24
organizacja czasu szkolnego/lekcji	24
wzajemny stosunek uczniów	22
wiedza praktyczna	20
zaangażowanie (nauczycieli)	19
wszystko, bardzo dużo	18
podejście nauczycieli do przedmiotu/pracy	18
samorządność uczniowska	13
jakość edukacji	13
atmosfera	12
szkoła	12

Obszar	Łączna liczba wskazań
ludzie	9
indywidualizacja podejścia do uczniów	8
organizacja	8
koniec zdalnego	8
system oceniania	8
nie obchodzi mnie to	8
życie szkoły	7
mniej zadań domowych/nauki	7
statut/zasady/regulamin	5
uczniowie	4
praktyki zawodowe	3
specjaliści szkolni pp	2
ekologia	2

Source: own research.

Table 4. Frequency of indications of areas for change due to the sex of the respondents

			Relacje nauczyciel- uczeń/ podejście	Infrastruktura, otoczenie, wyposażenie	Programy i metody nauczania, treści kształcenia, praktyka	Nic
Płeć:	Chłopak	Liczebność	44	58	48	63
		%	4,7%	6,2%	5,1%	6,7%
	Dziewczyna	Liczebność	133	92	88	62
		%	14,2%	9,8%	9,4%	6,6%
	Inne	Liczebność	1	2	0	0
		%	0,1%	0,2%	0,0%	0,0%
Ogółem %		Liczebność	178	152	136	125
		19,0%	16,2%	14,5%	13,4%	

Source: own research.

Table 5. Frequency of indications of areas for change due to the level of education of the respondents

Rodzaj szkoły, do której aktualnie uczęszczasz:		Relacje auczyciel–uczeń/ podejście	Infrastruktura, otoczenie, wyposażenie	Programy i metody nauczania, treści kształcenia, praktyka	Nic
Liceum	Liczebność	79	60	61	32
	%	8,4%	6,4%	6,5%	3,4%
Szkoła branżowa	Liczebność	10	2	1	16
	%	1,1%	0,2%	0,1%	1,7%
Szkoła podstawowa	Liczebność	38	61	29	48
	%	4,1%	6,5%	3,1%	5,1%
Technikum	Liczebność	51	29	45	29
	%	5,4%	3,1%	4,8%	3,1%
Ogółem	Liczebność	178	152	136	125
	%	19,0%	16,2%	14,5%	13,4%

Source: own research.

Table 6. Frequency of indications of areas to be changed due to the place of residence of the respondents

Miejsce zamieszkania		Relacje nauczyciel-uczeń/podejście	Infrastruktura, otoczenie, wyposa-żenie	Programy i metody nauczania, treści kształcenia, praktyka	Nic
Miasto poza Poznaniem	Liczebność	50	27	39	27
	%	5,3%	2,9%	4,2%	2,9%
Poznań	Liczebność	91	90	69	71
	%	9,7%	9,6%	7,4%	7,6%
Wieś	Liczebność	37	35	28	27
	%	4,0%	3,7%	3,0%	2,9%
Ogółem	Liczebność	178	152	136	125
	%	19,0%	16,2%	14,5%	13,4%

Source: own research.

Table 7. Frequency of indications of areas for change due to the average rating of the respondents

Jaką średnią uzyskałeś/-aś w ubiegłym roku szkolnym?		Relacje nauczyciel-uczeń/podejście	Infrastruktura, otoczenie, wyposażenie	Programy i metody nauczania, treści kształcenia, praktyka	Nic
od 3,5 do 4,74	Liczebność	114	99	83	64
	%	12,2%	10,6%	8,9%	6,8%
od 4,75	Liczebność	48	47	45	34
	%	5,1%	5,0%	4,8%	3,6%
poniżej 3,5	Liczebność	16	6	8	27
	%	1,7%	0,6%	0,9%	2,9%
Ogółem	Liczebność	178	152	136	125
	%	19,0%	16,2%	14,5%	13,4%

Source: own research.

> The most important thing is hardware support, including Internet, computers, and the possibility of practical classes.

> Appearance – renovate the building and toilets a bit. Better computers or laptops for teachers to work with.

> So that there is toilet paper soap in the bathrooms.

> Organizing a space to spend time between lessons.

Those who most often emphasized the importance of this area were girls (9.8%), elementary school students (6.5%), living in Poznań (9.6%), with a mediocre grade point average (10.6% indications from a group of people with average scores between 3.5 and 4.75).

The third most indicated area concerned the implementation of curricula and teaching methods used, as well as the content of education. Students most often stressed the need for teachers to change their teaching methods and techniques to less directive ones that involve students in the teaching process. Attention was paid to the need for a more individualized approach to students, activating and action-oriented practical learning methods and content. E.g.:

> More educational trips, hands-on activities, lessons in the field, more difficult lesson topics based on experiences.

> Increasing students' activity not only in regular lesson patterns but also in activities outside of school. Participation in projects. Learning through experience. Apprenticeships, etc.

> So that lessons are not dry lectures by teachers, but also an opportunity to discuss or create your own project.

Those who most often emphasized the importance of this area were girls (9.4%), high school students (6.5%), living in Poznań (7.4%), with a mediocre grade point average (8.9% of indications by the group of people with average scores between 3.5 and 4.75).

An interesting result is the fourth most frequently indicated statement that students would change "nothing" at school. Here, the frequencies of indications between girls and boys are very similar (6.6% and 6.7% of indications, respectively). This answer was given most often by students from elementary schools (5.1%), living in Poznań (7.6%).

It is also worth noting the next category, which is "teachers." While this one-word response, which forms a separate category, does not provide insight into what specifically needs to change and why, it, along with the most frequently raised need to change teachers' attitudes toward students and perceived discrimination, low tolerance and concern for students' psycho-physical well-being, or lack of commitment, accounts for the rather low rating given to their educators. This picture is a matter of insufficient (in the opinion of students) competence of teachers, both in terms of work methodology and the approach to the subject and the student itself. The expectation of those surveyed was to update the knowledge and methods of teachers and adapt them to the requirements of the modern world and the interests of students. Also important was the ability of teachers to take an interest in the subject and motivate learning, as shown by the following statements from those surveyed:

> So that some of the teachers are more knowledgeable; so that we learn things about the current times/technology; so that there is a better contact and flow of information at the management-student level.

> Some teachers who stopped in the 20th century.

> Changing the way lessons are taught so that the teacher can keep the student interested even in a difficult topic.

The above indications build a sad picture of the teaching environment, providing a serious incentive to further insightful reflection on the condition of the teachers and the school reality co-created by them. At the same time, the focus on the person, or attitude of the teacher, shows their vital importance and role

in the educational process. Critical remarks to educators, can, or rather should mobilize and set the area for their individual development. The positive results obtained in its course will build a better atmosphere and can be assumed to have a positive impact on the perception and quality of the school.

Concluding the analysis, it is worth to devote a few more words on the other more numerous indications made by the respondents. They stressed the need for a change in the quantity and quality of extracurricular and additional activities in their schools. From the respondents' statements, there is a need to adjust the offer of extracurricular activities to their interests and current needs. Female and male students pointed out the lack of respect for their individualism, the lack of acceptance and tolerance not only because of sexual orientation, appearance, views or religion, but also different levels of cognitive abilities. In addition, attention was drawn to both the bloated core curriculum and the need to change the number of hours assigned to certain subjects – issues beyond the competence of the local government. High levels of stress and physical and psychological violence prevalent in the school were also highlighted. Attention was paid to ignoring the essential developmental needs of youth, both systemically and in individual relationships. For some of the respondents, issues related to the choice of a future educational path and career path were also an important issue. Respondents pointed to the inadequacy of support in this area. They signaled the need for organizing more career counseling classes, as well as emphasized too little access to the counselors themselves, and pointed to a lack of commitment and too little availability of school specialists.

So what kind of school do young people want? They want a school that is open, competent, understanding, tolerant, and realizing the needs of all parties involved, a school that, while following the challenges of the modern world, does not forget about people. A school that is closer to the social model, which, with respect for the individual, builds community ties and provides opportunities for comprehensive development, equipping with the necessary competencies, teaches, educates and shapes, while leaving a sense of understanding, mutual respect, commitment and care. A school that will give a developmental foundation and leave good memories. As the authors of this study, we believe that the voice of the younger generation shown in the survey should be heard, and the indications made by the students taken into account both in shaping the vision and mission of a single institution, but also in overall educational policy. What seems crucial, however, should be considered in the individual reflection of each educator-teacher.

Discussion

Keeping in mind the unequal proportions in the study group in terms of the areas analyzed, among the conclusions, it should be recognized that girls are more likely

to report the need for change. Thus, the gender issue appears to be an important and interesting criterion for the perception of school reality, requiring further in-depth research analysis. In general, however, the young people point out that the school often lacks adequate staffing and technical facilities to support students' needs. They rate the knowledge as outdated, not very practical, and the teachers as uncomprehending, uninvolved and not very competent. In their view, teacher authority has a shaky foundation and a lot of work is needed to stabilize it. As D. Walczak points out, students give respect to teachers who have a lot of content knowledge and methodological skills, are committed and put a lot of effort into their work, and focus on continuous development and interpersonal skills, which translate into relationships with students, parents of students, and other teachers and the school principal (Walczak, 2018, p. 458). The respondents indicated large deficits in these areas of the teaching profession. The complex spectrum of the teacher's social competence in the context of the variability of student conditions and behavior, as well as possible educational and upbringing interactions, is signaled in their works by numerous researchers (Blanchard, Finch, 2021; Jabłoński, Wojciechowska, 2013). Among other things, they pay attention to the organization of the relationship with the student, the types of changes and student behavior, as well as the place and function of the teacher in this process. Emphasizing the role of the inspirer, manager, supervisor, mentor, or, more recently, the fashionable coach and tutor, they point not only to the multiplicity and diversity of educators' functions, but also delineate the broad area of their professional responsibility, emphasizing the constant need for improvement (Cytlak, Jarmużek, 2018).

As school reality shows, the world of students and the world of teachers are still two often very distant worlds. A somewhat practical indication, which, according to K. Blanchard, can help in supporting the process of building relationships between teachers and students and creating a positive image of the school as an open institution, is flexibility. Flexibility that allows, despite the rigidity of legislation, to embrace with openness the many dimensions of the functioning of the school as an environment that, next to the family home, is the second significant upbringing environment. After all, it is possible to create original curricula and flexibly treat the principles of the core curriculum, reach for the support of the social environment, universities, which will support the school not only in terms of content, but also the exchange of practical experience or engaging teachers and students in the process of continuous development. This flexibility in the approach to the student will allow the teacher to individualize work and provide an opportunity to explore the student's potential beyond the core curriculum. It will make it possible to tailor interactions to the needs and capabilities of students and the changing, unpredictable reality. Teacher-student relations, like many other aspects of school daily life, are in fact subject to, and will be subject to, constant changes, and only by recognizing and consciously responding to emerging needs will the modern school move closer to its desired vision.

In the research results presented, many points indicate the need for change. Table 3 emphasizes the importance of the role of the teacher – their competence not only in the subject taught but also in soft skills and psychological preparation for the profession. Shaping attitudes by example and establishing positive, developmentally conductive teacher-student relationships can serve the function of social and psychological prevention. This is not only the role of the psychologist or school counselor, but of every school employee. Good relationships and a positive school atmosphere are conducive to building motivation for learning and high learning performance. According to research, high functioning in social-emotional variables increases the level and extent of pro-social behavior, reduces the level of problem behavior and improves learning performance. (Durlak et al., 2010; Durlak et al., 2011).

The obtained and presented results of the research allow us to identify the most important areas of necessary changes in the school environment according to male and female students of Poznań schools. Since the focus of the analyses was on deficits, the picture drawn is quite pessimistic, as the indicated areas requiring intervention are many. However, it should be noted that as many as 129 people declared that they would not change anything at the school. Whether this response is the result of real reflection on the image of one's own school, or perhaps reflects the students' lack of faith in the possibility of change, we do not know, but we want to believe that this ideal or near-ideal school is real and accessible and is the daily experience of at least some of the male and female students of our schools.

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Psychological and pedagogical help as well as educational and vocational counseling in schools as necessary elements of universal prophylaxis. Research examples and recommendations for the design of educational and preventive activities. Poznan City Educational Research 2021

Abstract: The aim of the article is to present the results of surveys conducted among male and female students of primary and secondary schools in Poznań in the context of their opinions and views on psychological and pedagogical assistance as well as educational and
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vocational guidance. Analyzing the results of the study and referring to the theoretical solutions and found data, the authors of the article also try to indicate the important needs for systemic and organizational changes that may contribute to an increase in the effectiveness of the provided support, educational and preventive activities at schools.

Key words: psychological and pedagogical assistance, career guidance, prevention.

About opportunities and challenges for prevention – that is, what is the place of educational-vocational counseling and psychological-pedagogical guidance in Polish educational policy and in Polish school?

The basic directions for the implementation of the state's educational policy determine how schools operate. Based on the main directions set by the Ministry of Education and Science, both leading entities (local governments) and principals prepare documents and plan activities, which they then implement in their teams of teachers and specialists. On the other hand, at the level of local governments, strategies related to education are being developed, as cities, municipalities or counties are the governing body of schools, depending on the level of education. One of the key elements in the implementation of educational policy is the school's prevention and education program. Among other things, it is important to provide psychological and pedagogical support or develop professional skills in formal education. In the 2021/2022 school year, the ministry also paid special attention to student emergencies caused by the COVID-19 pandemic (Ministry of Education and Science, 2021, p.1). The basic directions of educational policy as well as school prevention and education programs are part of the social and cultural diagnosis of the functioning of modern adolescents, who have come to live in a time of countless opportunities and threats.

The mental condition and educational, social and family situation of children and adolescents has recently become an important topic in both the social sciences and public opinion. Emerging reports on the state of child and adolescent psychiatry and the inefficiency of the health care system which is a result of, i.a., the deteriorating mental condition of school students, are prompting policymakers to work on improving the capacity of the health care system, with emerging ideas for changes in the education system to support the health care system and ultimately improve the situation of children and adolescents. As A. Lewandowska, national consultant in child and adolescent psychiatry, points out, it should be borne in mind that there would be far fewer children in psychiatric wards, by up to 80%, if aid had been provided earlier and at appropriate levels. Referring to the thesis presented in this way, it is also worth recalling the concept of public health, which shows that carrying out prevention and health promotion is one of the best ways to improve the level of health of the population and optimize

health care expenditure (Woolf, Husten, et al., 2009). This argument seems to be getting through to policymakers who, at both the education and mental health levels, recognize the problem. Work is underway at the Ministry of Education and Science on increasing number of hours of psychological and pedagogical support in schools. Whereas, at the level of the Ministry of Health, a three-tier reform of mental health care for children and adolescents is underway, introducing the so-called Reference Level I within which Centers for Community Psychological and Psychotherapeutic Care for Children and Adolescents have been established. At the same time, and this should be viewed negatively, legislative work is being carried out on limiting the autonomy of schools in terms of, i.a., cooperation with the NGO sector, which performs the important function of implementing preventive activities in schools.

Also, in the field of career counseling (which is one of the areas of psychological and pedagogical assistance), major reforms have been underway in recent years. One of the most significant changes made in this area is the obligation of educational institutions to carry out the process of preorientation and professional orientation at all educational stages during compulsory classes in general education and within the framework of professional visits aimed at familiarizing both male and female students with the working environment in selected professions (from 1 September 2018), as well as to conduct compulsory classes related to the choice of education and profession by career counselors (or persons with relevant authorizations) starting from the seventh grade of elementary school (from 1 September 2017). This means that the educational and professional counseling organized by schools within the framework of the intra-school system of career counseling, has been further strengthened by career counseling classes specified in the educational framework plan for public schools, which is one of their basic forms of educational activities. The number of hours of these classes assigned to the seventh and eighth grades of elementary school is a minimum of ten hours per school year, while in secondary schools — a minimum of 10 hours over the entire education cycle (Regulation of the Ministry of Education on framework teaching plans...). In addition, the Ministry of Education signed a regulation on career counseling (Regulation of the Ministry of Education on Career Counseling...) (effective 1 September 2019), which specifies the curriculum content of career counseling, the manner of its implementation, and the tasks of a career counselor at all educational levels starting with preschool education and ending with secondary education. According to its provisions, children and adolescents gain knowledge about themselves and their resources, the world of professions and the labor market, the concept of lifelong learning, planning their own careers as well as making educational and professional decisions. In addition, schools within the framework of the intra-school system of career counseling are required to develop a program for each school year, which in its assumptions provides an opportunity for consistent and effective counseling activities by the school (the

document is approved by the management after consultation with the educational counseling) and update its content depending on the needs of both its male and female students, taking into account the possibility of cooperation with the school's socio-economic environment.

These modifications allow career counseling to be viewed in terms of a process that continues throughout compulsory education. In turn, compulsory classes supporting children and adolescents in monitoring their career paths not only emphasize the need for the educational system to provide a special kind of support in this area, but also draw attention to the momentous role of professional activity in the life of individuals, who, in order to consciously and responsibly manage their professional development and cope with the process of transition from education to the labor market should have the knowledge and skills to do so. Other challenges the Polish system of career counseling faces are its adaptation to EU recommendations, the internationalization of diagnostics and basing its assumptions on concepts of career development that analyze it in terms of a lifelong process and in accordance with sociodynamic approaches (Nawój-Połoczańska 2021), ensuring consistency between legal recommendations and the actual state of career planning support provided by schools (Kukla 2016), as well as popularizing such methods as coaching (Kozielska 2015), tutoring, mentoring, gamification, or adapting it to the requirements of multicultural and intercultural education.

The need to create positions for specialists in psychological and pedagogical help and career counselors in Polish schools is dictated not only by legal regulations obliging educational institutions to carry out tasks related to supporting children and adolescents in career planning. It also stems from the need to provide professional assistance aimed at the subject of its influence — adolescents facing the challenge of making life-significant decisions about their own future, in such a way as to maximize their accuracy and effectiveness and minimize psychological costs (including dissatisfaction with the choices made, school failures, lowered self-esteem and sense of agency, lack of knowledge of one's own resources), health (including depressive states caused by unsatisfactory work, failure to meet the psycho-physical requirements associated with a particular profession) and economic costs (e.g., dropping out of school/work, commuting to professional consultations, unemployment) as a consequence of inappropriate choices, the effects of which also translate into other areas of an individual's functioning in a world of permanent and dynamic changes (Lukaszewicz, Soltysinska 2013, p. 2; Leszczynska 2012, p. 83). Given the fact that the first educational and career choices are made by adolescents relatively early (most often before the age of 16) (Myszka-Strychalska, 2016), providing them with adequate and optimal counseling is of significant preventive importance. In addition, properly provided career counseling ensures support for the entire school environment — students, parents, teaching staff and cooperating entities.

The school, while remaining a strong environment for socialization and upbringing, undoubtedly serves as an entity that implements the most important preventive measures at the elementary level (primary level) (Gas 2006) while referring to the concept of universality (Flannery et al., 2016, Ostaszewski 2005). From this perspective, we understand prevention as activities aimed at all students of a certain age regardless of the level of risk factors for problem behavior or mental disorders (Szempruch, 2021, p. 48). Such a broad model of influence goes beyond a narrow (negative, defensive) understanding of prevention, and moves toward creative and positive prevention (Liu, Wang, Ren, Liu, 2017, Karmolińska, Marciniak 2015). Activities in primary prevention are aimed at, i.a., diagnosis of potential hazards both individually and in groups, promotion of positive forms of activity, healthy lifestyles (Wawryk, 2015, p.42), delaying initiation, preventing or reducing the extent of risky behavior, but also, in the context of the topic undertaken, support both in the difficulties of the individual student, their school and personal problems, and support in the choice of further educational path. Attention to these elements on the part of teachers and specialists (pedagogues, psychologists, speech therapists, career counselors, support teachers) is a way of realizing the main objectives of prevention, which is to shape healthy individuals, willing and ready to make decisions, adapting to the situation found or able to influence a change in the situation, active, creative and maintaining their own autonomy. General prevention implemented at school is aimed at activities shaping the life and social skills of students necessary both to assume various roles, but also, as J. Surzykiewicz writes, to fully participate in social life (2019, p. 998). "This promotes the empowerment of the individual, their internal integration and the reduction of socially undesirable attitudes and behaviors. Necessary for effective impact on the individual, however, is the systemic combination of all participating forces in education and prevention" (Surzykiewicz, 2019, p. 998). The areas of psychological and pedagogical assistance and career counseling identified in the article are considered here to be two key preventive activities that take place at the school, and the role of teachers in the success of the activities carried out seems crucial. In view of the above findings, it is worthwhile to analyze whose help at school students are most likely to use and how they evaluate the activities carried out.

The methodology and course of the study, as well as the socio-demographic characteristics of the group of adolescent respondents. The issues and objectives of the research

The research was carried out for the project "Educational Policy of the City of Poznań 2030", coordinated by the city's Department of Education. The author

of the research concept and the tool was an expert team from the Department of Educational Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. The data presented in herein represent only a portion of the extensive empirical material collected as a result of the ongoing project.

The aim of the research was to learn about the experiences of male and female students in Poznań schools in several areas of school functioning, and to determine to what extent these experiences are developmentally favorable, and well examine what factors differentiate these experiences. The practical purpose of the research was to diagnose the problems, needs of children and adolescents functioning in the school context. The areas of students' school experience, determining the research problems posed, are as follows: lessons; teacher/male & female student relations; form periods; peer relations; extracurricular activities offered; learning conditions – infrastructure; discrimination – unequal treatment; safety; kindness; psychological and pedagogical assistance; educational and vocational orientation or environmental/climate education.

The main research problem: to what extent do Poznań schools provide students with a context and a source of experiences that support their development? was detailed based on the aforementioned subfields of the school.

Thus, it was assumed that in the area of lessons, form periods, relations with peers or teachers, the school can create a good or bad development environment for students.

The text features an analysis of issues related to the field of psychological and pedagogical assistance and educational and career counseling from the perspective of the concept of universal prevention. Thus, the goal is to indicate the positive changes that are taking place at the school in both areas, but also to identify the deficits that are revealed in the implementation of assistance and counseling at the school, with a particular focus on the opinions of both male and female students in this regard. As the literature on the subject and the authors' own experience indicates, properly and effectively implemented assistance and counseling is an important source of psychological well-being and the proper development of students' emotional, social and professional competencies.

The research was carried out in two stages (the second round of research was motivated by the desire to delve deeper into selected issues), and the material presented in the article concerns the results of the second one, conducted in the second half of 2021. The method used in the study is a diagnostic survey. The survey with students was carried out using a survey technique posted on the Internet — CAWI (Computer Assisted Web Interview). The Google Drive platform and Google Forms program were used to conduct the study. Due to the nature of the pandemic situation, this was the only possible way to conduct the study. The questionnaires were distributed through the principle's offices of Poznań schools, who distributed them to male and female students 18 years of age or older and parents of underage male and female students, and they, after their child agreed

to fill it out, provided them with a link to the questionnaire. Great emphasis was placed on ensuring respondents' anonymity and the confidentiality of the information they provided, as well as the voluntariness of taking part in the survey.

The survey covered male and female students of Poznań elementary schools (8th class) and secondary schools: general high schools (3rd class III), technical schools (4th class IV) and trade schools (3rd class). Excluding special schools.

Due to the volume of the research material obtained, the article presents the results of the research collected only in the second round, the purpose of which was to deepen, supplement or verify selected issues analyzed in the first round of research, and the subject of analysis was made fragments of research on the area of psychological and pedagogical assistance and educational and career counseling. The survey included 172 male and female 8th-graders from Poznań elementary schools and 3rd- and 4th-graders from Poznań secondary schools (general high schools, technical schools and trade schools). Adolescents studying in elementary schools accounted for 25.3% of respondents, 4.2% in trade schools, 34.9% in general high schools, and 35.5% in technical schools. Among the male and female participants in the survey, 52.9% were 18 years of age or older, while 47.1% were minors. More than half of them were female (63.3%), while male students accounted for 31.9% of the respondents, 4.8% declared their gender identity as other than those. A quarter of the surveyed male and female students reside in a rural area (25.3%), a similar percentage in a city outside of Poznań (23.5%), while more than half of them live in Poznań (51.2%). The survey also included a small percentage of people with disabilities (2.4%) and chronic diseases (4.8%).

The vast majority of respondents declared that they had average educational success, as indicated by the average score they obtained last school year (in the range of 3.5–4.74 — 55.4%), those scoring below 3.5 accounted for 9.6%, and above 4.75 — 34.9%. Not all surveyed male and female students are aware of their parents' education (19.3% — father's education; 13.9% — mother's education). Most of the fathers of the surveyed adolescents have trade school education (25.9%), while mothers have secondary school education (31.9%). In contrast, one in five (22.3%) of the respondents' fathers had secondary school education, and 17.5% of the mothers had trade school education. In contrast, 17.5% of the respondents' fathers and 27.1% of mothers had university degrees. A small percentage of the parents of students participating in the survey are marked by an academic title or degree (7.8% of fathers and 9.0% of mothers) or primary education (7.2% of fathers and 0.6% of mothers). In the quantitative research highlighted in the article, procedures were used to capture relationships between variables to determine whether a relationship exists between two variables. The analysis assumes that results for which the significance level (p) ≤ 0.05 will be considered. A chi-squared test ($\chi2$) was used to determine the relationship between the variables. The SPSS program (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was used to build the database, and for its quantitative analysis.

Student as a subject of preventive interventions – opinions of children and adolescents on the support, assistance and counseling provided – research exemplifications from the Poznań study and comparison with previous studies

The questions analyzed in the article from the part of the survey devoted to educational and career counseling concerned preparing adolescents to make decisions about their careers and the support provided to them by schools in this area. In contrast, questions about the organization of psychological and pedagogical assistance were particularly concerned with its availability in the pre-pandemic period. It was also important to obtain information on who students go to for help in crisis situations. In the first part of the subsection, the results on educational and career counseling will be transferred, followed by psychological and pedagogical assistance.

Educational and career counseling in the experience of female and male students

Figure 1 shows the results of the male and female students' responses to the question "To what extent do you feel prepared by your school to make decisions about your future education and career?". They were asked to determine their position on the issue by indicating their place on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 meant "I don't feel at all prepared to make decisions about my future education and career", and 10 meant "I feel fully prepared to make decisions about my future education and career". The empirical material obtained proves that adolescents from Poznań schools feel, that the educational institutions they attend prepared them to make decisions about their careers in an average degree. This is evidenced by the arithmetic mean obtained from their responses, which is 5.16 points on a scale of 0 to 10. It should also be noted that 37.9% of adolescents feel prepared to plan their careers to a below-average degree, while 44.6% — above-average.

The variable that statistically significantly differentiates the answers given by respondents is "age". Pearson correlation coefficient ($r=0.177$; $p=0.022$) indicated that there was a weak, positive correlation between the age of the subjects and their sense of being prepared by their school to decide on their future career. It indicates that the older the male and female students surveyed were, the more prepared they felt by the school to make choices related to their careers. No other statistically significant differences were found between the independent variables and the answers given by the respondents, i.e., gender, type of school, parents' education, place of residence and educational achievements.
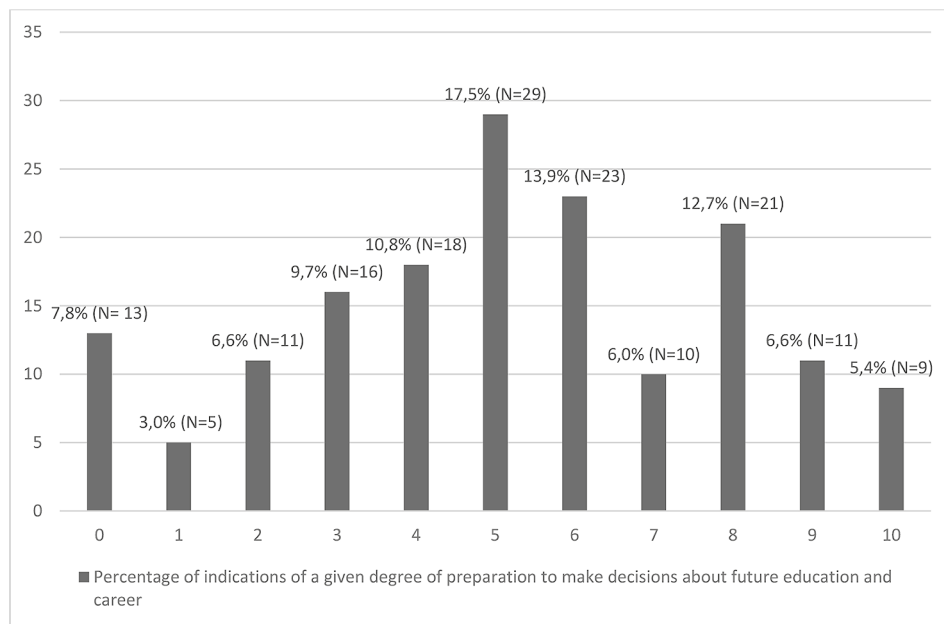
Chart 1. The degree the surveyed adolescents feel prepared by their schools to make decisions about future education and career.
Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

It is worth mentioning that a similar question was asked to career counselors by the Institute of Educational Research (Podwójcic [2015]). This is because they determined on a 10-point scale, to what extent they believe the school where they work prepares students to make decisions about their future education and career. The arithmetic average of the responses obtained was 7.58 points.

Table 1 presents a quantitative summary of the surveyed adolescent's responses to the question: "Does your school support you in planning your educational and professional future?" It turns out that the surveyed male and female students feel supported by their schools in the process of planning their educational and professional future, rather than unsupported in this regard. This is evidenced by the fact that almost half (43.4%) of them chose the answer "generally yes" from among the available answers. However, it is not insignificant that one in five surveyed male or female students indicate that their school does not support them in this area (21.0%) or has difficulty (22.9%) in explicitly addressing this issue.

Table 1. Support provided by the school to the surveyed adolescents in planning their educational and professional future

Does your school support you in planning your educational and professional future?		
Response categories	N	%
Definitely not	15	9.0
Not really	20	12.0
Hard to say	38	22.9
Generally, yes	72	43.4
Definitely yes	21	12.7
Total	166	100.0

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

Cognitively interesting data on the surveyed group of male and female students is provided by statistical analysis of the collected empirical material in terms of independent variables. It proves the existence of a correlation between their sense of support by the educational establishment in planning their careers and the education of their fathers ($\chi^2 =32.74$; $df=20$; $p=0.036$) and mothers ($\chi^2 =32.11$; $df=20$; $p=0.042$). It turns out that the least help from the school on the above issue in their opinion is received by adolescents whose fathers have an academic title or degree (definitely no — 38.5%, not really — 23.1%), what is more interesting is that no person from this group chose the answer "definitely yes". In contrast, male and female students whose fathers have trade school education were the most often expressed their approval for this response option (definitely yes — 23.3%), and the least often for "definitely no" (2.3%). A similar observation applies to the education of the respondents' mothers, as adolescents whose parents hold an academic title or degree most often chose the "definitely not" answer (40.0%), while the least often — "definitely yes" (6.7%), when it came to feeling supported by their school in the process of planning their educational and professional future. On the other hand, respondents whose mothers finished their education at trade school level were the most likely to opine that the school's support in this area was definitely satisfactory (17.2%). There were no statistically significant differences between the respondents' answers and their gender, type of school, place of residence and school grade point average.

Another study on the organization of career counseling services in schools conducted in the Wielkopolska region (*Stan doradztwa...*) shows that one in three participating students (29.0%) declare the absence of career orientation classes in their school, while only half of the respondents (53.0%) notices them, and according to the majority of them (54.0%) they take place irregularly, while 60.0% found them useful. The low effectiveness of educational and career counseling

classes in schools is recognized by career counselors working in Wielkopolska poviat labor offices, who mostly (44.1%) share the view that it has unsatisfactory functionality. Similar data is provided by Anna Suchorab's (Suchorab 2012) analysis of Olsztyn students, by whom the activities of the schools (which they attended before college) in supporting them in career planning were rated as moderately helpful (32.7%), of little help (24.4%) or not helpful at all (23.8%). On the other hand, Joanna Kozielska's inquiries (Kozielska 2018) signal a low degree of knowledge among adolescents from Gniezno poviat about the support provided to them by schools in the career field. This is evidenced by the fact that almost one in three people taking part in its diagnostic survey (31.1%) had no knowledge of whether a career counselor works at the school they attend. Also in the surveys conducted by the authors of this article, as many as 47% of students said they did not know if they could get help from a career counselor at their school. The question was part of an analysis of the availability of specialist assistance in Poznań schools and of psychological and pedagogical assistance.

The momentousness of the importance of career counseling in the educational process is accentuated by a variety of research findings indicating that adolescents making decisions related to their future do not always feel prepared to do so (Skłodowski 2007; Mysior 2015; Czepiel 2013). This is evidenced by data on her faint consideration of the information received from career counselors when planning their own future and not confronting their plans with the current needs of the labor market (Wiśniewski 2013). In addition, a significant group of secondary graduates do not plan to pursue an occupation in line with their education profile or are not convinced that the occupation in which they are trying to gain qualifications will suit them in the future or declare the spontaneity of their career choices (Myszka-Strychalska 2016). Similarly, academic youth do not always show satisfaction with their chosen field of study or nourish conviction about the rightness of their decision in this area (as high percentage as 38.0%) (Czerw, Bielas 2020). The source of knowledge about the labor market for adolescents is primarily the Internet and conversations with persons significant to them, the use of experience and knowledge of career counselors is negligible for them (*Stan doradztwa…*). The experience of difficulties in professional development by graduates of different types of schools is evidenced, for example, by the existence of NEET (*neither in employment nor in education and training*) groups (*Glossary: Young people…*) — adolescents who are not employed, do not study and do not further their education and are members of the recariat (Standing 2014) (the term was coined from a combination of two words precarious and proletariat) — people who are deprived of basic forms of job security. The changes brought to the labor market situation by the COVID-19 pandemic do not inspire optimism about the professional future of adolescents as well. Analysis by the International Labor Organization (ILO) showed that in May 2020, 17.4% of 18- to 29-year-olds worldwide had lost their jobs due to the pandemic. Similarly, a report by the Institute

of Student Employers, shows that the number of jobs for adolescents during this period has decreased significantly compared to the years prior (*ISE Reports…*).

Analyses by the Institute of Educational Research (Podwójcic [2015]) raise concern as to the condition of educational and career counseling in Polish schools. According to its contents, the principals of more than half of the schools participating in the survey (58.3%) declare the lack of Intra-school Counseling System at their institutions. In addition, only 15.4% of schools employ a "full-time" counselor (it should be noted that very often they work only part-time or the fulfillment of counseling duties is only a slice of their full-time job), in 78.6% the implementation of tasks related to supporting children and adolescents in planning their own careers is handled by a person occupying another position (e.g., psychologist, teacher, subject teacher), while 5.4% do not fulfill ministerial obligations related to this area at all. In addition, in almost every tenth educational institution (7.3%), less than one hour of counseling per class unit per year is devoted to this activity during the school year, while only half of the schools provide this activity at a rate of no more than 8.1 hours per class (it is worth noting that due to the type of school, the least amount of time representing 6 hours per class unit per school year is allocated to this purpose in general secondary schools). There is also some concern about the formal preparation of those who serve as career counselors in educational institutions. It turns out that one in three of them (34.2%) has not even completed any course or training in career counseling, and therefore does not have the necessary qualifications, while only one in ten (10.0%) has a degree and underwent other forms of professional development in the field of counseling (having a degree alone is indicated by 32.7%, while completing courses/training or having a career counselor license is indicated by 23.1% of the surveyed school counselors). This research took place before the introduction of mandatory career counseling classes at all stages of education. However, it showed significant variation in the quality of implementation, the reasons for which include the different substantive preparation of career counselors to perform their duties, or the principals' approach to the importance of this area for the development of adolescents. The persistence of a low rate of employment of people professionally prepared to carry out tasks related to school career counseling is evidenced by the information available on the Open Data Portal of the Ministry of Education and Science, according to which classes related to the choice of direction of education and profession in the Wielkopolska voivodeship are conducted by 210 teachers employed at 30.47 FTE (*Nauczyciele wg obowiązków…* [2021]), resulting in 0.15 FTE per teacher. On the other hand, the duties of "non-subject" teachers in schools and educational institutions in the position of professional counselor are performed by 792 teachers, employed at 11.53 FTE (*Nauczyciele wg obowiązków…* [2021]), which results overall in 0.014 FTE per teacher. Confronting these data with the number of public schools for children and adolescents in the Wielkopolska voivodeship in the 2020/2021 school year (*Szkoły i uczniowie…*

[2021]) (elementary school, general secondary schools, technical schools, first and second degree trade schools), the total of which is 1599, it means that per one institution there is only 0.13 (0.019 FTE) teacher conducting classes related to the choice of education and career, 0.5 (0.007 FTE) career counselor. Considering the number of students 447558 *(Szkoły i uczniowie… [2021])* attending this type of educational institution — there are 0.002 career counselors per student.

Possibility of obtaining psychological and pedagogical assistance in the experiences of female and male students

Analyzing the results on psychological and pedagogical assistance provided in schools, as the second important area of research under consideration in this article, it is worth noting that adolescents were asked directly in a closed question: Is there a psychologist/pedagogue at your school? Here, the results of the study proved optimistic for the research team on the one hand, while on the other hand they indicated some shortcomings in the area of child and adolescents support. The majority of respondents (89.2%) indicated that their school has a specialist providing psychological and pedagogical assistance. Although this percentage is high, there are still 10% of students who are deprived of or unaware of the existence of a psychologist/pedagogue at school. Considering the national statistics in this regard, the situation is not as positive as in the result of the research of the authors of this article. Although it can also be said that it has been improving in recent years. The results of the research carried out by the authors correspond with the results of the foundational research and analysis on the availability of assistance from specialists such as a psychologist or pedagogue in Polish educational institutions. For a number of years, there has been an observable gap between the availability of assistance (resulting from regulations, ministerial acts and needs reported by specialists) and the actual situation in Polish institutions and student experiences, which indicate limitations in the availability and opportunities for students to benefit from support among specialists, including staff available at school (Marciniak, 2015). A report by the Supreme Audit Office analyzing the years 2014–2016 indicates that nearly half of public schools of various types (more than 44%) did not employ either a separate pedagogue or a psychologist on full-time basis. The worst in this regard was the situation in technical schools, where 60% of the schools had no specialists, and in trade schools, where as many as 55% of these institutions did not employ psychologists and pedagogues (Prokopczyk, NIK, 2017). A later audit by the Supreme Audit Office also drew attention to the quality of the activities carried out. According to the Supreme Audit Office's assessment, in the 2020/2021 school year, in some schools psychological and pedagogical assistance classes were either organized inappropriately or were

not provided to all students who had such indications in opinions or decisions of psychological and pedagogical counseling centers. The problem of too few specialists employed in schools is also highlighted by the Foundation for Students' Rights, citing data showing that in 2020 nearly half of students did not have access to psychological assistance at school. In 2019, there were 10,874 people employed as psychologists in education, with the number of schools reaching more than 20,000. The Foundation called for the introduction of psychological care to all Polish schools for children and adolescents. Similar statistics are presented by the National Association of Psychologists. According to its reports, psychologists are employed in only 6 out of 10 schools (Lisowska 2021, p.1)

The very awareness of the presence of supportive adults at school is extremely important both from the perspective of educational processes (specific learning difficulties, school stress, educational crises) and from the developmental perspective (developmental tasks, adolescence). However, in the research conducted, it was also important to obtain information on whether and to what extent the students receive help from specialists. Respondents were asked to indicate: Did you ever use the support of a school psychologist in the time before the pandemic? (Table 2) and Did you use the help of a school pedagogue in the time before the pandemic? (Table 3). It was expedient to specify the period before the pandemic, because the authors of this article as a research team were aware that the period of remote education significantly changed the possibilities in this area, which did not remain the subject of research at this stage of recognition of the students' situation.

Table 2. Adolescents' use of school psychologist support

Did you ever use the support of a school psychologist in the time before the pandemic?		
Response categories	N	%
YES	29	17.5
NO	137	82.5
Total	166	100.0

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

Table 3. Adolescents' use of school pedagogue support

Did you ever use the support of a school pedagogue in the time before the pandemic?		
Response categories	N	%
YES	35	21.1
NO	131	78.9
Total	166	100.0

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

Cognitively interesting data on the use of support from a school psychologist and pedagogue of the surveyed group of male and female students is provided by statistical analysis of the collected empirical material in terms of independent variables. Interestingly, there is a correlation between father's education and use of pegagogue's help ($\chi^2=12.46$; $df=5$; $p=0.029$) and fathers education and use of psychologist's help ($\chi^2=14.87$; $df=5$; $p=0.011$). In contrast, there is no statistically significant difference between the mother's education and the use of specialist help. It is noteworthy that in the case of both a psychologist and a pedagogue, the children of fathers with trade school education are the least likely to benefit from their support. On the other hand, analysis of other independent variables such as place of residence (city of Poznań, rural area, city outside Poznań, disability of the student, chronic disease, did not statistically significantly differentiate responses.

The percentage of people receiving support from specialists appears to be not high. According to the survey, more students are receiving help from a school pedagogue. However, given that about 20% of the students use the help of a pedagogue/psychologist, high workload among specialists can be observed. This can be illustrated by simple examples relating the result obtained to a comparison with the number of students in a particular school and the specialists employed there. The school, which has about 150 students, employs a psychologist at 0.5 FTE and a pedagogue 0.5 FTE (a total of 22 hours working with students). It may therefore prove difficult, with such a small number of hours and other regular duties, to provide ongoing help and support to students who will need it. This is because on a monthly basis it comes out to about half an hour per student. The situation is even worse in much larger schools. A high school, which has 600 students, is staffed by a psychologist (1 FTE), a pedagogue (1.5 FTE). Resulting in approx. 220 hours worked per month. Per the number of students, this gives about 20 minutes of work with one person. This simplified scheme that does not take into account other responsibilities of specialists indicates the importance of the postulated need for an increase in the number of staff providing psychological and pedagogical assistance in schools. This is because there is a question about the quality of the assistance provided and the ability of specialists employed in schools to carry out the prevention program, as there may not be the capacity and time to carry out regular and systematic activities in important areas of prevention. Indeed, it should be noted that there are no specific regulations on how, or who is to implement the school's prevention and education program. A dispersion of responsibility in this area is observed in a number of schools. On the one hand, some of the issues are assigned to form teachers, while on the other hand, due to specialized training, it is expected that psychologists/pedagogues will be the ones to implement the program.

And if we accept the assumption of the important role of prevention in counteracting many destructive behaviors of children and adolescents (risky behaviors, behavioral disorders, addictions, eating disorders), then the inclusion of prevention

classes in the school schedule seems particularly important. As K. Ostaszewski points out, it is not only the "overloaded" timetable that can be an obstacle. The author also notes the poor preparation of teachers and the lack of verification of the implementation of the prevention program (Ostaszewski 2017, pp. 49–50). All of these obstacles, coupled with staff shortages, should provide room for discussion of educational strategy both locally and in a broader systemic context.

When analyzing the situation of male and female students and their knowledge of the functioning of psychological and pedagogical assistance in the schools they attend, an important aspect was also to obtain information: to whom do students most often turn for help? The largest number of male and female students surveyed said they could use the help of the form teacher in situations that were difficult for them (78.9%). Respondents equally often point to the school pedagogue (71.1%) and school psychologist (69.9%). Obtaining this information indicates the special relationship that students have with their form teacher. Girls are statistically significantly more likely to indicate that they can get help from a school psychologist ($\chi2=24.060$, $df=8$, $p<0.05$). In contrast, there are no statistically significant differences between girls and boys in their choice of: pedagogue, career counselor, nurse, form teacher, teacher or principal. When the respondents are distinguished by school type (elementary school, high school), there is a statistically significant difference when indicating teachers as people from whom help can be obtained. Elementary school students are statistically significantly more likely to indicate that they can get help from teachers ($\chi2=15.104$, $df=4$, $p<0.05$). However, it should be made clear that all the people that can be named, for the most part, are selected as potentially providing assistance in difficult situations. The surveys conducted did not indicate significantly statistical differences by school type (elementary and secondary schools), both in questions about the employment of a school pedagogue/psychologist and in questions about the choice of support persons. The results of our research in the field of psychological and pedagogical assistance indicate the persistence of certain phenomena. Professional (formal) assistance, in the opinions of most male and female students, seems to be available in schools (although not always), while at the same time male and female students mostly do not use it. The reasons for this may be ignorance (about the possibility of getting help), reluctance (as a result of, for example, stereotypes about psychological help), or lack of need for such help (Marciniak, 2015). Children and adolescents may be more likely to choose informal help — from "little helpers" (acquaintances, friends, online forums, chat rooms, news channels), but this is not always a means tailored to the recipient (Egan 2002). The results of nationwide diagnoses indicate that children and adolescents first use the help of family (parents, siblings), friends, sympathizers, and at the very end they mention members of the educational community as a source of support: form teachers, teacher or school pedagogue (Czapinski, 2009).

It is worth noting that the questions analyzed are a prelude to further consideration of the quality of assistance activities carried out in schools. From the researcher's perspective, it would also be interesting to deepen the analyzed research with questions on the type of support received and forms of assistance provided by specialists, teachers and form teachers. In part, the authors of this article as a research team obtained this information during in-depth focuses with adolescents from Poznań secondary schools. During extremely inspiring conversations, it was also attempted to find out what is lacking in the area of career counseling as well as psychological and pedagogical assistance for adolescents studying in Poznań schools. An in-depth analysis of these threads is yet to come, in the context of further work on the education policy of the city of Poznań.

Instead of conclusion — What should be considered when designing preventive and educational activities?

The results of the research conducted within the framework of the "2030 Strategy for the Development of Education in the City of Poznań" indicate that the dominant group of students surveyed feel that the schools they attend prepared them to make educational and professional decisions to an average degree. On the other hand, in the area of psychological and pedagogical assistance provided, most students declare that they can use from it. In contrast, the opinions of the surveyed male and female students on the support provided to them by educational institutions in the process of career orientation are divided. The declarations of the surveyed male and female students and the foundational data presented in this article indicate the possibility and necessity of improving the quality and effectiveness of schools' activities in the area of both career counseling as well as psychological and pedagogical support. This demand assumes particular importance in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has left a strong mark on both the well-being of children and adolescents and the necessity and strategies for using specialized assistance at school and its supporting institutions (Golberstein, Wen, Miller, 2020, Jankowiak, Jaskulska, Marciniak, Klichowski, 2022, Pyżalski, 2021).

The support provided to male and female students by schools in the area of educational and career counseling, on the one hand, should focus on developing their knowledge of their own professional predispositions and the world of professions (in accordance with the pillars of the process of career orientation and the recommendations of the Ministry of National Education), as well as practical knowledge and skills relevant to the modern labor market (e.g., behavior at a job interview, preparation of application documents, knowledge of possible development paths). In this context, it is worth looking at the field of career counseling as a non-autonomous entity, which is the result of

a network of cooperation between various entities (including those external to the school). Supporting adolescents in career planning in this manner fits the model of overlapping spheres of socialization influence by J.L. Epstein (Epstein et al. 2002), based on a dialog between the educational institution, the student's family home (often a priority source of vocational knowledge) and the socio-economic environment, at the center of which are the students themselves who are participants in all activities (including primary and secondary prevention). This approach requires the creation of numerous situations (in and out of the school environment) in which adolescents will be, as it were, obliged to undertake self-reflection about themselves, make evaluations on their skills and knowledge useful during professional activity and during goal-setting and on the way to their realization.

Effective support for adolescents in the process of career orientation requires the development of a stable career counseling system, adapted to their psychophysical capabilities, as well as the current requirements of the labor market, with special attention to the needs of all actors involved in its implementation. To achieve these goals, it will be helpful not only to increase funding for schools to conduct career counseling activities and hire professionals to implement them, but also to improve the quality of their substantive and methodological workshops. Career counseling classes should be held regularly, in accordance with the plan previously established and presented to adolescents, since any other way of organizing them may not send a clear signal to students regarding the significant importance of the content presented at them and promotes their treatment as secondary in the curriculum.

The results of the study *Working time and conditions of teachers* (orig. *Czas pracy i warunki pracy nauczycieli*) (Federowicz et al. 2013) found that only 4.4% of teachers declared that educational and career counseling was among the list of 53 activities they perform at school. Therefore, popularization of knowledge about career counseling and its educational importance in the school environment, can contribute to increasing the effectiveness of the career orientation process. This is because an intra-school career counseling system requires the active participation of the entire teaching staff in its implementation (in cooperation with the family home and local entrepreneurs and the students themselves also involved in the process of its conceptualization), not just the person performing the duties of a career counselor. It is worth emphasizing that the development of a program that is a practical tool in the implementation of preventive activities is based on a reliable (conducted annually) diagnosis of the school's needs and their confrontation with theoretical recommendations and the results of scientific research (*evidence-based practice*) (Barczykowska, Dzierżyńska-Breś 2013).

According to Augustyn Bańka, "one of the most basic developmental tasks of an individual concerns the preparation for a career, and one of the basic tasks of life — the performance of work and professional activity" (Bańka 1995, p. 10)

— educational and career counseling as support for children and adolescents in dealing with this challenge is among the most important areas of upbringing and education. However, in view of the fact that "it is difficult to speak of a final choice of profession, a lifelong choice, but rather of a career, understood as a biographical process of taking up and changing work, a process in which both reflection and unexpected coincidence take place" (Kargulova 2005, p. 84) — an individual's professional activity becomes a kind of project, rather than an act based on a single choice. A helpful way to implement such an approach to career development among students may be to change the nomenclature of educational and career counseling to, for example, career guidance or career counseling (Suchar 2010, p. 9), career management support (Amstrong 2005) or career orientation (Dobrzyniak 2017). The term "educational and career counseling"" in its layer of meaning contains a complex range of content, referring to related problem areas. However, its superficial understanding carries important connotations for the recipients, because making a specific choice about the future path of education, or a related professional activity, often does not pose as significant a challenge for adolescents as planning, monitoring and managing their own careers, which requires not only specific knowledge and skills, but also decision-making based on the analysis of complex factors and circumstances internal and external to the individual. Also, in the implementation of psychological and pedagogical assistance at school, it is worth noting several important elements that can significantly improve the quality of functioning of male and female students, as well as specialists and teachers involved in the process of education and socialization. When designing a school's prevention and education program, it is worthwhile, first of all, to provide space for the implementation of these activities. In view of the challenges associated with the deteriorating mental well-being of children and adolescents, both educational counseling as well as professional psychological and pedagogical support should be given more prominence through systemic changes (e.g., additional psychology classes promoted by the *Psychology at School* social campaign) or carrying out project and prevention activities with the character of systematic classes included in the curriculum. We should take great care of teachers and specialists who, motivated to work at school, will want to acquire new competencies and qualifications to support adolescents in the difficult transition from education to the labor market and from adolescence to adulthood. In this area, there is a need for systemic changes related to the professional promotion of teachers and the manner of their remuneration, but it is also important to build a friendly environment within the organization, where a supportive environment could work together to improve their own skills. Particularly useful in terms of educational and preventive work could be regular teacher supervision, which, using the experience of more qualified and innovative teachers, would foster the development of the rest of the teaching staff. Finally, referring to the study of male and female students of Poznań schools, it would

be appropriate to ensure comprehensive development and appreciation of the role of form teachers, since it is to them that adolescents experiencing difficulties most often want to turn for help. Increasing the staffing of both career counseling and psychological-educational counseling specialists can bring positive results for male and female students, but only if policymakers and school administrators understand that space and time are needed to conduct preventive and educational activities, which is hard to come by today in a timetable that is already stretched to the limit and an exam race that has been nurtured for years, unfortunately, both by policymakers and often by teachers themselves. The need, therefore, is to change the way of thinking about the goals of education and implement new solutions.

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Deficit of nature as a manifestation of a hidden curriculum of the school Poznan educational studies 2021

Abstract: Poznan educational studies 2021, conducted in order to improve Poznan city's educational policy for the next ten years, covers several areas of students' school experience. The study focuses on the area of ecology and one aspect of it: students' contact with nature. The aim of the study was to find out whether Poznan students are exposed to nature deficit and thus at risk of developing nature deficit syndrome.

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996 students from primary and secondary Poznan schools were surveyed online in the Poznan educational studies project. Five questions from the questionnaire were used in this study. Basic statistics and Chi-square tests were conducted in data analysis, using row data basis on the survey.

The study proved the nature deficit syndrome in the analyzed group of students. Only 14% of them experienced lessons outside the school building during their school lives. This fact is interpreted in the paper in the context of Jackson's concept of the hidden curriculum and Eisner's concept of the null curriculum. It also referred to the concepts of deficit of nature disorder and the hypothesis of biophilia.

Key words: nature deficit disorder, nature-based learning, hidden curriculum, null curriculum, school space.

Introduction

Outdoor lessons for a long time were an attribute of the life & science part of the school curriculum, usually as practical complementation of the theoretical biological or geographical knowledge. Such education, using the outdoors as an occasion to practice what was learned in the indoor lessons, is an attractive form of learning *about* the subject – the environment, the landscape – but it does not fully use the opportunities that come from moving out of the school walls. For example, going off the script of teaching about the environment as an academic subject may refer to what Richard Dobson calls teaching *for* the environment, which involves action and civic engagement for changing particular places. Teaching *about* the environment *in* the environment and *for* the environment is associated with developing citizenship competencies, students' engagement in action, and their participation in changing the world (Dobson, 2003).

The problem is that even such narrowly understood outdoor education – as complementation of biology or geography lessons conducted in the school building – is extremely seldom (Michalak et al., 2019). It seems that schoolchildren in Poland spend most of their school life in the school buildings. Compulsory education starts at 7 and lasts 11 years, up to 18. Every day students spend 5–7 hours at school. Except for the first three years of primary school, which is the time of integrated education, school education is organized into 45–minute lesson units run by different teachers of different subjects. Such organization is, by definition, a barrier to outdoor lessons. But there may also be other ones: lack of attractive places in the school surroundings, financial costs of trips, or uncertainty about legal responsibility in case of an accident outside the school grounds. Some teachers may also feel unprepared for teaching out of the classroom without handbooks and notebooks. Staying with students inside the classroom seems safer, easier, and more convenient (Michalak & Parczewska, 2019, pp. 138–141).

In the 21st century, going outside also seems challenging for children. After returning from school to home, they seldom spend their spare time playing

outside. There are not many studies on this fact, as it was not perceived as necessary in the context of the child's development or mental condition. However, a growing body of evidence shows that contact with nature is a basic human need and as such, it should be adequately addressed in an educational system (Jordan & Chawla, 2019; Louv, 2008).

Nature deficit disorder

In 2005, Richard Louv's ground-breaking book resulted in changes to attitudes towards nature, the environment, and environmental education. As he proved, in education nature is much more than a storage of resources or a topic of teaching and learning. In his book, he showed the process of the growing nature deficit in children's everyday experience during the last 20 years and how it may be associated with attention deficit disorder (ADHD), stress, depression, and difficulties in social relations. He recalled studies proving that children almost disappeared from outdoor playgrounds in the 21st century. One reason for that phenomenon is that they do not know how to play without computers and colorful plastic toys (Louv called it a *forgotten experience*). In one of the recalled studies, 20% of British children had not gone outside for a whole month before the survey: they had been driven to school and back home by parents and at home, they had sat before the TV, computer, or smartphone screen; the next 20% had gone out for less than 1 hour per day, which is the standard for prisoners (Louv, 2008).

One reason for children missing outdoor activities is adults being afraid that something wrong might happen to their children. The danger may come from other people as it is expressed in the concept of "stranger danger" (Carver et al., 2008, or children may harm themselves when playing. The latter may involve the parents or the caretakers of the place being held legally responsible. Afraid of being sued as a result of a child's accident while playing under their supervision, local councils of house settlements in the USA simply introduce legal bans on playing on the settlements' grounds. Louv described this phenomenon as *penalization of play*.

The question is, is it important where children play, indoors or outdoors? According to Louv, yes. He showed how important nature is for human development and coined a term for the consequences of the limited contact with nature: nature-deficit disorder (Louv, 2008, pp. 99–114).

Louv's book was an inspiration for new trends in education: nature-based education and place-based education: outdoor, in the natural environment, targeted education not only *about* or *in* the environment, but also *for* it; not *about* or *in* the local community, but also *for* it. Engagement in real problems and real and needed actions helps children to reconnect with nature and the local community, rebuild broken social relations, negotiate common goals, and work to meet them. Such education increases creativity, enhances communication

skills and citizenship competencies, and it makes children happier. It also helps students in other fields of education, and strengthens their resilience to school stressors and dangers (Chawla et al., , 2014; Flax et al,. 2020). This is why the school greening movement developed and school gardens and green schoolyards were built as an effect of the school project (Jansson and Martensson, 2012; Stevensonet et al., 2020).

"Leave no child inside" became the new slogan in nature-oriented education*(Orion Magazine – Leave No Child Inside*, n.d.). It paraphrased "Leave no child behind," a slogan used in legislative acts on children's rights and equal opportunities in education (Comer, 2008), and showed that education outside the school building is one of children's rights. However "leave no child inside" is not a part of legislation. Teachers and other actors of educational systems who are engaged in promoting nature-based education started to organize and support each other through networks and organizations (*Children and Nature Network. Helping Children Thrive – Outside | C&NN*, n.d.).

There are growing bodies of evidence on the restorative function of nature and its positive influence on human development. The role of nature in human health and development. It helps in rehabilitation of individuals with stress-related mental disorders (Pálsdóttir et al., 2014) and improves attention which is important in many areas of life. Even views on green landscapes from the school windows can significantly improve performance on tests of attention and increase students' recovery from stressful experiences (Li & Sullivan, 2016). Exposure to trees is related with better physical health and increased capacity to control stress (Jiang et al., 2020). Roe and Aspinall (2011) proved that forest school and outdoor education have better restorative outcomes in comparison with conventional school. The effect was the strongest for students with poor behavior (Roe et al., 2022; Roe & Aspinall, 2011). Similar results were presented by Nedovic and Morrissey (2013), proving that outdoor classes make kindergarten children more calm, active and focused.

The effects of outdoor education were observed also for kindergarten and school children, who during indoor classes were perceived as underachievers, but outdoors they behaved differently: they were more engaged, active, creative and these facts diminished the effects of "underachievement" (Maynard et al., 2013). Better students' academic performance as a result of the "greenness" of school surroundings was reported in several studies (Barrett et al., 2015; Williams et al., 2018; Wu et al., 2014).

On the other side of the spectrum to the above positive effects of the contact with nature is the nature deficit that brings many negative consequences: poorer of health, higher level of stress and aggression, lower level of attention, and worse performance at school. Reconnecting schoolchildren with nature is a way to build their resilience, to live healthier, emotionally balanced, cognitively more effective school lives (Chawla et al., 2014; Flax et al., 2020; Hauk et al., 2018).

In the Polish educational system, the national curriculum framework for primary school and vocational education mentions field lessons 51 times. Most of them refer to primary science, biology or geography (*Podstawa programowa – Ministerstwo Edukacji i Nauki – Portal Gov.pl*, n.d.). However, as it was proven in Michalak and Parczewska's monograph (2019), this is not transposed into school curriculum level and lesson plans sufficiently. Teachers, following the instruction of the published curriculum, seldom come across exercises and content which should be conducted outdoors (Michalak and Parczewska, p. 138). Barriers that teachers experience in organizing outdoor education were also described by Dijk-Wesselius et al., (2020).

Hidden curriculum

The term "hidden curriculum" was coined by Philip Jackson (Jackson, 1968), however it is believed that the idea was originated by John Dewey. Jackson described education as a process of socialization and explained the hidden curriculum in this context: as what is learned but not openly intended, such as norms, values, believes, rules, and distribution of power which are part of the school culture. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Education, the hidden curriculum is "knowledge, skills, or attitudes which were not a part of the formal intended learning outcomes" and which are acquired by students apart from their exposure to the formal curriculum (Wallace, 2015, p. 69).

The concept of the hidden curriculum has been analyzed and elaborated by many thinkers from the field of pedagogy (Freire 2017; Meighan 1993; Snyder, 1971; Gordon 1997). However, the term "hidden curriculum" was not always used. Eliot Eisner, one of the leading curriculum theorists, who coined the term "null curriculum" for the content which is not present in the curriculum, writes in his ground-breaking book *Educational Imagination* about three curricula which all schools teach: the explicit curriculum, implicit curriculum, and null curriculum. The explicit curriculum is the one declared in official documents; implicit – the school culture, that indirectly teaches some rules, values and attitudes; and the null curriculum – absent content, methods, form of teaching, which also influence future lives of students (Eisner, 1985, pp. 87–108). Eisner's "implicit curriculum" and Jackson's hidden curriculum refer to the same concept. In this article, the hidden curriculum will be described in relation to the experience of nature deficit and the school space.

Research problem

The paper presents a part of a study conducted for the project "Poznan Educational Policy 2030," coordinated by Poznan city's educational department[1]. The purpose of the Poznan study was to learn about the school experiences of students in primary and secondary schools of Poznan in several areas of school activity, in order to define to what extend these experiences are supportive for students' development, as well as what factors make these experiences different. The practical goal of the research was to diagnose students' problems and needs in the school context.

The key areas of students' school experiences that defined research problems were: lessons; relations between students and teachers; educational lessons; peer relationships; the offer of extracurricular activities; the conditions of learning – school infrastructure; discrimination – unequal treatment, worse treatment; safety; friendliness; counselling; educational and occupational orientation; environmental /climate change education. The goal of the Poznan study (To what extent Poznan schools are the source and the context of experiences supporting students' development?) has been detailed in the above-mentioned areas of students' school experiences. The areas created thematic sections in an online survey.

The dimensions of research areas that created variables of the research are rooted in Bruner's culture of education theory (Bruner, 2006). This is a concept of school which supports students' development through creating a safe educational environment in which students have the opportunity to experience self-agency, participation, partnership, equal treatment, concern, and reflectiveness. The study was planned and executed in order to learn about everyday school life from the perspective of students. It is why the questions in the survey were about students' personal experiences, opinions, and feelings in different areas of their school functioning.

The main research questions in the Poznan survey were:

1. Are Poznan schools creating the context and the source of students' experiences that is supportive for their development? If yes, to what extent, in which areas and how do they do it?

2. How advanced Poznan schools are in the implementation of selected educational priorities of Poznan city (students' safety; environmental / climate change education; equality education; education on the needs of the labor market)?

………………………………..

[1] Poznan Educational Studies were designed and conducted by the research team from the Faculty of Educational Studies of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan.

In this paper, focused on the deficit of nature problem, using theoretical background on the restorative function of nature and its positive influence on human development, as well as the threats that come from a deficit of nature, the research question is: Are Poznan schools' students exposed to experiencing the deficit of nature?

To answer this question, the analysis of data was conducted based on the part of the survey referring to widely understood environmental education.

The questions asked in the paper are as follows:

— Do students experience outdoor lessons in the greenery of the school surroundings?
— Is the school engaged in environmental / climate change education? (Does the school observe the ecological rules that are taught during lessons in the school practice? Is environmental / climate change education mainstreamed and taught as part of many different school subjects? Does the school fulfill its tasks concerning environmental education and climate change?
— Do students have access to silent places in which one can rest?
— Are there differences in above listed areas of student experiences according to the stage of education (differences between students of secondary and primary schools)?
— Is there a relation between the experience of outdoor lessons in nature and student school outcomes?

Material and methods

Material for the study was derived from the survey of Poznan students conducted online for 2 age cohorts: students of the last year of primary schools and the last year of secondary schools (15 and 18 years old, respectively). The online questionnaire consisting of 98 questions was distributed to schools by the Poznan city Department of Education via Librus – an electronic communication system used by schools in Poland. N=996 valid responses for the survey were received, 735 from secondary schools and 237 from primary schools.

For the purposes of this study, 5 questions referring to environmental education and 2 to demographic data were selected:

Table 1. Questions selected for the study from the questionnaire of the survey conducted for the project Poznan Educational Policy 2030

Nb in the Questionnaire	Question	Abbreviation
12.4	The greenery surrounding my school is used by teachers to run lessons, e.g. biology, geography or other subjects	school greenery used for lessons

Nb in the Questionnaire	Question	Abbreviation
12.3	In my school rules of ecology which are taught during lessons are implemented into school practice (e.g. we learn about the harmfulness of plastic, disposable plastic plates and cutlery are withdrawn from the school cafeteria and canteen)	Ecological rules implemented into practice
12.2	Environmental and climate change education are present in the various school subjects and after-school activities	Environmental education mainstreaming
12.1	My school fulfills its tasks in the field of environmental and climate change education	The school fulfills its task of teaching environmental education
8.8	In my school silent places for resting are available during breaks	Silent places
DEM 1	What type of school do you attend?	Primary vs secondary school
DEM 2	What was the average of your school assessments during last school year?	School assessments

Source: Online survey questionnaire for the project "Poznan Educational Policy 2030."

All the variables were nominal in character. Basic statistics were calculated to present the distribution of answers. In order to assess the association between variables, the Chi-square test, Phi coefficient, and Cramer's V were conducted, using the PS IMAGO PRO 7.0 (former SPSS Poland) program.

Results

Basic statistics for the variables are shown in Table 1. They illustrate that Poznan students learn mainly indoors: only 14% of students reported they have lessons outside the school building; 69% said that the green surroundings of their schools have not been used for educational purposes in their school lives. Almost 40% of respondents reported no cohesion between environmental education content which is part of the curriculum and school practice: they may learn at lessons that they should avoid disposable plastic but in the school canteen they receive meals in single-use plastic containers. Only one-third of respondents report that they learn about environmental issues and climate change in different school subjects, which means that the topic is mainstreamed and treated as interdisciplinary; more than 43% of them have not had such experience. Almost 50% of respondents think their schools fulfill their tasks in the area of environmental education and climate change. Only one-fifth of them has the opposite opinion. It may mean that environmental education is well organized or that students have no expecta-

tions regarding that topic. Over 71% indicate that there is no quiet place in their school for resting. This is indirect information also on the school grounds which, if they were green and covered by trees, would give the opportunity for rest and relaxation.

Table 2. Variables and their basic statistics

Variables	Categories of answers (Likert Scale) (%)					%
	Strongly agree	Rather agree	Difficult to say	Rather disagree	Strongly disagree	
12.4 The greenery surrounding my school is used by teachers to conduct lessons	4.3	9.7	16.9	27.4	41.6	100 N=966
12.3. In my school rules of ecology which are taught at lessons are implemented in school practice (e.g. if we learn about the harmfulness of plastic, disposable plastic is withdrawn from the school cafeteria and canteen)	7.7	22.7	30.2	22.5	16.9	100 N=962
12.2. Environmental and climate change education are present in the various school subjects and after-school activities	8.7	24.5	24.7	29.9	12.2	100 N=967
12.1. My school fulfills its tasks in the field of environmental and climate change education	9.6	39	30.1	14.2	7.1	100 N-970
8.8. In my school silent places for resting are available during breaks	10.2	18.5	13.3	25.3	32.7	100 N=996

Source: preliminary report on survey results conducted for "Poznan Educational Policy 2030"

For the question *What are your average school results from the last year?* the frequencies in categories were as follows: highest results, over 4.75 – 27%; the moderate results, between 3.5 and 4.75 – 62.9%; low achievements, with the average below 3.5 – 10.1%.

For the question of what type of school do the respondents attend, the answer was the following: 257 (25.8%) attended primary schools; the rest of the N=996 group of respondents attended various types of secondary schools (high school – 428 students – 42%; technical school – 262 students – 26.3%, vocational school – 44 students (4.4%), and 5 students gave other answers.

To test whether there is a relationship or association between the variable concerning lessons in the greenery surrounding the school and the other variables, Chi-square($X2$) tests were conducted for the pairs: 12.4–12.3; 12.4–12.2; 12.4–12.1; 12.4–8.8 and between 12.4 and DEM2 (school assessments) variables. The results are shown in Table 3. For all these pairs, except the last one, the p-value in the Chi-square test was less than 0.001, which means that the variables are associated and the associations are statistically highly significant. There was no statistically significant association between the usage of the greenery in school surroundings and the school results of the students.

To assess the effect size in the pairs of variables, the Phi coefficient (φ) and Cramer's V were calculated. The thresholds for low, medium and large effect size were established based on Cohen et al. (2011, p. 654). A large effect (Phi coefficient around 0.5) was observed for all the pairs except 12.4-DEM2 in the primary school and for the pairs 12.4–12.3 and 12.4–12.2 in the secondary schools. A medium effect (Phi = 0.3) was observed for the pairs: 12.4–12.1 and 12.4–8.8 in secondary schools. For the 12.4–DEM2 pair, the effect was low and statistically insignificant, however, the Phi-coefficient was twice higher and the p-level much lower in the primary school group.

Table 3. Chi-square test and effect size for the 12.4 variable paired with 12.3, 12.2; 12.1; 8.8, DEM2, in the groups of primary and secondary schools. Effect size for the Phi coefficient: *low effect (0.1); **medium effect (0.3); ***large effect (0.5)

Variables paired with 12.4 (school greenery used for lessons)	Primary school	Secondary School	p-level primary school high school
12.3 Ecological rules implemented into practice	X^2=82.3362 φ = 0.569*** V=0.285	X^2=206.0 φ=0.543*** V=0.270	p <0.001 p <0.001
12.2 Environmental education mainstreaming	X^2=57.16 φ=0.476*** V=0.238	X^2=163.0 φ=0.482*** V=0.241	p <0.001 p <0.001
12.1. My school fulfills its tasks in EE and CCE	X^2= φ=0.450*** V=0.225	X^2=113.760 φ=0.402** V=0.201	P<0.001 p <0.001
8.8. Silent places	X^2=69.044 φ=0.521*** V=0.261	X^2=59.255 φ=0.289** V=0.145	P<0.001 p <0.001
DEM 2 School assessments	X^2=11.440 φ=0.212* V=0.150	X^2=6.02 φ=0.092* V=0.065	P=0.178 P=0.64

Source: row data from research conducted for the project "Poznan Educational Policy 2030".

Discussion

Results of the study show that regardless of the obligation under the national curriculum framework, during lessons students have very limited contact with nature. It is expressed particularly strong in the secondary school and is connected with generally disregarding attitude of schools towards the environment and environmental education, and the school space which lacks silent places for rest and relaxation.

Our results are in line with other studies on e.g. lack of outdoor education in the Polish schools (Michalak & Parczewska, 2019), anthropocentric philosophy in the national curriculum framework (Gola, 2018; Kozłowska, 2021a, 2021b), and in primary science, biology and geography handbooks (Gola, 2018). However, lack of statistically significant association between the experience of having the lessons outside in the school greenery and students assessment is a surprise, because positive influence of lessons in nature on school results were reported by several researchers (Chawla, 2018; Lieberman & Hoody, 1998; D. Williams et al., 2018; D. R. Williams & Dixon, 2013). The explanation of this discrepancy may be the nominal character of the variable of school assessments used in the study. Only 3 wide categories of assessments limited the precision of analyses and may be responsible for the lack of statistically significant association. The second reason of this result may be the fact that school assessments refer mainly to academic achievements defined in the curriculum and as such the system of assessment may be insensitive to benefits of learning in nature, such as emotional balance, creativity, attention.

This article proves that students in Poznan schools are exposed to nature deficit and are at risk of nature deficit disorder. This fact results from open and hidden assumptions of the school curriculum. A XIX-century German pedagogue, who was one of the first to lay the foundation for the system of kindergarten education, noticed nature as a key element of education theory and practice. He believed in the role of nature in well-being, development and learning of children and coined the term *kindergarten* as he saw the place of children's early education as gardens. In his concept of human education and development he used a metaphor of a plant which needs care and appropriate environmental conditions for it to grow. The garden was a place of appropriate conditions for the growth and development of children, as it gave a space for everyday activity and contact with nature (Tewes, 2020).

Since Fröbel's times, a lot has changed in pedagogy and the climate. Studies on the hypothesis of biophilia by the biologist and environmental theorist Edward O. Wilson (Wilson, 1984), proved that humans have a natural inclination to seek contact with nature. This inspired millions of people all over the world to

look for solutions, also through education which could allow people to reconnect with nature (Burgess and Mayer-Smith, 2011). Sociologist and environmentalist S. Kellert, a co-operator of Wilson (Kellertand Wilson, 1993), conducted studies on the long-term and short-term effects of nature curricula pedagogy (Kellert, 1985; Derr, 2002). He deepened the understanding of the relations between humans and nature and widened the concept of biophilia into the theory and practice of biophilic design. The purpose of biophilic design is the promotion of physical and mental health and condition, fitness, productivity, and well-being through creating a space in which one may experience nature (Kellert, 2005; Kellert and Calabrese, 2015). According to Kellert, there are 3 ways in which humans may experience nature in the anthropogenically altered environment:

— direct experience of nature, such as multisensory contact with plants, living animals or landscapes;
— indirect experience of nature, e.g. using natural materials or motifs,
— symbolic experience of nature through the experience of place and space steeped in symbolic and ecologic meanings (Kellert and Calabrese, 2015).

This study of Poznan schools shows that using R. Meighan's words, schools are still ruled by ghosts of ancestral spirits, who understand nature as a human property that should be understood, submitted, and exploited for their own benefits. The construction and design of school buildings and their surroundings reviles the hidden program of the school space and the organization of the didactic process as an education inside the school building, in closed space, sitting at the school desks deepens Louv's nature deficit. Thus, nature becomes a part of the null curriculum in Polish education.

How long should we wait for the awakening of education in this area? Should forest kindergartens and school forests be mere islands of educational resistance (Sliwerski, 1993) against the majority who ignore knowledge about the influence of nature on human welfare and development (Godawa, 2021; Szlauzys, 2019, Kaliszuk and Mirzyńska, 2021; Białek et al., 2021)? Nature was and still is a home for human beings who, regardless of their environmental awareness, are interconnected with everything that creates nature – is a part of nature. Contact with the natural environment and experience of nature is a precondition of mental and physical health. In the context of environmental crisis, understanding these rules and interconnectedness as well as the language of nature is the most important goal and challenge of contemporary education.

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The diagnosis of "weak points" of the school as an environment for building resilience of male and female students Poznan City Educational Research 2021

Abstract: Taking as a starting point the concept of resilience, according to which the resources of the social environment contribute to the positive development of young people (as they become protective factors against risky and problematic behaviors), the aim of the article is identification of the school domains, that are most deficient and require changes.

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The article refers to the results of research conducted within the project "Educational Policy of the City of Poznań 2030", coordinated by the Department of Education of Poznań City Hall. The main aim of the research was to: identify and analyze the experiences of male and female students of Poznań's schools, to determine the level to which these experiences are conducive to positive adaptation and to examine factors differentiating these experiences. The issue is analyzed on the basis of data collected with survey method. The research participants included 996 male and female students of primary and secondary schools of Poznań.

According to the research results, the most deficient areas of school work are: school infrastructure, didactics and extracurricular offer. The majority of students is convinced that during the schooltime they: do not learn how to learn, do not work with the use of the project method and have no influence on the selection of contents and teaching methods. Students experiences are significantly differentiated by the level (stage) of education and gender of students.

Key words: educational resilience, school resources, school offer.

Introduction

Social prevention seeks concepts and practices that allow for effective measures to address risky behaviors of children and adolescents. Strategies aimed at minimizing risk factors (or their effects) are complemented by strategies focused on developing protective factors, among others. Programs focused on reducing problem behavior among children and adolescents are accompanied by activities aimed at psychosocial development (e.g., expansion of extracurricular activities, peer programs, development of soft skills), which are proposed as a remedy for problem behavior (initiation of risky behavior). An example of this is the analysis of legal acts in the field of counteracting alcohol and drug addiction problems (Journal of Laws of 2012, item 1356; Ministry of Education 2013) or analysis of prevention and education programs of schools at all levels.

Modern models of prevention presuppose an impact on the broad environment of children and adolescents (family members, educators, teachers and peers), which complement activities aimed directly at at-risk youth. This includes problems related to risky psychoactive substance use, (cyber)violence and peer aggression, self-harm, early pregnancy/sexual initiation, and other risky behaviors (LaChausse 2016; Liu et al. 2017; Karmolińska-Jagodzik, Marciniak 2015; Marciniak 2020 Michel 2014; Pyżalski 2017; Wyatt, Peterson 2005). Current prevention concepts also emphasize the need to implement such programs that include an aspect of creativity and creative reasoning – based not only on defensive prevention, but also on creative prevention that takes into account individual strategies aimed at promotion or prevention under stressful conditions (Liu et al. 2017; Pyżalski 2017; Szymańska 2012).

This practice is based on empirically identified assumptions, according to which: dysfunctionality is an expression of a person's insufficient effectiveness

(mediated by factors: protective factors and risk) in coping with the demands of life, and the manifestations of dysfunction are alternative to each other (Gaś 2006; Karmolińska-Jagodzik, Marciniak 2015; Wyatt, Peterson 2005). Hence, positive prevention is aimed at supporting and activating actions that will enable its recipients to cope well with diverse risks and is designed to "inoculate" children and adolescents against their impact, thus "anticipating" risks (LaChausse 2016; Liu et al. 2017; Wyatt, Peterson 2005). In this view of prevention, a special role is assigned to actions taken in the school environment, and the theoretical justification for this model is provided by, among other things, the concept of *resilience*.

The term *resilience[1] is used metaphorically in the social sciences. It was initially used in the natural sciences – in relation to the physical properties of materials. In the 1940s, the term resilience* began to be applied to psychological phenomena, accompanied by the development of the concept of homeostasis (Gößling-Reisemann et al. [2018]). The term *resilience* has become established in the social sciences to denote a system's ability to overcome crisis and stressful situations and as a measure of the likelihood of survival (Gößling-Reisemann et al. [2018], pp. 6–7, Lee et al. 2012). In a metaphorical sense, the term is used to denote "springiness", "resistance", "immunity", although one can encounter terms such as: „elasticity", "resistance to injury", „handling disturbance", „stress coping ability" (Lee et al. 2012, Luthar et al. 2000, Michel 2014; Ostaszewski 2014; Szymańska 2012; Smulczyk 2016b; Pyżalski 2017).

Norman Garmezy, who conducted longitudinal research with his team on the positive functional adaptation of young people raised in disadvantaged living conditions (ghettos), is considered the promoter of the concept. According to the results of these studies, the functional adequacy of an individual is possible despite growing up in negative circumstances, provided there are adequate *resilience* factors – social environment resources and individual characteristics (Garmezy 1991, Michel 2014; Ostaszewski 2014). This concept is highly applicable to understanding development in an unambiguously positive way – it allows us to understand how an awareness of the surrounding harsh reality combined with a desire to overcome adversity can foster goal achievement despite exposure to negative circumstances (Garmezy 1991, Lee et al. 2012, Luthar et al. 2000, Smulczyk 2016a; Smulczyk 2016b; Pyżalski, 2017). According to the concept, people with high *resilience* (those who can be described as *resilient*) are characterized by rich resources (cognitive, personality resources), show a high level of social participation or have access to environmental resources, so that at the same time they will be less likely to engage in risky behavior (Garmezy 1991, Luthar et al. 2000, Ostaszewski 2014, pp. 98–99; Szymańska 2012, pp. 30–31).

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[1] In the Polish version of the article, the term resilience is used in its original language version, opting out of the translation.

This does not mean that past experiences are indifferent to them – they leave an emotional trace, a kind of suggestive sadness (Garmezy 1991).

Several models can be identified in the literature to explain the mechanism of *resilience* and how protective forces work (Luthar et al. 2000). One of them is risk compensation – protective factors and risk factors affect human behavior independently of each other, but in opposite directions. In contrast, the risk protection model assumes their interaction – protective factors do not influence behavior, but neutralize risk factors (Ostaszewski 2014, pp. 86–87). In research on *resilience*, regardless of the assumed model of the relationship between risk factors and protective factors, the term protective factors ("protective forces") is often used to describe all the factors (protective and developmental) that ultimately promote healthy adaptation in children and adolescents (Lee et al. 2012, Luthar et al. 2000, Ostaszewski 2014, p. 91). An alternative model of immunization against various risk factors posits that moderate levels of stress promote development – exposure to stressors results in better future coping (Lee et al. 2012, Ostaszewski 2014).

Research on the *resilience* mechanism points to its heterogeneous and interactive nature, including implicit or explicit expectations of the social context aimed at stability, self-regulation mechanisms, or risk management. These aspects are highlighted by both representatives of the natural sciences, such as in the *ecosystem resilience theory* concept of Crawford S. Holling (Gößling-Reisemann et al. [2018]), as well as the social sciences, such as in Silas Casillas' (2008) view of *educational resilience*. In line with ecological (environmental) models of development, it is assumed that the development of an individual's personality occurs as a result of the individual's activities and the interaction of his or her traits with the characteristics of the surrounding/environment (Luthar et al. 2000, Schaffer 2006; Smulczyk 2016a; Reyes 2013, p. 14). Therefore, obtaining *resilience* is a complex process, it does not mean the absolute resilience of an individual to harmful conditions/stressors, but producing it in the interaction of various factors, among which the key ones are social. Researchers of resilience therefore focus on: (1) characteristics of the children and adolescents themselves, (2) aspects of their families, and (3) characteristics of the broader environmental social context (Luthar et al. 2000). Among the environmental factors, in addition to the family, secondary socialization institutions are mentioned, primarily the school, hence the concept of *resilience* has received wide attention from researchers of educational phenomena.

The concept of *educational resilience* (in its broadest sense) is applicable to the analysis of global problems and trends as it relates to the ability of people (individuals, human communities and the institutions that work for them) to recover, succeed and undergo positive transformation in the face of difficulties and crises, including but not limited to: natural disasters, armed conflicts, social problems (Luthar et al. 2000; Liu et al. 2017). In this context, *educational resilience* refers to building strong educational systems that promote learning, life skills and social cohesion (Reyes 2013, p. 9). *Educational resilience* can refer to the

analysis of educational institutions themselves, as well as the conditions created in them. In this second sense (crucial from the perspective of this article), education (and educational institutions), is treated as a factor that can support the *resilience* of students (children and adolescents): help them find meaning and purpose in education, develop new skills and knowledge, build positive relationships with others, or promote equal life chances (Luthar et al. 2000; Reyes 2013, p. 14; Wyatt, Peterson 2005). Education has a mediating function here – in a situation of crisis, difficulties and the occurrence of factors that threaten development, an individual engages in a dynamic process of coping with adverse factors, in which the educational system can support other institutions of socialization. Of particular importance is the provision of access to psychological and pedagogical assistance when male and female students seek the support of specialists (Lee et al. 2012; Marciniak 2015; Wyatt, Peterson 2005)

In a narrow sense, *educational resilience* refers to students from disadvantaged groups who achieve educational (or life) success despite adverse environmental conditions. This success is achieved "in spite of" the unequivocally confirmed relationship between a child's low socioeconomic status (expressed by economic indicators or parental education) and low levels of educational achievement (Reyes 2013; Smulczyk 2016a; Ye et al. 2021). In this context, researchers sometimes use the term *academic resilience*, which is understood as the ability to achieve school success (as measured by above-average school performance or a career path that includes reputable educational institutions) despite an underprivileged socioeconomic background, unfavorable personal characteristics or life experiences (Ye et al. 2021; Smulczyk 2016a).

Although the concept of *resilience* originally referred to an individual's positive adaptation under adverse conditions, it now also refers to positive development (Lee et al. 2012, Luthar et al. 2000, Ostaszewski 2014, p. 100). For children and adolescents, *resilience* reflects a developmental process in which skills are acquired to use external and internal resources to achieve positive adaptation (life success) despite past or present adverse conditions (Liu et al. 2017; Ostaszewski 2014, p. 101, Ye et al. 2021). In this situation, "developmentally sensitive" periods of life, especially adolescence, become crucial (Ostaszewski 2014, p. 102). The application of the *resilience* concept in education can therefore be directed at finding active ways to support the psychosocial development of children and adolescents (Lee et al. 2012, Smulczyk 2016a, p. 205, Wyatt, Peterson 2005, Ye et al. 2021). Positive adaptation of children and adolescents is linked here to the realization of developmental tasks assigned to the age group (Smulczyk 2016a; Smulczyk 2016b). In this view, it can be assumed (in a simplified way) that the mechanism of *resilience* works as follows: the pro-development resources of the social environment, together with individual dispositions, contribute to the positive development of youth, which in turn has a negative relationship with risky and problem behaviors, e.g. substance use, antisocial behavior, school

problems, mental problems (Ostaszewski 2014, pp. 119–122, Ye et al. 2021). Understood in this way, *resilience* fits into the model of positive prevention of risky behavior, which is, however, a broader concept, because in addition to strengthening protective factors (as in *resilience*), it also includes activities and programs aimed at reducing/avoiding risk factors (Lee et al. 2012, Liu et al. 2017, Ostaszewski 2014, pp. 121–124, Ye et al. 2021).

Joel Reyes (2013, p. 14) analyzing existing programs and research on *resilience* describes its mechanism in education. In his view, the basis is building resources and commitment in five dimensions:

1) cognitive (finding meaning and worthwhile goals),
2) emotional (searching for identity, self-esteem and well-being),
3) proactive (developing competencies and skills to enable control),
4) relational (involvement in groups: spiritual, interest groups), and
5) devotion/commitment (importance to others and responsibility for others).

Educational resilience can build on existing programs – as long as they provide high quality education (support learning) and build resources for socioeconomic and psychosocial well-being (Reyes 2013).

The mechanisms that allow one to achieve success in life despite the presence of unfavorable developmental factors in the environment work by stimulating the ability to act effectively, reducing stressful events or creating new opportunities and resources. Following authors working on the concept of *resilience* (Lee et al. 2000, Liu et al. 2017, Michel 2014; Ostaszewski 2014; Smulczyk 2016a; Pyżalski, 2017, Ye et al. 2021), several groups of protective factors can be identified, among which school quality, understood as: positive school climate, teacher support, bonding with school/teachers, as well as high quality of teaching, is explicitly mentioned. In other groups of protective factors we can also identify those that indirectly relate to the resources of the school environment (division quoted from: Ostaszewski 2014, pp. 96–98):

1) the child's (adolescent's) relationship with those in the immediate social environment (including maintaining good relationships with competent adults – other than parents, e.g., teachers, mentors; maintaining contact with pro-social peers);
2) individual characteristics and abilities of the child/adolescent (including, but not limited to, involvement in daily activities, including the individual level of commitment to social welfare):
3) resources of the environment outside the family and place of residence (including youth clubs, religious communities, voluntary service, participation in other organized extracurricular and after-school activities; access to counseling centers, crisis intervention centers).

Considerations so far indicate that, according to the assumptions of the *resilience* concept, the school environment can be a factor protecting against risky behavior of children and adolescents. At the same time, its key elements are those

related to: the quality of education, the formation of attitudes of involvement (in social life, membership in organizations and structures of school life), the formation of individual competencies and interests of students (including through the offer of extracurricular activities), as well as building relationships with other members of the school community. In view of this, a number of questions arise: To what extent do Polish schools create conditions conducive to building *resilience* in children and adolescents? To what extent do schools at various levels differ in this regard? To what extent do personal characteristics differentiate perceptions of the school environment and the extent to which it can play a role in fostering positive student adaptation?

In keeping with this theme, in this text we take a research look at the school as an environment for building individual *resilience* resources for male and female students.

The Method

The issues and objectives of the research

In this text we present an excerpt from the research carried out for the project "Educational Policy of the City of Poznań 2030," coordinated by the city's Department of Education[2].

The aim of the research was to learn about the experiences of male and female students in Poznań schools in several areas of school functioning, and to determine to what extent these experiences are developmentally favorable, and to examine what factors differentiate these experiences.

The areas of students' school experience, determining the research problems posed, are as follows: lessons; teacher/male & female student relations; form periods; peer relations; extracurricular activities offered; learning conditions – infrastructure; discrimination – unequal treatment; safety; kindness; psychological and pedagogical assistance; educational and vocational orientation or environmental/climate education.

The main research problem: to what extent do Poznań schools provide students with a context and a source of experiences that support their development? was detailed based on the aforementioned subfields of the school.

Thus, it was assumed that in the area of lessons, form periods, peer relations and so on, the school can create a good or bad development environment for students.

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[2] The author of the research concept and the tool was an expert team from the Department of Educational Studies at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

In the text, we will look at this issue in the context of the concept of *resilience*, pointing out those areas of the school's work that particularly require changes of a pro-development nature. We also highlight the determinants of the different experiences of students (due to the gender of the subjects and educational level). Thus, the goal is to identify the most deficient areas of school work in the experiences of girls and boys, elementary and secondary school learners in the context of forming their mental resilience resources.

The Participants

The survey covered male and female students of Poznań elementary schools (class VIII) and secondary schools: general high schools (class III), technical schools (class IV) and trade schools (class III) (excluding special schools).

Exactly 1,043 male and female students participated in the survey, of which 996 questionnaires were qualified for analysis. The majority of respondents were high school students (735 people, accounting for 73.8% of the total number of respondents) and adults (636 people). Slightly more girls (57%) than boys (39.5%) took part in the survey, and 14 people (1.4%) declared themselves non-binary. Most of the students surveyed came from Poznań (56.4%) or a city outside Poznań (21.5%). Representatives of rural areas accounted for 22.1% of the surveyed students.

Data collection procedure

The survey was carried out in February 2021 by the Department of Education in Poznań in cooperation with school principals using a survey technique posted on-line – CAWI. The Google Drive platform and Google Forms program were used to conduct the study. Information regarding the questionnaires, along with a request for its dissemination to the student community, was sent to all elementary and secondary schools for which the City of Poznań is the leading authority (via an internal instant messenger). The schools' principals, after reviewing the message, decided whether to join the project. Consents were obtained from parents of underage female and male participants. All students were informed about the goals of the study, its anonymity and the voluntariness of their participation.

In the text, we analyze selected questions of the questionnaire with a specified number of possible answers expressed on a Likert scale. Our goal was to identify areas of the school's work that represent specific deficits in school education and that need special strengthening. Thus, we selected for our analysis all those questions in which negative responses from respondents dominated, indicating some kind of lack or poor range of student experience described in the statement. We assumed that the criterion for selecting the empirical material we would analyze would be the overwhelming numerical advantage of negative

responses from students. This criterion was met by 13 questions from the survey questionnaire (out of 67 questions of the same structure): in each case, the sum of negative answers and *hard to say* accounted for at least 66% of the total responses.

Data analysis

The SPSS program (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was used to build the database, and for its quantitative analysis. The process of statistical analysis was divided into three parts: data preparation, categorization of observations from open-ended questions, preparation of summaries, calculation of significance tests, and presentation of calculations in the form of tables.

At the preparatory stage, after the questionnaire data was entered, data cleaning took place: filtering, grouping and aggregation of raw data, and verification, i.e. finding observations (answers) that indicate frivolous treatment (e.g., copying the same answers in all open-ended questions, giving off-topic answers, giving excess answers in questions where respondents were asked to indicate a specific number of answers, etc.).

Observations that did not meet the reliability criteria (including inconclusive observations) were generated and discarded from the data for further processing and analysis. As a result, only those data that did not raise any doubts about their substantive quality were submitted for analysis and interpretation.

Descriptive statistics, frequency analyses, tests of significance of differences (chi-square test of independence) were used to analyze the data.

Analysis of the research results

Deficit areas of school work in the experience of the people surveyed

We will begin our discussion of the results with a summary that considers the frequency of negative responses to selected survey questions. For each statement (included in the survey question), we indicate the percentage of respondents who selected answers indicating that the experience was rarely or not at all experienced by students: the sum of negative answers, i.e. "definitely not, rather not", "at no teacher, at some teachers", "at no lessons, at some lessons" (depending on the number of possible answers) and "hard to say". Data are given in aggregate form, the order of questions in the table reflects the degree of prevalence of negative answers (from the highest).

Table 1. Deficit areas of school work in the experience of the people surveyed (N = 959[3])

Content of the question	Total (% of N)
(1) During lessons, desks are arranged differently than in rows (e.g., we work in a circle, with desks arranged in islands, etc.)	94.4
(2) During lessons, we also learn how to learn	86.8
(3) In my school we work with the project method	82.1
(4) My teachers can: Develop an entrepreneurial attitude in students	71.4
(5) At my school, we can relax during breaks between lessons (e.g., places like the "quiet zone" are available)	71.3
(6) In my school we have an influence on the selection of content and teaching methods	70.9
(7) Through form periods we can get to know ourselves better, reflect on who we are, how others see us	69.1
(8) The activities offered by the school help me make decisions about my educational and professional future	69.0
(9) We work together in lessons (e.g., working in task groups)	68.4
(10) My school has interesting extracurricular activities (e.g., interest development circles, theater groups, sports activities, etc.)	68.1
(11) During lessons, teachers also adapt the way they teach to the abilities and needs of students with learning difficulties	67.9
(12) My teachers can: Shape digital competencies in students	66.8
(13) My school offers a variety of entertainment events (e.g., gaming tournaments, art reviews)	66.6

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

The questions under analysis make it possible to outline the peculiar deficits of school education, which are related to the infrastructural facilities of the school and the specific dimensions of the didactic and extracurricular offerings, they are arranged in certain bundles of interrelated elements.

As for the school's infrastructure, in light of the respondents' answers, students generally do not encounter classrooms in which the arrangement of space (arrangement of desks) is conducive to cooperative interactions between peers. A traditional configuration of desks prevails: students sit in frontally oriented rows. The school's teaching offerings are also particularly poor when it comes to students' work with the project method and student experience of cooperation.

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[3] For the analysis of the statistical relationship, we considered the population of respondents excluding non-binary people (N=959) due to the very low count, affecting the reliability of the obtained analyses by gender. For this reason, their responses were analyzed separately.

The next four questions reveal the peculiar "hollowness" of the school world in the context of shaping important psychosocial competencies of students enabling them to reflectively and responsibly direct their destinies: learning skills, entrepreneurship, influence on learning-teaching processes, knowledge of self and insight into self as well as planning educational and professional future and the digital competencies so important today.

Another neglected area of the school's offerings, according to the survey results, are extracurricular activities: both those in the form of interest groups and entertainment events organized by the school.

Deficit areas of school work in the experience of students of different levels of education

The next step in the analyses conducted was to compare the statistical performance of students of different educational levels, as well as girls and boys. Differentiation by educational level is presented in Table 2. It contains the data in aggregate form (similar to the previous table) with a breakdown of the responses of students from elementary and secondary schools and the result of the analysis of the significance of the differences between them (in the case of statistical significance, the result indicating relatively higher deficits is bolded).

Table 2. Comparison of deficit areas in the work of elementary (N=249) and secondary (N=710) schools in the experience of respondents

Content of the question	Percentage (%) of responses indicating a deficit in experience		
	Elementary schools (% of N = 249)	Secondary schools (% of N = 710)	chi-square test result (N = 959)
(1) During lessons, desks are arranged differently than in rows (e.g., we work in a circle, with desks arranged in islands, etc.)	95.5	94.2	$\chi^2 = 3.553$ $p = 0.615$
(2) During lessons, we also learn how to learn	79.3	89.3	$\chi^2 = 71.908$ $p < 0.001$
(3) In my school we work with the project method	70.5	85.3	$\chi^2 = 38.389$ $p < 0.001$
(4) My teachers can: Develop an entrepreneurial attitude in students	68.5	72.6	$\chi^2 = 23.860$ $p < 0.001$
(5) At my school, we can relax during breaks between lessons (e.g., places like the "quiet zone" are available)	84.5	66.9	$\chi^2 = 44.642$ $p < 0.001$
(6) In my school we have an influence on the selection of content and teaching methods	67.4	72.7	$\chi^2 = 13.766$ $p < 0.05$

Content of the question	Percentage (%) of responses indicating a deficit in experience		
	Elementary schools (% of N = 249)	Secondary schools (% of N = 710)	chi-square test result (N = 959)
(7) Through form periods we can get to know ourselves better, reflect on who we are, how others see us	47.7	76.6	$\chi^2 = 93.800$ $p < 0.001$
(8) The activities offered by the school help me make decisions about my educational and professional future	62.6	71.8	$\chi^2 = 14.786$ $p < 0.01$
(9) We work together in lessons (e.g., working in task groups)	61.8	70.5	$\chi^2 = 12.292$ $p < 0.05$
(10) My school has interesting extracurricular activities (e.g., interest development circles, theater groups, sports activities, etc.)	54.8	71.0	$\chi^2 = 39.490$ $p < 0.001$
(11) During lessons, teachers also adapt the way they teach to the abilities and needs of students with learning difficulties	58.8	73.8	$\chi^2 = 37.617$ $p < 0.001$
(12) My teachers can: Shape digital competencies in students	58.9	70.1	$\chi^2 = 54.631$ $p < 0.001$
(13) My school offers a variety of entertainment events (e.g., gaming tournaments, art reviews)	65.9	67.1	$\chi^2 = 1.019$ $p = 0.907$

Source: results of research carried out under the project "Strategy for the Development of Education of the City of Poznań 2030."

Of the thirteen deficit areas of school work considered, the vast majority showed statistically significant differences between the experiences of students representing elementary schools and those representing secondary schools. At the same time, based on the data, it can be pointed out that:

1. with regard to almost all analyzed areas of school work, relatively greater deficits concern the experiences of secondary school students than those of elementary school students;

2. the relatively greatest discrepancy in the experiences of students representing different levels of education relates to the formative function of form periods – developing insight and self-reflection during them (statement 7), such an experience was indicated by approximately one in two people from elementary school and one in four from secondary school. Relatively pronounced discrepancies (differences of about 15%) also apply to project-based work (statement 3), adapting the way of conducting classes to students with learning problems (statement 11), and offering extracurricular activities to develop interests (statement 10);

3. only one area showed relatively greater deficits in the experience of elementary school students (than those from secondary schools) – this concerned opportunities for recreation during breaks between lessons (statement 5);

4. the experiences of students from different levels of education were similar in the areas of deficits regarding working in a space with a non-traditional arrangement of desks (statement 1) and school entertainment offerings (statement 13) – no statistically significant differences were found in these areas.

Based on the analyses, statistically significant differences were also shown in the distribution of data by the gender of the subjects. They concerned the areas:

— adaptation by teachers of the way of conducting classes to the abilities and needs of students with learning problems (statement 11; N = 962; χ^2 = 36.881, p < 0.01); there was a relatively larger group of women – 75.1% (compared to 61.1% of men) who indicated deficits in this regard;

— opportunities to get to know themselves better through form periods (statement 7; N = 962; χ^2 = 13.725, p < 0.01); the group of women (72.6%) who indicated deficits in this regard appeared relatively more numerous than the corresponding group of men (62.9%).

In the ranges indicated above, the surveyed schools create relatively more deficits in the experience of female students than in the experience of male students.

Discussion

The issue of the research, the results of which we cite, concerned many areas of school work. We surveyed student experiences gathered from: lessons, teacher/student relations; form periods; peer relations; extracurricular activities offered; learning conditions (infrastructure); discrimination (unequal treatment); safety; kindness; psychological and pedagogical assistance; educational and vocational orientation or environmental/climate education. It turns out that among the worst results in the first places are those related to the arrangement of school space. Respondents actually have no experience of any other arrangement of desks in the classroom other than in rows. And since "The organization of space maps the social organization" (Nowotniak 2002, p. 5), it can be assumed that young people learning in such a traditional space arrangement receive a clear (albeit implicit, cf: Nowotniak 2002; 2018) message that the key role in the learning process is played by a teacher, not them. The responses of students point to another dimension of school space poorly present in their experiences: the lack of places ("quiet zones") in which they could rest. The inability of students to regenerate their psychophysical strength while feeling overloaded by noise at school (Augustyńska, Radosz, 2009) reduces the quality of their psychosocial and cognitive functioning. Thus, in the school space, it is difficult to have experiences that foster the development

of *resilience* resources for students, and in models of *educational resilience* (such as that of Silas Casillas), it is logistical support, understood as the situation of students in relation to the material conditions of the school, its infrastructure and equipment, that plays an important role (Silas Casillas 2008; Smulczyk 2016a). Meanwhile, as Wojciech Kocki, Jacek Bogucki and Bartłomiej Kwiatkowski (2015) write, Poland lacks regulations that would mandate schools to follow the guidelines of environmental psychology in designing spaces (Bańka 2018), rather than just health and safety regulations. Meanwhile, the characteristics of a school's physical environment are one of the dimensions of its climate (Cohen 2010; Tableman 2004; Ostaszewski 2012), and this, in turn, as indicated by numerous studies, is reflected, for example, in the rates of various types of violence present at school (Muñiz 2017; Holt, Espelage 2003; Jankowiak, Jaskulska et al. 2020).

The importance of schooling as a pillar for shaping the mental resilience of students, as Robert Opora (2016) puts it, encompasses school influences holistically (and not just simplistically reduced to the level of school achievement): "School can offer a range of opportunities to increase psychological resilience, acting complementarily to a basic sense of security, creating conditions for the proper formation of self-esteem, a sense of efficacy, and creates opportunities for constructive interactions with peers and supportive adults (Garbarino et al., 1992; Gilligan, 1998). In addition to social-emotional support, ensuring the safety of the minor, it is usually necessary to support cognitive competencies, related to academic performance" (Opora 2016, p. 201). A disturbing phenomenon, therefore, is the deficit identified in the research in the school experiences of children and adolescents related not only to their participation in learning-teaching processes, but also in the broader life of the school. Students did not feel that they were taught how to learn, worked through the project method or had a say in the selection of content and teaching methods during lessons. This diagnosis is in line with the thinking of school as a place that replicates the expository methods of teaching (Szulc 2019), while – referring even to the concept of cognitive independence (Sikorski 2015) – methods of independent pursuit of knowledge are important for harmonious development in the emotional and cognitive spheres, as well as for building *resilience* of young people. Therefore, revealed in the distribution of results, the practical "absence" of the project method in the school experience of children and adolescents is an indicator of a kind of "neglect" by the school: the school does not seize the opportunity to empower students in the practice of learning-teaching. This is because the project method is a way of activating students, and it enables authentic individualization of the learning process, fosters the formation of a whole catalog of psychosocial skills of the individual (independence, responsibility, ability to work in a group and communicate with others, planning of work), forms a sense of agency. The cooperation of students in the course of lessons (and not only), in turn, provides training for building bonds, coordinating activities, agreeing on the purpose and

manner of joint activity, and resolving conflicts (Gołębniak 2002; Dylak 2000; Kupiec 2013). Various studies confirm that in groups that work with the project method, motivation increases, students' attitudes towards learning change (for example, towards taking responsibility for the process), critical thinking and problem-solving skills increase (Morais 2018). All of this translates into the competence of students – not only in the area covered by the project, but also in other areas. A competent student knows how to solve problems, is ready to undertake the effort to work, understands his or her role in a cause, finds motivation for action, sees it in context, reaches for familiar solutions in new situations, and does all this in a socially acceptable and even desirable way (Górowska-Fells, Płatos, Rybińska 2018).

Another problem that emerges from our analysis concerns the quality of the school's extracurricular offerings. The role of all that, which constitutes the school's offer of classes "outside the classroom", is particularly important for students who find the school's didactic requirements difficult to meet. Their classroom experience tends to be situations in which they have a sense of being inferior, which in turn lowers their self-esteem and depletes their already usually poor resources for dealing constructively with difficult situations. But the school environment "can contribute to the formation of the so-called «island of competence», i.e. create in the child a belief that he or she is good at something" (Opora 2016, p. 203). This kind of experience has a strong protective potential, as it is oriented towards discovering the student's strengths rather than recognizing his or her deficits and possible disorders (Konopczyński 2006). Stimulating students' interests, creating space for the presentation of sometimes very specific individual resources of children and adolescents in the school arena is a way of shaping their positive self-esteem and, consequently, their psychological resilience as well (Opora 2016; Konopczyński 2006).

In addition to diagnosing the school's deficit areas, it was also possible to compare elementary and secondary schools in terms of the research questions we posed. It can definitely be said that secondary schools "perform" worse, that is, their students have less pro-development experiences than the elementary school respondents. Other diagnoses of the school environment show that elementary school have a better climate than secondary schools (Czapiński 2009; Hernik, Malinowska et al. 2015). In the context of the results we obtained, it is worth recalling the fact that even such an element of the school climate as a student-friendly space arrangement is rather typical of the youngest grades of elementary schools. There, colorful decor or setting up desks in a circle or corners for relaxation are practiced (Dudel, Głoskowska-Sołdatow 2009). In secondary schools, one sees a rather traditional organization of space, which leads, for example, to a lack of *intimacy* in the school space (Butterfly 2020), and in light of the *resilience* concept is not conducive to building protective resources.

It is interesting to note that gender turned out to be a variable that hardly differentiated the school experience, which we diagnose as the least developmental and, in terms of *resilience* resources, the least protective. If differences do appear, it is to the disadvantage of girls. Thus, although to a small extent, it is possible to speak of the privileging of boys in the use of the resources of the school environment, also diagnosed in other studies (Kopciewicz 2009).

Final thought

From the perspective of the *resilience* concept, a school can provide the resources needed for students to cope with difficult situations by creating space to develop new competencies, build positive relationships with others, or create conditions for equalizing life chances. In this view, in light of the research results presented in this text, the dominant approach to space in Polish schools, especially in secondary schools, requires special consideration. Also, concern for the formation of the competence of reflective participation of students in the process of learning and building their own interests seems all the time not to be the domain of the school. Girls and older students are characterized by school experiences that are less favorable to the development of their *resilience* resources, so they are groups that require special support.

The characteristics of particularly deficient areas of the school's work expose its institutional absence in the process of building individual resilience resources for students. And the potential of the school in the process of supporting children and adolescents is difficult to overestimate: it fits into both external and internal protective factors (Opora 2016, pp. 191–232). As an important developmental context for children and adolescents, the school has a role in shaping students' sense of elementary stability and security, is a source of their school achievements, a space for peer relations, has a chance to develop students' abilities and interests, form their value system and shape their social competence. However, in order for students' school experiences to build their resilience resources, it is necessary to develop individuals' self-regulation skills (Zimmerman 2020) that strengthen "their ability to plan, manage the learning process, and overcome difficulties that arise in everyday learning" (Smulczyk 2017). It is also crucial to foster a climate of cooperation in the classroom and, importantly, to practice collaborative relationships. In light of the research results analyzed, the school is missing its opportunity to actively support the positive psychosocial development of children and adolescents, when the weakest areas of the school's work are those that should have a significant role in this process.

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