

Letnik XXXI, številka 3–4, 2020

Revija za teorijo in raziskave vzgoje in izobraževanja

Šolsko polje

Convention on the Rights
of the Child: Educational
Opportunities and Social
Justice

Editors: Zdenko Kodelja
and Urška Štremfel

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Šolsko polje je mednarodna revija za teorijo ter raziskave vzgoje in izobraževanja z mednarodnim uredniškim odborom. Objavlja znanstvene in strokovne članke s širšega področja vzgoje in izobraževanja ter edukacijskih raziskav (filozofija vzgoje, sociologija izobraževanja, uporabna epistemologija, razvojna psihologija, pedagogika, andragogika, pedagoška metodologija itd.), pregledne članke z omenjenih področij ter recenzije tako domačih kot tujih monografij s področja vzgoje in izobraževanja. Revija izhaja trikrat letno. Izdaja jo *Slovensko društvo raziskovalcev šolskega polja*. Poglavitni namen revije je prispevati k razvoju edukacijskih ved in interdisciplinarnemu pristopu k teoretičnim in praktičnim vprašanjem vzgoje in izobraževanja. V tem okviru revija posebno pozornost namenja razvijanju slovenske znanstvene in strokovne terminologije ter konceptov na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja ter raziskovalnim paradigmam s področja edukacijskih raziskav v okviru družboslovno-humanističnih ved.

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Convention on the Rights of the Child: Educational Opportunities and Social Justice

Foreword

Zdenko Kodelja, Educational Research Institute, Slovenia
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This double issue of *Šolsko polje* has two parts. The first part is a thematic issue on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, particularly how it relates to educational opportunities and social justice. The second part is the *Varia* issue, containing discussions on various actual educational research topics.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted in 1989. The main novelty it brought is its recognition of liberty rights for children, that is, a special kind of rights to freedom of speech, religion, assembly etc., sometimes called “participatory rights” as well. However, although these freedoms are ascribed to all children, only some children can actually exercise them. For, liberty rights are rights of choice, which presupposes the autonomy of the subject of those rights. Therefore, only someone who is capable of making rational judgements, choices and decisions can exercise them. But the problem is that the Convention does not specify when children are able to freely take reasonable decisions regarding exercising or not the liberty rights the Convention recognises for them. In addition, the right of children to freedom of religion, which is one of the liberty rights, is in conflict with the parents’ right to educate their children in accordance with their own, that is, parents’, religious convictions. This right of the child is closely related to the right to education. There is no doubt that this right, whose exercise appears to be taken for granted in the developed world, is violated for many people and in many places. We can see this easily from the information that more than 100 million children are deprived of the most basic education. These and similar figures show two things. On one hand, they bear witness to the

injustice suffered by millions of children in different parts of the world; on the other, they highlight the vast differences in the global distribution of educational opportunities. Because educational opportunities are essential to ensuring equal opportunities and since without equality of opportunity there is no social justice, it is clear that great injustices are being done in the world in which we live. Yet, the injustices resulting from violations of the right to basic education as a fundamental human and child right are far from equally distributed. They mainly occur in the most underdeveloped and extremely poor countries. This means the nationality or membership of a particular nation is today a much stronger factor affecting the inequality of opportunity than are race, gender or even talent and ability, as it is nationality that determines different educational opportunities and labour market access and to quite unequal systems of social rights. However, this stands in stark contrast with the traditional concept of social justice, which requires that those who have the same abilities and an equal will to learn must not simply have equal opportunities for education but also for success in education, irrespective of their social status, race, nationality, religion etc. Still, is it necessary and appropriate to expand this understanding of justice to the global level?

The five articles in this thematic issue address these and other challenges of realising the Convention on the Rights of the Child from different perspectives, theoretical and empirical backgrounds. The first three articles discuss these issues on a global level.

Zoe Moody in her article *Children's Rights to, in and through Education: Challenges and Opportunities* addresses the practical implications and challenges of providing schools as an ideal space/save haven in which children's rights are fully respected and implemented. By employing a descriptive approach through the prism of the concepts of diversity, participation and social transformation, she exposes how unrealistic or even idealistic this goal currently is. She explains why ensuring access to quality education and effectively removing exclusionary practices are still global concerns with regard to ensuring that all children are entitled, as subjects of the law, to acquire knowledge and skills, notwithstanding characteristics like gender, citizenship, migrant status, disability status, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, ethnic background, family language, religion and imprisonment. She indicates a few solutions to help move towards the effective transformative education that would support the full realisation of children's rights in and through education.

In the article *Implementation and Protection of the Child's Right to Education*, Suzana Kraljić reviews instruments provided by important international human and child's rights treaties that have improved access

to education from a legal perspective. She asks in particular which protection is given in selected cases of infringements of a child's right to education and how has the European Court of Human Rights decided with respect to attempts to limit the child's right to education. Given the evidence she provides and the current COVID-19 situation, she concludes that as an international community and states we still have a long way to go to ensure full implementation and protection of the child's right to education.

Jelena Vranješević in her article *Convention on the Rights of the Child and Adulthood: How to Deconstruct a Myth?* sheds light on an important dilemma in the assurance of child rights – the question of the image of the child. Considering the 3-Ps formula (protection, provision and participation), she focuses on participation as a concept of evolving capacities that allow children to be actively involved in all decisions that might affect them, thus opposing the dominant “regimes of truth” in respect of the child's image as an immature, incomplete and passive object of adults' care and protection. She discusses the controversies of adulthood as an oppressive practice towards children and reveals the potential held by the Convention on the Rights of the Child to deconstruct this myth.

Two more articles discuss realising the Convention on the Rights of the Child in a certain national – Slovenian – context.

The article of Marjan Šimenc and Zdenko Kodelja in their article *The Realisation of the Right to Education in Slovenia* examines realisation of the right to education under Articles 28 and 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It particularly focuses on selected areas of the education of Roma children, the quality of knowledge and private education, topical areas relevant for enforcing the Convention not only in Slovenia, but also on the global level.

Urban Boljka, Jasmina Rosič and Tamara Narat in their article *Who Calls the Shots? The Insiders and Outsiders of (Un)just Participation in Slovenian Elementary Schools* deals with inequalities in exercise of the right to participate in elementary schools in Slovenia. The empirical research findings reveal that, according to the Rawlsian approach to the conceptualisation of justice and Fraser's recognition approach, child participation in Slovenian schools is lacking in substantive equality in participation outcomes.

Instead of a conclusion to the thematic issue, Zdenko Kodelja discusses other problems with children's rights, namely, the relationship between human and children's rights; the controversy over children's liberty rights; and the antinomy of rights.

Discussions in this thematic issue confirm that children's rights are an ambiguous and controversial issue. They point to several, but surely not all of the, challenges in realising the Convention on the Rights of the Child. By contributing to existing academic discussions, they are certain to also lead to new research agendas in the field.

The Varia issue consists of two articles in English and two in the Slovenian language. Mornar et al. in their article *Students' Social, Emotional and Intercultural Competencies and their Development in School Settings* provides a thorough review of the content, theoretical and conceptual background, methodological and organisational aspects of existing interventions for developing SEI competencies. Their evaluation shows the general effectiveness of such interventions. Due to the multiple similarities of the two revealed thus far in what are mainly separate approaches (social and emotional learning on one side and intercultural learning on the other), the authors provide arguments for their integration into further school-based interventions in the field.

The article *Public Universities in Post-Socialist States Could Become 'Un-Academic' after the 2020 Pandemic* may be understood as a critical essay in which Andraž Teršek expresses standpoints, poses critical views, devises hypotheses, raises doubts and opens controversial issues about the contemporary state of public universities in Slovenia from the standpoint of their values, academic autonomy, recent changes in their complex positions and structures, approaches to teaching and their role in social and cultural contexts. His critical views are supported by selected scientific evidence, an interview with a like-minded scholar, and public debates on these controversial issues.

Janez Drobnič in his article *Vocational Decisions and Career Guidance in the Context of Autonomy and Self-determination* provides an extensive review of the changes in career management that have occurred in recent years due to a dynamic economy and labour market, as well as the influences of modern approaches deriving from career development theories. He presents a synthesised competence career model for persons with special needs based on modern career management approaches.

Andreja Drobnič Vidic's article *Comparison of Two Interdisciplinary Student-centred Learning Approaches for Incorporation in the Field of Mathematics* deals with terminological and didactical questions of applying inquiry-based learning (IBL) and problem-based learning (PBL) in Slovenian mathematics education. Based on a thorough qualitative analysis, it shows the shortcomings of the recent inclusion of these approaches

in the field of mathematics and provides guidelines for successful interdisciplinary mathematics teaching.

In addition, two reviews are included in this issue. Pacale Emily Pečnik review the book *Children's Rights, Educational Research and the UNCRC: Past, Present and Future* edited by Fillett-Swan and Coppock. The second review is by Maja Dolinar and presents Hyslop-Margison and Thayer's book *Teaching Democracy: Citizenship Education as Critical Pedagogy*.

This issue ends with a report from the roundtable "Research between politics and science over the last four decades", organised as a tribute to the formal end of the research path of Prof. Dr. Darko Štrajn, the long-time editor of *Šolsko polje*.

Children's Rights to, in and through Education: Challenges and Opportunities

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Introduction

Since the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* was adopted in 1989 (hereafter the 'Convention' or 'UNCRC'), the issue of children's rights has been widely dispersed across the social sphere. The new socio-legal status given to the child, as the holder of inalienable and enforceable human rights, pervades the education field generally and the school in particular (Moody, 2014). Educational stakeholders encounter these issues on a number of levels, whether working to guarantee all children with free access to quality education, or defining the framework conditions which allow children to develop their cognitive, life and emotional skills to their full potential. The key issue is ensuring that by the end of the educational process all individuals have become socially and professionally integrated and can exercise their rights to full citizenship on the local, national and global levels.

The right to education is seen as being both a right in itself and a means of realising all rights of the child. Consequently, the obligations in the Convention examined here are the signatory States' undertakings to make primary education compulsory and available free to all (UNCRC, 1989, Art. 28), to appropriately and actively make the Convention's principles and provisions widely known to adults and children (UNCRC, 1989, Art. 42), while also promoting human rights, fundamental freedoms, equality of sexes, tolerance among peoples and cultural diversity (UNCRC, 1989, Art. 29). It is broadly understood that these legal provisions are the foundations of the right to education and of children's rights

education, and school is one of the first vectors. However, many children or categories of children do not have access to quality education, meaning these approaches have very little or no impact on them. Others attend schools whose administration or practices are incompatible with the basic principles of children's rights, denying children the ability to have, far less experience them. Advocates for education and children's rights therefore argue that a solution must be found to create for children a 'threat-free space' guaranteeing the right to education. This ideal space could represent a safe haven in which children's rights are fully respected and implemented and where they can learn to exercise, apply and experiment with these rights, through trial and error, in a social setting representative of real-world diversity.

This article seeks to examine the rhetorical question of how to achieve such a goal, exploring the multidimensional relationships between children's rights, educational opportunities and social justice, while addressing the related practical implications. This ultimate goal may seem unrealistic given the various realities and challenges encountered in the field, or even idealistic considering the criticism raised by scholars and practitioners, in particular concerning the "educationalisation" of childhood, notably throughout the schooling process (see Depaepe, 1989; Reynaert, Bouverne-de Bie and Vandeveld, 2009) and its normalising dimensions. Still, well aware of these limits and in line with Walzer (1983), this contribution considers that the field of education can be one of justice (re)distribution (also see Sabbagh and Schmitt, 2016). Therefore, examining the realisation of rights in education is not merely regarded as performing an uncritical analysis of a dated and culturally biased legal document: the UNCRC. Indeed, it could become a means for exploring which individual, social and global opportunities does the field of education hold and contribute to a multidimensional understanding of social justice, beyond legal treaties and by way of a more philosophical understanding of rights.

The approach proposed is more descriptive (concerned with what *is*) than prescriptive (concerned with what *ought to be*), although through the prism of the concepts of diversity, participation and social transformation it strives to conceptualise what kind of social project the full realisation of rights in education could support to achieve. Precisely, the objective is to give a clear picture of the right of the child *to, in* and *through* education – according to the well-established categorisation of rights related issues in education (see Verhellen, 1993; Quennerstedt and Moody, 2020). The main obstacles to access to education around the world are

1 Expression used by J. Lévinc, quoted by Meirieu (2002, p. 40).

first identified on a global level, without entering into national or local considerations that lie beyond the scope of this article. The issue of producing an inclusive, rights-infused environment in schools is then examined, working towards a description of an ideal goal and putting aside, for the sake of the exercise, the challenge and contradictions of the progressive realisation of rights. Finally, the transformative dimension of education and rights-education as educational opportunities and greater social justice are discussed.

Right and access to education

The UNCRC recognises the child's right *to* education, specifically urging the States Parties to “make primary education compulsory and available free to all” (1989, Art. 28, para. 1) and make other forms of education (secondary, vocational and higher education) “accessible to all” (1989, Art. 28, paras. 2-4). It is not the first instrument of international law to guarantee this right; it was previously seen with the establishment in 1948 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) by the newly-formed United Nations Organisation (UNO), guaranteeing free and compulsory education and accessibility on the basis of merit (Art. 26, para. 1)². However, the near-universal acceptance of the UNCRC (ratified by all member States, except the United States of America), its restrictive nature (a declaration does not carry the force of law) and particular focus on children as a target population for early instruction created an unprecedented lever for action on implementing the right to education.

Since the 1990s, the international community has also adopted several declarations (*Declaration of Jomtien* (1990), *Dakar* (2000), *Incheon* (2015)) and action programmes (*Education for all, Millennium Development Goals, Education 2030*) to ensure that all children have access to compulsory quality education and have the possibility of completing it. While these instruments have improved access to education from a legal perspective and raised the visibility of the political and social obstacles, weaknesses persist with a direct effect on implementing the right to education, and on research conducted in this area.

These instruments have kept close to the initial definition of the right first seen in the UHRD and later in the UNCRC, which McCowan described as a “strange hotchpotch” (2010, p. 511). The right to education has always been a paradox, very specific on some aspects – e.g. education must be free – or the institution responsible for teaching children – e.g. school – and yet very indirect on others like the preferred structure,

2 For background on the right to education, see Moody (2016).

processes or contents. The controversial aspects of the right to education are still unresolved, such as the equivalence between education and schooling (Reynaert et al., 2010) and the discretion of parents in the education they choose for their children (see Curren, 2009). Moreover, a research synthesis shows these issues have received little research attention, and that researchers' interest has recently been decreasing (Quennerstedt and Moody, 2020). Finally, the principle of the progressive realisation of the right to education – aimed at encouraging States to strive towards its gradual implementation if all aspects cannot reasonably be reached at the outset – can also lead some governments to put little resources into fulfilling it. This article does not aim to clarify the definition of the right to education, or propose exit routes from these controversies, but awareness of these debates and the critical study of certain observations will help highlight how diversity, participation and social transformation are integral to addressing – fulfilling – children's education rights.

In the field, monitoring reports on the programmes above indicate that despite the progress made, many school-age children and adolescents around the world do not attend school at all. The 2018 edition of the *Global Education Monitoring Report* shows that, in 2015, 264 million children of primary or secondary school age were not enrolled in school (9% of 6-11 years old, 16% of 12-14 years old, 37% of 15-17 years old). Noting that school enrolment does not necessarily lead to regular attendance or completion, the authors of the 2015 *Education for All Global Education Monitoring Report* also include school attendance and dropout figures: “in 32 countries, mostly in sub-Saharan Africa, at least 20% of children enrolled in primary school are not likely to reach the last grade” (p. 75). The report also highlights that in OECD countries, 20% of young people drop out before completing their upper secondary schooling. These figures illustrate the difficulties in fully implementing children's right to education and guaranteeing access to free quality education.

Aside from producing a clear definition, one issue behind these enrolment, attendance and dropout rates is discrimination: certain categories of children and particular nations or world regions are highly over-represented (see Miles and Singal, 2010). For example, only 66% of countries have reached gender parity in elementary grades and 45% at secondary level (lower cycle). Further, gender parity is most likely to be achieved in the richest countries (*Education for All Global Education Monitoring Report*, 2015). The possibility of children accessing a quality education therefore varies considerably depending on criteria which have little to do with their actual capacity to learn – namely gender, citizenship, migrant status, disability status, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, ethnic

background, family language, religion and imprisonment – and there is evidence for this worldwide (see Tomasevski, 2003). By placing the focus on education for all, the instruments described above have sometimes led to categories of marginalised or disadvantaged children being ignored.

This observation is one of the starting points for this special issue and leads us to examine the injustices suffered by children around the world: differences in the global distribution of opportunities for education produce inequalities in opportunity, now a difficult if not impossible distribution of justice. From a critical sociological perspective, Benton (1993) described it as follows: “if the socioeconomic inequalities are preventing individuals in practice from acquiring the necessary skills or resources to exercise rights, they become simply formal and ineffective” (p. 118). The reality is that there are many consequences of children and adolescents failing to attend school – individual, social, medical and financial – and these have been documented (see Tomasevski, 2003). Here, we will see that violating the right to education ultimately leads to the violation of all rights (non-discrimination, development, freedom of expression etc.) and, within the scope of this article, of the right of every child to be properly informed of their rights and to learn how to exercise them in a suitable educational setting. The possibility for out-of-school children to exercise their rights in both the public and private spheres is put at risk from a very early age, compromising their individual potential to develop and improve their quality of life (UNESCO, 1990) and ultimately affecting social structures and processes (Sabbagh and Schmitt, 2016).

Respecting and implementing the rights of the child in education

Educators face challenges on a daily basis: respecting and implementing the rights of the child in schools, promoting the rights of all, and considering settings which are conducive to implementing and learning about rights. Whether children are marginalised or disadvantaged, victims of violence or teaching practices ill-suited to their needs, children's rights mean that the suitability of all levels of the teaching institution – as the main education provider – can be called into question.

School for all?

Respecting children's rights in school carries many challenges. In addition to the problems some experience to access a quality education system, children may face discrimination at school, which leads to drop-out or failure (see the figures in point 2). Some categories of children are therefore far more likely to be discriminated against in their schooling due to a lack of facilities or appropriately trained staff, or to exclusionary

policies and practices. Many children with characteristics like a disability or learning difficulties, disadvantaged social background, experiencing poverty, or from a migrant family are at greater risk of having their specific rights inadequately considered by the school, even in countries which declare themselves as having inclusion policies, as defined in the *Salamanca Statement*, “education for all” (UNESCO, 1994).

It is reported, for example, that children with disabilities or learning difficulties are victims of rights violations at school. Aggregate data from *Disability Rights Promotion International Individual Monitoring Projects* (Bolivia, Canada (Toronto and Quebec), India and the Philippines)³ show that students with disabilities experience a lack of autonomy, erosion of dignity, discrimination and inequality, exclusion and inaccessibility, disrespect for difference in school (Rioux and Pinto, 2010; also see Miles and Singal, 2010). In the decision-making process, Lundy and Kilpatrick (2006) show that in Ireland assessments do not make sufficient consideration of pupils with disabilities, and there tend to be very few opportunities for these children to give their views on decisions affecting them.

When they can access education, the children of migrants, asylum seekers or ethnic minorities are also impacted by non-inclusive or ethnocentric practices. In Switzerland, as children are assessed in the teaching language or in reference to the host culture, they are at greater risk of encountering problems at school (Sanchez-Mazas and Changkakoti, 2017; also see Haenni Hoti et al., 2015). In Germany, pupils from a migrant background are more likely to be disadvantaged (55% among first-generation migrants and 42% among the second generation (*Authoring Group Educational Reporting*, 2016)). Education research has long recorded the high proportion of these children in special classes or schools: in Iceland, a child from a migrant background has on average a 20% probability of needing specialised support, regardless of discrimination or disadvantage due to his or her origin (also see Sahrai, 2015).

The challenge in such cases is to go beyond the issue of access, as “tackling exclusion requires halting and reversing exclusionary policies and practices, not only countering their effects”, according to Tomasevski (2006, p. 44). A complete paradigm change in schools is needed to implement and reaffirm the rights of the child: difference should not be seen as

3 All data provided in this paper are chosen according to their accessibility and scientific relevance. When possible, aggregated data are chosen to provide a broader overview of the issue at stake. If such data are unavailable, data from specific, randomly chosen, nations or regions, and confirmed by at least another source, are presented. Yet most studies focus on Western countries or regions since most of the published scientific research is conducted there (see Quennerstedt and Moody, 2020).

a handicap to be overcome, rather than the diversity of the attending children can become a resource for the entire school community (Lafortune and Gaudet, 2000; Sliwka, 2010). The concept of the inclusive school is based on:

The premise that diversity is the norm and that to ensure equity for everyone, schools must adapt to the realities and needs of the pupils, not the reverse. It advises 'starting with the needs' and rights of pupils in order to adjust the services or practices of an institution so that all pupils can succeed. (Potvin, 2014, p. 102, translation by the author)

In her plea for education to be adapted to children, Tomasevski mentions their "right to be regarded as different" (2006, p. 21) and, we can add, to be respected and valued as such. Such a call does not have to lead to a relativistic position. All differences cannot be valued in the same way in school: for instance, attitudes threatening the school's functioning or the common-good should be channelled and controlled.

In addition, reaffirming the rights of the child on a day-to-day basis, tackling deep-seated discrimination in the education system and striving to ensure that every schoolchild can find their place means addressing all of the other threats to children's rights, such as bullying, school violence, civil rights violations etc.

Children's rights at school

There are genuine challenges in creating the above-mentioned 'threat-free space', to promote as described hereafter the minimum conditions in which children can calmly engage in their day-to-day learning and reach their full potential. Using education to promote the spirit of human rights, fundamental freedoms and equality of sexes, tolerance among peoples and cultural diversity is another obligation of the Convention's States parties (1989, Art. 29, paras. 2 and 4) and it is referenced in several international instruments (most recently in *United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training* (UNDHRET), 2011). There is also a legal and academic consensus that promoting this spirit of openness and inclusion in the educational sphere leads it to develop through both the learning *content* and *processes* (Brantefors, Quennerstedt and Tarman, 2016; Gerber, 2017; Thelander, 2016). If pupils are expected to acquire skills *about* the standards, principles and values of children's rights, and human rights in general, then the States must also provide the schooling conditions to guarantee the rights of the learners and teachers *through* learning and teaching, giving them the means to exercise their own rights,

and respect and defend those of others (learn *for*) (Bajaj, 2017; Flowers, 2004; Struthers, 2015; Tibbitts, 2005).

Let us now examine the issues involved in respecting children's rights at school and in education, highlighted by Miles and Singal as follows:

The 'value added' nature of inclusive education is not only in its raising of issues of quality of education and placement, but more importantly it brings to the forefront issues about social justice. Inclusive education provides an opportunity for society to examine critically its social institutions and structures. (2010, p. 12)

Framework conditions can be used to create a positive school climate in which everyone's rights are respected, and to provide a structure for reflecting on a quality school. The notion of 'school climate' is based on a subjective experience of academic and institutional life, and applies to the entire educational community. This experience is determined by analysing life and learning background, the well-being of all actors (pupils, teachers etc.), the resources in place to create good conditions universally (Debarbieux, 2015; Janosz, Georges, and Parent, 1998). For prosocial interpersonal relationships to flourish, the school needs for example to take a systematic, effective and permanent approach to tackling discrimination and bullying, suffered by 5% to 15% of pupils, and whose short- and long-term consequences for individuals and the school community are widely documented (Debarbieux, 2011; Moody, et al., 2013; Rigby, 2003; Schoeler et al., 2018). The resulting sense of justice and security helps children learn about their rights at school by respecting and implementing them. Another example is the elimination of all forms of violence towards children (UNCRC, 1989, Art. 19) in the school setting, whether abuse (psychological, physical or sexual violence) or 'educational' violence, with the purpose of 'correcting' and 'remedying' any behaviour which deviates from the norm (Shumba, 2003)⁴.

A school's pedagogical practices are also questioned when the desire to implement children's rights at school emerges. As a subject of the law, a social actor and not merely a receptacle of knowledge, the child welcomes active learning methods and/or critical pedagogies; learners go on to become agents of their own learning and participate fully in school life (Louviot, 2020). The knowledge and skills they acquire become meaningful and can be applied to personal plans and/or pressing societal issues (Louviot, Moody and Darbellay, 2019). In the big picture, school is where

4 For a critique of some rights-respecting programmes which do not genuinely promote rights in education but more 'good behaviour' and pupil obedience, see especially Trivers and Starkey (2012).

the foundations of citizenship are formed and laid. Meaningfulness, interest and active involvement are all elements producing a genuine sense of belonging to the school community, to a knowledge community, and to society as a whole – the society which children are destined to inhabit and contribute to as subjects of the law. Children's rights support and shape the learning process to allow the development of skills for the 21st century world, amongst which creativity and critical thinking (Darbellay, 2019).

Lastly, implementing the rights of each child, either in the school setting or through teaching practices, allows a sense of justice to emerge (Covell, 2013). When a child grows in a respectful, positive environment, he or she learns the basis of living together, justice distribution and social cohesion. He or she can then know, recognise and implement the rights of the individual, ensuring equal dignity for all and understanding the scope of human rights by exercising their own and respecting others' (Moody, in press).

The transformative aim of children's rights

If the initial intention of human rights education, and thereby children's rights education, was "promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship between all nations and all racial or religious groups" (UHRD, 1948, Art. 26, para. 2)⁵, nowadays the focus has shifted onto the processes of empowerment, emancipation and even transformation. Rights *through* education and more specifically rights education now aims to promote a just society and reduce inequalities by ensuring that learners become agents of change to transform the system: "activists for human rights through the process of HRE (Human Rights Education) by sharing information with others and actively working to defend human rights" (Bajaj and DasGupta, 2017, p. 5; also see Tibbitts, 2015).

Considering human rights education as emancipating is ambitious. One approach is to see it as a way of surpassing the declarative, non-reflexive approaches which sometimes form the basis of this type of teaching: namely, developing knowledge about standards, their content and the mechanisms to enforce them, without challenging them (Keet, 2012; also see Reynaert, Bouverne-deBie and Vandeveld, 2010; Snauwaert, 2019). Alternatively, this view can be considered as going beyond education, and exercising one's rights in a protected, fictitious setting: namely school. It is essential for children that their rights are respected by and within school – as the only social institution solely reserved for them – while also allowing them to experience the educational mechanisms designed to develop

5 Also see the 1993 *United Nations Vienna Declaration*, which was a "watershed moment for HRE" (Bajaj and DasGupta, 2018, p. 3).

their skills in democratic debate. The challenge of rights education lies in putting words into action, in going beyond the notion of “exercising”, rather bringing children’s rights to life by practising them here and now so that children can activate their transformative power, developing as individuals and going on to improve society now and in the future (Rinaldi, Moody and Darbellay, 2020; Tibbitts, 2005).

This however is where we see the paradox of the desire to drive change. If the first step is emancipation through one’s rights, the transformative aim that this carries is likely to seriously question the frame of reference through which we develop (Mezirow, 1997), as well as social structures and processes. Transformative education is based on the desire to drive change by studying the belief values and systems of individuals as well as their attitudes and behaviours. Action needs to be taken on tensions in the groups, and convention defied. It also requires the capacity to identify the complex, global issues affecting many players and to develop solution strategies. Learners must be able to reflect critically and personally so as to identify discriminatory situations and, if they are aware of their rights and understand justice redistribution principles, they will know how to tackle such situations.

Can school meet this challenge and is it the most appropriate institution to do so? How can it bring urgency to the need for change, give lessons which develop knowledge and skills leading to change, and make space to implement and strengthen the imagined changes? What are the pedagogical and methodological requirements of such ambitions? And, most of all, are schools and society ready to embrace such fundamental changes and transformations?

Conclusion

Children’s rights to, in and through education incorporate many challenges in terms of both implementation and the pedagogical and social change opportunities they bring. On one hand, ensuring access to quality education and effectively removing exclusionary practices are still global concerns when ensuring that all children are entitled, as subjects of the law, to acquire knowledge and skills, regardless of characteristics like gender, citizenship, migrant status, disability status, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, ethnic background, family language, religion and imprisonment. Moreover, it should be noted that little research is carried out on this priority issue. On the other hand, effectively implementing the rights of the child – protecting against discrimination and violence, creating a calm climate for learning and development, participatory pedagogies and structures etc. – all within an educational establishment

pervaded with the social issues of today's globalised world, remains a major challenge for 21st century educators. Further, most research on the topic remains focused on describing the current situation, offering few solutions to move towards effective transformative education.

This does not take into account the opportunities for the educational institution to be a bastion of children's human rights promotion and defence: enabling children to become true agents of change capable of responding to the challenges of our diverse, globalised world in a reasoned, enlightened and democratic way, while respecting the rights of all, for greater social justice. This presents a new set of questions for researchers and practitioners: how can these ambitions transcend cultural differences? How can educators be best trained to manage projects of this nature, which methods and instruments are at their disposal? Transforming the world of today and tomorrow is both a challenge and an opportunity faced by education and children's rights and presented to, by and for children, who have never needed their rights more.

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Implementation and Protection of the Child's Right to Education

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Introduction

The right to education may be dated back to 1791 when it was first mentioned in Article 1 of the then French Constitution. In 1793, it was also included in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (Article 22). According to the Constitution of 1791 and the Declaration of 1793, the right to education meant the right to public education or schooling, as provided by the state and available free of charge to all citizens (Šimenc and Kodelja, 2015, p. 197). In 1921, the International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted the Co10 – Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention (No. 10), one of the most important milestones in the child's right to education. Article 1 of the Convention states: "Children under the age of fourteen years may not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking, or in any branch thereof, save outside the hours fixed for school attendance. If they are employed outside the hours of school attendance, the employment shall not be such as to prejudice their attendance at school." Still, for millions of children throughout the world, enjoyment of the right to education remains a distant goal. Their age and (im)maturity make children a vulnerable group of the population, one provided with special protection by international and national legal acts. Despite the general vulnerability of children, individual groups of children are particularly vulnerable due to their health (e.g. children with a disability) or the circumstances (e.g. Roma, child soldiers, children facing domestic violence or poverty) in which they find themselves. These children have many of their human and child's rights

violated, where the right to education is especially vulnerable. Education is critical for the short-, medium- and long-run well-being of any child. This article's chief focus is on implementation and protection of the child's right to education, with four questions under consideration:

- a) How is the right of the child implemented in important international human and children's rights treaties?
- b) Which protection is given in selected cases of infringements of a child's right to education?
- c) How has the ECtHR decided with respect to limitations on the child's right to education?
- d) How is the COVID-19 crisis impacting the child's right to education?

The article builds on the premise that education is the right of every child, not a privilege. Especially these days, the right to education is subjected to various threats. The article analyses some of these and offers solutions (especially those adopted by the ECtHR), which may be used as good practice for Slovenian authorities. Namely, society (national and international) has an obligation to fulfil children's right to education. Another purpose of the article is to provide an overview and insights into children's right to education, which may help teachers, directors, pupils, parents and anyone else interested in the topic improve their knowledge and understanding of this fundamental right of the child. The basic research methodology underpinning the article is doctrinal legal research (also called 'black letter' methodology), which focuses on the letter of the law. Using this method in the present article, the author conducts a descriptive analysis of legal rules relating to the child's right to education (e.g. in international treaties, constitutions, acts, cases). In pursuing the research questions, the article contains introduction and conclusion sections, along with three main chapters: Right to education as the child's right in an international perspective, Right to education in light of the ECHR and its selected judgments and COVID-19 crisis and the child's right to education.

The child's right to education – an international perspective

Adopted in 1989, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) is the first international binding instrument to explicitly recognise children as human beings with innate rights (Odink, 2019, p. 2). The UNCRC provides the most complete statement of children's rights ever produced and is the most widely-ratified international human rights treaty in history. The Convention has been ratified by

196 countries, including all European Union (EU) Member States.¹ The UNCRC is a landmark treaty on rights of the child, outlining universal standards for all children's care, treatment, survival, development, protection and participation. The Convention covers all aspects of a child's life and sets out the political, civil, social, economic and cultural rights to which all children everywhere are entitled. These rights may be defined as the set of values that adults (e.g. parents, guardians, teachers) should respect in their relationships with children. The *principle of best interests* (Article 3 UNCRC) should always be the fundamental starting point in all relations and decisions concerning children and their rights (for more, see Kraljić, 2016, 2018, 2019a; Kraljić and Drnovšek, 2019). The UNCRC also explains how adults and governments must work together to ensure that all children can enjoy all of their rights. It is necessary to see the UNCRC as a whole, with all of the rights being linked and holding equal importance (UNICEF, n.d.). It provides children with rights across all areas of their lives, including *education*.

Today, the right to education is regarded as a common good, one of the most important human rights and a special right of the child. Education is both a human right in itself and an indispensable vehicle for realising other human and child rights (e.g. the right of the child to be heard, to not be discriminated against) (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1999). Education is an essential creator of any child's life before and after they reach full age.

National education systems vary (e.g. organisation, curricular content). This made it necessary to form key definitions and outlines (e.g. inputs, process, outcomes) so as to enable different national education systems to be compared from a global perspective (UNESCO, 2012, p. iii). UNESCO's "International Standard Classification of Education ISCED 2011" distinguishes eight levels of education², where primary education is the most protected part of the right to education as a foundation. Primary education is established in various international documents and national constitutions as a minimum educational standard, provided by states to all people, especially children. Secondary and higher education complement primary education but do not enjoy the same protection level as it (Kama,

1 See United Nations Treaty Collection – Status of the Convention on the Rights of the Child on 1 July 2020, retrieved from https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?s-rc=IND&mtmsg_no=IV-11&chapter=4&clang=_en (2 July 2020). The United States is today the only United Nations member state that is not a party to the UNCRC.

2 The eight ISCED 2011 levels of education: 0 Pre-primary education; 1 Primary education; 2 Lower secondary education; 3 Upper secondary education; 4 Post-secondary non-tertiary education; 5 Short-cycle tertiary education; 6 Bachelor or equivalent; 7 Master or equivalent; 8 Doctoral or equivalent. Slovenian 'Basic education' covers level 2 of the ISCED classification.

2014, p. 150). Therefore, primary education is seen as the “passport to life” (Tawil and Cougoureux, 2013, p. 7). Primary education may be seen as an investment in the child’s future and an opportunity for joyful activities, respect, participation, and the fulfilment of ambitions (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2013, p. 17). It should therefore be free so as to make it possible to include all children in primary education. The need for free and compulsory primary education constitutes the hallmark of international treaties and national constitutions (e.g. Slovenia (Art. 57);³ Croatia (Art. 66); Egypt (Art. 19); Latvia (Art. 122); Montenegro (Art. 75 and Art. 79(4)); Norway (Art. 109); Russia (Art. 43); Tajikistan (Art. 41); Ukraine (Art. 53) etc.) and legal acts on which the right to education is based.

The following international treaties provide the international legal framework of the right to education with the intention of securing free and compulsory education for all children:

- a) Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): “Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory”;
- b) the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960): “The States Parties to this Convention undertake to formulate, develop and apply a national policy which, ... will tend to promote equality of opportunity and of treatment ... and in particular: (a) To make primary education free and compulsory”;
- c) Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966): “Primary education shall be compulsory and available free for all”;
- d) Article 2 of Protocol No. 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights: “No person shall be denied the right to education”;
- e) Article 11 of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990): “States Parties to the present Charter shall take all appropriate measures with a view to achieving the full realization of [the right to education] and shall in particular: a) provide free and compulsory basic education”;
- f) Article 13: 1. Everyone has the right to education... 3. The States Parties to this Protocol recognize that in order to achieve the full exercise of the right to education: a. Primary education should be compulsory and accessible to all without cost; b. Secondary education

3 See Article 57: “Freedom of education shall be guaranteed. Primary education is compulsory and shall be financed from public funds. The state shall create the opportunities for citizens to obtain a proper education”.

- in its different forms, including technical and vocational secondary education, should be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular, by the progressive introduction of free education; c. Higher education should be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of individual capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular, by the progressive introduction of free education; d. Basic education should be encouraged or intensified as far as possible for those persons who have not received or completed the whole cycle of primary instruction...; and Article 16 of the Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the area of economic, social and cultural rights (Protocol of San Salvador) (1988): "... Every child has the right to free and compulsory education, at least in the elementary phase, and to continue his training at higher levels of the educational system";
- g) Article 14 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2012): "1. Everyone has the right to education and to have access to vocational and continuing training. 2. This right includes the possibility to receive free compulsory education...";
- h) European Social Charter (1996 revised) – "With a view to ensuring the effective exercise of the right of children and young persons to grow up in an environment which encourages the full development of their personality and of their physical and mental capacities, the Parties undertake, either directly or in co-operation with public and private organizations, to take all appropriate and necessary measures designed: 2. to provide to children and young persons a free primary and secondary education as well as to encourage regular attendance at schools");
- i) Article 28 of the UNCRC (1989, p. 1): "States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular: (a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all; (b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need; (c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means; (d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children; (e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates... 3. States Parties shall promote and encourage international

cooperation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.”⁴

The state has an important role in ensuring that the right to education is respected, fulfilled and protected. The ‘obligation to respect’ requires states to avoid measures that hinder or prevent the enjoyment of the right to education, whereas the ‘obligation to protect’ demands that states take measures which prevent third parties from interfering with enjoyment of the right to education. The ‘obligation to fulfil’ obliges states to adopt positive measures that enable and assist individuals and communities to enjoy the right to education. The state must act as a guarantor of the right to education (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 75). Unfortunately, practice is quite different to that required by rights law pertaining to humans and children (Klees and Thapliyal, 2007, pp. 502–503). Various studies (Kaur and Singh, 2014; UNDP Bangladesh, n.d.; Zhang, Li, and Xue, 2015) have found significant differences in education between rural and urban areas. According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), in 2015 about 57 million primary-school-age children did not attend school. Over four out of five of these children live in rural areas (FAO, 2020). This difference in knowledge and education levels between rural and urban areas is called the “urban–rural education divide”. It is the main barrier to achieving universal primary education and also seen as a key obstacle to the eradication of poverty and hunger, the promotion of gender equality, and empowerment of women (FAO, n.d.).

People’s mobility, whether voluntary (e.g. marriage, work) or forced (e.g. war refugees, disaster-induced displacement), also affects the growth of cultural diversity and children’s right to education. Especially occurrences related to violence (e.g. terrorism, drug-related violence, wars,

4 Also, Article 3 of the Slovenian *Zakon o osnovni šoli* (Basic School Act) states that basic education in Slovenia is compulsory. The boundary between ISCED level 0 (pre-primary education) and level 1 (primary education) coincides with the transition point in the education system where systematic teaching and learning in reading, writing, and mathematics begins. The only entry requirement at this level – primary education – is the age of the child (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012, pp. 29–30). The legal age of entry to basic education in Slovenia is 6 years. Since basic education in Slovenia is compulsory, *parents are obliged* under Article 45 of the Basic School Act to enrol children in the first grade of basic school who will reach the age of 6 in the calendar year in which they start attending school. Parents are allowed to choose between public schools, private schools and home-schooling. On the parents’ suggestion, a suggestion of the healthcare service, or based on a decision on guidance, the child may be postponed by 1 year if it is established that the child is not ready to start school.

internal conflicts, even intra-family violence) influence children's right to education. Such conflicts, wars and crises mean that almost 30 million children are deprived of their right to a primary education, creating generations of uneducated future adults (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 16). The proportion of out-of-school children in countries affected by conflicts rose from 30 percent in 1999 to 36 percent in 2012 (United Nations, n.d.). Namely, especially in a time of armed conflicts and conflict-affected areas, the right to education is often particularly impaired and its quality suffers. Usually, problems arise from a lack of basic capacities for ensuring education (e.g. the lack of proper buildings, teaching staff, books). The two biggest constraints on access to education in such circumstances are insecurity and poverty (e.g. the lack of decent clothes, the involvement of children in contribution to the household's livelihood through paid/unpaid work, taking care of younger siblings or sick relatives, the problem of transport to school) (Sinclair, 2007, p. 53). It is necessary and urgent to ensure the early inclusion of children who have already been deprived of the right to education due to such circumstances (e.g. armed conflicts), and to eliminate or limit even greater consequences as soon and as far as possible. The states shall try to make the education available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable.

Right to education in light of the ECHR and its selected judgments

As parties of international and regional legal instruments, states are obliged to protect the child's right to education. Their failure to protect the right to education constitutes an infringement of this right and also violates international law. Although the right to education is one of the child's fundamental rights, states repeatedly breach it. Violations of the right to education may occur through the direct action of states (acts of commission) or because states did not adopt the measures needed to exercise this child right (acts of omission) (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1999, p. 15). Consequently, those violations are also subject to judicial review. Since states are to protect, respect and fulfil the child's right to education, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) has an important role to play. While its judgments are only binding on the Parties, many ECtHR judgments also have impacts extending beyond the confines of the particular case.

The right to education is included in Article 2 of Protocol 1 of the ECHR, which provides for two separate rights: the general individual right to education and the right of parents to education in conformity with their religious and philosophical convictions (Council of Europe, 2019, p. 5). The general individual right to education is declared using

negative wording (“No person shall be denied the right to education”). The holders of the right to education guaranteed in Article 2 of Protocol 1 are children as well as any person regardless of age who wishes to benefit from the right to education. States should ensure that everyone has access to education, yet national regulations related to primary education vary. For example, differences may emerge in the age until education is compulsory or whether home-schooling is (dis)allowed. The second sentence of Article 2 builds on a state’s *positive obligation* to respect the religious and philosophical convictions of the parents: “In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions”; here, the word “convictions” should not be equated with “opinion” or “idea” as that indicates a certain level of cogency, seriousness, cohesion and importance.

Based on the above, states should take religious and philosophical pluralism into account while planning the educational curriculum. The conveyance of religious and philosophical content must be objective, critical and plural in manner (Grabenwarter, 2014, p. 398; Novak, 2004, p. 191; also see *Case Folgero and Others v. Norway*). Only in this case will no violation of parental care or of parents’ convictions be recognised. In the case *Dojan v. Germany*, the parents requested that their children to be exempted from sex education as they belonged to the Christian Evangelical Baptist Church and held strong moral beliefs as part of their religious faith. The ECtHR observed the sex-education classes at issue aimed at the *neutral transmission of knowledge* regarding procreation, contraception, pregnancy and childbirth following underlying legal provisions and the ensuing guidelines and the curriculum, all based on current scientific and educational standards. In the case *AR and LR v. Switzerland*, the ECtHR again dealt with the issue of sex education. The ECtHR stressed that one aim of sex education is to prevent sexual violence and exploitation, which pose a genuine threat to the physical and mental health of children and against which children of all ages must be protected. Therefore, sex education did not affect the right to parental education unless it pursued an aim of indoctrination which could be viewed as not respecting the religious and philosophical convictions of the parents (*AR and LR v. Switzerland*). Consequently, sex education is declared as needed to ensure the child’s best interest and also included in the state school curriculums in Slovenia. But it must pursue legitimate aims (e.g. to protect children from sexual violence and offences) and be objective, pluralistic and critical.

In the *Belgian Linguistic* case, the applicants and their children (in total, over 800 persons) asserted that the law of the Dutch-speaking regions in which they lived did not include adequate provisions for French-language education. They also argued that the state did not allow the applicants' children to attend French classes in certain places, forcing the applicants to enrol their children in local schools or send them further afield, entailing risks and hardships. The ECtHR opined that the right to education implied the right to be educated in the national language, and did not include the provision that the parents' linguistic preferences be respected (*Belgian Linguistic* case). Further, in *Appel-Irrgang and Others v. Germany*, the ECtHR highlighted that the inclusion of compulsory secular ethics⁵ classes without any possibility of exemption fell within the margin of appreciation afforded to states under Article 2 of Protocol No. 1.

The right to education is not absolute and may be subject to implicit limitations (Council of Europe, 2019, p. 5). Interferences must meet the principle of proportionality requirements and never violate the substance of the right to education (Grabenwarter, 2014, p. 392). The states enjoy a certain margin of appreciation in assessing whether and to what extent differences in otherwise similar situations justify different treatment. In the ECtHR's opinion, a state's margin of appreciation in this domain increases with education level, in inverse proportion to the importance of that education for those concerned and for society at large. Thus, at the university level, which remains optional for many people, higher fees for foreign students seem commonplace and might be considered fully justified in the present circumstances. Yet, the opposite goes for primary education, which provides basic literacy and numeracy as well as integration into and first experiences of society and is compulsory in most countries. Secondary education (relevant to the present case) falls between these two extremes. The difference is seen in the ordering of sub-paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) of Article 28(1) UNCRC, where the first paragraph prescribes that states shall make primary education compulsory and available free to all. The second and third paragraphs merely call on the states to encourage the development of different forms of secondary education and appropriate measures like the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need and to make higher education accessible to all based on capacity by all appropriate means. The ECtHR wrote that secondary education plays an ever-increasing role in successful personal development and individuals' social and professional integration. In modern

5 Proceeding from Article 17(2) of the Slovenian Basic Education Act, the school must (among others) offer non-confessional instruction on religions and ethics.

society, having no more than basic knowledge and skills constitutes a barrier to successful personal and professional development (*Ponomaryovi v. Bulgaria*⁶, paras. 56–7). Any restriction of the right to education must be predictable for those it applies to and follow a legitimate aim. A limitation is only compatible with Article 2 of Protocol No. 1 if there is a reasonable relationship of proportionality between the means employed and the aim sought to be achieved.

The ECtHR did not find any legitimate aim in the case *Catan and Others v. the Republic of Moldova and Russia*. Transnistria is a region in Moldova that declared independence in 1991, but this has not been recognised by the international community. In 1992, the crisis of Romanian-language schools began when the Transnistrian “Supreme Council” adopted a ‘law on languages’ stipulating that Moldovan (another term for the Romanian language spoken in Moldova) must be written in Cyrillic instead of the Latin alphabet. To enforce this policy, the Transnistrian authorities forbade the use of Latin script in schools across Transnistria. However, eight Romanian-language schools, including the “Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt” lyceum, continued to use Latin script, at times clandestinely. Consequently, the schools suffered from a vigorous campaign of intimidation by authorities, included being evicted from some school buildings, vandalism of others, interrupted water and electricity supplies, and cumbersome border checks for goods as well as teachers and pupils in some cases. A school from Grigoriopol was also evicted from its premises by Transnistria’s ‘police’ and forced to relocate 20 km away, in Moldovan-controlled territory (Hamid, 2020). In this case, the ECtHR stressed the fundamental importance of primary (and secondary) education for every child’s personal development and future success. This made it impermissible to interrupt the children’s education and force them and their parents to make difficult choices for the sole purpose of entrenching the separatist ideology.

6 In this case, the applicants were Russian nationals who did not hold Bulgarian permanent residence permits during the relevant period; nor did they otherwise fall into any category that would have enabled them to avoid having to pay the fee charged (EUR 800 and EUR 2,600) to certain aliens undertaking their secondary education in Bulgaria under Bulgarian law. Both received permanent residence permits, but the Bulgarian court held that this only prevented them from having to pay school fees in the future, not for fees charged before residence was granted. They alleged they had been discriminated against in breach of Article 14 of the ECHR and Article 2 of Protocol 1 because, unlike Bulgarian nationals and certain other categories of alien, they had been required to pay fees in order to pursue their secondary education. They also highlighted that they were children during the relevant period and that, under Article 28 of the CRC, the state had a duty to assist children become fully fledged members of society.

The ECtHR has in many cases addressed the difficulties relating to the education of Roma children. Namely, Roma people's educational level is below the general educational level of other segments of the population (Kraljić, 2019b). The Roma are today a specific disadvantaged and vulnerable minority, with their vulnerability meaning that a difference in treatment to correct the lack of equality may be required in particular circumstances. In the case *Sampanis and Others v. Greece* (para. 85), the ECtHR stressed the competent authorities should facilitate Roma children's enrolment in school, even if certain required administrative documents were missing. Activities of this nature could contribute to high literacy rates of Roma children, reduce the drop-out school rate, lower the share of students who complete just primary education, and increase the school attendance of Roma children (Kraljić, 2019b). On the other hand, homogeneous departments containing only Roma children have been described by the ECtHR (*D. H. and Others v. Czech Republic, Sampanis and Others v. Greece, Oršuš and Others v. Croatia*) as segregatory and discriminatory. Arranging the education curriculum for Roma children must ensure safeguards for their special needs. The decision must be transparent and based on clearly defined criteria, not simply ethnic origin. Such measures cannot be considered reasonable and proportionate if they would lead to an education that brings the problems of Roma children together and jeopardises their further personal development, instead of tackling their real problems or helping them integrate into ordinary schools and develop skills that would facilitate life among the majority population (*D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic*, para. 207).

Following the analysed decisions of ECtHR, there is no doubt that the child's right to education is recognised and respected as a fundamental right and holds immense importance for children in their childhood and adulthood. The right to education can be subjected to limitations, but they must be objective, proportional and not violate other children's rights. States must ensure, through their authorities, that the laws and measures deriving from them respect and enable realisation of the child's right to education.

The COVID-19 crisis and the child's right to education

Classroom-centred learning is nowadays challenged by the expansion of access to knowledge and the emergence of learning spaces beyond the traditional classroom (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 49). We are living in a time of the fourth industrial revolution, a new era that builds and expands the impact of digitalisation in novel and unanticipated dimensions. Its technologies are already changing all areas of our day-to-day lives as well as

education. This was very evident during the time of the COVID-19 pandemic that saw the teaching process move overnight in Slovenia and other states from 'the bench to behind screens'. Most countries have, at least partly if not entirely, closed their schools. As at 27 July 2020, schools in 107 countries had shut their doors (country-wide closures). This affected 1,066,817,855 learners or 60.9 percent of all enrolled learners. Still, the peak was reached on 2 April 2020 when country-wide closures were seen in 194 countries, impacting 1,598,099,008 learners or 91.3 percent of all enrolled learners (UNESCO, 2020a). These new circumstances before us for only a few months have, according to initial estimates, already led to an "educational crisis" (Human Rights Council, 2020, p. 1).

In principle, the move itself to education to online distance learning was not a problem for many children given they are very familiar with digitalisation. Yet, it should not be overlooked that the social and economic differences between children have become even more noticeable. Many children did not have a suitable computer, printer or Internet connection to allow them to be included equally in this new way of teaching. It should also not be forgotten that many did not have a private and quiet corner to permit them to integrate seamlessly into the pedagogical process and learning.

As one of the most vulnerable groups, children are currently (in the 'COVID-19 crisis') further exposed to encroachments on their rights. Interventions may relate to restrictions or even violations. Although the circumstances arguably dictate justified restrictions on children's rights, special care must be taken to avoid violations and the resulting short- or even long-term consequences. A fundamental right of children currently in the spotlight is undoubtedly the right to education. Even though the implementation and continuation of distance learning were quickly organised and arranged, it should not be overlooked that this method is particularly susceptible to exacerbating the differences already present in the 'regular teaching process'. Namely, distance online teaching depends on modern technology (e.g. computer, telephone, a good Internet connection), which unfortunately could not be provided to all children. Half the total number of learners (around 826 million students) kept out of the classroom by the COVID-19 pandemic do not have access to a household computer and 43 percent (706 million) have no Internet at home (UNESCO, p. 2020b). This certainly infringes on children's right to have access to adequate education.

We should also not ignore the fact that, even if all of the above is provided, more problems arise when the family has a larger number of

children, especially the question of whether equal access can be ensured for all children in the family. The family's housing capacity might also influence the quality of the right to education. While it is often impossible to assure a child a private corner in ordinary circumstances, in a time of COVID-19 it is even more difficult to find a place in the home to carry out online education (e.g. listening to lectures).

The right to education has also been enormously curtailed for children in need of learning support (e.g. children with special needs, children of migrants, Roma, children in hospitals). Even talented pupils may have been deprived of the challenges they receive at school. Of course, children exposed to domestic violence at home should not be ignored since school has often been a safe place for them to escape their home environment, at least for a while. Now, at a time of the COVID-19 crisis, the restriction of movement means this escape is not possible at all. The fact that, already in 'normal times', many children face poverty makes the food available at school often crucial for them, perhaps even their only quality daily meal. We are moreover currently in the cold period of the year (winter) and some families cannot provide adequate heating for their homes (Lancker and Parolin, 2020) and also from this point of view such children are at a disadvantage. We may conclude with certainty that the COVID-19 crisis has significantly affected children's lives and thereby their rights, especially the right to education, which is also linked to other rights (e.g. right to privacy, right to play).

Teaching and learning have become more informal, mobile and impersonal with the transition to 'behind the screen'. How deeply this has exacerbated the already existing inequality (e.g. between poor and rich, rural and urban, boys and girls) and how children's right to education has suffered may never be fully known as much remains hidden behind closed family doors. Still, we can be sure that the consequences will bring considerable short- and probably long-term impacts on both the Slovenian and especially global levels, especially for the most vulnerable children (e.g. drop-out is on the rise (Dwawan, 2020)). Therefore, it is crucial that online distance learning is only seen as a temporary solution for addressing the COVID-19 crisis. The digitalisation of education should never replace on-site schooling with teachers (Human Rights Council, 2020, p. 2). 'Traditional' on-site learning can better focus on the needs of an individual child or a vulnerable group of children. The direct contact between teacher and pupil makes it easier to identify the child's needs and the possibilities for providing them. This then also ensures a better exercise of the right to education and other children's rights.

Conclusions

Even though the right to education is declared in various international treaties, also as a fundamental right of the child, it is still not available to all children. Article 28 of the UNCRC emphasises that every child should enjoy the right to education. States should make primary education compulsory and available free to all. Yet, despite living in the 21st century, many children today still experience limits on their access to education. The right to education, as a fundamental child right, is also subjected to infringements. The obstacles to education are based on different circumstances caused by humans (e.g. war, discrimination) or nature (e.g. natural disasters, epidemics). Such special situations, including the COVID-19 pandemic, might lead to a whole generation of children being traumatised, un(der)-educated and unprepared to contribute to the social and economic recovery of their country or region (UNESCO, 2015a, p. 34). Swift actions are needed by all international and national stakeholders to ensure that children and their rights are adequately protected as soon as possible. The ECtHR has an essential role to play in ensuring the implementation and protection of the child's right to education, especially as concerns limitations of this right, where the implementation, protection and limitation must be objective and proportional. Untimely and inappropriate actions, perhaps even complete passivity, might also cause irreparable and serious consequences for children. We still have a long way to go before the international community and individual states come as close as possible to what is the best and most feasible to do in a given situation or moment to ensure and protect children and their right to education.

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Convention on the Rights of the Child and Adulthood: How to Deconstruct a Myth?

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The image of the child in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989) is represented by three “Ps”: protection, provision and participation (Lansdown, 2005). According to the CRC, states are obliged to protect children from all forms of discrimination and physical or mental violence: injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation; economic exploitation or any work that may interfere with their education or is harmful to their health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development; illicit use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances; all forms of exploitation that are harmful to any aspect of their welfare such as the abduction, sale of or traffic of children and all forms of sexual exploitation and abuse. At the same time, having in mind their vulnerability, the obligation of a state (adults) is to provide/ensure children’s survival and development: adequate family accommodation, health and social protection, adequate standard of living, compulsory and free primary education and options for secondary schooling; provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity; the right to a name, family identity and citizenship, as well as legal and other assistance for defence purposes.

Protection and provision narratives are in harmony with the dominant image of the child as sensitive and vulnerable, in need of being protected from various sources of endangerment; also, the child who should be provided with all things necessary for survival and development. At the core of the protective and provision rights is a paternalistic attitude, i.e. the belief that in order for children to stay protected and supported they must be controlled and their choices limited. According to the

protectionists, children need to be ‘protected from themselves’, i.e. from the possibility to making decisions and choices that might endanger their development (Archard, 2004). Adults’ role is to be children’s advocates and make decisions that are in the child’s best interests. This role is justified by the image of the child as an immature, irresponsible, incompetent human being, a ‘future adult’ without competencies to make their own decisions that are in their best interest.

Some authors believe this discourse of vulnerability and risk is informed by developmental theories that stress children’s lack of rationality, dependency and need for protection (Smith, 2016). Early developmental theories in psychology were strongly influenced by the romanticised discourse and Rousseau’s ideas about natural development, which should not be fastened or conditioned in any way (Burman, 2008). The nativists in developmental psychology perceive development as a process determined in advance, which envelops a series of successive phases in predetermined order. Within this school of thought, the child is perceived as *natural* and *predictable* (Hogan, 2005). *The natural child* is universal, isolated, developed according to the natural developmental laws, universal and resistant to influences from the context; the child behaves according to predictable age parameters and laws (the *predictable* child). The process of a child’s development to adulthood is advancing from simple to complex thinking, from irrational to rational behaviour. Socialisation is conceived as a one-way process, as the assimilation of the (natural) child into an already existing social environment/system. The path of the development is universal, while cultural differences are kind of ‘embellishments’ related to various socio-cultural practices (education, the ways of raising children, social norms etc.), rather than as something intertwined and immanent in the development (Burman, 2008). On the other side, the empiricists, with the behaviourists being the most influential among them, and later the social learning theorists, accepted the idea of John Locke about the child as a *tabula rasa* on which, during the life span, the experience imprints the traces. The empiricists conceive development as equal with the process of the acquiring experience and learning (the establishment of the relations between stimulus and reaction). Although confronted in terms of the importance they ascribe to the factors of the development (inheritance vs. environment), both naturalists and empiricists share the same image of the child and the contextual determination of the development. In both conceptions, the child is perceived as *passive*; the empiricist tradition is more explicit, being interested in the acquisition of experience, namely in the establishment of stimulus–response relations, neglecting the internal structures within a person. In that way, the child is a passive

receiver of influences from the outside and the development could follow different paths, depending on positive or negative influences. The nativists, on another hand, insist on natural development, which is universal, predetermined and fixed, such that adults (and the child as well) have almost no space to intervene and influence the development. Yet another similarity is interesting, one related to contextual development. Within the nativist orientation, the role of the environment and social context of one's development is evidently neglected, while the empiricists stress its importance for the development, but only as a "better or worse framework, not as a source of child's development" (Matejić Đuričić, 2012, p. 272). Such understanding of development has greatly influenced the image of the child which, according to sociologists, is dominant in western societies: childhood is just a period in human development, children are regarded as vulnerable developing beings deservedly surrounded by nourishment and care for protection; children are valued in terms of what they are to become as adults; they are seen as future adults rather than as beings of today (Christensen and Prout, 2005, p. 45).

From vulnerability and risk discourse to oppressive practices

The socially dominant image of the child/childhood hugely influences the attitudes to children and the way they are treated in a given society. That image suggests certain acceptable models of the adult-child relationship, the goals and the desirable forms of education and bringing up, and represents an important *regime of truth* (Foucault, 1977) or a system of social assumptions defining what could be accepted as truth, normality, the non-disputable fact, defining who can assess it and in which ways. As part of the regime of truth, the child's image becomes the basis (and justification) for various manifestations of oppressive practices with children since they are not disputed as normal social assumptions but accepted as such, as the only possible truth. These oppressive practices can sometimes be very evident and explicit (for example, denying children the right of expression of thoughts and freedom of association), and supported by explicit biases ('children are incapable of expressing their opinions'). Sometimes, those oppressive practices can become exposed through less evident, more subtle forms (for instance, adults do not inform children about things that matter to them) rationalised by attitudes that are expressed as protection and an attempt to do something in the best interest of the child ('they should not be overburdened with superfluous information and spoil their carefree childhood'). In that way, the image of the child becomes part of the regime of truth in society and a justification for various manifestations of oppression on both the individual and

institutional levels. The image of the child as a vulnerable human being reduces the child to the object of adults' interventions and results in a denial of the child's competencies to participate in decision-making relevant to him/her, including his/her own protection and security (Boothby et al., 2012; Kennedy, 2010).

The image of the child defines the relations of adults and children, too. According to some authors, the pattern of relations in societies where the child is defined as an emerging human being is one of *protection*, *control* and *marginalisation* (Qvortrup, 1998). A *protective attitude* stems from the idea of incompetence and irresponsibility of the child who has to be (over)protected. *Control* is reflected in the system of relations where the obedience and submission of children are encouraged, rather than their independence that is important for securing the developmental continuity between the role of child and of adult. *Marginalisation* is reflected in the child's invisibility, based on the assumption of their incapacity to articulate their perspective and/or express their opinion (observed as a rule, and different from the incompetence of the adult, which is assumed as an exception). It is thus assumed that the child's opinion is non-binding and that respect of the child's rights or meeting their needs is exclusively a matter of the care of adults.

Discrimination of children and adults' expectations of children substantially influence the way the children perceive themselves and their capacity to actively participate. The mechanism of *self-fulfilling prophecy* (Rosental and Jacobson, 1968) explains why children internalise the adults' image of themselves and demonstrate behaviour fully in line with that image. In other words, the image of the child as vulnerable really influences the resilience of children and decreases their resources to defend and resist various oppressive factors (Smith, 2016).

Participative rights: Deconstruction of the oppressive practice

One way of questioning an oppressive practice is to make its assumptions evident and explicit, to criticise and reconsider these assumptions and to then think about possible alternative opportunities for the (re)organisation of social relationships (Freire, 2005).

The socio-constructivist paradigm of the child's development contributed significantly to a different perception of the child, where they are no longer seen as immature, incompetent and passive. Within this paradigm, the child is observed as an *active participant* in the process of their own development, one who constructs/rationalises the surrounding world and the relationships within it. The child is a *creator of meaning* (Bruner and Haste, 1987) who, like a scientist, tends to actively conceive

the surrounding world and is intrinsically motivated to learn (Piaget, 1952/1965). Instead of an isolated child who spontaneously and naturally learns new strategies and skills, the child is perceived as an 'apprentice' in learning: they actively learn by observing more experienced and more skilful peers/adults and develop new skills, which help them in resolving culturally defined problems. Found within the basis for development is the process of social interaction, i.e. the process in which the child works together with a more experienced person and resolves problems within the zone of proximal development, where participating in this way means their independent actions are surpassed (Vigotski, 1983). Guided participation includes the cooperation of the adults and children and the creation of common understanding during problem solution where the child participates as an active and the adult as a more skilful and more experienced partner (Rogoff, 1990).

The psycho-social approach among sociologists of childhood also adds significantly to the reconsideration of a biological, nativist approach to the development and the nature of the child. This approach accepts the immaturity of the child as given, but how this fact is interpreted depends on the historical epoch and variety among societies/cultures. The basis of the approach is the idea of *social constructivism*, whereby childhood is a matter of social convention and as such, changeable, depending on time and space. Sociologists of childhood observe the child as part of a culture, not only as something that precedes that culture. They assume that children should be seen as present *social actors* and not as somebody who will become a social actor. Children and childhood should be studied 'in their own right', independently of the adults' perspective and interests. Sociologists of childhood advocate the perception of the child that is not a project for the future, but a person who has capacities here and now; they advocate the study of children as individuals, not as an institution they form part of. If we define the child by comparing him/her with the adult, then we necessarily perceive the child as *someone who has yet to become*, not as *somebody who is present here and now*, with all competencies (those already developed as well as those that have yet to develop). Children should be viewed as active participants in the construction and definition of their own social life, the life of people surrounding them and the society in which they live (Praut and Džejms, 2004).

The idea of children as agents active in the process of their own development is advocated in the Convention on Child Rights through the idea of participation, conceived in three ways: a) as one of the four principles on which the CRC is based, together with non/discrimination, the best interest of a child and life, survival and development; b) as a group

of participative rights, 'civil rights' (privacy, information, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of expression, right to receive and impart information and ideas, freedom of association and peaceful assembly); and c) as special Article 12 (*the child has rights to express his/her views freely in all matters affecting him/her, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child*).

Participatory rights assume the image of the child different from that offered by protection and provision rights: the child is no longer the object but becomes the *subject of the rights*, actively involved in realising these rights. The focus is on the child as an active human being permanently involved in the process of constructing their own social reality. Children are observed as autonomous personalities, subjects, participants in social processes, not as being passively owned by the adults, the objects of social control, and as social problems (Freeman, 1998). Children are perceived as individuals, not as a collectivity, a group without characteristics; which means that categories like age, gender, class, ethnicity, culture and others have an important role to play in understanding childhood. Observing the child's rights as those that were traditionally observed as adults' rights, and announcing participation as one of the four basic principles on which the CRC is based, means recognising the idea that childhood is a social phenomenon that children are active participants in public life and are capable of participating in the recognition of their own rights and the definition of their own best interest (James, 2009). The idea of the child as a subject of rights leads to a reconsideration of those beliefs which represent the firmest strongholds of the age-based discrimination against children known as *adulthoodism*, usually seen as the abuse of the power that adults have over children (Flasher, 1978, according to: Liebel, 2014). These beliefs are the following:

The child is a project for the future, an emerging being

This assumption builds on the idea of the incompetent, incomplete, immature child who is in the process of developing and thus incapable of any form of participation in the decision-making process. The assessment of the child's competencies for participation and adults' conclusion that children are not competent is frequently based on comparisons of the child's competencies with an 'ideal adult' who is always mature, rational, competent and autonomous. The list of adults' competencies makes high demands even on the adults, not to mention the child. Even when the competencies of a child are not compared with adult competencies, there is a tendency to assess them according to adult standards rather than according to what children really can do. The adults' standards and their

expectations represent a framework in which adults perceive children and can significantly reduce adults' readiness to notice and value all of children's capacities and influence the ways children are treated and the opportunities created for them.

Janusz Korczak was among the first to advocate children's rights and to point out that children are entitled to the present moment: "Children are not people of tomorrow but of today. A child lives here and now. He/she has value as an individual in the present moment. When we think of a child as an embryo of a citizen, we lose sight of the important years of his/her *here and now* existence" (according to: Hammarberg, 2009, p. 8). In other words, participation requires the adults' assessment of the child's competencies to be related to what the child can do at the present moment rather than to what they would be able to do in the future. Age is not and cannot be an excuse for discrimination because every child is capable of expressing his/her views (perspective, needs, feelings etc.) according to his/her age and evolving capacities. Adults' role is to find the best communication channel through which children can express themselves. The basic question adults should ask while consulting children is not *Do they understand or not?*, but *What should we do to make them understand us? Would they understand us if they had more information, or if they were asked in a different way?* (Alderson, 2000). The theory about *the hundred languages of children* (Malaguzzi, 1993) is a metaphor expressing the variety of ways children can express their opinions and ideas (such as painting, drawing, sculpturing, modelling, writing, dancing etc.). This explains why the usual communication practice of (written or spoken) language is insufficient if one intends to encompass and understand the complexity of the child's experience. As a result, adults are expected to explore new options for communication with children (beyond the conventional pattern where one person speaks and another listens), to learn new 'languages' for working with children, and new ways of listening to children's experiences (Moss, 2006).

If we observe a child as competent in the present moment, then they have no need to struggle to protect their own right to participate (as the protectionists say); instead, assumptions are made of the child's right to participate which can only be neglected when it is not in the best interest of the child or if it could endanger the right of another person. Liberationists assume that adults are obliged to justify with arguments any denial of the right to participate, rather than let a child 'struggle' for the right to participate in decisions relevant to him/her (Archard, 2004).

The child in need vs. the competent child

The protection and provision discourse concentrates on the child's needs which are universal and do not depend on the socio-cultural context. This focus on needs conceals a danger that arises due to the assumption that adults are the only ones responsible for satisfying these needs, while children are simply passive receivers of adults' care and aid. The participation discourse includes the competencies which enable children to be active participants in their own development. The CRC guarantees the right of children to have their evolving capacities (competencies) respected, and according to age and maturity, to be gradually empowered to make decisions that affect them. Given that competencies do not emerge in a vacuum, but are defined by the culture and produced by the defined social structure, namely, they emerge and develop through relations of cooperation and within a social and cultural context, children develop their competencies by being active. In this way, participation not only depends on evolving capacities, but is also an important way of developing new, more complex competencies. Many studies show that children's participation fosters the development of competencies like critical-thinking and problem-solving skills (Hart, 1997; Lansdown, 2005; Kellett, 2005), self-regulation skills (Kellett, 2003), communication competencies, listening skills, skilful expression of attitudes, feelings and needs in an assertive way, conflict-resolution skills, team work, and cooperation (Hart, 1997). Moreover, such are the pro-social competencies: empathy for the feelings and needs of other people, responsibility and care for others, solidarity (Kellett, 2005; Lansdown 2001; 2005), self-esteem and positive self-image (Grover, 2005). Through the process of participation, children acquire knowledge, skills and values that prepare them for more complex forms of participation in adult life. From a developmental point of view, participation provides continuity between childhood and adulthood because it facilitates the development of the competencies required in every adult citizen in any democratic society.

The more children participate, the more effective their contributions and the greater the impact on their development. Children acquire competence in direct relationship with the possibility to exercise agency in their own lives (Lansdown, Jimerson and Shahroozi, 2014).

Adults are (better than children themselves) capable of estimating children's needs and their best interest

The basis of such a view is the image of the omnipotent adult, an expert (having once also been a child) for the child's experience, and the image of the immature child incapable of assessing their own needs and expressing

their own point of view. From socio-constructivists' perspective, this argument that children are passive recipients of environmental influences is untenable; rather, children actively learn and design the world around them in cooperation with adults. The age and competencies of children cannot be the argument for not listening to them, especially in the period of middle childhood and adolescence since this is the period when important competencies for complex forms of participation develop (Lansdown, 2005; Vranješević, 2004). However, despite the arguments in favour of children's competence to participate in defining their own best interest, the practice of avoiding consulting with children and one-sided adults' definition of what is the best for the child are still dominant characteristics of adults' attitude. The reason for this should be sought in the complex relationship between participation and the best interest of children because in the majority of cases the possibilities of the child's participation are not only limited by the assessment of child's (in)competence but by the adults' care for the child's benefits and protection from all possible negative consequences of particular choices. Some research shows that the most frequent reason given against child's participation in the decision-making process is related to the child's best interest, as perceived by the adults (Vranješević, 2012), such that the basic question about the child's care is how to make an informed decision in the best interest of the child and simultaneously protect the child from the stress that is imminent to the decision-making process. Moreover, studies show that even if adults consider children as capable of assessing their best interest, they do not consider that competence as important (Vranješević, 2012). Typically, the practice used as a basis for resolving the dilemma between participation, the child's competence and the best interest of the child is problematic from the perspective of both the competence assessment and the child's best interest. If an adult believes that the child's decision is not in his/her best interest, the adult will most probably conclude that the child is incompetent, unable to decide. Therefore, whenever children use criteria decision different to the adults' criteria the adults assume that child's criteria are developmentally less valuable than theirs. In assessing the child's competence, adults are often in a *dual role*: it often happens that the same adults in charge of assessing the child's competence for participation are also in charge of deciding what would be the child's best interest, i.e. to what extent the child will participate in the decision-making process.

Since the standards for competence assessment are significantly higher in situations when the decisions could bring risky consequences, one may conclude that the same child could be assessed as competent in situations of low risk and incompetent in a situation of high risk. Keeping

in mind that adults are those who decide what is a low and what is a high risk, the issue of competence is inseparable from the issue of adults' power and control over children. If it is a decision that will significantly influence other people (including the child as a future adult), the adult will more strongly influence and control the decision process and the child will be assessed as less competent.

There are two ways adults can induce the child's competence for decision-making: first, to teach children how to act, how to cope with environmental problems (how to participate actively); children could thereby become capable of doing some things while their decision competence grows; second, adults should control the environment in such a way that the decisions are less risky and reversible (Mortier, 1998). This would entail adults setting boundaries wide enough so that beyond them are only those behaviours/situations that directly jeopardise the physical and psychic integrity of the child, and within the boundaries the child can make their own free choices.

*Participation is not always in the best interest of children;
protection must come before participation*

This argument justifies a more subtle form of discrimination, expressed as the protection of children and attempting to ensure their best interests; it rests on the belief that agency and dependency are opposite constructs. This 'either/or' thinking was challenged by Priscilla Alderson (2001) who sees the relationship between adults and children as 'both/and': both agency and dependency are important components of the relationship. Saying that children have agency does not imply they are completely autonomous in the decision-making process (and that adults do not have the right to say or do anything) or that protection and care are not important elements of the adult-child relationship.

If we perceive protection as a unique and key component of the adult-child relationship, we miss the chance to include children in the decision-making process about their best interest when it comes to securing and protecting their rights. Children's participation in the process of planning their safety and protecting their rights helps adults to de-centre and understand the children's priorities in different areas, and to acquire a more profound insight into the problems the children are coping with. All of this increases the chances that the decisions made are truly in the best interest of children. There are many examples of participatory projects and studies in which children actively participated (as experts in their own experience) in the process of protecting and realising their rights. For example, in studies on the problems of street children

and child labour, the participation of those children was very important for understanding their views and in planning actions in their best interest (Vudhed, 2004; Young and Barrett, 2001; Theis, 1998). In one research study from Serbia, the consulting process with migrant children led to a more comprehensive understanding of their position and the problems they were coping with during the migration process, contributing thus to clearer definitions of the directions in which the advancement of the policies and programmes should take (Avramović, 2014). There are numerous examples of projects/studies in which children were consulted about the ways their rights were respected (Hill, 2006; Lansdown, 2000; O’Kane, 2008; Pešić et al., 1999; Stevanović, 2012), which resulted in the advancement of policies for child protection and realisation of their rights which, in their opinion, were neglected. For example, in one study within the EURONET (European Children’s Rights Network), the aim was to explore the experience of discrimination: whether children consider themselves as discriminated just because they are children, how such discrimination is accomplished, and with what effects. Children were consulted about the ways they would like to take part in the process of decision-making, not only on the local but the national and international level too. They had a chance to actively participate in formulating recommendations for the advancement of children’s rights and their participation in the decision-making process (Lansdown, 2000). There are examples of initiatives which sought to create a safe and supporting context for the development and learning at schools, where the participation of students seriously advanced the quality of the research process and the research outcomes in the sense the decisions made advanced the protection and safety of children at schools. For instance, in one school in England, the 7-year-olds suggested research about peer violence and articulated the questions posed to their peers. Instead of focusing on the roles of perpetrator and victim (who does/suffers the violence), they concentrated on unsafe sites and asked their peers where the peer violence happens. As a result, the school intensified surveillance of the sites marked by the students as critical, thereby making these places safer (Rowe, 1999). This and other copious examples unequivocally show the potential children participation holds for the realisation of both participative and protective/provision rights, and to erase the boundary (in adults’ heads mostly impenetrable) between children’s protection and their participation in the realisation of their rights.

Concluding remarks: Towards the deconstruction of adultism

The concept of child rights acts as a call for the re-conceptualisation of the power relationships between children and adults because it focuses on the competent, active child, who is entitled to claim their rights (Tobin, 2011, p. 89). Instead of adult superheroes who satisfy children's needs by being good, considerate and humane, the rights-based approach highlights adults' *obligation* to provide all the support and protection during a child's development. Introducing participation as the main principle, child right and the group of civil rights, the CRC is contributing significantly to changing the regime of truth and to deconstructing the oppressive practices which are typically taken for granted.

The CRC brings a new perspective on the *child's nature*. Participation demands we adopt the image of the child as an active participant in the process of their own development. A child is no longer seen as a passive recipient of adults' influences, knowledge and experience but as somebody who, with his/her needs, interests and developmental competencies, participates in his/her environment and changes that environment. Some authors (Benedict, 1976) believe that, as the gap between the social interpretation of the child's and adults' role grows wider, it is ever more difficult to overcome the transition period from one role to another; hence, the period of adolescence carries the marks of turbulent crises and changes. If a child is seen as passive, immature, incompetent, irresponsible and dependent, the growing up that requires maturity, responsibility and independence will be denoted by crises and difficulties.

Participation redefines *power relationships*. Rather than the hierarchical model of power on which adultism is based, participation advocates a cooperative power model where power is shared and, instead of imposing the adults' opinion, there is a process of negotiation and dialogue with children.

The idea that children can and should be treated as experts in their own experience and as participants in the decision-making process completely transforms the habitual patterns of relationships among children and adults (Jones and Welch, 2010) and redefines the concept of the adult's authority and his/her role in protection and stimulation of child development. Instead of *authority based on fear* that values and develops a child's obedience and external locus of control, *authority based on respect* values and develops the child's independence, responsibility and critical attitude to reality. Such authority cultivates freedom of choice and self-discipline and develops the internal locus of control. Authority based on respect uses his/her power exclusively with the aim of protecting the

child and when the best interest of the child is in question. Instead of control, authority based on respect controls the environment/conditions and acts preventively, organises the environment for development and learning, so as to prevent or lower the probability of unwanted forms of behaviour and to provide for the child's protection (Vranješević, 2005).

The fact that participation is a form of social learning makes it necessary to redefine the traditional roles of adults and children (Clark, 2010). As participation promotes the image of the child as a creator of meaning, actively constructing and reconstructing their own experience and relations, and as the focus is on the co-construction of knowledge, participation creates options for new relationships and expands the role of both adults and children. Adults have the role of both teacher and student: they simultaneously support the child's development, encourage the child's competencies and learn during cooperation with the child (Rinaldi, 2001). Some authors label this role an *authentic novice* (Clark and Moss, 2005) because the adult gives up the privilege of knowing everything and is sincerely (authentically) interested in understanding and learning about the child's perspective.

In lieu of marginalisation, participation offers the visibility and *emancipation* of children as a social group, promoting the image of the child as an active partner in a social community whose voice is audible and respected. The practice of participation changes the *status quo* in power relationships by critically reassessing the following questions: Who usually speaks on behalf of the group? Who is allowed to speak and on whose behalf? (Cahill, Sultana and Pain, 2007). Participation holds *transformative* potential not only in relation to social change to which it can contribute but also in relation to the very participants, their competencies, attitudes and values. Through participation, children are stimulated to *name* the problems in their environment, to *voice* them, i.e. to speak about them, to explore them and, through the process of *building allies* (with adults), to influence the process of changes and to improve their own status in society (Vranješević, 2015). Promoting the visibility of children's perspective is especially important when children come from marginalised groups (poor children, children with developmental difficulties, ethnic minorities etc.) since it is a way for improving their feeling of being powerful, their positive self-image, and their proactivity (Sime, 2008). Yet, these are not only relevant to children from marginalised groups (although they need additional support) but for all children because children/youth are generally a marginalised social group in terms of their visibility and social power. Participation gives children an option to be active participants whose opinion is asked for and respected, to learn how to think critically,

to pose questions and interpret answers, and to actively contribute to improving the status of children. In this way, participation helps promote the image of children as active and competent experts in their own experience who, according to their age and evolving capacities, can participate in the decision-making process concerning their best interest.

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The Realization of the Right to Education in Slovenia¹

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The right to education is a right which has a strong normative foundation in international law. It was first directly defined in Article 26 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, and afterwards in a number of other international documents, including the *International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* and *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child*. At the European level, another very important document regarding this topic is the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*. The right to education is otherwise included among cultural rights (Nowak, 1995, p. 189), although it is closely interrelated with other human rights.

According to experts, the goals of the right to education are worked out in greatest detail in Articles 28 and 29 of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. This Convention is the most universally valid and acknowledged document on human rights, as it was as of today ratified by all except two UN member states.

The attention towards the right to education is by no means accidental, as the right to education is important for both children, to whom it refers directly, and for modern society which is supposed to be a society of knowledge, and hence the education is of key importance for it. However, the right to education holds a special meaning also due to its specific position among human rights: it is a precondition for number of other human rights (Nowak, 1995, p. 189). On the one hand, it helps to guarantee the possibilities to form autonomous individuals and for obtaining

¹ This article is a revised, upgraded and translated version of the previously published article (Šimenc and Kodelja, 2015).

education, which is today a necessity – although far from being adequate – condition for a decent life; and is on the other hand closely interrelated with an economically successful society and deliberative democracy, with both of them presuming educated and enlightened citizens for their existence.² We could even argue that numerous civil and political, but also economic, social and cultural rights can be successfully implemented only in an environment which has achieved a certain level of education.

The right to education is formally defined in such a way that it does not include only the growth of a person and his/her dignity, but also development of respect for human rights. Point 1 (b) of Article 29 of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* thus clearly states: ‘States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.’

The field of education is a place where the dissemination of information regarding rights and moulding individuals in such a way that they shall respect and fulfil human rights is entered in the sphere of rights. It is a place where rights at a rights level attempt to ensure conditions for their realisation. Formal level, i.e. designing documents stating rights, and a signature of individual states, which binds it at the formal level to respect the rights listed in the signed document, is namely not enough for asserting rights. This formal level is necessary, but not sufficient; hence citizens need to demand from authorities to really respect the rights through their actions. On the other hand, citizens also need to be prepared to respect and carry out legislation and other legal measures for implementing international obligations. This can be asked and realised only by citizens who know human rights, and above all understand their meaning and feel themselves obliged to respect them. Education is one of such tool, where the mechanisms for establishing the conditions for executing these rights can be entered in the formal structures of rights. Education is a place where the voice for demanding and defending rights is formed, and where the rules of discourse which supports it are formed. We need to emphasise a specific status of this entry: the right to education is a right which can help realising human rights when implemented; but can perform this function only if it is carried out itself. So, it already assumes for its implementation that human rights are put into effect. Or it assumes that at least one of the human rights is already fulfilled, namely the right to education.

2 For Buchanan, it is exactly benefits gained from (basic) education by both individuals and society that justify the inclusion of the right to education on the list of human rights, guaranteed by international law instruments (Buchananm, 2013, pp. 160–162).

The Right to Education Is Not Only the Right of the Child

It seems that the right to education refers mainly to children. However, the right to education is not a right acknowledged only to children. The right to education is a universal human right. As already mentioned, it is as such written in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and in some other documents on human rights.³ Therefore the explanation that the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* gives rights to children as children (Archard, 2004, pp. 60) is wrong; or in other words, that it grants them rights because they as children differ from adults and are not recognised to have all rights given by other international documents on human rights to every person. Children have this right recognised already before the implementation of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, as this right was acknowledged to every single human being, including children. On the other hand, everyone has this right even when he/she is not a child anymore. Therefore he/she can exercise it as an adult as well. Even more so, in countries such as Slovenia, where young people usually start their studies when they are already 18 years of age, the great majority of them even cannot exercise part of this right, namely the right to higher education accessible to all.⁴ Apart from that the right to primary education, which is in Slovenia and in line with the Convention is compulsory,⁵ is not really a right, but an obligation. If the essence of the right or of that what makes a right a right in the true sense – and not an obligation or a duty – lies in the freedom of the subject of the right to implement or not the right acknowledged to him or her, then the right to education at primary school level, which is compulsory by law, cannot be a right, since a child (or his/her parents) cannot freely decide that he/she or they won't implement the right to education (in the case of compulsory primary school). Hence, we

- 3 Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: 1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. We can find similar formulations in the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (Article 13), and in the *Convention against Discrimination in Education* (Articles 4 and 5).
- 4 States Parties ... Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means (*Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Article 28c).
- 5 State Parties ... Make primary education compulsory and available free to all (*Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Article 28a).

might argue that the right to education for children and parents is really a duty at the primary school level. This special status of right-obligation is related to the fact that this is the essential right, which then allows other rights to be implemented as rights. The same as human rights are an obligation for a government in order to allow its citizens to enjoy them as rights, the right to education is an obligation for children and parents in order to enable them to enjoy all other rights as rights.

The Fulfilment of the Right to Education: A Review

If we take a look at the preamble to Article 28 of the Convention ('States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular ...'), we can say that the Republic of Slovenia strives to 'achieve this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunities'. The state tries to provide equal opportunities for education – without which there cannot be a just educational system – with various measures and mainly in two ways: firstly, by providing equal access to education on the basis of an individual's merits, his or her capacities and invested effort (by providing an equal scope of free education to everyone; by enabling the differentiation of lessons; by the inclusion of children with special needs when this is more beneficial for them than education in special schools, etc.); and secondly, by providing an equal basis at the start of education. An important measure for providing equal opportunities in the sense of an equal basis, is an improvement of the initial situation of children from culturally or socially deprived environments by including as many children as possible in good quality pre-school programmes. Around three quarters of all pre-school children now already attend kindergarten, which reduces the initial differences in their 'readiness for school'.⁶

Slovenia also fulfils the obligation taken on by signing the Convention to provide compulsory and available free to all children – 'primary education compulsory and available free to all' (28.1.a). It is worth emphasising that free education is in this context meant as the opposite to payable education, namely as a possibility of education without paying a fee. But the absence of fees does not necessarily mean that education is completely free. The costs of school supplies are so high that many parents cannot cover them by themselves. Therefore, they are forced to ask various charities for help. State measures, such as the establishment of a textbooks fund, and free textbooks in the first three years of primary

6 According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia for 2012.

education, are obviously not enough. Apart from that, schools increasingly more often offer extra-curriculum, premium activities, which may have an extra levy, such as additional open-air school, school trips and excursions and various courses.

We can come to similar conclusions for further lines of the first paragraph of Article 28: Slovenia provides 'higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means' (28.1.c); 'educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children (28.1.d); and takes 'measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates (28.1.e). It furthermore takes 'all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity' (Article 28, Paragraph 2).⁷ We can also argue that Slovenia 'promotes and encourages international cooperation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world' (Article 28, Paragraph 3), although this aspect is not to the fore of public attention nor to the forefront of Slovenia's efforts in times of deglobalisation.

It goes a similar vein for Article 29., where Slovenian's educational system is directed to: 'the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential' (29.1.a); 'the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms' (29.1.b); 'the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living' (29.1.c); 'the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin (29.1.d); and to 'the development of respect for the natural environment' (29.1.e). Slovenia also respects the principle that 'no part of the present article or Article 28 shall

7 The second paragraph of Article 28 advocates a special caution pertaining the implementation of discipline, which could be in contradiction to human dignity. Discipline in school therefore gets special attention. Legal procedures have assured that school discipline is not implemented in an inappropriate way. However, it is less evident from the article that an excessive caution pertaining the implementation of discipline can also be in contradiction with the child's dignity. If discipline itself loses its reputation; if it seems that its implementation is awkward, reservations regarding disciplinary measures, arising from excessive caution, can also create conditions which aren't in line with the child's dignity. This perspective is less obvious from the formulation of the article: the article itself directly discusses discipline alone, but it should be in the context of the entire convention logically understood in a broader sense of the right to learning environment which shall be in line with the child's dignity. The right to such learning environment can be infringed by the lack of discipline.

be construed, so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions' (29.2).

A detailed review of fulfilling the obligations arising from these two and other articles, if they have consequences for education, would be too extensive for the limited length of this paper. A quick review of the articles could create an impression that Slovenia respects the rights of the child to a great extent; however the review of reports on fulfilling the Convention shows that this is a process where the answer to the question as to whether the Convention is being put into effect is not a simple 'yes' or 'no' in certain fields. It is also not about a comparison with other countries, but more about a process of following trends in certain fields gradually, and about the improvement of conditions, which takes a lot of time, effort and means. Hence this paper is focused on just those few moments where the Convention calls for more intervention.

The first moment shall be related to a question which is in a way very paradigmatic, and linked to the rights of the child, namely to the question of protecting the rights of minorities. The second one shall be related to a question which is sometimes not even perceived as a question from the rights of the child's perspective; or can its exposure be dealt with as somehow problematic, as it can lead to the violation or at least limiting the notion of the rights of the child, namely the question of the quality of knowledge. The third issue is the issue where the biggest legislative changes have occurred since the adoption of the Convention by Slovenia; but it is at the same time also a topic where the rights of the child and human rights are often invoked, although the referencing can be somehow misleading from time to time.

The Education of Roma Children (and Other Minority Groups)

Our starting point will be upon the emphasis of the 'respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own' (29.1.c). We have chosen this emphasis since Slovenian reports regarding the implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, assigned in Article 48, most often focus on the issue of the education of Roma children. The *Combined Third and Fourth Report of the Republic of Slovenia on the implementation of the Convention* from 2010 thus states, numerous measures regarding the improvement of Roma children's right to education, including the ban to form classes with Roma pupils only; standardisation of Roma language as a basis for teaching Roma

language; an introduction of Roma assistants; and an introduction of Roma Culture as an optional subject.

Despite numerous measures introduced by Slovenia to improve the education of Roma children, the *UN Committee on the Rights of the Child* in its 2013 *Conclusions of the Committee on Slovenian Report* regarding Roma children's rights to education points towards the poor academic success of Roma children at primary school level, and a large proportion of early school leavers at all levels of education. It also stresses that schools 'still use outdated materials which intensify stereotypes, prejudice and negative perception of Roma'. It recommends 'a removal of all references to the Roma population, which are connected with prejudices from school textbooks, and implementation of measures for encouraging a culture of tolerance and multiculturalism in schools (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2013).

National reports for the period after 2010 aren't available, but there is the *Interim Alternative Report on the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (Zipom, 2016, p. 31), which was prepared by a network of NGOs from the Zipom Centre; and *Annual Reports of the Ombudsman of the Republic of Slovenia* (Ombudsman, 2020, p. 79), which draw attention that the Roma right to education remains ignored and needs to be improved.

An alternative report points towards the insufficiencies and violations of the right to education for refugee children and children from ethnic minorities. On a general level, this topic is addressed to in annual general reports by the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, which draws attention to deficiencies at a global level. From these reports, we can infer elements which could be problematic in Slovenian's educational system; or about which we needed to report on potential progress if official reports on the situation in Slovenia existed. The 2017 report thus relates to the question of inclusion (Boly Barry, 2017). Within this context, it also exposes the rights of persons with disabilities to inclusion into the general educational system. Slovenia could report on (the absence of) progress regarding inclusion in relation to the Placement of Children with Special Needs Act (Act, 2017). Especially because the 2011 *White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia* (Krek, Metljak) proposes certain solutions (reference schools, support centres) which would make the inclusion of children with special needs easier, but the proposals have not been realised. The rapporteur in his report draws attention to classes in their mother tongue for pupils from linguistic minority groups. Slovenia could mention additional Slovenian language classes for immigrant children who do not speak Slovenian, and which were introduced

into Slovenian legislation for primary and secondary school education, and of afternoon supplementary classes of mother tongues for immigrant children. Regarding the adequacy of these measures, we could draw from the analyses by SIRIUS, the European Network on Migrant Education, which is active in Slovenia as well.

Let us add that the latest report by the special rapporteur relates to the realisation of the right to education during the Covid crisis (Boly Barry, 2020). The report does not refer especially to Slovenia, although general reports about the endangerment of the right to education apply to Slovenia, too. The report draws attention to groups of children whose right to education was most affected by the Covid crisis and consequential schooling from home, and proposes a surprising attitude towards the digitalisation of education:

All States should, as a matter of urgency, adopt special, targeted measures, including through international cooperation, to address and mitigate the impact of the pandemic on vulnerable groups, as well as communities and groups subject to structural discrimination and disadvantage. In many contexts, this will mean prioritising the most accessible, 'low-or-no-tech' approaches in distance learning ... (Boly Barry, 2020, p. 19)

Besides, the report includes the position regarding the nature of education, and an implicit recommendation regarding the development of digitalisation of education, in order to prevent possible violations of the right to education. The recommendation is relevant to Slovenia as well: 'The digitalization of education should never replace onsite schooling with teachers. Should distance education become the new paradigm for education after the end of the pandemic, it would affect the heart and purpose of the right to education. Onsite and face-to-face education enables teachers not only to provide content, but to ensure it is understood and well received. Besides, education goes much beyond a single objective of transmitting didactic knowledge, and aims at developing socio-emotional skills, critical spirit and creativity, citizenship and mutual understanding between groups that need to interact and mix in order to live in and build a peaceful society, and at connecting children to nature and to their environment. Education is a social act of a community of learners that require real human interactions.' (Boly Barry, 2020, p. 12)

This report differs from others in that it does not report only upon violations of the right to education which have already happened, but also in tendencies and future violations. This is in a way in line with the report of the 2019 special rapporteur report, talking about 'a particularly forceful preventive potential of the right to education in the very early stages,

before warning signs are apparent. That role is to be linked with the aims of education and the right to inclusive and equitable quality education' (Boly Barry, 2019, p. 2). The same as the right to education has the power of prevention, the report on carrying out this right in the time of corona crisis also attempts to act preventively, so that the response to the crisis would not lead to narrowing the right to education.

Question of the Quality of Knowledge

The formulation of educational goals from the Convention regarding the rights of the child to develop his/her capacities, perspectives, knowledge, skills and achievements shows a different logic, so we need to ask ourselves about the relation of these two perspectives. It is patently clear that children have not developed their capacities, if they do not possess the basic knowledge enabling them the successful inclusion and life in society. However, this argument has not yet developed the connection between knowledge and the development of a child's capacities. Furthermore, the Convention on the Rights of the Child is based on a perspective which doesn't put knowledge, skills and achievements at the centre of attention, which can raise the feeling that they are of less importance from the rights of the child perspective. This would call for the articulation of a broader view which would show that the child has always lived in the world and society, so even his/her capacities need to be considered within this framework. However, we don't need to develop this framework here, there is namely another path which shows the importance of knowledge to the child's right to education: from definitions, it seems more like the right of the child to develop his/hers capabilities. From the Convention's perspective, the concept of equal opportunity of children is brought to the fore. And this is exactly where a school system when it does not look after the quality of education or knowledge of the children turns out to be unjust to some children and in contradiction with the principles of equal opportunities.

Let us develop this further. The attention to the implementation of the Convention is often focused mainly on the negligence of emotional and social development and the influence of knowledge measurement on marginal groups.⁸ The element which relates directly to knowledge and

8 When focusing on quality, they can describe it very narrow. In the context of discussion about the right of the child, a broader context of education, learning environment, the number of well educated teachers, access to learning tools, etc. is emphasised, and the attention is drawn to the fact that academic success cannot be the sole measure to achieve good quality upbringing and education, and can lead to the narrowing of upbringing and education to the number of points gained at tests, and the placement of a country on an internationally comparable charts.

the empowerment of pupils which goes with it, is less emphasised: 'As an empowerment right, education is the primary vehicle by which economically and socially marginalized adults and children can lift themselves out of poverty and obtain the means to participate fully in their communities.'⁹

Statistically speaking, general academic success in Slovenian primary schools used to be, on-the-whole normally distributed. This means that the-majority-of pupils were C-students, while there were less D- and B-students and a few F- and A-students. Those times are gone. Less than a decade ago, more than one third of pupils finished primary school as A-students. How could have such a big difference occurred? There are at least three possible explanations. First, children have much better knowledge today, secondly, the learning content is less demanding, and thirdly, the marking criteria has changed. The first explanation would be convincing if we could prove that the complexity of learning content or strictness of marking have not changed significantly; the second would be convincing if it was true that neither the knowledge children possess nor the strictness of marking have not changed significantly; and the third, if the knowledge children possess and the complexity of learning content have stayed largely the same. Such thinking might seem simplified, as it is not necessarily true that only one of the three explanations is correct. All three can be correct. Even so, this does not eliminate the underlying problem, i.e. how to explain the cause of this change. The only difference is that in this case, we would need to show how much each of these explanations contributes towards the explanation of this change. Therefore, we can say that the increase in the number of A-students would be good if the first explanation was correct; and bad if the second or the third explanation was true. The increased number of A-students is not bad. It is bad only, if it is a result of the decreased complexity of the learning content or lower criteria for marking. In the past, school authorities obviously perceived the first explanation to be wrong, as their arguments for eliminating overall achievement which came into force with the change of *Basic School Act* in the school year 2008/09 included a great increase in the A-student numbers. Since they omitted to mention a decrease in learning content complexity as a possible cause and stressed upon the pressure parents exerted on teachers to round the marks upwards at the end of the school year, we could surmise that they saw the cause for the increase in the A-student numbers in a lacking in the strictness of marking. However, even if a

9 Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. *General Comment 13, The right to education.*

lacking in the strictness in marking was the actual cause for the increase in the A-student numbers, the elimination of the overall achievement prevents us in establishing whether the strictness of marking has increased due to that. The only thing we know is that the before mentioned anomaly, which was expressed as an abnormal increase in the A-student numbers is not visible today because of this elimination. Nevertheless, the question remains whether this measure uprooted the cause for the then increase in A-student numbers. It is quite possible that this abnormality now continues with the marks for individual curriculum subjects. Certain data confirm this hypothesis. According to the *National Examinations Centre*, the rate of A-students in school years 2008–2010, if calculated only from the average of final marks for compulsory subjects for ninth class, was approximately five percent lower than before, while the rate of B-students increased by roughly the same percentage. However, more than 25% of pupils were still A-students. If we add B-students, we see that more than 60% of pupils were B- or A-students, while the rate of F- and D-students remained almost the same as the years previous, namely around eight percent. This distribution of academic success is abnormal.

We can conclude that the elimination of the overall achievement was not an effective measure, if assessed by its influence on the fairness of marking, which can be in this case defined as proportionality between the exhibited knowledge and received mark. The measure might have been efficient, but this doesn't mean that it was correct or necessary. If the parents put pressure on the teachers to give better marks, since the overall achievement decided whether their children could have enrolled at their general upper secondary school of choice or not, the school authorities should have stepped in and protected the teachers against these undue pressures and ensure the conditions which would have enabled the teachers to mark the pupils fairly. They could also ease these pressures by taking marks gained by the external assessment of knowledge into account for enrolment. However, they did exactly the opposite. They reduced the national assessment of knowledge to mere feedback for pupils and teachers, and which as such has practically no weight in selective procedures for enrolment at secondary schools with limited admittance.¹⁰

Private education

The first attempts to regulate the formal situation of private education in Slovenia were presented in 1995, in the *White Paper on Education in the Republic in Slovenia* which introduced starting points for education

10 For more on this, see Kodelja, 2012.

reform in Slovenia. 'The Principles and Bases' defined the situation of private schools in principle with this formulation, 'The State needs to legally regulate and enable the establishment of private kindergartens and schools. This obligation arises from international documents, including the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* which provides parents the right to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities (if they conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and are not in contradiction with established law).' (Krek, 1995, p. 16)

A more detailed definition of regulating private education in principle in the 1995 *White Paper* can be found within the chapter 'Design for governance arrangement of private schools and kindergartens'. The key definition seems to be the one related to the public and private sector relation, 'The public and private sector relation should be designed in such a way that private schools enrich public supply, allow greater choice for parents to contribute to greater adjustability of the system, and complement the public schools network (*and not limit or undermine it*). Mechanisms for monitoring the quality of private schools are necessary, at least where private schools fill in for public education.' (Krek, 1995, p. 238) Private schools are supposed to be designed so as to make public education more flexible and complement the public school network, where its capacities are insufficient, but should not lead to the closing down of public schools, because pupils enrolled at a private one.

Private schools (primary and general upper secondary) design their curricula by themselves, but the curricula need to be approved by a council of experts. The council of experts approve the curriculum when they establish that the curriculum provides 'equal education standard' (Organisation and Financing Education Act, Article 17). This demand is relaxed for the curricula performed by private schools according to special educational principles, and for which the council of experts need to establish that 'they provide minimal knowledge enabling the successful completion of education and were recognised by an appropriate union of these schools'. With a proviso that these curricula are assessed during the entire schooling period for the first generation. This relaxation was adopted in order to enable the establishment of schools with a greater deviation of their curricula from the public school curriculum, that could not meet the demands for 'equal education standard' but have established themselves into the European educational environment with their education concept.

The existing arrangement designed in the first *White Paper* and has not changed in key elements in the 2011 *White Paper* (Krek and Metljak,

2011) therefore allows private initiative in education, but it is at the same time conditioned: the limitation refers to the quality of curricula. If a curriculum does not meet the required standards of quality, it is not publicly recognised, as it would not be in line with the children's right to education.

Slovenia thus provides the right to the establishment and management of private schools which is indirectly written in Paragraph 2 of Article 29 of the Convention¹¹, and is also ensured by other international documents on human rights,¹² although they refer more directly to the right of parents to educate their own children in conformity with their religious or philosophical convictions. The obligation of the state depends firstly on whether the right is understood as a positive or as a negative. A negative right means that each parent has the right to establish or choose the school for his/her children according to his/her own religious, moral convictions, while the state protects this right and doesn't limit it without adequate reasons and are provided by law. A positive right means that the state enables each parent to exercise this right by establishing and/or financing private schools. The dilemma pertaining to this is whether to regard this right as a negative or as a positive. Paragraph 2 of article 29 states that no part of the present article or article 28 'shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions'. The right in the Convention is thus written negatively – it is not allowed to prohibit private schools.

Nevertheless, a 1984 European Parliament resolution, which as a resolution is not legally binding for member states, tries to relate private education with a positive right, as it states amongst other things that: a) it cannot be the duty of the State to recommend or give preferential treatment either to denominational schools in general or to schools of a particular denomination; b) it is the duty of the State to provide the necessary

11 No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principle set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

12 'The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 13.3). We can find similar provision in the Convention against Discrimination in Education, 'The States Parties to this Convention agree that: ... It is essential to respect the liberty of parents and, where applicable, of legal guardians, firstly to choose for their children institutions other than those maintained by the public authorities but conforming to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the competent authorities.' (Article 5.b)

facilities for State or private schools; and c) in accordance with the right to freedom of education, Member States shall be required to provide the financial means whereby this right can be exercised in practice and to make the necessary public grants to enable schools to carry out their tasks and fulfil their duties under the same conditions as in corresponding State establishments.¹³

However, this Resolution is not legally binding, which is clearly seen from the arbitrations by the European Commission and the Court for Human Rights regarding the section of the Resolution regarding the obligation of the state to provide the financial means for private schools. This is an official explanation of article 2 of the Protocol to the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, which states, 'No person shall be denied the right to education. In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions.' (Digest, 1985, p. 743) In a few cases related to the quoted article, both the European Commission and the Court for Human Rights undoubtedly decided that the Protocol doesn't impose on the state the obligation to introduce and subsidise any kind of education at any level, nor that no parent or group of parents cannot put pressure on the state to establish new special schools or subsidise existing schools, if they educate in accordance with special cultural, religious or denominational tradition or particular academic specialisation. (Meredith, 1992, p. 26)

It follows that Slovenia realizes the demands of the Convention related to the possibility of establishing private schools. However, it is worth recalling that these demands are set negatively in the Convention, as an injunction on the prohibition for establishing private schools; and that the Convention as-a-whole conveys another idea, namely that children too, not only parents, should have a say on which school (public or private) they shall attend.

Last, but not least; the right of children in private schools in Slovenia has been determined by the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia more than once. The Constitutional Court has not changed the fundamentals of the established arrangement for private education, but it has decided that the state needs to finance private primary schools to the same extent as it finances public primary schools (for the compulsory part of the curriculum). It based its decision on the specific interpretation of the Slovenian Constitution and did not refer to the international

13 »Parlamento Europeo: La libertà di scuola e di istruzione« (1984), in Pajer, 1991.

documents regarding human rights, since it would not be able to do so (Šimenc and Tašner, 2016). This can be seen clearly in the report of the rapporteur of the human right to education which emphasised the importance of education as a general good (Sing, 2014).

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Who Calls the Shots? The Insiders and Outsiders of (Un)just Participation in Slovenian Elementary Schools

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Introduction

The participation of children in the school setting is an increasingly relevant research topic. In the last few years, the literature on it has expanded from advocacy texts, critiques and descriptions of the different approaches to both empirical (Hart, 1992; Lansdown, 2001) and theoretical debates (Kodele, 2017; Marovič, 2017; Mithans, 2017; Rutar, 2013).

Child participation has become an important research topic not only because it constitutes part of the Convention on the Right of the Child and introduces children to active citizenship (in practice), but also with respect to assessing the fairness of the education system in which this very participation occurs.

In this article, we focus on the last point. We are interested in assessing the Slovenian education system in terms of its readiness to ensure that all children have the right to be heard and the right to participate in decision-making process in schools. Child participation is here more particularly understood in terms of children being: a) provided with information about their right to participate in decision-making in elementary schools; and b) children being represented in forums, including through their own organisations, on school, local, regional and national governance levels¹.

1 The definition of participation was influenced by the Council of Europe's project *Implementation of Council of Europe Child Participation Assessment Tool*. Focus groups with children have been conducted as part of this project.

We pose a twofold question, namely whether the education system and more specifically the participation arrangements as part of it are designed (or are able) to support and encourage the participation of different groups of children and which groups tend to be the most deprived in terms of their participation opportunities and outcomes.

We tackle these questions using the theoretical language of egalitarian liberalism (Rawls, 1971, 1999) and the recognition approach (Fraser, 2001) (partly developed on its criticism). This is an important contribution to the literature on child participation as the aspects of what just participation in elementary schools entails are rarely tackled. We start out by briefly describing theoretical approaches, building a solid basis for considering the above research question. The methods used in the analysis are then presented. The thematic analysis of 15 focus groups with 157 elementary school children was used (more details in the methods section). The analysis attempts to connect the theoretical approaches and practical arrangements for child participation in elementary schools. Here the emphasis is placed on the real experiences of various groups of children. The analysis concentrates on comparing the two types of focus groups, the first with either children from disadvantaged socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, and/or with behavioural, emotional and learning difficulties and the second being focus groups with children randomly chosen by elementary schools across Slovenia². The findings are presented in the last part.

Theoretical approaches to assessing the fairness of participation arrangements in elementary schools in Slovenia through the child participation lens

Discussions on how to create a school environment which would be just for all and how to assess its fairness are often based on various theories of justice. These theories find their rational in different principles of just distribution (see e.g., Brighouse 2000, 2002; Curren, 1995; Gutman and Callan, 1997; Kodelja, 2006)³ most prominently developed in Rawls' (1971, 1999) theory of justice which can be understood within broader ideas of egalitarian liberalism. In Rawls' most famous work *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls (1971) does not deal with issues of justice in education in great depth, they are merely mentioned. Rawls understands justice in

2 In the article, we also refer to the first group of children as vulnerable children or disadvantaged children and the second group as children from the general population.

3 This not only applies to scientific analyses, but to strategic documents such as the White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia (2011) which adopted the principle of distribution or the Rawlsian approach as the starting point for thinking about a just education.

broader terms, namely at the level of the social system. He argues for a just society which must ensure the distribution of primary goods (such as freedom and opportunity, income, wealth and the basis of self-esteem), and social institutions (e.g. legal protection of freedom of thought and freedom of conscience, competitive markets, private ownership of productive assets, a monogamous family) which (if provided) ensure a just society. Although Rawls (1971) does not pay much attention to education, the education system can surely be considered as one social institution whose practices influence the distribution of the individual's opportunities. As such, Rawls' ideas also find their place in academic attempts to assess the fairness of education systems on the systemic level as well as the micro level (for instance, assessing the practices of teachers) (Kodelja, 2006).

The basis of Rawls' (1971) formulation of justice lies in a special conception of justice; namely, justice as fairness whose two underlying principles ensure a just and moral society:

1. The Greatest Equal Liberty Principle. Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all. The latter relates mainly to a range of primary social goods required to obtain the status of a free and equal citizen therefore ensuring the inclusion into mutually cooperating society throughout the individual's life. This principle does not, however, relate to natural primary goods such as health, intelligence, natural talents, etc. (Van Parijs, 2003, pp. 210–211)

The second principle argues that, despite inequalities forming part of the society, a society may be considered to be just if such inequalities are arranged in line with:

2. The Difference Principle. This means that the social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both:
 - a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with the just savings principle; and
 - b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity. (Rawls, 1971, pp. 302–303)

The principles are arranged in such a way as to give lexical priority for 1 over 2(b) and 2(a). In building a just society, Rawls (1971) is primarily interested in how to improve the initial opportunities of individuals and not whether the maximisation of opportunities results in more equal outcomes for these individuals. The subject of legitimate redistribution⁴ is

4 The obstacles people may face and could be subject to equalisation attempts by the state

those opportunities linked to social class and family background that allow the individual to attain advantaged positions in society. On the contrary, the post-distribution voluntary choices of individuals cannot be considered a legitimate subject of redistribution. Such inequalities are part of what, according to Rawls, is part of a just society since they have been caused by the voluntary actions and choices of each individual (Van Parijs, 2003, 2013).

Rawls' ideas of a just society can be translated into the education field by understanding equality of educational opportunities as a prerequisite for the individual's right to be educated and thereby to succeed in life. The White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia (2011, p. 14), the key national strategic document in this field, defines a just education system as a system which allows inequalities in educational outcomes so long as everyone is entitled to the same opportunities and all inequalities are the consequence of free choice, different levels of ability, effort and risks. Such orientation may be considered to be in line with Rawls' difference principle. The assessment of whether the education system is just is here blatantly made a matter of whether children are in control of several factors that usually can be considered to be the cause of social inequalities – factors like gender, social class, ethnic origin that depend on sheer luck, as children cannot choose them. The logic here dictates that a just educational environment should therefore place considerable emphasis on reducing these inequalities and gaps in educational outcomes as they are caused by these factors, by brut luck (Brighouse, 2011). As described in the White Paper on Education (2011), the education system in Slovenia focuses on maximising the opportunities and providing equal opportunities for all. In an ideal scenario, this would reduce the gaps between the educational attainments of pupils with different social and cultural backgrounds. That part of the document which concentrates on justice states that:

This would be achieved using the policy of positive discrimination focusing on children from socially and culturally disadvantaged backgrounds with the aim of providing universally accessible education on one hand but also individualization of the school system in terms of maximising the opportunities for obtaining quality education and development of each student/pupil into an autonomous individual, inclusion of children with special needs etc. (White Paper on Education, 2011, pp. 14–15).

include having fewer native abilities or less willingness to cultivate them than others. For instance, in an educational setting, this principle may support educational measures that close the attainment gap between the naturally talented rich and the naturally talented poor.

In spite of ideas close to egalitarian liberalism (Rawls, 1971) being popular when thinking about designing more just education systems, there seems to be several limitations while translating and operationalising these ideas into practical educational policy and their application to the school environment. Here are some examples:

- The question arises as to the practical applicability of the difference principle. The principle states that the unequal distribution of primary social goods is fair insofar as it benefits the most disadvantaged. It is difficult to imagine how the most disadvantaged pupils with the worst educational outcomes would benefit in any way from a system in which the least disadvantaged would have their learning outcomes maximised (Harel Ben-Shahar, 2015, p. 5), which would be Rawls' (1971) idea of a just education according to the difference principle.
- Another issue emerges with the inclusion of personal risky choices in the notion of social justice because it is very difficult to distinguish the choices an individual is responsible for and the choices subject to objective circumstances that have influenced the individual's social position. According to Andersen (1999), in practice this would result in the legitimisation of processes leading to a division between citizens who make responsible choices and those who do not. Similar emphasis is also given by Harel Ben-Shahar (2015, p. 7, p. 9) when providing the example of capabilities and effort:
- Harel Ben-Shahar (2015, p. 7) disagrees with the static and constant notion of talents and capabilities which Rawls (1971) believes are part of the natural primary resources and as such are not subject to redistribution. She argues that both can be increased through upbringing as well as education.
- Differences in effort and aspirations are often seen as a tool for justifying differences in children's learning outcomes because both effort and aspirations are viewed as assets over which individuals have control. Harel Ben-Shahar (2015, p. 9), on the contrary, claims that effort can be understood as an asset over which individuals have no control: a) it can be understood as a natural ability dependent on the ability to concentrate, on diligence, emotional strength and other components and not as a personal choice; b) there is a correlation between deprived groups of children, the influence of cultural capital and the type of community in which they are growing up in and which lower motivation to study – these are again factors outside the

individual's control and should therefore not (in a just education system) have an influence over learning outcomes.

A just school system should hence expand the list of items in the focus of redistribution by adding talents and abilities. Further, more lenience and greater understanding should be shown while rewarding/punishing motivation or effort because these are the key elements of learning outcomes.

The notion of justice and child participation in elementary schools

The redistribution approach seems to be a limited basis for thoroughly assessing whether (and to what level) the design of child participation within schools may be considered to be just. There are at least two reasons for this argument. First, the redistribution approach mainly considers the educational attainment and learning outcomes of children and leaves little room for exploring child participation. In contexts other than theoretical debates on justice in education systems, the assessment and evaluations of the fairness of education systems typically rely on indicators measuring the learning gaps between various groups of children, differences in the learning outcomes of children from different ethnic backgrounds, the influence of different regions and countries' contexts, differences (and factors) defining the expectations and aspirations of children, the share of early school leavers etc. (see e.g. PISA OECD, 2020). Unjust differences in the participation and active inclusion of children in participatory processes, which are very important for the education and school lives of children, are therefore set aside. This is surprising as Rawls' notion of a just society mentions morality⁵ as essential for the individual's autonomy⁶ – both

5 It is very common for morality to be part of discussions about a just society, but it is rarely considered as an important concept when talking about the participation of children. Mayall (2000) is one of the first authors to introduce a link between the participation of children and their moral status. She argues that so long as society does not recognise children as moral actors (meaning they are able to make a moral judgment based on their awareness of a particular situation and encounter with themes like fairness and distribution), the possibilities for them to participate in decisions important for their lives will remain limited.

6 Personal autonomy is, according to Brighouse (2002), one of the most important principles (besides educational equality) promoted by egalitarian liberalism. Every child should have an opportunity to become an autonomous person, a person capable of rational reflection of his/her beliefs and commitments, which is fundamental for achieving individual well-being. The educators' role is important here: "Educators have a duty to facilitate autonomy – to make sure that children have a real opportunity to become autonomous – rather than to promote it" (Brighouse, 2002, p. 184). Brighouse further argues the importance of rational reflection on decisions on how to utilise the set of basic liberties society guarantees: "It is their right, and their obligation, to use these liberties responsibly, both for their own benefit and for the good of others. To do this they need to weigh reasons and

aspects should thus be key when assessing the level of child participation (Mayall, 2000). Still, Rawls does not mention participation directly.

Second, the question of what a just society entails stays limited to “the question of distributivity and omits the issues of representativeness, identity and difference”, which are key concepts of the recognition approach (Fraser, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2003). Those are the vital concepts while analysing participation and are especially important for collective participation. They could provide solid guidance for assessing whether the participation of minority groups with their own identity is just. As we show later, their participation opportunities are limited; their interests are at best being represented by others. Following this, we argue, similarly to Fraser (2003, p. 5), that only the combination and commitment to both approaches can result in a just society, a just education system and just child participation in schools.

The recognition approach

The recognition approach advocated by Fraser (1995, 2000, 2001, 2003) is therefore also adopted in our discussion of justice in education as well as the just participation of children from disadvantaged socio-economic and cultural backgrounds and children with behavioural, emotional and learning difficulties. Three reasons explain why this approach is better suited to our analysis. First, it is directly related to the need for people to assume an active role, to be engaged and participate as a condition for a just organisation of society. Fraser (2001) argues that a new field of social justice must be established whose need is made urgent by the growing differentiation of postmodern societies. There is a corresponding need to recognise different group identities and differences of individual social groups within their struggle for recognition. Participation is directly mentioned in the recognition approach in the principle of parity of participation. This principle can be adopted for this article’s purpose, that is, to assess whether participation in the Slovenian education system is just. In general, this principle stipulates that: a) the distribution of material assets enables the individual to be independent and have a voice; and b) the institutional arrangement fosters different patterns of cultural value, which ensures equal respect and equality of opportunity for all individuals (Fraser, 2001, p. 6).

Second, unlike the theories of distributive justice, the recognition approach does not overlook the questions of cultural aspects of injustices and hence the importance of politics of recognition. It takes one

evidence for different courses of action: the capacity for rational reflection is an essential tool for this” (Brighouse, 2002, p. 184).

important step beyond the theories of distributive justice. While the redistribution approach uses compensation as a tool for increasing the opportunities of those in the least favourable position, the recognition approach reminds us that these increased opportunities can (in some cases) remain unrealised. Namely, individuals who are faced with adversities of status differentiation and status discrimination often fail to use increased opportunities.

Third, Fraser (2003, p. 15) coins the term bivalent collectivities to explain why social justice must inevitably entail both socio-economic as well as cultural dimensions. Bivalent collectivity represents a social group disadvantaged both in terms of its socio-economic and cultural sense, as is the case with our target group, and neither sense can be limited to the effects of only one because they are intertwined and work simultaneously⁷.

The recipe for making contemporary society more just might therefore lie in the recognition of what must entail the re-evaluation of disrespected and unrecognised social groups, their cultural production and their differentness. This cannot be achieved without re-evaluating the symbolic social order by dissecting the conditions which uphold the current status differentiation, in turn raising questions of power and privilege. For example, one way to deconstruct the privileged social dimensions is, according to Wang's study of school principals' perception of social justice (2016, p. 12), to "raise the consciousness of dominant group about its privilege over the less advantaged, and openly discuss the interplay between power and control".

As mentioned, this article combines both approaches (redistributive and recognition) to assess whether the existing arrangements and practices of child participation in elementary schools in Slovenia are just in terms of equal opportunities for vulnerable groups of children. The redistribution approach principles will allow us to identify sources needed for child participation in school and indicate what are, according to the focus group participants, the preconditions for participation to be just for all. The conditions for all children to participate are merely one aspect of just participation, while the other one is to reduce inequalities in participation outcomes. Therefore, a more complex analysis is needed, one that goes beyond analysing only opportunities to participate. Here, the recognition approach is better suited to assessing whether the participation arrangements are just as it concentrates not only on the formal requirements

7 A typical example of bivalent collectivity is gender. Namely, gender inequalities can be partly attributed to economic inequalities, partly to the society and to the culture. Other examples of bivalent collectivities are race, class, sexual orientation, and ethnicity (Robeyns, 2003, p. 3).

for just participation, but also on the concepts of power, privilege and respect, which shed light on the obstacles faced by vulnerable groups of children and thus on inequalities in participation outcomes.

Methods

In order to answer our research question, we adopted a qualitative research approach. In total, 15 focus groups with 157 children were organised (as part of the project Implementation of Council of Europe Child Participation Assessment Tool (Council of Europe, 2016)), 12 with children from the so-called general population of children from elementary schools and 3 with children who were invited to participate by NGOs working with and for vulnerable children (especially by advocating for their rights, empowering, supporting and encouraging them to address issues in their lives whether this involves a quarrel at home, a notice of expulsion, bad grades or being in trouble with the police).

Participants

Elementary schools which participated came from different statistical regions (9 out of 12), from rural and urban areas (as shown in Table 1). Despite efforts to ensure balanced representations according to statistical regions, more focus groups were conducted in the Central Slovenia (7 in the capital city of Ljubljana). This can be justified by the concentration of the population in the Central Slovenia and by the diversity of schools in Ljubljana's districts. The number of focus groups in the sample was determined based on saturation. When topics began to repeat, further data collection became redundant (Hennink et al., 2019; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; O'Reilly and Parker, 2012). One focus group per participating school was conducted. The teachers (or other contact persons) did not receive any specific and formal instructions for the selection of children but only asked to select approximately 10 children aged 10 to 14 years. They were informally encouraged not to select only high performers but a cross section of their school population, although this was not always the case (see Chapter 6). The number of participating children per focus group varied from 7 to 14. The selection of children was gender-balanced and children came from different age groups, yet most were 10- to 14-years old. One focus group with younger children (6–9 years old) was conducted. Each focus group lasted two school hours (1,5 h), with a 5-minute break. The focus groups were held between 20 September and 4 November 2019.

While selecting the sample of focus groups with vulnerable children, we tried to cover as many possible different categories of children

Elementary school	Specific background	Statistical region	Children's residence	No. of participants	Age	Date	Duration
Elementary school 1		Mura [Pomurska regija] (north-east)	Village	9	10-14	20.09.2019	
Elementary school 2		Savinja [Savinjska] (east)	City, village	9	10-14	24.09.2019	
Elementary school 3		Drava [Podravska regija] (east)	Large city	9	11-15	30.09.2019	
Elementary school 4		Lower Sava [Posavska regija] (east)	City, village	13	12-14	16.10.2019	
Elementary school 5		Upper Carniola [Gorenjska regija] (north-west)	City	12	11-14	4.11.2019	
Elementary school 6	/	Littoral-Inner Carniola [Primorsko- notranjska] (west)	City, village	13	12-14	18.10.2019	2 school hours (1,5 h)
Elementary school 7		Southeast Slovenia [Jugovzhodna] (south-east)	City, village	14	11-14	23.10.2019	
Elementary school 8				12	10-14	22.10.2019	
Elementary school 9		Central Slovenia [Osrednjeslovenska] (central)	Large city	10	11-14	21.10.2019	
Elementary school 10				11	12-14	9.10.2019	
Elementary school 11				9	12-14	24.10.2019	
Elementary school 12		Gorizia [Goriška regija] (north-west)	Village	7	6-9	10.10.2019	
NGO 1	Children with either disadvantaged socio-economic and cultural background and/ or behavioural, emotional and learning difficulties			10	13-15	9.10.2019 10.10.2019	4 school hours (3 h)
NGO 2		Central Slovenia [Osrednjeslovenska] (central)	Large city	10	11-17	13.10.2019	2 school hours (1,5 h)
NGO 3	Children's Parliament participants		Large city, village	9	12-14	27.09.2019	2 school hours (1,5 h)
Total				157	6-17		

who might be at higher risk of being excluded from the exercise to participate (e.g. younger children, children living in families with lower socio-economic status, cultural background, those from ethnic minorities, children with disabilities, learning difficulties, children in institutions)

and, on the other side, the ones who participate the most. To accomplish this, we contacted NGOs working with and for children and youth and four focus groups with the NGOs' assistance were performed. Two focus groups were with children with either a disadvantaged socio-economic and cultural background and/or behavioural, emotional and learning difficulties (here one participant older than 14 participated; in her answers, she reflected on her experiences of participation in elementary school) and one with children participants in the project Children's Parliament.

The measurement instrument

In order to conduct the focus groups, we developed semi-structured, child-friendly question guidelines which followed the logic of the Child Participation Assessment Tool's indicators.

The guidelines assess several areas important to children's lives. The topics discussed with the children were: (1) the provision of information regarding their right to participate; (2) children's representation in children's forums; (3) child-targeted feedback mechanisms on local services; (4) the availability of child-friendly, individual complaint procedures; and (5) an independent children's rights institution. The article deals with the first two topics and the proposed guideline questions for these two topics are thus enclosed in Appendix 1.

Procedure

Organising the focus groups included sending out invitations to schools and NGOs, communication with schools and NGOs (participants, venues, protocols etc.), arranging formalities with regard to data confidentiality, parents' permissions, small rewards for children (as recommended by Fargas Malet et al., 2010) and the development of child-friendly communication tools (emojis) (as suggested by Fargas Malet et al., 2010; Hill, 1997; Veale, 2005). The two focus groups with children with either a disadvantaged socio-economic and cultural background and/or behavioural, emotional and learning difficulties were performed by the NGOs themselves (after short training of the facilitators by our team), while the others were performed by the authors. All sessions were audio recorded (with the children's consent) and transcribed. Anonymisation was ensured by asking the children to come up with nicknames for use during the focus groups and by anonymising the names of the schools and NGOs.

Data analysis

The data were analysed by MAXQDA, a coding software package. The thematic analysis was carried out in a deductive way (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun

and Clarke, 2006; Hayes, 1997) and the data were analysed on the basis of systematic coding (breaking down the data to the coding system to identify relevant patterns), following the approach suggested by Saldana (2012). The coding system followed the logic of the Child Participation Assessment Tool's indicators and was organised hierarchically over three levels. It consists of seven main codes (first level) which summarise the main focus group topics: (1) co-decision-making in the family environment; (2) children's rights to be informed about the right to participate; (3) informedness about the right to participate and child/human rights; (4) forums for children; (5) co-decision-making in the local community; (6) an ombudsperson; (7) child-friendly, individual complaints procedures, with 24 subcodes (second level) which further categorise the main codes, and 27 subcodes (third level) which further detail the 24 subcodes of the second level. The analysis included almost 5,000 coded segments organised in the coding system.

Analysis of the determinants for equal participation in school

Are children informed about the right to participate and can all children equally exercise their right to participate in school? In general, the focus group analysis shows that the children feel they are provided with the information about their right to participate and that this information is mainly given in the school setting. Some children who participated in the focus groups also reported they would not have been informed about their rights at all had it not been for the school. Besides school, other important sources of information are parents and other members of their families, some children receive information from the media. As we continued with conversations about their views on the equality of opportunities to be informed about their rights or to be actively involved in participation practices, several children were convinced (as they follow the same curriculum in the public school system) that all children in Slovenia are equally informed about their rights and can equally participate in school (participation) activities (e.g. running for class president). If we judge the education system solely by these merits and only consider Rawls' (1971) theory of justice, the Slovenian education system and its ability to inform children about their right to participate may be described as being in line with Rawls' first principle – the greatest equal liberty. Namely, some focus group participants argue that the right to be informed about child participation is fully ensured.

Yet, a different side to the story is revealed by the group of children who had either a disadvantaged socio-economic and cultural background

and/or behavioural, emotional and learning difficulties. This group generally noticed inequalities in opportunities in informedness.

The child focus group analysis makes it evident that, as defined by Fraser (2001), the education system and arrangement of participation perpetuates the differentiation of status. We can observe several factors at play which prevent equal child participation in school. What are they? One of them is, according to the participants, the age. Older children are generally better informed than younger ones. Another reason behind this is teachers' inability to provide age-adapted content on child participation.

Basically, technically speaking you are still developing and later on you look at things differently. For instance, you would use a completely different way to explain what participation is to a first-grader than to someone who is in the third year. (Jasna, 14 years, NGO 1)

Participants also felt that younger children are not only less informed but also have fewer practical opportunities provided to them to participate (for instance in the school parliament). Elementary school forums (the school communities and/or the Children's Parliament) include a limited number of children who are indeed generally older (the last triad of elementary school).

According to some children, the level of informedness is also determined by one's region of residence, with many believing that children from the central regions of Slovenia are better informed about their right to participate, and that participation is also determined by the urban vs. rural divide, albeit opinions are divided here. The majority believe that children from urban areas are better informed than their counterparts from rural areas, claiming the greater economic development and accessibility of information in urban areas as the reasons.

If we take Ljubljana and one village for example, then those from Ljubljana are at least twice as informed as those from the villages. They are remote and don't even know what is going on. (King Konk, 13 years, NGO 3)

The rationalisation of these arguments is rooted in the perception the participants express, namely, that the topics of human rights and child participation are more important in urban settings where people tend to be more individualistic and willing to express their opinions. In rural areas, the information flow is slower and so too is the pace of life, some participants believe.

I don't know, they probably really know less, those children living in the village, because they probably don't look in depth into these topics. They're probably talking to each other, but that's not it. Also, the information flow is slower there. And they do not emphasise their own opinion so much. (Pia, 14 years, elementary school 5)

Still, in contrast, some believe that children living in rural areas, in villages are better informed because fewer people live there, information travels faster and the voice of the individual is more easily heard. Those children also think that because school classes tend to be smaller in the countryside, information travels faster and school subjects dealing with participation are discussed in greater depth than in the cities.

In my opinion, for example, in larger cities where there are more people, it is harder for everyone to express their opinion because there are too many of them, but in smaller villages you can express your opinion because there are fewer people and it takes less time. (Nodi, 13 years, NGO 1)

Besides the age and place of residence, another important factor affecting the status differentiation in terms of informedness about children's rights and child participation is the parents' socio-economic, cultural and educational status. Several focus group participants believe that children from disadvantaged families exposed to the risk of poverty and facing social problems are usually also deprived in terms of being informed about their right to participate.

I don't know, maybe those who are the minority, or those who don't have enough money to go to this school, and they don't talk about it at all. (Ema, 11 years, elementary school 8).

Something similar can be claimed for children whose parents are less educated and for children with a migrant background.

Immigrants, let's say we have a lot of Albanian immigrants. They simply don't understand so much ... They don't know, I mean, they don't understand what kind of rights we have here in Slovenia because they can be different from where they are from, for example (Summer, 14 years, elementary school 7)

Another general observation indicating differences between children from the focus groups with a general population of children and the focus groups with vulnerable children is that vulnerable children are typically much more sensitive to inequalities based on their own experiences. They mentioned several situations when they were treated unfairly due to

their migrant background and when their rights to participate were limited more than for other children.

For example, when Slovenian pupils are graded, they get asked three questions, they know nothing, they still get a 3 [good]. Or let me tell you... they answer one question correctly and get 5 [excellent]. But for us, not from Slovenia, we are up there in front of the whole class and get five questions, we answer four and a half questions correctly and we get 1 [fail]. He [the teacher] says you did not deserve to pass...I think this is not OK... that all these Slovenians get 5s [excellent] and the rest of us worse grades.... (Isus-Vuk, 14 years, NGO 2)

It seems to me that some teachers are unfair to people who are not pure Slovenians (Nodi, 13 years, NGO 1)

It gets on my nerves because there is a lot of nationalism at schools (Janez, 15 years, NGO 1)

On the contrary, the participants from focus groups with a general population of children were usually children from families without any financial issues, with good educational attainment and excellent debating skills – schools typically choose the most eloquent and talkative children despite being instructed not to do so. Further, the comparison of the two groups in terms of the participants being articulated, eloquent, being able to express complex and/or abstract ideas reveals important differences in favour of the children from the focus groups with a general population. Similarly, differences between the two groups appear when comparing their understanding of child participation in schools, their perceptions of what can be achieved by it, and their view on entitlement to participate in the decision-making processes in schools. Here we can argue that children with either a disadvantaged socio-economic and cultural background and/or behavioural, emotional and learning difficulties are, to use the language of the recognition approach, a typical bivalent collectivity – they face injustices in participation that are simultaneously traceable to the systemic arrangement of participation in school and the culture.

In terms of whether the children's views support the idea that all children have the same opportunity to be informed and to take part in the participation activities based on the education system providing them the opportunity to do so, the short answer is no. Here the *just* in child participation cannot be only guaranteed by distributing equal opportunities to all children and expecting that those in the most vulnerable position will miraculously seize these opportunities (as in Rawls' (1971) understanding of fair equality of opportunity), but to recognise and remove the obstacles

to participation encountered by vulnerable children (as in Fraser's (2001, 2003) understanding of fair equality of opportunities under the recognition approach).

Another important angle of the children's insights into which factors influence the level of informedness about participation is the engagement of teachers and their way of presenting participation topics. Children believe that those who are taught by motivated teachers who use child-friendly language and innovative methods (like technology) to present the topics are better informed.

It depends on each individual, each teacher individually. (Khloe, 14 years, elementary school 6)

And also, we are more interested in what is for example on the computers, videos, YouTube ... we are more familiar with that than with textbooks and books and newspapers and that. (Miha, 14 years, elementary school 6)

Moreover, vulnerable children often felt that the language used by teachers is too professional and demanding, meaning they cannot understand the teacher's explanation and wish they would use more child-friendly language.

Yes, with words that are better known to you, just like you would speak at home. Because teachers use technical terms every time when they explain things to you. Because you really don't know what they mean, you need to google things and then explain the term them to yourself and then you know. (Jasna, 14 years, NGO 1)

The children were convinced that if teachers are sensitive to the vulnerability of individuals, recognise their strengths and adapt their teaching approach to certain children's needs, this leads to greater informedness. This then increases their opportunities to participate.

Yes, it depends on the teachers, some of them just say something and nobody understands anything, because there are such technical terms and some really take the time and talk about it, so that we can understand. Yet, I had a bad experience in elementary school, and I didn't understand what she was saying. We were making just some posters and we were copying (Violica, 17 years, NGO 1)

Which group of children calls the shots?

Child forums are some of the most frequently used child participation practices in schools (class community, school community, the Children's

Parliament) (Boljka et al., 2019; Strehar, 2011). Which children are the most active in these activities and which factors influence their decision to become involved? This is, we argue, chiefly influenced by children's personality traits, their communication competencies, leadership skills and motivation to be involved, but also by school professionals who act as a gatekeepers favouring particular groups of children over others.

Even though some focus group participants claimed that the socio-economic or cultural background does not seem to be crucial (or better, that it should not be crucial) for the child to be selected as a class representative or forum participant and that what matters is (or better, should be) the child's motivation and ideas, the practice clearly shows that children who are more eloquent, who are actively involved in class and outside school activities, children with exemplary behaviour, and driven, independent, reliable, trusted and popular children among classmates and teachers are usually selected.

It doesn't matter how much money someone has or how much someone can afford. What matters are the ideas and willingness to stand up for everybody. (Vanaly, 13 years, elementary school 2)

If, on one side, the above characteristics make a child suitable for engaging in participation practices, what kind of personality traits or lack of competencies for participation prevent a child from being eligible for participation? The following discussion from a focus group in elementary school 1 provides an insight into this:

Moderator: But who wouldn't be suitable enough [to be chosen a class representative]?

Kai, 14 years: For example, our classmate XY, who for example is not ... (laughter)

Eva, 8 years: Once he was almost kicked out of school.

Kai: Once, he was almost held back.

Ana, 14 years: And argues with the teacher.

Nikki, 14 years old: Well, he's dyslexic.

Moderator: But, if someone is dyslexic, do you think one is less suitable to be the class president?

Ana: No, but one has to be a role model for others.

Eva: We wouldn't want someone who gets into all kinds of trouble to be the class president.

The discussion shows that some personal traits outside the control of children (being dyslexic) may prove (at least in the eyes of some pupils) to be the exact trait which prevents someone from becoming a class

president. Despite this person having normatively the same chances as everyone else to become a candidate for class president, his chances look grim. Yet are the education system's practices such that they maximise his opportunities in participation terms?

The children generally think the school practices support the status quo. Children who are favoured to participate in child forums often have better opportunities and talents than other children and, in principle, come from families which are not socio-economically deprived. On the contrary, vulnerable children are not given the opportunity. From the perspective of assessing the fairness of child participation in school, what is worrying is that, even if they show interest and are motivated, this does not lead to their selection. And children are aware of this.

In our school, if I had been elected, the teacher would have said: 'Can you step down, so we can elect someone smarter?' This is what she said to me. Sometimes, the teachers degrade those with bad grades and favour those with 5s (excellent). (Muhamed – Čačkalica, 13 years, NGO 2)

The above quote and many other children's thoughts expressed in the focus groups show that teachers play the key role in choosing the class and children's forums representatives. Commonly, teachers suggest the candidates, or select 'the most appropriate child' among the candidates. Quite often, (anonymised) voting takes place, yet the teacher confirms whether a pupil meets all of the mentioned 'suitability criteria' (eloquence, reliability, independency, good grades etc.) to be the class representative. Other pupils who do not match these criteria, even though they are motivated to participate as a class representative, are usually not selected.

We just ... me and my friends we are not part of this process. The teacher just doesn't allow those of us who are more on the naughtier side to participate ... (laughter) ... So, we, the troublemakers, can't participate at all. The children who are obedient and more silent are always chosen. The teacher is just not democratic (Smajo – Alah, 14 years, NGO 2)

Following Rawls' (1971) theory of justice, we may argue that in practice vulnerable children are deprived of opportunities enjoyed by other children from the 'general' population. Having the same participation rights and subsequently their opportunities maximised by providing them with universal access does not lead to equal participation outcomes. This situation would still be just (according to Rawls and his difference principle) if they were to benefit from such an unequal arrangement. And this might be the case if we consider the vulnerable children's thoughts and suggestions on how they should be represented at school. Some of

them (but not the majority) believe their voice is being represented and voiced through their representative. This representative (who expresses their opinions and addresses their needs makes the difference for the class community, unites the classroom, gathers all opinions and represents the wishes of all pupils in class, makes a complaint in their name etc.) is, it can be argued, elected in line with the difference principle because the least privileged children themselves believe they benefit from the maximised opportunities of the most privileged.

Interpreting just child participation in schools through a Rawlsian perspective is however not simple. Judging the child participation arrangement on the above postulate, we might assess it as being fair even though the most disadvantaged children are excluded. Yet, in practice, the majority of children's opinions differ when it comes to class representatives effectively representing their interests. The vulnerable group of children (and also other children) often express the view that the class representatives only represent their own interests and not the interests of the most vulnerable. As such, the views of the children in the worst position are not taken into account and hence their position cannot be improved by 'giving up' their representation to children in the best position. The difference principle is therefore not respected. Following this line of argument, the Rawlsian interpretation of what just child participation in school might be does not hold up.

For example, they talk about what to do in our school, what to introduce, what to eliminate. Nobody thinks about asking us what we need and even if a teacher tells them to ask us, they usually don't do that. They forget. So, for the most part only those who are in the child parliament choose. (Violica, 17 years, NGO 1)

What often happens is that the topics discussed and agreements accepted in the forums are known only to the participants of forums, leaving other pupils not informed about them. Children see the main role of the representatives in providing them with feedback on discussions and conclusions from different school forums:

Because no one tells us anything. (Alexa, 12 years, elementary school 4)

Due to the most vulnerable children being unable to influence the participation agenda and because they do not receive sufficient feedback when they do, their motivation to participate rapidly decreases.

This sucks, it has no effect. (Matic, 12 years, elementary school 3)

The view based on their own participation experience is that the participation arrangement at school is not an inclusive process. This deepens their impression that 'participation is not for them' and that the system is simply unfair; the result being, according to the focus group findings, the selective inclusion of children. Such results in turn often lead to vulnerable children adopting a strategy of retreat, mocking the participation process, and avoiding it in general.

In judging the fairness of the child participation arrangement in elementary schools according to the focus group findings, we may argue that the Rawlsian approach to assuring justice in such systems is limited. The children's views show that the universal opportunity to participate in participation activities does not (as an outcome) assure universal inclusion in them. In practice, the participation outcomes are unequal in spite of the systemic universality of child participation in schools. Further, no findings from the focus groups suggest that application of the difference principle to participation in schools would benefit the most vulnerable children – in the sense that the most vulnerable group of children would benefit from these unequal and unfair outcomes in child participation, which could make the argument for Rawlsian arrangement of child participation in schools fairer.

Arranging child participation in schools following the postulates of the recognition approach seems to be more just from the point of view of the most deprived. The recognition approach is softer and understands justice in more complex terms. Justice is not giving all children the same rights and then passively waiting to see what happens and hoping that on the mezzo system level an enthusiastic teacher will come along and manage to encourage vulnerable children to participate. Justice is giving all children the same participation rights and opportunities and then recognising that not all of them will be able to seize these new opportunities due to factors outside of their control (socio-economic, cultural, behavioural factors) representing their bivalent collectivity.

Discussion and conclusion

The article analyses injustice in the school environment based on Rawls' redistribution approach while further combining it with Fraser's recognition approach. The first approach enabled us to determinate indicators of just participation in elementary schools (mainly on the normative level of its regulation). Complementary to the first one, the second approach was used to help better understand why differences in participation among different groups of children occur in practice.

If we try to project Rawls' ideas on justice (as elaborated in detail in the introductory part of the article) onto the participation of children in elementary schools, we must answer two questions:

- a) Do all children have equal opportunities in participation processes? If the answer is yes, the following conditions must be met:
 - access to information on participation is equal for all children (e.g., the topic of participation is part of the school curriculum);
 - structures and mechanisms for participation in school are established;
 - structures and mechanisms for participation in school are equally accessible to all children;
 - every child can participate regardless of his/her gender, ethnic or cultural background; and
 - resources for effective participation are equally distributed among all children; no group of children is deprived based on characteristics they have no control over.
- b) Are the interests of the group of children which fails to participate despite the equal opportunities at least represented in participatory processes? To answer this question, a subjective assessment of vulnerable children can be very useful.

Based on the focus group analysis, we assess the participation in elementary schools in Slovenia as being unjust (regardless of the just normative regulation of participation). This finding relies on two arguments, first: participation is not just because the resources which enable children to participate are not equally distributed. The group of vulnerable children is less 'endowed' with resources like motivation, effort, good grades, exemplary behaviour, rhetorical skills and popularity (deemed necessary for effective participation) in comparison to the 'general population' of pupils. Rawls divides resources (or goods) into two groups: a) those which individuals have an influence over; and b) those which individuals cannot influence. As the resources needed for the successful participation of individuals also include those over which individuals have no influence, we claim that some children are inevitably and by default excluded from participation. In practice, it is simply impossible to divide between the resources children can influence and those they cannot because they more or less depend on the social context. The second argument: vulnerable children themselves stressed that their interests are not properly represented in the participation processes. They do not benefit from their participation being limited to sheer representation by others.

On the other hand, Fraser understands justice in terms of struggles of bivalent collectivities for recognition and in doing so helps answer the following question: “Why do some groups of children fail to use their participation opportunities which are otherwise normatively granted universally to all?”. Her approach redirects our attention from equality of opportunities to equality of outcomes:

- “Are there any differences in informedness among different groups of children? Why do such differences occur?”
- “Are there any differences in the accessibility of structures and mechanisms of participation in elementary schools among groups of children? Why do such differences occur?”

Fraser’s approach points us in the direction of participation arrangements in practice. It defines gatekeepers who prevent realisation of the normative regulation of child participation in practice. Our analyses indicate that one of the most important gatekeepers preventing truly just child participations in elementary schools are the teachers who, according to the focus group participants, fail to understand that vulnerable children face barriers in participation which other children do not (ranging from a participation-unsupportive family environment, lack of capacities in terms of language, articulation of complex ideas, concepts, having good grades etc.). Therefore, to ensure more just participation, the list of resources needed for effective participation of children must be re-evaluated, especially if it is dominated by items over which children have no influence (natural primary goods). Just child participation should not be about ‘suitability criteria’ (eloquence, talents, intelligence, reliability, good grades, good behaviour etc.), which further reward the most advantaged in our society and therefore uphold the status quo by assuring that only one group of children ‘calls the shots’, but instead about recognising that some groups of children need more-than-equal participation opportunities. It is up to the education system to acknowledge this and establish more appropriate and just child participation measures in the future. What the education system should ‘reward’ and recognise in relation to child participation is precisely the sensitivity of children to injustice and the lack of recognition of children’s moral status.

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Appendix

Indicator 7: Children are provided with information about their right to participate in decision-making

1. What do you think are your rights?
2. Do you know that you have the right to express your opinion – that your voice is heard and that you are taken seriously (at home, at school, in the local community, at the doctor's, at the CSW, in court...)?
3. How did you find out about these rights (were you told by teachers at school, parents, siblings, classmates, friends, anyone else)?
4. Did you learn about these rights in school? Did you perhaps learn anything about the topic of human rights at school? (In which subject?)
5. If these rights were explained to you, did you understand the explanation?
 - a. Do you think that child-friendly information on rights is accessible to all children – children of different ages and abilities (for example, children who cannot hear)?
 - b. Do you think that participation rights are equally accessible to children in large cities and small villages?
 - c. Do you think child-friendly information is available to vulnerable children (children in hospitals, youth prisons, detention centres, care facilities or asylum homes)?

d. Do you think the rights are understandable to all children – both children in elementary and secondary school?

Indicator 8: Children are represented in forums, including through their own organisations, at school, on local, regional and national governance levels

1. Class president – how is he/she chosen (chosen by students or teachers, in what way)? Who is the most suitable/less suitable to be a class president?
2. Do you have a school parliament at your school? Do you have an opportunity to join the school parliament?
3. Do you have a children's municipal council in your municipality and do you have an opportunity to join it?
4. Can you participate in the regional children's parliament?
5. Can you participate in the state children's parliament?
 - If YES: Do you think you have a significant influence on the decisions? Are your suggestions taken seriously?
 - If NOT: Why do you think there is no children's parliament in your school or why do no children attend it?
 - Are there certain groups of children who, in your opinion, are not members of organisations or do not participate in parliaments? Why not?
 - How important do you think it is to have representatives of all children in the city/region/country in children's parliaments (forums)? (E.g. an equal number of boys and girls, children of different ages, children with different abilities including children with disabilities, children with different backgrounds (migrants, ethnic minorities, asylum-seekers).

Instead of a Conclusion: Some Other Problems with Children's Rights

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As evident in academic discussions, including in this thematic issue, children's rights are usually understood today as moral rights and also as internationally recognised legal norms that all countries should respect and protect. However, this does not mean that children's rights are no longer unambiguous and uncontroversial. Just the opposite, several problems concerning children's rights remain unresolved. In this paper, I shall discuss – very shortly – only three of them: the relationship between human and children's rights; the controversy over children's liberty rights; and the antinomy of rights, that is, the opposition between the right of the child to freedom of religion and the right of parents to educate their children in conformity with their own religious convictions.

Human and children's rights

The first problem is interesting for the following reason: If, according to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the United Nations in 1948, "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration" (Art. 2), then children must also possess them. Therefore, there is either no need to indicate and guarantee these rights once again in the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (adopted by the United Nations in 1989) because it either paradoxically gives children something that they already had, or the word "everyone" in the Declaration does not refer to children, and for this reason children's rights were provided in the Convention. But this would mean that children are not (yet) human beings and yet that is precisely why they could not have all the rights given in

the Declaration to every human being, “without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status” (ibid.). This conclusion seems unacceptable for members of the child’s liberation movement, who defend children’s rights as derived from human rights based on the following syllogism:

- (1). *All children are human beings.*
- (2). *All human beings have all human rights.*
- (3). *Therefore: all children have all human rights.* (Apostel, 1989, p. 49)

Although this syllogism (called Barbara in the context of Aristotelian logic) is valid, some believe the conclusion is false because the first premise is not true. They agree that children are human beings, but for them children are human beings only “in those respects in which they do not differ from adult human beings in general” (ibid., p. 51). Since children are children in virtue of “those respects which they differ from human beings that are not children”, the conclusion is not derivable. According to them, it is not derivable for the same reason as it is not derivable in the following case where based on the premises that all birds fly, and that the ostrich is a bird, we cannot conclude that the ostrich flies (ibid.).

The children’s rights stated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child are usually interpreted as human rights which protect the child as a human being. However, this Convention “gives the rights to children only and in so far as they are children” (Archard, 2004, p. 60). It seems that it does so because the child – as is written in the Preamble: “by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth”. Hence, it is not surprising that the Convention provides them with “protection rights”, which protect children from violent, abusive, cruel or exploitative treatment; and “welfare rights”, which “protect important interests (such as health, bodily integrity, and privacy)” (ibid.). What is surprising is that it gives them liberty rights as well.

Liberty rights

The second problem may be expressed in the question of whether children can or should have liberty rights, that is, the rights to freedom of speech, religion, association, and so on. These rights present a serious problem because they presuppose the autonomy and responsibility of the subjects of rights. Since children – at least when they are very young – are neither autonomous nor responsible, it is absurd, as say some philosophers (cf.

Renaut, 2003), to give them liberty rights. In addition, they are persuaded that liberty rights should not be given to children also for another reason: the fact that liberty rights are given to them by the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* means that children are (or that they should be) treated as autonomous and responsible persons; that is to say, as adults. As a result, children would lose exactly those personal characteristics which make them different from adults. But if children do not differ from adults in this regard, there is no longer any justifiable reason to treat them as human beings who, according to the same Convention, by reason of their physical and mental immaturity, need special care, protection and assistance. Children would therefore lose the right to be what they are, namely, to be different from adults.

The problem of liberty rights relates to the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* and not to two earlier international documents, namely, the *Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child* (adopted in 1924) and the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of the Child* (adopted in 1959), in which liberty rights are not mentioned. The liberty rights guaranteed by the Convention include the right of the child to freedom of religion. Not only is this right problematic because it belongs to the liberty rights, but also because it is in opposition to the right of parents to educate their children in line with their own religious convictions.

Antinomy of rights

In this case, there is an antinomy of rights or, in other words, a contradiction or conflict between rights. Parents have, under the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the same right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion¹ as their children have as provided by the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*.² As both children and parents have the same right, when education in accordance with this right is in question, it is obvious that they can both claim it only if there are no differences between them. If, however, differences exist, either the child or the parents can claim it. If we also consider other international documents on human rights, we see that until the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* was adopted in 1989 it was clear that parents held the right “to ensure their children the religious and moral education in accordance with

1 “Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance” (*Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948, Article 18).

2 “States Parties shall respect the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion” (*Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 1989, Article 14.1).

their own religious and philosophical convictions”³, although this right was sometimes even mentioned as a right of the child. This is especially evident in *The Declaration on Eliminating all Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*, which provides that every child has “the right to education, regarding religion or belief, in accordance with the wishes of his parents”.⁴ If it were the right of the child, it should then be their right to be educated regarding religion or belief in line with their wishes and not those of their parents. In my opinion, in this context, the child’s right is nothing more than a synonym for the parents’ right to determine the child’s religious education.

In this context, parents are treated as people who have the same religious or philosophical convictions. Yet should the parents of a child hold different religious or philosophical convictions, legal and practical problems with implementation of this right of the parents can arise. Of course, having different convictions is not yet a sufficient condition for the antinomy of rights. What is lacking is an intention or the will of each parent to use this right. It is only when the father wants to educate his children according to his convictions and the mother to hers that the problem is unsolvable. However, despite this indiscriminating formulation of this particular parents’ right, there is no doubt that parents, under the mentioned international Conventions and Declarations, possess the right to educate their children consistently with their religious convictions.

Nonetheless, it seems that the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* has taken a significant step toward a different interpretation of the parents’ rights to education regarding their child’s religion. According to this Convention, the States shall respect the rights and duties of the parents “to provide direction to the child in the exercise of his or her right in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child”.⁵ The emphasis is now on the child’s right to freedom of religion, which their parents must respect. Yet, the key question is: what does “the child’s right to freedom of religion” really mean? The right includes the child’s freedom to manifest his or her religion or beliefs.⁶ But does this right also include a child’s “freedom to have or to adopt a religion or whatsoever belief of his

3 “In the exercise of any function which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions” (*European Convention on Human Rights*, 1950, Protocol I to the Convention, Article 2); Cf. *The International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 1966, Article 13.

4 *The Declaration on Eliminating all Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*, 1960, Article 5.

5 *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Article 14.2.

6 This “freedom to manifest one’s religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health or morals,

own choice”, as was anticipated in the draft version of the Convention? If so, then why did this explicit definition disappear from the final version? If not, this right loses its *raison d'être*. Still, although we do not know answers to these questions, it is clear that parents' right to provide direction to their child in the exercise of his or her right to freedom of religion is not identical to the parents' right to ensure the religious and moral education of the child in conformity with the parents' religious or philosophical convictions. Otherwise, the child's right to freedom of religion would be violated.

On one hand, this right of the child is limited by the parents' right to direct children in exercise of this right. This limitation probably presupposes that children are unable to exercise the right to freedom of religion for themselves because they lack reason and therefore cannot act freely. That is why, as John Locke said, parents have the right to direct them to the point when they are able to make rational, autonomous decisions for themselves. In this context, we can then say that the aim of such parents' educational guidance should be the child's self-determination of their religion.

On the other hand, this right of parents is also limited. As we have seen, parents ought to direct their children “in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child”. This means parents' influence on the child should be decreased in proportion to the increasing capacities of the child. Although the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* does not define the capacities of children, it seems plausible, considering Locke's and many other contemporary arguments about children's rights, to believe that these capacities are essentially related to their rationality and consequently, in the moment the child becomes a rational being, the parents' right to direct him/her comes to an end.

Therefore, it seems obvious that parents would no longer be permitted to make decisions only on the grounds of their own religious or philosophical viewpoints. Especially in the case of children older than 12 or 13 years who are, in principle, recognised as having the ability to make rationale choices. If parents, despite this, make decisions without considering the child's opinion and wishes, the child's right to freedom of religion is violated. Even the child's support for such a parental decision which emerges at some future date does not justify it because it itself might be the product of the process of the parents' intervention. Bob Franklin gives us the following example: “a child who is forced by parents to attend church, pray and read the Bible may indeed concur, if asked at some future date, that they now consent to the earlier parental wish” (Franklin,

or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others” (*Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 14.3*).

1986, p. 35). Yet, such justifiability of the parents' intervention is problematic considering John Rawls' warning: "imagine two persons in full possession of their reason and who will affirm different religious or philosophical beliefs, and suppose that there is some psychological process that will convert each to the other's view, despite the fact that the process is imposed upon them against their wishes. In due course, let us suppose, both will come to accept conscientiously their new beliefs. We are still not permitted to submit them to this treatment" (Rawls, 1972, p. 249).

Therefore, following ratification of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, the question arises as to how the State, which shall equally respect the rights of both parents and children, should ensure the conditions for implementation of the child's right without simultaneously violating the same right of their parents.

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VARIA

Students' Social, Emotional and Intercultural Competencies and their Development in School Settings

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Introduction

Existing research on students' competencies and their educational experiences points to social and emotional competencies as being crucial for students' well-being and academic performance, and for establishing satisfactory relationships with others. These findings stress the importance of the role of the school in fostering not only students' cognitive development, but their social and emotional development as well. School-based programmes for students' social and emotional learning (SEL) hold the potential to provide "the missing piece" in education (Bridgeland, Bruce and Hariharan, 2013), thus providing students with the skills needed for personal development and fostering harmonious social relations.

Social and emotional learning includes processes of acquiring core competencies to recognise and manage emotions, set and achieve positive goals, appreciate the perspectives of others, establish and maintain positive relationships, make responsible decisions, and handle interpersonal situations constructively (Elias et al., 1997). According to the widely used conceptual framework, SEL programmes aim to foster the development of five interrelated sets of cognitive, affective and behavioural competencies: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making (Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL), 2003). In other words, SEL programmes aim to build children's capacities to accept and value themselves

and others, handle interpersonal situations effectively and build lasting and meaningful relationships.

SEL-related skills can be taught through systematic instruction, by practising and applying them to different situations with the ultimate goal of students using them as part of their regular repertoire of behaviours (Ladd and Mize, 1983), and by establishing safe, caring learning environments and improving the school climate (Cook et al., 1999). Further, many programmes support students in developing social and emotional competencies in preventing specific problem and risk behaviours like substance abuse, violence, bullying and academic failure (Zins and Elias, 2006). It is likely that the combination of improvements in students' social and emotional competencies, the school environment, teacher practices and expectations, and student-teacher relationships contribute the most to student outcomes related to SEL and characterise the most effective SEL programmes (Catalano et al., 2002).

Aside from social and emotional competencies, there is rising awareness of the importance of intercultural competencies as they become ever more important in today's society. Intercultural competencies encompass the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to communicate effectively and appropriately with people from other cultures. "The development of such attitudes, knowledge and skills implies an ongoing learning process that involves interpretation, self-reflection and negotiation, which gradually transform one's attitude, knowledge and skills towards cultural differences" (Hernández-Bravo, Cardona-Moltó, and Hernández-Bravo, 2017, p. 21). Although intercultural competencies include skills related to both social and emotional competencies, they cannot be reduced solely to social and emotional skills or developed through traditional SEL programmes. The reason for that lies in the fact that the relationships between social and cultural groups are generally influenced by the socio-historical context, as well by differences in the groups' power, social status and collective experience (Auernheimer, 2003; Leiprecht, 2001). Therefore, social and emotional learning must take account of specific knowledge concerning other cultures, as well as tackle deeply ingrained obstacles to intergroup communication, such as social inequality and discrimination, so as to be adjusted to the needs of contemporary society (Jugović, Puzić and Mornar, 2020). Namely, social and emotional learning must be accompanied by the development of intercultural sensitivity and intercultural competencies.

The present article aims to review and reflect on several important issues in social, emotional and intercultural learning, juxtaposing the development of intercultural competencies with the development of social

and emotional competencies. A literature review has been conducted as a part of the Erasmus+ project “HAND in HAND: Social and Emotional Skills for Tolerant and Non-discriminative Societies (A Whole School Approach)”. The project centred around designing and evaluating school-based interventions for developing social, emotional and intercultural competencies of students, teachers and school staff in five countries across Europe (Croatia, Denmark, Germany, Slovenia and Sweden), aimed at fostering more inclusive school environments. The HAND in HAND project is the first, to the best of our knowledge, to integrate social and emotional competencies with intercultural competencies, providing both a theoretical and practical contribution to social, emotional and intercultural (SEI) learning. The literature review presented in this article was used to guide the development of the HAND in HAND programme for developing students' SEI competencies (Marušić et al., 2020) and resulted in a review catalogue of SEI programmes for students (Marušić et al., 2017). The catalogue represents an overview of evidence-based SEI programmes for students, and is divided into two sections: international catalogue, including descriptions of international SEI programmes and national catalogues, containing a summary of SEI programmes in the countries participating in the project. It is important to note here that the purpose of this article was not to conduct a *systematic* review of SEI learning nor SEI programmes (for meta-analyses of existing SEL programmes and their effects, see Durlak et al., 2011 and Taylor et al., 2017), but to inform the development of new SEI programmes by examining existing ones and building upon their theoretical backgrounds, activities and evaluations. Accordingly, the literature search was conducted using the following keywords and their synonyms, as well as combinations: programme, students, social-emotional learning, self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, responsible decision making, intercultural learning. Since the HAND in HAND programme is intended for students at the lower secondary school level, programmes and challenges pertinent roughly to this age group were included in the review.

The ultimate goal of all programmes presented in the catalogue was the same – to promote the positive development and well-being of students through school-based interventions. However, the approaches used to teach SEI competencies vary greatly depending on the programme, as well as the programme's content and its design. For this reason, one of this article's aims was to address the question of how SEI competencies are taught, with particular emphasis on the content and theoretical background of existing interventions and/or programmes, as well as their methodological and organisational aspects.

Not all SEI interventions and programmes are equally well received and successful; along with the content of a programme, its implementation is crucial. Yet, their evaluation is often scarce or inconclusive, making it difficult to distinguish more successful programmes from others. In the current article, we explore whether and how the evaluation of existing programmes has been conducted, the most important results and the aspects of implementation which, according to programme evaluations, are key to fostering the development of social, emotional and intercultural competencies in adolescents.

Before we proceed to explore the existing social, emotional and intercultural learning programmes, a brief overview of the theoretical and empirical grounds of the development of social, emotional and intercultural competencies is given.

On the importance of students' social, emotional and intercultural competencies

According to the widely used CASEL (2003) model, social and emotional competencies include the following dimensions: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills and responsible decision-making. In this context, self-awareness and self-management can be viewed as primarily emotional competencies and social awareness and relationship skills as primarily social competencies, whereas responsible decision-making represents a competence that may be considered to be both social and emotional. As defined within CASEL (2003), self-awareness includes the ability to accurately recognise one's emotions and thoughts and their influence on behaviour, as well as to accurately assess one's strengths and limitations while having a well-grounded sense of confidence and optimism. Complementarily, self-management includes the ability to regulate one's emotions, thoughts and behaviours effectively in different situations. This includes managing stress, controlling impulses, motivating oneself, as well as setting and working toward personal and academic goals. Social awareness involves the ability to take the perspective of others and empathise with others from diverse backgrounds and cultures, to understand social and ethical norms for behaviour, and to recognise family, school and community resources and supports. Relationship skills include the ability to establish and maintain healthy and rewarding relationships with various individuals and groups, communicating clearly, listening actively, cooperating, resisting inappropriate social pressure, negotiating conflict constructively, and seeking and offering help when needed. While integrating social and emotional competencies, responsible decision-making includes the ability to make constructive and respectful

choices about personal behaviour and social interactions based on a consideration of ethical standards, safety concerns, social norms, the realistic evaluation of the consequences of various actions, and the well-being of self and others (Bridgeland, Bruce and Hariharan, 2013).

With respect to (empirical) evidence, more than 500 evaluations of various SEL programmes can be found in the literature (Weissberg et al., 2015). Most programmes involve school-based interventions, but one can also find programmes that extend beyond the school context, including parents and after-school programmes. Two large meta-analyses provided evidence of the positive effects of programmes for the social and emotional learning for students' well-being, attitudes about self, others, and school, and other positive outcomes. Results of a meta-analysis by Durlak et al. (2011) indicate that students who were included in school-based universal intervention programmes for social and emotional learning demonstrated enhanced social and emotional skills, attitudes, and positive social behaviours following intervention compared to students not included in such programmes. Students who participated in SEL intervention programmes also showed fewer behavioural problems and lower levels of emotional distress. Further, SEL interventions have also had a significant impact on the students' academic performance. A more recent meta-analysis (Taylor et al., 2017) also shows that students who participated in SEL programmes demonstrated better results in social and emotional skills, attitudes, and other indicators of well-being, compared to students in the control group, even in follow-up measurements 6 months to 18 years post intervention. Benefits were similar regardless of the students' race, socio-economic background, or school location, revealing the universal nature of the relevance of social and emotional skills for students' well-being.

We argue that the development of intercultural competencies and intercultural understanding can also be conceptualised as being built on the grounds of the CASEL (2003) model, by e.g. being aware of and regulating one's emotions (prejudice), thoughts (stereotypes) and behaviour (discrimination), as well as by taking the perspective of and empathising with others from diverse backgrounds. However, intercultural competencies also include important elements that stem outside the domain of social and emotional competencies, and outside of the CASEL (2003) model. One of these is the critical dimension, which acknowledges how established social and mental structures (Bourdieu, 1984) shape our current behaviour. The critical dimension's importance is supported by reviews of emerging school-based approaches for developing students' intercultural understanding (Walton, Priest and Paradies, 2013). According to this line of research (Zirkel, 2008), long-term changes in attitudes and

behaviours require that students and teachers explicitly address and discuss different positions towards cultural diversity, which include exploring students' attitudes towards ethnicity, race and culture. In doing so, students must develop a critical framework to think about differences and reflect on their own cultural identity. Without such a framework, approaches for developing students' intercultural understanding tend to be less effective since students tend to dismiss alternative experiences due to holding onto the attitudes of their own cultural groups. The development of intercultural competencies and intercultural understanding may be described as 'an on-going critically reflexive process' concerning the progressive development of the knowledge, skills and attitudes that may be needed to interact across social and cultural groups (Walton et al., 2013, p. 181). Such theoretical positioning corresponds with the CASEL model since it involves the development of cognitive, emotional and interpersonal skills, as well as the critical social and cultural-awareness and self-awareness.

One central point in developing intercultural competencies is that a better understanding of 'other' people enhances understanding of one's own culture and identity. In other words, critical intercultural understanding involves an on-going process of self-reflection in which the perception one has of their identity is constantly being (re)defined in relationships with 'others' (Gundara, 2000). From an educational standpoint, the development of students' intercultural competencies implies the possibility of affirming the identities of deprived social and cultural groups while at the same time undermining young people's ethnocentric attitudes. The anticipated result of intercultural learning should be the reduction of xenophobia and discrimination (Katunarić, 1994), the development of students' intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 2004), along with more generally preparing young people for life in culturally diverse societies (Luchtenberg, 2005).

Next, we summarise the results of our review regarding the content and background of SEI interventions, their methodological and organisational aspects, and their effectiveness.

Teaching SEI competencies: Content and background of the SEI interventions

Over the last few decades, a growing number of programmes have aimed to develop social and emotional competencies in children and adolescents. However, in their review of the field of social and emotional learning, Brackett, Elbertson and Rivers (2015) revealed that no individual overall or leading theory is able to explain SEL. Instead, different aspects of one particular programme may be based on a single theory, while other

programmes might rely on multiple theories. This implies that the theoretical frameworks guiding the development of existing programmes tend to be fragmented and diverse, requiring further refinement and comprehension. Moreover, intercultural competencies have so far not been included in SEL programmes, although a rising number of interventions have sought to foster these disparate, yet related competencies, thereby requiring integration and conceptualisation on the SEI level.

Evidence reviews of effective school-based interventions conducted by leading researchers in the field suggest that a key characteristic of an effective SEL programme is that it has a strong basis in theory (Weissberg, Resnik, Payton, and O'Brien, 2003). Simultaneous to this, the theoretical framework guiding existing programmes is not always clear. While reviewing the programmes, we noticed that universal school-based social, emotional and intercultural learning programmes which mention their rationale as for programme development, design and implementation are founded on a variety of theoretical approaches, such as: child development and neuroscience (Anderson, Weimer and Fuhs, 2020), bioecological systems theory and ecocultural theory (Garner et al., 2014), temperament theory (McCormick et al., 2015), mindfulness theory (Schonert-Reichl et al., 2015) and incremental theory of personality (Yeager, 2017), to name a few.

According to Sklad et al. (2012), most programmes cite social learning theory (Bandura and Walters, 1977) as the foundation for their activities and goal achievement, while Brackett, Elbertson and Rivers (2015) categorise relevant theories that may be useful for SEL content development and implementation strategies into: systems theories, learning theories, child development theories, theories of information processing, and theories of behaviour change. All of the above-mentioned theories are relevant for certain aspects of social, emotional and intercultural learning, and worth considering while developing or adapting SEI programmes. Still, significant thought must be put into determining which theories are appropriate for which aims and how their insights can be applied to different elements of the programme.

The development of intercultural competencies builds on social and emotional competencies (e.g. self-awareness, social awareness, empathy), expanding them to a wider context and directing them to concepts like stereotypes and prejudice, which can inhibit or impede intergroup communication (Leiprecht, 2001), as well as individual communication between people of different cultures. Moreover, developing intercultural competencies cannot be reduced to simply “learning about other cultures” (Auernheimer, 2003). It instead needs to be seen as context-dependent,

and involve a critical dimension which will allow students to become aware of the role culture plays when it comes to differences in power or social status, while bearing in mind the foundations of social and emotional competencies required to interact with others.

Despite the theoretical diversity among existing programmes, there seems to be a consensus on their aims – to foster children's better understanding of themselves and others, and to support them in dealing with challenges in their daily life related to their emotions and relationships. Further, researchers have noted that learning and education take place in the context of relationships and that similar risk factors are responsible for various mental health and behaviour problems, such as substance abuse, aggression and violence (Payton et al., 2000), which calls for the integration of different theories in order to achieve the aims of SEI learning. As noted by Weissberg, Kumpfer and Seligman (2003), preventing problems and promoting positive outcomes in the context of prevention requires integrating theoretical frameworks and intervention strategies of prevention science (Coie et al., 1993; Mrazek and Haggerty, 1994; Reiss and Price, 1996) with those of various fields like positive psychology (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), applied developmental science (Hetherington, 1998; Lerner, Fisher and Weinberg, 2000), competence enhancement (Masten and Coatsworth, 1998; Weissberg and Greenberg, 1998), health promotion (Marx and Wooley, 1998; Perry, 1999), positive youth development (Catalano et al., 2002; Larson, 2000; Pittman et al, 2001), resilience (Glantz and Johnson, 1999) and well-being (Cowen, 1983).

Aspiring to anchor their programmes in a comprehensive framework, most developers of existing programmes cite the CASEL conceptual framework, which targets a combination of behaviours, emotions and cognitions, and posits that prevention can be achieved through the enhancement of social and emotional competencies: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills and responsible decision-making (Greenberg et al., 2003). This framework has become widely used in the last two decades, encompassing the relevant skills required to successfully navigate through the social and emotional challenges of contemporary life.

In addition, our review of existing evidence-based programmes and interventions reveals that existing interventions vary greatly in terms of their content and the activities used to achieve their aims. In this respect, the programme content focused on social and emotional competencies includes topics as wide as the following: development of relational competence, mental health promotion, social skills training, empathy development, creating a safe school climate, bullying and substance use

prevention, positive youth development and integration of LGBT youth. Meanwhile, programmes focused on intercultural competencies target the development of intercultural values, constructive conflict resolution, perspective-taking, openness to other cultures, acceptance of students with different religious and ethnic backgrounds, prejudice reduction and the development of a multicultural school environment.

It may be argued that these disparate competencies (i.e. social and emotional, and intercultural) go hand in hand – it is difficult to imagine intercultural competencies without social and emotional competencies and, in certain contexts, vice versa. For example, perspective-taking, which is taught as part of intercultural competencies, is an integral part of empathy – its cognitive component. Yet, empathy and understanding of how others feel is taught as a key aspect of social and emotional competencies. There are many examples of such overlaps between approaches aimed at developing either social and emotional or intercultural competencies. For this reason, we propose that these two approaches should be integrated while developing new programmes or adapting existing ones, and that the activities included in these programmes reflect their SEI nature.

Teaching SEI competencies: Methodological and organisational aspects

In this section, we describe some of the primary organisational and methodological aspects of the existing programmes and interventions. We were interested in who the participants were, their age, how the programmes were structured, who the actors involved in the programme were, the methods and duration of the programme interventions, as well as the type of lesson materials used during programmes in schools. Our literature review of programmes which aim to develop and enhance students' SEI competencies indicates that children and young people of all ages are target populations for the interventions. Programmes start as early as kindergarten (e.g. McCormick et al., 2015), but most are implemented in lower and upper secondary education (e.g. Berger, Brenick and Tarrasch, 2018; Berry et al., 2016; Schonert-Reichl and Stewart Lawlor, 2010). Aboud et al. (2012, p. 308) emphasise that, for intercultural competence programmes, “there is still debate as to whether programs should be targeted at an early age when prejudice is quickly developing or in middle childhood when prejudice diverges due to environmental input” (Raabe and Beelmann, 2011).

The programmes were generally set as randomised controlled trials, thus enabling testing of the intervention's effectiveness. The programme's structure usually includes self-report questionnaires completed by the

students before and at the end of the intervention. In some cases, this is also paralleled by before and after questionnaires filled in by the teachers. Pupils are typically divided into control and experimental groups in order to allow the testing of programme effects. When gender-mixed classrooms are involved, which is mostly the case, the programmes tended to include pupils approximately evenly divided by gender. Like the pupils, teachers selected for participation in the programmes are also usually divided into two groups – one group of teachers actively participating in the programme, and the other being the control group.

As for the school selection for a programme's implementation, programme leaders and researchers tend to sample schools with similar socio-economic backgrounds (e.g. Berger et al., 2018) or, with a larger sample, the sample of schools tends to reflect the variety in the population – “schools in which students were recruited were representative of a diverse range of socioeconomic status and were considered to be a microcosm of the larger society” (Schonert-Reichl and Stewart Lawlor, 2010, p. 141).

Programmes for pupils also vary in the actors included in the programme implementation. Programme leaders in school settings were predominantly classroom teachers, who had usually received some kind of programme training before implementing the programme in school (e.g. Kelly et al., 2004; PATHS and CASEL programmes). Some programmes in schools were led by non-classroom teachers (e.g. Mendelson et al., 2010; Napoli, Krech and Holley, 2005, in: Gueldner and Feuerborn, 2016), while others were delivered by a trained psychologist (e.g. Coelho et al., 2017) or a visiting counsellor, often by a researcher who was the project leader (e.g. Yamamoto, Matsumoto and Bernard, 2017). Some projects led by school teachers had support by way of periodical school visits by facilitators, coach consultants or supervisors of the programme (e.g. McCormick et al., 2015; Berry et al., 2016). Parents were also included in programmes to various extents, with some only giving parental/guardian consent for the pupils, and others engaging more intensively as they underwent a brief education on social and emotional competencies (e.g. INSIGHTS programme, McCormick et al., 2015).

Programmes also vary in their duration, i.e. the timespan of the whole school intervention, intervals between interventions, and the duration of one programme lesson/intervention. Some programmes were implemented over 2 academic years (e.g. Berry et al., 2016; Coelho et al., 2017; McCormick et al., 2015), while others covered a more limited timeframe, delivering from 5 to 25 sessions, often held weekly, rarely bi-monthly (e.g.

Berger et al., 2016). Sessions lasted from 30 to 50 minutes on average, depending on the pupils' age and duration of the school class.

The programme leaders, whether they are teachers, researchers or psychologists, employed a variety of methods and learning materials in the classroom in order to gain pupils' attention and enhance their understanding of the topics. Curriculum materials included puppets, workbooks, flash cards, handouts and videotaped vignettes (McCormick et al., 2015). Lesson materials also included teacher scripts, activity sheets, pictures, photographs and posters (Berry et al., 2016), as well as mind-maps, small group discussions, writing one's stories and drawing cartoons (Liebkind et al., 2014). Lessons typically consisted of individual activities, group activities, and overall class activities to ensure students' sustained concentration and interest in the materials (Yamamoto, Matsumoto and Bernard, 2017). Regarding intercultural programmes, initial teacher training also included explanations, modelling and role-playing of a complete lesson by the school counsellor (Hernández-Bravo, Cardona-Moltó and Hernández-Bravo, 2017), to be applied in the classroom, i.e. with students.

Intercultural programmes also differ in their approach to the selection of participants as programmes are sometimes implemented in ethnically or culturally homogeneous settings and some target multicultural or otherwise mixed school settings (e.g. Hernández-Bravo, Cardona-Moltó and Hernández-Bravo, 2017). Likewise, they differ in the approach to intergroup contact since it is possible to differentiate programmes with direct intergroup contact between the pupils from educational settings based on indirect contact (vicarious contact, extended contact, imagined contact – Di Bernardo et al., 2017). According to Berger et al. (2016, p. 3), “the first group of interventions conducted among children in peaceful multicultural societies are derived from intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew et al., 2011) and include programs that entail direct contact (i.e., face-to-face contact) and others that promote indirect contact (i.e., contact that is not face-to-face)”.

We conclude that SEI programmes encompass participants of all ages, are mainly based in school settings, and involve school staff in an active way, especially teachers. The programmes tend to last at least 5 sessions or longer, preferably throughout 1 or more school years. For programmes dealing with the topic of SEI competencies, it is important to have educated school personnel sensitive to the themes in order to ensure a stronger impact on students and their better communication with teachers. Many programmes applied by teachers in schools had the active support of researchers, project counsellors, psychologists or other professionals whose expertise was related to SEI competencies. On these grounds,

we recommend that the subsequent delivery of similar programmes tackling the SEI competencies of students follows the practice of including as many school staff and outside support as required in order to attain overall better programme impact and sustainability.

Effectiveness of social, emotional and intercultural learning programmes

In the previous sections, we reviewed common features of social, emotional and intercultural programmes aimed at developing students' social, emotional and intercultural competencies. The quality of implementation of SEI programmes for students depends, however, not only on the quality of the programmes themselves, but on the characteristics of the context in which the programmes are being implemented. On both the micro and macro levels, one finds factors that may promote/hinder the effectiveness of SEI programmes, i.e. the development of students' SEI competencies. Before we move on to review these factors, it should be noted that the information provided below relates to either social and emotional competencies or intercultural competencies, since these are traditionally taught and researched separately. However, we argue that the vast majority of information valid for social and emotional competencies can generally be applied to intercultural competencies, and vice versa.

According to the CASEL guidelines for effective SEL programming, the successful implementation of SEL programmes requires that: 1) programmes are theory- and research-based; 2) programmes apply learning to everyday situations and encourage children to use SEL skills in their daily life; 3) programmes build connections between students and their schools; 4) programmes are based on developmentally and culturally appropriate classroom instruction; 5) fragmentation of the programmes is avoided; 6) programmes encourage students' participation, positive interaction with teachers, and good study habits while enhancing students' performance by addressing the affective and social dimensions of academic learning; 7) programmes involve school staff, students, parents and community members in modelling SEL-related skills at home, at school and in the community; 8) high-quality programme implementation is secured by addressing key factors like leadership, adequate time and resources, and by including all stakeholders in SEL programming; 9) programmes offer professional development and support for all members of school staff; and 10) programmes include a needs assessment to secure a good fit between the programme and school concerns and encourage data collection to ensure continuous programme improvement (CASEL, 2003; Fredericks, 2003). Many of these prerequisites were also recognised by in-service teachers.

The following four factors were perceived to accelerate social and emotional learning: adopting schoolwide SEL programming instead of using fragmented approaches, embedding SEL in student learning standards, building teachers' capacity in SEL, and engaging parents and families (Bridgeland, Bruce and Hariharan, 2013). The need to incorporate SEL as an integral part of academics and the awareness of the ways in which diversity provides an ever-changing context for implementation of programmes are also outlined (Elias et al., 2003). The most distinctive factors seen as benefitting the development of intercultural competencies within the educational context are: strong leadership, staff training and support, effective role models, policies that promote intergroup relations, an emphasis on diversity across the curriculum, a diverse faculty and administration, and sensitivity to the local community (Cushner, 2004).

Several factors are acknowledged as hindering the success of social and emotional learning: the perpetuation of narrow and decontextualised programmes, poor management of resources, and negligence of the programme implementers' characteristics (Elias et al., 2003). Factors that hinder the development of intercultural competencies are: a lack of diversity among teachers and students, teachers' ethnocentrism, i.e. a lack of effective role models, non-democratic practices within the school, communities that are reluctant to change, and within-school segregation of majority and minority groups (Cushner, 2004).

Preferably, the quality of SEI programmes and the appropriateness of their implementation is assessed by an evaluative procedure aimed at investigating and improving their effects. In a systematic review focused on evaluating multicultural education programmes, i.e. programmes seeking to develop intercultural understanding and intercultural competencies, Stephan, Renfro and Stephan (2004) put forward possible tools and procedures for programme evaluations. We posit that these are equally useful for the evaluation of social and emotional learning programmes. The authors distinguish between quantitative and qualitative techniques for evaluating programmes. Quantitative designs that can be used to evaluate SEI programmes, going from most to least preferred, are the following: pre-test/post-test with a control group design, post-test only with a control group design, and pre-test/post-test with no control group design. Qualitative designs that Stephan et al. (2004) discuss are post-programme survey and observation, both being equally preferred, i.e. selected based on the programme characteristics and implementation circumstances. As the authors point out, "the better the design, the richer the inferences that can be drawn from the data. However, even the simplest evaluations can provide useful information regarding the effects of the program"

(Stephan et al., 2004, p. 236). Nonetheless, evaluation seems to be omitted from many programme implementations, especially if they are tailored to schools vs. specialised training providers, e.g. agencies and universities (Stephan, 2004). This practice not only leads to the inability to identify areas for programme improvement, but also carries the risk of continuing the (often expensive) implementation of programmes that are ineffective, or worse, the persistence of those that might produce adverse effects.

Recent evidence corroborates the effectiveness of interventions adopting a whole-school approach to enhancing children and young people's social and emotional development (Goldberg et al., 2019). A meta-analysis of 45 studies demonstrated small yet significant improvements in students' social and emotional adjustment, behavioural adjustment and internalising symptoms, but no improvement in their academic achievement. The interventions that involved the community resulted in higher effect sizes compared to interventions without community involvement. Interventions conducted in the United States also appeared to have higher effect sizes than those conducted outside the USA (Goldberg et al., 2019). In their meta-analysis, Wigelsworth et al. (2016) arrived at three intriguing conclusions on the effectiveness of SEL: 1) studies in which the developer has been identified as leading or being involved will show larger effect sizes in relation to independent studies; 2) studies implemented within the country of development will show larger effect sizes than those adopted and implemented outside the country of origin; and 3) studies coded as 'efficacy' will show larger effect sizes than those coded as 'effectiveness'. Namely, "whereas *efficacy* studies are typically conducted to demonstrate the efficacy and internal validity of a programme, *effectiveness* is used to test whether and how an intervention works in real-world contexts (...). Thus, a programme that demonstrates success at the efficacy stage may not yield similar results under real-world conditions" (Wigelsworth et al., 2016, p. 349; italics added).

Having in mind the preferred characteristics of SEL programmes (a wide range of content domains, long-term implementation, scientific evidence of effectiveness, on-site professional development to support quality implementation, schoolwide coordination, school-family partnerships, and school-community partnerships), CASEL experts commended three SEL programmes: Caring School Community; Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies – PATHS; and Skills, Opportunities, and Recognition – SOAR (Weissberg et al., 2003).

Stephan et al. (2004) conducted a meta-analysis to determine if multicultural education programmes hold significant positive effects for attitudes and behaviours. On average, they revealed the positive effects of

these programmes. The findings of the analysis strongly supported the contact hypothesis, stating that programmes which encompassed contact with target persons resulted in more positive behaviour change than programmes which did not include the contact (also see Lemmer and Wagner, 2015). They also found weak evidence elucidating that programmes containing experiential interventions had more positive outcomes than programmes which rely on less-involved techniques. A similar conclusion from Zhang and Zhou's (2019) study is that the effects of overseas immersion were superior to other types of (mainly pedagogical) interventions. Surprisingly, there was also some evidence in Stephan et al.'s (2004) work suggesting that group discussions hinder attitude and behaviour change since they can prove counter-productive if not closely monitored and moderated.

Additional insight into the effectiveness of programmes aimed at developing intercultural competencies comes from the study by Aboud et al. (2012). In their systematic review of the effects of interventions to reduce prejudice and enhance inclusion and respect for ethnic differences, they identified 32 studies that established inconclusive results (i.e. 40% positive, 50% non-significant and 10% negative effects). Media and contact interventions proved to be somewhat more successful than instruction interventions. Stronger and more positive effects of interventions were found for attitudes compared to those for peer relations. Outcomes were more positive for majority than for minority ethnic children when attitudes, but not peer relations, were taken into account. The combination of factors that secured the highest percentage of positive effects was evident in the situation in which *attitudes of majority* children during *contact* were selected as the outcome variable (also see Lemmer and Wagner, 2015). The findings of Stephan et al. (2004) and Aboud et al. (2012) were greatly corroborated by those of Beelmann and Heinemann (2014) who conducted a meta-analysis of 122 comparisons of programmes to reduce prejudice or promote positive intergroup attitudes in children and adolescents. Overall, Beelmann and Heinemann (2014) identified low to moderate intervention effects. Interventions focusing on direct contact experiences along with social-cognitive training aimed at promoting empathy and perspective-taking revealed the strongest effect sizes. Effects varied based on the group status (higher effects for majority groups), the target out-group (lower effect sizes for ethnic compared to disabled and elderly out-groups), and the type of assessment (higher effects for cognitive compared to affective and behavioural attitude measures).

In Stephan et al.'s (2004, p. 242) words: "A magic list of successful program components does not now and may never exist. It is likely that

different types of programs can have positive, negative, or no effects, depending on the way in which they are implemented. It is imperative that program designers and implementers ascertain which outcomes their program produces". In conclusion, more regular, more precise and more rigorous assessment of the programmes is of the utmost importance (Jones et al., 2017; Paluck and Green, 2009). Indeed, the refinement of existing programmes is as important as the meticulous initial development of a programme's content, structure and design.

Conclusion

As the field of social and emotional learning has developed and grown over the last decades, so too has the number of different programmes seeking to achieve various SEL goals, resulting in a significant body of research on the topic. Meanwhile, there has also been an increase in the number of programmes aimed at developing intercultural competencies. For the purpose of developing a new programme for social and emotional learning, we reviewed the key characteristics of existing evidence-based social, emotional and intercultural learning programmes, including their theoretical and conceptual backgrounds, content, methodological and organisational aspects, and their evaluation. This review has revealed multiple similarities between these two approaches (i.e. social and emotional and intercultural), presenting a rationale for their integration.

A substantial body of evidence is now available for deriving conclusions on the general effectiveness of programmes for developing social and emotional as well as intercultural competencies. However, little is known about the possible synergistic effect of the concurrent implementation of the previously mostly separate endeavours to develop social, emotional and intercultural competencies. This seems to be a promising venue for future research.

When it comes to the theoretical background of existing SEI programmes, evidence suggests that the theoretical frameworks guiding their development tend to be fragmented and diverse. Yet, it seems that the CASEL conceptual framework (2003) offers a comprehensive basis for the programmes and their activities, as also reflected in its growing popularity and widespread utilisation. The theoretical/conceptual background is also closely tied with the programme content, resulting in a wide variety of different topics covered in the programmes under review, ranging from mental health promotion to prejudice reduction and the development of a multicultural school environment.

Reviewing the methodological and organisational aspects of existing SEI programmes also showed a variety of different approaches when

it comes to programme implementation. Still, some conclusions may be drawn from this review, particularly with regard to programme setting and the involvement of school staff. The most (successful) programmes are usually school-based, and engage school staff, namely teachers, in their implementation. This implies that using existing resources in schools can go a long way to ensuring an overall better programme impact and long-lasting results, providing a good starting point for school-based social, emotional and intercultural learning.

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Public Universities in Post-Socialist States Could Become 'Un-Academic' after 2020 Pandemic

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Introduction¹

Two years ago (see Teršek, 2018), I publicly raised questions about the “death of the university and the thoughtless professorships” and the criteria for progress beyond mere technical development. Are professors largely career self-promoters and paper-repeaters? Are students prisoners of thoughtlessness and bureaucracy? Further, has science chiefly become ‘manipulation’? Have reading and in-depth study been set aside somewhere in the area of eccentricity? Are books mainly modern ‘boasting’, not a way of talking to oneself and with others, who offer wit, knowledge and wisdom in books? Is this the world we are living in, has our world become like this?

In this article, I present major problems universities have faced over the last two decades, especially in post-socialist countries. This includes the Republic of Slovenia, a (post-socialist) EU member state. I present the legal, constitutional, social and bureaucratic aspects of the problem. The following issues are stressed: the lack of civil courage among members of academia (professors and researchers) to be more active and critical in public, above all at the expense of the deficient and sometimes unconstitutional legal policies of the universities. I outline the actual situation at universities and highlight the technical, financial and logistical problems faced by professors and researchers, some of which are quite paradoxical. I do so against the background of my own ethical understanding of my

¹ The starting points for this article are the previously published articles Teršek and Žgur (2010); Teršek (2017).

role of a professor and publicly active critical intellectual, also a Slovenian “public watch-dog”.²

Emphasis is placed on the urgent, imperative (pressing) social need to raise the awareness of all those working in the university environment of their own responsibility for ensuring a high-quality education system, for protecting and developing knowledge as a value and for a democratic society based on knowledge as an absolute priority. I argue that high-quality knowledge is a prerequisite and the only means for assuring social progress. I mean this literally, emphasising the distinction between cultural progress and technical development. Universities should take more care here, not mostly focusing on technical progress or the market value of services and products, of the results of their educational and research work.

In writing this article, I relied on available scientific, professional and newspaper sources. At the same time, I wish like to emphasise that 10 years ago discussions on this topic were quite active, frequent and, in part, passionate and controversial. Yet, over the last decade they seem to be less frequent and more restrained. On one hand, this is one of the big problems of today’s universities while, on the other, it is an outcome of the backward, excessively bureaucratic and legalistic policy of the state when it comes to the organisation and content of work in universities. The excessive formalisation and bureaucratisation of legal policy in relation to the science, teaching and operation of universities has led to a situation which I critically assess as being the decline of the academic function and value of universities, their democratising function and their general social function.

With an obvious and devastating side-effect: that one can find ever fewer educated people (because having a university degree does not mean being *educated*), that students are less and less interested in real, accurate and thorough studies, that professors are ever less concerned with finding proper ways and means to motivate students *to study* and strive for quality knowledge, such that the younger generations find it ever more difficult to resist their lack of will, inspiration and nihilism (see Galimberti, 2010). This is especially the case when they realise that a university degree and high-quality knowledge do not guarantee them employment or employability as such. Finally, the creation of a family life, without also worrying too much about whether they will be able to provide themselves and their family members with a socially dignified life.³

2 According to the ECtHR (European Court of Human Rights) decision in the case *Magyar Helsinki Bizottsag v. Hungary* (2016).

3 See Eurostat Statistics Explained, Youth Unemployment, 2020.

Before I bring this article to a close, I quote a conversation about universities, faculties, study, knowledge and the academic community with an eminent Slovenian philosopher, publicist, critical intellectual, professor and friend. I recorded our conversation (Teršek 2018) and translated it especially for publication in this article. I conclude by emphasising the obvious problem: knowledge as a value is melting and disappearing at the same time as universities are becoming almost non-academic institutions, if not “companies” (comp. Clark, 1998; Teixeira et al., 2004).⁴

The lack of “civic courage”

For far too long, the public, the media and people born during the socialist era have been asking why there are no more active, committed and critical citizens in the public sphere.⁵ They wonder why one cannot find more young people who are more explicit and confident about issues that are not only interesting and serious, but also culturally and civilisationally decisive, perhaps even existentially significant. And why are there so few “velvet revolutionaries” left? What is the real reason for the absence of a massive and determined reaction to developments in society that is producing this situation of (e.g. Aristotelian) massive non-thinking and anti-politics, they ask? And why are so few academics-as-intellectuals willing to object and contravene the existing and dominating corporative organisation of society as a whole, being created – not by politicians and statesmen – but by daily political administrators – not rulers, but managers – who make up today’s nobility? Why did people settle so quickly on a formal democracy instead of seeking and demanding a real substantial democracy? These questions and concerns are legitimate and justified.⁶

Education policy and the way universities work have much to do with the problem. Despite potential discomfort due to their modest effectiveness, academics must nevertheless make strong efforts to ensure their

4 However, in this article, I do not specifically address the issue of the relationship between the university and the market. By “production”, I primarily mean a critical thesis about the functioning of public universities as the production processes of ‘graduates and formal diplomas’. So, I am thinking mainly of those aspects of the academy problem that I highlight in section 7.

5 “Civic courage” is meant as a term describing willingness, sense of responsibility, consciousness, ethical self-understanding and courage for being and acting as an active and critical citizen, as a ‘political animal’ (according to Aristotle), to use intelligence, ratio and knowledge in public (according to Kant), to act as such publicly, addressing the state powers, members of the academia and general public as a whole, to be actively involved in public life, to publicly appear and act as an active and critical political subject, to be an intellectual (according to Sartre) as The Citizen (see Sruck (1986, 1995); Teršek (2008)).

6 For a comprehensive insight and overview of how the university in Slovenia was established, see Benedetič (1999).

own participation in the discursive search and reflexive self-questioning about life, society, community, institutions, culture, national identity and the life situation – of every individual. Academics should pay special attention to questions concerning the role and status of knowledge in universities and educational processes in general. They must possess the desire to pay critical attention to the ‘problem’ of the university environment. Many representatives of scientific sovereignty and academic dignity in Slovenia have done so; convincingly so, yet still not enough of them. This means there can be no organised and joint action and commitment to progress (not to technical development). The lack of academics’ moral courage (Haidt, 2013) is obvious.

Unrealised political promises and harmful measures

In the Republic of Slovenia, the university and the principle of university autonomy are constitutional categories. They are directly described in Article 58 of the Constitution: “State universities and state faculties are autonomous. The manner of their financing is regulated by law”. This autonomy derives from the freedom of science and art, which Article 59 of the Constitution states is also a constitutional category and a condition for university autonomy: “Freedom of scientific and artistic creation is guaranteed”. The first Commentary on the Constitution complements this fundamental premise of the constitutional protection of university autonomy. It emphasises that the autonomy of universities is primarily a defence right. This means that universities are independent and that, without state interference, they decide on their organisation and operation. Such autonomy also contains elements of the right to a positive status, which positively obliges the state to provide, within the framework of an organisational-legal and institutional guarantee, the basic organisational frameworks for state universities to operate in (Šturm 2002, p. 586).

After every parliamentary election, government coalitions have loudly declared the need for a political legislative reform of the education system and universities. The social democratic parties did so emphatically – by way of a promise. Still, these promises have not been kept. The rhetoric of the ministers responsible for education and science continue to differ markedly from the rhetoric used by party leaders during pre-election campaigns.

Instead of the necessary progressive step forward in the last 10 years, a noticeable step backwards has been taken. This chiefly concerns the autonomy of the universities.⁷ In particular, their total subordination to the

7 Former president of the Republic of Slovenia, Prof. Dr. Danilo Türk, addressed this question 12 years ago (2008). Also see Svetlik (1996, p. 119). Svetlik emphasises, among other

rules and criteria adopted by state bodies and commissions which show disregard for the social role and professional value of teachers and professors (e.g. in terms of policy on salaries, rewards, employment and promotion), the financing of educational institutions, the systematic legal regulation of the basic segments of higher education (e.g. admission criteria) and the consistent implementation of the constitutionally correct legal regulation of the financing and operation of universities:⁸ with statutes, not by implementing provisions in implementing regulations. The state continues to represent its higher education policy with the slogan of necessary austerity measures, albeit extremely unconvincingly (Teršek and Žgur, 2010).⁹

Political technocracy and academic passivity

Most characteristics of the Slovenian university environment are an obvious, direct and forced result of the state's legal policy, or better, an inappropriate policy. State authorities obviously and strongly intervene in the constitutionally guaranteed autonomy of universities (Komljenovič, 2011, pp. 18–19; Komljenovič, 2011a); from teachers' salaries through to the conditions for the state recognition of the legal validity of university diplomas and their funding. The constitutional unacceptability of this situation is clear. Also from the point of view of certain state requirements regarding the criteria to be met if universities wish to establish, modify and implement their study programmes. Even just *the title* of a particular study subject in a concrete study plan!¹⁰

University autonomy is also prevented by state bodies and commissions with regard to the content of university programmes. At the same time, these agencies and commissions (like the state administration generally) act in an excessively formalistic, technocratic, rigid and irritatingly bureaucratic way, including the criteria for selecting individuals for

things, that for the autonomy of the university it must first achieve a high level of internal integration (pp. 119, 122). For a brief overview of the legal acts that protect the autonomy of the university, see Avbelj (2019, 493, para. 3). Also see *University Autonomy in Europe*.

8 Also explained in decision of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia No. U-I-22/94.

9 For a detailed comparative analysis of the problem of the (non)autonomy of universities, see Estermann, Nokkala and Steinel (2011); Bennetot Pruvot and Estermann (2017).

10 The last personal administrative experience is nicely illustrated by the fact that my colleagues and I, working at one faculty at a public university, waited 6 years for formal approval by the state bureaucracy of the change of the *title* of the study subject. However, the problem of autonomy is not only a problem of European universities. See Polsky (2005), "calling for change, from small structural fixes aimed at dispelling faculty discontent to broad administrative alterations that will allow faculty to have more decision-making power".

research and educational titles.¹¹ And the public universities show no real resistance (Močnik, 2011). They have uncritically adopted the system of unbearably formalised, intellectually uncritical and over-bureaucratic criteria, which are also not balanced among different scientific disciplines and have almost nothing to do with the actual substantive criteria for assessing the qualification of persons for research work and teaching. Public universities have easily accepted the aggressive neo-capitalist market logic whereby an individual should be entitled to recognition of benefit to the university or to a chair in a faculty or department of the faculty – not whether they are a sovereign expert in a certain scientific field and a good lecturer, but only – if “academic work can raise money – as a market product that can be easily sold to customers”.¹²

The obvious reality seems striking: public universities do not want to be autonomous in any of these areas.¹³ It almost seems as if they do not feel responsible for autonomy. Or, even worse, as if they do not wish to take responsibility (Breznik, 2011).

The lack of responsibility may also be observed from an ethical and legal point of view: uncontrolled and unsanctioned cases of bullying and victimisation, plagiarism and other copyright violations, payment of remuneration for mentoring and commission memberships, spending public money on legal defence in cases of personal misconduct, cases of the obvious and serious loss of earnings, toleration of professors, those who do not consistently meet their educational obligations, the recruitment of students by allowing abbreviations in examinations and degrees, the establishment of programmes or even new faculties with the main aim of employing certain persons or closely related groups of persons, and not for the sake of compelling educational needs and purposes. The most diligent,

11 Former constitutional judge and judge of the ECtHR Prof. Dr. Boštjan M. Zupančič in his dissenting opinions in Slovenian Constitutional Court decisions no. U-I-22/94 and U-I-34/94 similarly points to a reasonable understanding of the autonomy of universities. Also see Svetlik (1996, p. 120, fn. 1). Like Zupančič, Svetlik stresses that the university cannot be ‘absolutely’ autonomous. He adds: “Too much autonomy can lead to the university’s unresponsiveness to society, and too much responsibility can jeopardize its academic ethos and thus the essence of its existence”. Such ‘absoluteness’ is not possible even with the fact that the state is constitutionally obliged to finance the university as a constitutional category. Of course, there is much room for manoeuvre between one extreme and the other, possible and unrealistic aspirations for absolute autonomy and the problem of insufficient autonomy. And this space is crucial. An ethical understanding of this space and its legal framework are vital. See Teršek and Žgur (2010) and Lesjak (2011).

12 “We face enormous pressures of ‘instrumentalization’, turning the university into a means for someone else’s end. These pressures come in two forms – commodification and regulation” (Burawoy, n.d.), comp. Teixeira et al. (2004).

13 For a detailed analysis of the concept of “university autonomy”, see the full commentary on Article 58 of the Slovenian Constitution in Avbelj (2019, pp. 492–500).

receptive and constructive critical students are all too often overlooked and sometimes punished for demonstrating the critical and intellectual tension.¹⁴ And the problem of mobbing and harassment at universities remains without an effective answer.¹⁵

Even if there are alternatives that universities could still use to choose appropriate ways to raise their level of quality and strengthen their role in society, these alternatives, these 'ways out' of total state control, typically remain unused. Within the framework of their unique function and privileged mission, universities must always share responsibility for the state of mind in society as well as for the general quality of social life. Also for a genuine democratic society in general. Such a philosophical and ethical self-image of universities seems almost forgotten.

The value of work

Domestic research work, public relations work and publications that are worth little more than nothing (publishing papers and books often means pro bono work, a way of collecting 'points' for one's habilitation and doctorate). Research work and publications abroad are worth everything, entailing a few paradoxes and a little hypocrisy when it comes to language.

Many professors are unable to give lectures to foreign students. They try to avoid them. Many of them simply do not want to speak any language other than Slovenian at the university. A professor does not need to be able to teach and write in a foreign language if they have the public funds to pay for translations of his scientific papers. These resources are not evenly distributed. Some have a lot, others have none. Consequently, a professor who can only write in Slovenian may have the most publications abroad and thus the highest score required for their habilitation.

14 In late 2009, Radonjič published an article on the Crisis of Academic Consciousness: "The excuses offered by faculties to students, saying that the university is completely autonomous and therefore untouchable in its functioning, and therefore in violation of university laws, shows a lack of sense of what we call natural law, which includes the ethics of fundamental human rights and moral values. The autonomy of the university is not something absolute and must grow out of academic ethics".

15 See e.g. Judgment of the Administrative Court of the Republic of Slovenia No. IU 2178/2009-16, in which the court found that the reference to the autonomy of the university and the principle of secrecy of elections in habilitation proceedings is unjustified if a negative decision does not provide evidence and reasons for the final conclusion the candidate does not meet certain criteria for election, or if the decision is not reasoned in the light of the judicial assessment so it is possible to determine whether the deciding authority was guided by reasonable grounds while deciding in the area of discretion. Finally, the university is no stranger to classical mobbing, which is permanently present. This most important inhibitor of development, intellectual freedom, scientific autonomy and a desecrator of human dignity is not subject to almost any external scrutiny.

If a professor is the editor of a high-ranking domestic scientific journal, they are able to decide who may publish in the journal, they publish their own work in the journal, and ensure that other authors publishing their work in the journal cite him or her in their work. Citations are an absolute necessity for habilitation, a doctorate and success in the competition for project funds, making it then more likely that such a professor will be specifically honoured. Or they will easily become the most influential member of the university commission that decides on the habilitation and promotion of their colleagues.

Last but not least, managing such a journal has become a lucrative business: peer reviews and the publication of scientific work come at a price: between 300 and 500 euros. Translations are expensive. And the translators prefer to translate the entire work rather than give lectures. The translation of a 15-page scientific paper costs from around 300 to 800 euros. At least seven publications in foreign journals with the highest rank are required to become a full-time professor. The salary of an assistant professor is about 1,800 to 2,000 euros. It is therefore easy to take up mathematics (Faganel and Trnavčević, 2016). However, to avoid misunderstandings, the professors do nothing wrong and there is nothing substantial to reproach them for. They are forced to do so in order to adapt to the system, to promote it and to survive within it. That is the systemic problem!¹⁶

16 “Basically, this is a legal status issue. Only a short statutory provision that would guarantee state universities the legal status of a non-profit self-governing (autonomous) corporation would suffice the intention of the Constitution. The legal status of a non-profit corporation is, of course, not at all exotic, but it is quite common in Western democracies for universities (public and private). The source of the problem is neither primarily nor only in the Higher Education Act, but in the Institutions Act. With the Institutions Act, previously at least nominally self-governing institutions of both universities were essentially nationalized. It was only when this nationalization was carried out that the constitutional absurdity represented by the Higher Education Act could take place” (Zupančič, 1994; Svetlik, 1996, pp. 124–125), emphasises 25 years ago that due to the status of a public institution and the dominant public funding, the university passes from the direct influence of politics to the influence of the state administration. This problem, as explained in my essay, has deepened and grown worse in the last 25 years. It is unbearable, irrational, surreal and absurd. In 2016, the Higher Education Act (ZViS-K) formally transferred some competencies of the National Commission for Higher Education (NAKVIS; this is supposed to be a politically neutral and independent body acting autonomously and in line with the commitments of the *Bologna Process*, but practice has shown a different functioning) transferred to higher education institutions. The Council for Higher Education is supposed to perform only a consultative role, and higher education institutions are supposed to be autonomous, especially in the procedures for the accreditation and evaluation of study programmes. Again, practice shows a different picture. The fundamental, even the underlying problem not only remains, but in many respects even escalates: universities do not operate autonomously, even in those segments where they could or even should operate autonomously. The problem is similar to “media and journalistic self-censorship”: public universities act as if they do not want to be autonomous.

Study programmes with ballast and deception

A very important, yet almost overlooked, aspect of the public debate on university policy in Slovenia is the university's positioning within the framework of constitutional legislation. It has its roots in the recognisable and ethically questionable way in which (not only private, but also) public educational institutions pragmatically and profitably try to adapt to the legal framework and policies of the state, with the main goal of increasing the number of enrolled students.¹⁷ In accordance with the rigid mathematics of systemic rules and the paper-based logic of defining remuneration criteria, university professors are simply paid by the concrete number of teaching hours (measured in decimal numbers). These hours depend on the number of subjects they teach, with these hours in turn depending on the number of students: a system that can easily be manipulated. The professors most sought after by students can easily lose their subjects, their hours, their salary – and their position, their job.

Slovenia provides some examples of study programmes that appear to have been prepared surprisingly quickly, less precisely in terms of subject matter, not fully thought out in terms of personnel and logistically inadequate. In practice, certain study programmes do not follow the original and officially registered content, and the prognoses given by deans or study programme coordinators 'as a promise' or 'a legitimate expectation' regarding the students' employability sometimes amount to plain deception, lies and cheating.

Some of these study programmes were later exposed for the lies, manipulation, deception and fraud as concerns the value of their diplomas and employability. One case was taken to court. I asked students to file a lawsuit against the State which, while allowing the registration of the programme (invoking the *constitutional doctrine of the positive obligations of the State*) (Mowbray, 2004; Teršek, 2014, pp. 312–322), did not ensure the graduates' employability by including their official academic titles in the Official Gazette; no admission, no official professional title, no employability. Instead, they filed legal proceedings against the faculty! The court found no manipulation, no fraud and no deception. The students kept their diplomas (more or less as worthless paper) and became unemployed.

17 See Estermann and Nokkala (2009, pp. 18–26). The authors of the research find that in Slovenia there is in principle a system of integrated, 'one-block' funding of the university, but this is subject to extensive categorisation, which limits the financial independence of the university. They also note the trend of the (at least partial) conditionality of funding with financial formulas based on both 'input-related' criteria (e.g. number of students enrolled in the first year) and 'performance-based' criteria (e.g. number of new graduates).

Such an educational policy of the state and the universities should be considered irresponsible. And unconstitutional. Lawyers should carefully examine the arguments about the legal contestability of such behaviour and the extremely harmful consequences for a growing number of young graduates.¹⁸ A society with such university policies and practices cannot claim to be a knowledge-based society. Instead, it is a society of the fateful intertwining of legal ignorance, political arbitrariness, economic brutality and ethical perversion (Bauman, 2016). It leaves young people in the grip of nihilism and a crisis of meaning, something that must be countered (Splichal, 2010).

The signs chosen by Slovenian public universities to achieve the goal of a progressive society and a knowledge-based value society are not optimistic. I maintain the public universities do not care enough about the development of critically thinking citizens, ethically aware people, moral personalities and civil, courageous intellectuals who are motivated and equipped with knowledge. Universities do not care enough about the development of self-confident young generations (a vast problem addressed by Galimberti (2010) that represents one, but the most important, outcome of this obvious fact). Universities still do not care enough about knowledge as a value, about morally sound and rationally persuasive education (Haidt, 2013) as something that is an end in itself in the educational process (as opposed to assessing the value of knowledge in relation to its mere value as measured by the market) (comp. Splichal, 2002; Burawoy, n.d.). Yet, this concern is far from being entirely dependent on the legal and political stance that any government coalition adopts towards universities.¹⁹

18 My personal and professional conviction has always been that the mere pursuit of the cruelty of the 'letter of the law' is the most primitive form of the rule of law and the highest degree of obstruction of the rule of law. Even the fundamental questions about right and wrong, the acceptable and unacceptable, the permitted and prohibited must directly affect the most important values (we create these people more than we discover them), moral answers (initially intuitive, Haidt 2013, Part 1) and ethical considerations (about decency, suitability and general utility), which are not originally conditioned by a system of authoritatively enacted formal rules and are functionally independent of the letter of the law. It must be exactly the opposite. The judicial system, public administration and structured systemic violence, which are exercised through the terror of dehumanised thoughtlessness, bureaucracy and paperwork, work in reverse. Instead of the rule of law, therefore, legalistic legalism and paper legalism (legal transcription) prevail (also in the courts). Instead of the ethics of right and wrong, there is a relativism of what is allowed: systemically protected actors are allowed to do anything that is not expressly forbidden, with the possibility of taking responsibility for the service of an expressly forbidden exception to the rule. Justice does not really exist. Constitutionalism is treated as a disruption to the system. Democracy is only formally eligible for election (Teršek, 2018a).

19 See the *Magna Charta Universitatum*, which states that "the future of humanity depends

Discussion with a fellow professor about the 'state of affairs' regarding universities

Two years ago, I had a discussion with Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tonči Kuzmanič, an eminent philosopher, publicist, critical intellectual and a person with enormous knowledge, also a friend: about universities, faculties, studies, knowledge, and the academic community. I wrote our conversation down (Teršek, 2018) and translated it for publication in this article.²⁰

*Tonči, do you agree that Prof. Umberto Galimberti is addressing exactly what is happening in Slovenia with this criticism, this warning and this concern (note: in the book *Horrible Guest-Youth and Nihilism*)? The lack of real content and thought, the complete usurpation of the academic university sphere by what Galimberti calls naked technical rationality? I mean... So, it is no longer about content, but only about the path to a simplified goal. This goal is simply the mere acquisition of some form, in the form of a diploma or something else. And this diploma does not really reflect anything substantial, it is not addressed to anyone directly, and it does not deliver anything substantial. It is only a result, the end product of a process in which it is made technically, rationally, administratively, bureaucratically, 'face to face' and on paper completely banal, to the point where a thesis is made, but not in the first*

to a large extent on cultural, scientific and technical development and that it is built in centres of culture, knowledge and research centers, as represented by serious universities".

20 Assoc. Prof. Tonči Kuzmanič is one of the best educated members of the Slovenian academic community. In the period before Slovenian independence, he was one of those people who, with their knowledge, intellect and critical thinking, 'plowed the furrow' for Slovenia's liberation from the clutches of the former common state of Yugoslavia. He was co-founder of the central Slovenian journal for critical civic thinking, an initiator of numerous scientific projects and civic activities, which with determination, courage and sincere commitment to freedom, dignity, fundamental human rights and the political ethic paved the way to an independent state, of the Nation of Slovenia. He was an editor, columnist, author of numerous scientific articles and newspaper articles, author of several books, a university professor, head of scientific projects of international significance and a man who always held a critical mirror up to political power and (as he calls it) "political management". Together with other university colleagues, we designed a new course of study in "political science" at the University of Primorska in Koper (Slovenia), which unfortunately did not last longer than 5 years due to bureaucratic constraints based solely on the number of students enrolled. Kuzmanič has now retired. And he still writes and reads every day and most of the evening. Along with everything else, he is also my friend. And a teacher of sorts, not just a conversationalist. By publishing our conversation in English for this publication, I thank him in a way for his attention to my work and for the knowledge and wisdom he has shared with me over the years of our friendship. Especially on the subject of the university, the academic community and politics in a genuine, Aristotelian sense. At the moment, he is probably catching some fish early in the morning on the island of Vis in Croatia, reading a book and preparing dinner for his friends and acquaintances from that island.

place: it is an incredibly technocratic, administrative and naked bureaucracy, which has become even worse at the level of the university sphere than at the level of state public administration. First, because the consequence of this is actually even worse in practice, because what can still be agreed behind an official desk when you meet a reasonable person is no longer possible in the university sphere. Because these reasonable people hardly exist. And, second, because we should not be able to afford this at all at the university level, without this happening to an even greater extent than at the state level. Do you share this concern?

As far as I am concerned, definitely. What I think is particularly, and noteworthy, the death of the university. In short, we assume that the university simply 'is'. We assume that the professors simply 'are'. And we assume that the students 'are' too. These are just empty forms and shells, just like the appearance of a student. The origin of a student is this: it's about being formally enrolled and having a formal status and that what you said happens formally – on paper. We know that this paper is no longer worth anything. We all know that today, and tomorrow, it will be even less valuable. The matter has gone so far in terms of content that today we have idyllic data from people who say that a pupil, a high school graduate, is writing a doctoral thesis at the university. There are no serious problems at professorial level. So far, we have only talked about this Galimberty setup, but I will go one step further. It is important to stress this: at the professorial level, we overlook the fact that we no longer have a professor – because he was forced to become a researcher. We no longer have a professor. Professors are rare. And just as our colleague Dr Primož Šterbenc does not even have a mobile phone, I do not have research and neither do you. Today, we have strategies of choice, these are questions of freedom and political decisions.²¹ Today, if someone wants to have money, wants to be at university, it is not enough to have only references, he must also have 'projects'. But if he has projects, he cannot be A Professor at the same time! If he is a professor, he teaches and because of this, not because of what he does on projects. What can you teach with regard to ultra-specialised things about your project to someone coming as a student into your first year? What would you expect in your first year? If he's a sociologist – the general categorical apparatus and basic discourse of the social sciences, a critique of it. If he's a philosopher – Greece. He, on the other hand, will come – I am talking on the level of philosophy – and talk about a degree course, not something that the Lacanians desired, but something

21 For »voter-deciding process« from the standpoint of morality and psychology, see Haidt (2013, pp. 97–119); Gilbert (2013).

small, even though important and substantial. In the first year of study, what can a student expect?! Then you will have a graduate philosopher, and you will ask him what the truth is like with Aristotle, and he will say: I do not know. He had never even heard of Aristotle. But if you 'tune in' and ask him something about Lacan and Žižek, for that matter, he will say everything by heart. Žižek and Lacan are not philosophers. This has nothing to do with philosophy. It's at most something like a cultural patch after psychoanalysis, or psychoanalytic theorising about culture and possibly philosophy. But that is what we have.

And the result is...?

That we do not have a university. Death to the university. What is the sign of the death of the university? The sign of the death of the university is that when students fantasise about studying, they are actually not reading anything. Today's student body is not able to read a basic text, be it Spinoza or the already mentioned, I love Aristotle! Be it Marx or anyone. They are unable to read, or rather they are not so read. And why? Because the professors did not teach them to read correctly and truthfully. Just as the students see themselves as students, the professors see themselves as professors. In fact, they are researchers, craftsmen and earners. What is the result? What I call the death of the university. The problem is that when you say it today, it is understood, interpreted and explained in this way: oh, sorry, it is not entirely so, because your criticism is too harsh, it's not so bad, because you are exaggerating. No, that is exactly the point. It is about the question of whether we are prepared to look at the 'animal' we are dealing with, this 'human animal', which is called a 'social being'. This 'shoe'. This is what we are dealing with. It is no problem to say this in technical language and say that we are dealing with technology, with technical form and so on. The problem is that you have to bring it, as I have done now, to the level of concrete people. In other words, it is about my generation of professors, this story is about myself and about us. And about the student population.

Well, it seems that nobody is really interested in it...

Look at what we are talking about today, but I bet there are not five students who would stay here just to listen to this discussion. What does that say? What we are doing, what we are talking about today as a problem is not a problem of the student generation at all, because the student generation does not have a problem. And, all in all, it is about, it is not a problem for them, but for us who are already leaving. In this sense, the faculty, the university, the academy is dead. There is no other way out than

opening a 'microphone'. With Plato and Platonisms there will be no way out, we will have to open ourselves against politics, against political action and against Aristotle.²² That will no longer be possible: culture is here and culture is there, and we are very cultural and we are very social. After all, these are examples of fundamentalisms, and they are predominant here, fundamentalisms of economic origin. Here the economic type of language and 'unplanned' gibberish prevails. But it is not easy to get out of here. The academy is completely immersed in economic fundamentalisms and in business types of chatter about the market, technology, efficiency, progress, productivity... These are also many myths from his thicker book (note: Galimberti's book *Myths of Our Time*).

Do we also talk about goals and purposes?

Galimberti, since you introduced him before our discussion, and it was not a bad choice... He does not distinguish between goals and objectives. So, my combat strategy is a different one. As a professor, I have discovered something fascinating, deadly and devastating for me over the last 20 years, which I have already put into words here and elsewhere, so I will now only talk about how I approach it. My basic insight from my quarter century of work and work with students is that male and female students are illiterate. That they are actually illiterate. I did not say this by chance, and I know what I am talking about. I am speaking empirically, from work that has begun over the last 25 years with the student population. You already know how to read the series and what is written below. But if you give them a certain professional, scientific, philosophical, ethical, political text, they are illiterate. They cannot break through from sentence to sentence. This is a fundamental insight. In other words, if in the past, in my generation, in high school it was considered 'not good because they will read at the faculty', today we have children in faculties who are not lazy, without wanting to avoid misunderstandings. They are simply not capable. They are incapable of reading more demanding texts. And it is not just about foreigners. They cannot do this. I interpret this as a generation of images. But that is another story.

How can you fight this or fight against it?

Very simple: I teach them to read. What else should I do? When I am at the faculty, when I have a student population, when they cannot read, what else should I do? They might think as they heard it among listeners and giggles, as if I was joking and not doing it. No, that is exactly what I

22 For the »moral foundations of politics«, see Haidt (2013, pp. 159–187).

do. I even worked out a special programme, with the help of my colleagues, you included, who also took part in this reading tour, only a little harder to read: Aristotle, Marx, Heidegger, Hannah Arendt... they went through this torture. We have formed a team that teaches, at this point, let us say, we read the first supporting text of management theories. But beware, at university level, in the programme of every faculty, you will not find the opportunity to teach Scientific Management to someone like that. Many years ago, 20, 25 years ago, I taught at the Faculty of Social Sciences, to read the text 'The concept of the political of Carl Schmitt'. From end to end. But please take this seriously – there is no other way. However, just as the teachers pretend to know things, they are semi-skilled. The teachers of today are semi-educated intellectuals in the categories of 30 years ago. As a result, there is an even less educated, semi-educated student population who only imagines that they are students and that they understand.

So, this is a time, an age that we would describe as...?

We are living in an age of lies, imagination, images and deception. This is what we are dealing with. In short, the matter is infinitely more serious. Brutally more serious than it seems. From here, there is the need to be beautiful, to have your nails cut, from here it is very important whether it stinks in your armpit or not; that whether you read books does not count. That you understand does not count. The only thing that counts is the phenomenon. Just look at the commercials and you will see an enormous number of beautiful faces. These faces are semi-literate. These are very serious things. For us it's something new, for America it's something ordinary. It's something new here that we can look at as a problem. Not for America. In that sense, it seems infinitely more serious. I have not given up. Speeding at 100 kilometres an hour, I am afraid. Unfortunately, simply by learning how to read.

And then we come to the point where natural scientists decide the academic fate of social scientists and humanists. However, only a convergent language and a binary decision-making process are used. Is there a problem? An interesting paradox?

That is right, but I do not have that feeling. It's very easy to settle the matter by saying that the natural scientists are to blame, leave us social scientists alone. I think the opposite. I am nominally a social scientist and a humanist but, if you ask me for my opinion, I must emphasise the question of who resigned. Let us say, in cases such as those that occurred in Slovenia about a quarter of a century ago. What is going on here is not something that happened here in the 1970s, it is not something

that happened here in the 1980s. I know that, I was living at that time. Whether I was a student, whether I was doing a master's, a PhD, or whether I was in the age scene, I wrote for the youth. I know that was not good then. It came with so-called independence, it was closely related to the processes of capitalisation, the processes of the 'managerial revolution', and two books have been written about it that you can read, and I will not go into them further here. The question of who resigned must be answered: the humanist and social science intelligentsia. The humanist and socialist intelligentsia are the ones, they are the ones, we are the ones and they are the ones who have resigned. It is not two million and several thousand Slovenians, it is a dozen, a few, hundreds of people in whom the next game was played. Some, namely the circles of the New Magazine, went the way they have just gone. And they are not problematic from the point of view of an argumentation that interests me and that I want to serve. Others, however, split into two parts, one of which advocated something like the managerial revolution, liberalism and so on, mostly economists and so on. The humanities, on the other hand, mostly started barking at the moon. You will not like what I am going to say now because I assume that you are predominantly left-wing. This moon is called Capital. And then we have this situation. The left – humanities and social sciences, barking at capitalists and capital, economists and managers privatise and rob everything that can be robbed. The more managers robbed, the more the left barked at capital. Nothing has changed, not even today. That is the main responsibility. Not the main responsibility of the right. Of course, you normally had to expect the right to make the moves it made. You cannot expect anything else from economists and managers than to tweet neo-liberal, neo-conservative arguments. From the left, I am now talking about the Faculty of Social Studies and the Faculty of Philosophy and some of the institutes that deal with it, it was necessary and necessary to expect them to choose and correctly understand the problem, the state of affairs. I remember the Peace Institute working at the Faculty of Social Sciences for a while. I am also one of the founders of the Institute. We held out until the NATO referendum, until the very end. At that NATO point, we had used up all the energy we had invested and were defeated, of course. We got 34% in the referendum, and that was the end. The Peace Institute was the 'last Mohican' that tried to defend the little things. Then came the wave of the Faculty of Social Sciences and the wave of the dumping Faculty of Philosophy – of capital.

The practice of not thinking like, not so controversially, is that which is regarded as being reasonable and accommodative. Isn't this exactly how it should not be regarded?

Today, we find ourselves in a desert of thoughtlessness. In this sense, it is necessary and powerful to speak directly and without mercy. We are no longer living in times of deception. I do not want to offend Prof. Slavoj Žižek, but I also do not wish to offend Dr. Milan Brglez, and I do not want to offend Prof. Mladen Dolar.²³ These are passing times. If you want to do something, to think, to act, especially politically, you have to take stock. I know that you did not expect this, but I did not come from the Slovenian seaside for nothing. Ljubljana is where it stinks. This is where decisions are made, this is hypocrisy, this is where the elite is responsible, this is where it happens. But here, those I am thinking of are sunbathing at the same time and they are stars and appear in the media and on television. But if you go on TV and start talking the way you should talk, then the show is banned. If you think that you are living in a democracy and that the matter is being published, that there is no such or other blockade, no more censorship, then you are wrong and you do not know where you are. In short, things are infinitely, infinitely more serious than you think. They are not bad at all, they are catastrophic! Really. Although I know you do not believe me.

You now I am not a disbeliever when you take firm stands and speak your criticism out loud. I do it all the time, so we don't have a problem here. But, anyway, is there still something, 'that thing' which could legitimately be called discourse in the public space?

This discourse does exist, but is very rare. Let us say that the people we are talking about here are mostly Heidegger, Hannah Arendt, Guenther Anders. Heidegger is present, but he is occupied by the Slovenian right and acts as the blackest point, the black sheep. In this sense, you cannot get it anywhere at the university. Hannah Arendt cannot come, so to speak, to the university, she does not fit in. These are the key arguments of the left scene here. There is no Guenther Anders. In short, it is a completely new paradigm, and in this sense I said at the beginning that it is bringing a new wind to Slovenia. It will no longer be an accusation against Lacan, an accusation against Marx, but something else. Freud is there, but not as an indictment of Freud, but as something new. What is new is not so much the speech about the book, but its interpretation. My professor, Andrej Kirn, for example, who has studied it. But who reads Prof. Kirn

23 See post scriptum at the end.

anyway? Something small has been said among the people on the right side, between the philosophers Prof. Urbančič and Prof. Hribar, but even that is not something you can read. The problem is that it is not read at all in the so-called author scene. Who reads Hannah Arendt on the age stage? Who is able to read her book *Vita Activa*? These are other ways of speaking.

Or to go back to the beginning, to hear that too, because it is not serious. This is the way, one of the possible ways, away from Platonism, towards Aristotle. See information. Don't you find it strange that for half a century or 60 years there hasn't been a single doctorate on Aristotle? At the University of Ljubljana? Count how many there are on Freud and Lacan. Well, neither Freud nor Lacan are philosophers. How is it that the basic philosopher Aristotle has not been the subject of at least one doctorate at the Faculty of Philosophy in just over half a century? Something is seriously wrong, something is very seriously wrong. In short, there is a certain paradigm within which we move, there are certain closed horizons in which we find ourselves and walk through our own labyrinths. And then we discovered Capital, and now we are going to make a revolution against capital? For me, it is an infantilisation of the population. Infantilisation, I emphasise. The responsibility of the left for what is happening here is very serious. It is a very serious responsibility. And, instead of talking about responsibility, they, these... as celebrities... they can afford to sunbathe and are popular and dominate everything and people read their stuff, their bestsellers. That's not me. But I am not a problem. We are not the problem. The problem sticks with them. And is a serious one, overwhelming and devastating for the long term.

End of conversation.

At this point, it may be appropriate to provide further clarification. Five years ago, I was a member of a working group of professors who, on the initiative of Prof. Kuzmanič, established a new course of study in *political science* at the University of Primorska (Koper, Slovenia). After 5 years, the programme was discontinued. The reason was that the number of students (between 5 and 8) was too low, which made the cost of implementing the programme too high for the University. The University therefore gave up political science. I believe that no further comment is necessary. However, some young students were well educated in political science during these years.

A 'clear and present danger' of slipping into complete non-academicism

The responsibility *and* accountability of the universities for enhancing formal democracy with truly democratic content is great and important.²⁴ Without the necessary and constitutionally provided autonomy, the universities will be unable to exercise this responsibility. Nor will they be able to exercise it without the firm commitment of all academics and administrators working in universities to operate in an ethically credible and legally sound manner (Freitag, 2010).²⁵

Instead of resisting the purely bureaucratic and brutal administrative conditions and criteria for selecting and appointing teachers, professors and researchers, the universities have completely uncritically adopted this type of dictates imposed by state authorities and committees. Academics are not motivated enough to focus on the content and ethics of the work processes in public universities, but are forced to be increasingly passive and apathetic assistants (servants or slaves?) to the technocratic dehumanisation of the academic world and the unbearable bureaucracy. Universities have considerably failed to take care of the education of critically thinking citizens, of moral personalities, civilly encouraged intellectuals equipped with authentic and quality knowledge. In view of what has been happening in public universities over the last 15 years, it is almost impossible to speak of the obligation of universities to safeguard and increase knowledge as a value.²⁶ It would appear that the universities have become almost 'un-academic' in such a post-socialist field (Marušič, 1997).²⁷

24 "Accreditation systems, properly designed and mandated, can be powerful forces for quality and change in any complex system. This is particularly true of the institutions of medical education. Accreditation can support countries in their regulatory obligation to institutionalise quality assurance approaches and guide individual institutions in their development. Therefore, it is very important to pay close attention to developments in this area. There is an urgent need to foster the adaptation of accreditation standards and norms that reflect social accountability. Only then can educational institutions be measured and rewarded for their real capacity to meet the pressing health care needs of society" (Boelen and Woolard, 2009).

25 See Freitag (2010). Oh yes, how it shipwrecked.

26 See Polanec (2011): "One of the most important development issues is how to organize higher education in such a way that academic goals such as placing Shanghai University at the top 100 in the world can be achieved, but also economic goals such as improving innovation and creativity in society, increasing the number of patents and accelerating economic growth. We have been waiting for well thought-out measures for more than twenty years, which means that the transition in higher education has not even begun. The reason for this situation is, as usual, a lack of understanding of economic incentives in education, a dogmatic view of the organization of higher education and a lack of will to deal with interest groups such as students and lecturers who, in the current situation, have high rents" (Translated by A.T.).

27 One again, particular mention should be made here of the judgment of the ECtHR in the case *Magyar Helsinki Bizottság vs. Hungary* (2016), which recognises the status of "public

Closure

I have been discussing and corresponding with my colleagues working at public universities in Poland, Bulgaria, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina on the topic covered in the article. We agreed that the facts, circumstances and assessments presented in this article also apply to the university environment and legal policy regarding the university in these countries. However, a Latvian colleague, who works as a university lecturer at a public university, felt that the critical descriptions and assessments in the article concerning public universities could be generalised, and added with concern his empirically supported thesis that in the Baltic States the policy of attributing greater importance and value to academic work published abroad cannot be overlooked, even if in his opinion the administrative criteria for determining the value of such work are less strict than, for example, in Slovenia or Croatia. Therefore, I decided to take a risk with the thesis reflected in the title of the article: it is not just a critical assessment of Slovenian public universities, it is a feature of the university environment and legal policies that have the most overlaps in post-socialist EU member states (comp. Chankseliani and Silova, 2018; Lemon, 2002; Silova, 2009).

We can rightly be very concerned that this problem will escalate in the short term. In Slovenia and all the other EU member states. With the official start of the coronavirus pandemic in 2020, the study process has shifted from classrooms and lecture halls to the world wide web. Instead of personal contact between professors and students, communication has taken place via apps like ZOOM and Skype. We are now entering a new

watchdogs” for socially active (in the Aristotelian sense “politically active” citizens, so-called political entities or political animals) representatives of various professions, knowledge and socially active citizens (‘activists’). Which is comparable, if not entirely equivalent, to the status of the media, public and private, and particularly journalists. Such status is granted by the Court to all those persons who, through their public work, strive for a contemporary observation of social events, for the investigation, research, analysis and commentary of social events, for their listing in publicly accessible works intended for the general public, sharing the knowledge and ideas with the general public and in the ‘public interest’. Above all, all socially active people who, through their public relations, work, comment on, criticize and expose unconstitutional, illegal or corrupt actions of political functionaries, the most influential persons in society or power and decision-making centres, the ‘modern, contemporarily elite’. The judicial recognition of such status by the Strasbourg Court for those who do so, and consequently the additional judicial protection of this status before national courts, is an important ‘normative’ Event (deliberately written with a capital letter), which is much more important than, for example, the annual public announcement of “word of the year.” This is a normative institutionalisation (through judicial law-making) of a very important, necessary and indispensable form of informal control in society – at the highest supranational judicial level. Even if, on the other hand, one would rightly expect that the national courts, and especially the Constitutional Courts of the EU member states, to do so much earlier.

school and study period (October 2020). The measures taken by the government – not only the Slovenian one, as this applies to most EU member states – the study process will occur via the world wide web, at least in the first semester. Parallel to this, there will be a process of even greater bureaucratisation of professors' work: by filling in forms and tables about the hours of their lectures and other work done.

But that is not all. Governments, including the one in Slovenia, are adopting new legal solutions that make vaccination compulsory for all children attending kindergartens and schools, and for all pupils and students. The government predicts²⁸ that refusal to vaccinate will bring a ban on the enrolment and admission of children, pupils and students to kindergartens, primary schools, secondary schools and universities. Of course, I cannot delve into this issue in this article. It is too extensive. However, I can say with certainty that all other issues, except for the new virus and post-pandemic measures, have disappeared from the public agenda: from the media, from Parliament, from public discourse.

That is why I am announcing or proposing a thesis: If the state may be said to have hitherto intervened extensively and roughly in the autonomy of the university, from now on that autonomy will be completely abolished. Universities will become a matter of complete control, supervision and 'ownership' of the whole state. All of this may mark the beginning of the end of ideas about social progress, the knowledge society and freedom in a constitutional democracy, as provided for in international law and in the constitutions of European countries. Perhaps a social darkness awaits us, the gloom of the modern Dark Ages. And technological development is clearly something that can shed light on this subject.

Post scriptum

When I had a discussion with Prof. Mladen Dolar (Teršek, 2018a), I asked him about his thoughts on "political idiocy", the philosophy on "natural law" and "unwritten laws", "morality" and the general social meaning, the political importance of philosophy. In indirect connection to the academia community and university environment, I set out my translation of one of his answers here:

28 National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopted the *Act Amending the Communicable Diseases Act* at its session on 29 September 2020. An initiative to review the constitutionality of this legal regulation has already been submitted to the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia. It should be noted that the final decision of the European Court for Human Rights in the case *Vavrička and Others vs. the Czech Republic* has been awaited on for some time, which includes the question of the admissibility of the legal regulation from the constitutional law and international law viewpoints. For more on this, see Teršek (2020).

“You see, first of all I would say that in order for a democracy to work, in order for a society to work... Hegel saw this problem very, very well... It needs something that Hegel called, and that is a little difficult to translate into other languages - morality, let's say morality. Not moralism or ethics, but morality. Morals and morality. And what does that mean? It means that any business that otherwise relies on laws that are written laws and as such are directly applicable, is applicable, and there is a letter of the law that can be invoked, or no business will ever stand together... What is needed in society is a set of customs and practices based on unwritten laws. For certain common, commonly accepted moral goods that cannot be legislated, they cannot be enforced by law. In other words, there must be some kind of consensus that is very difficult to achieve precisely because it cannot be legislated. A certain definite consensus on what is permissible and what is not permissible, what is appropriate and what is not appropriate.

What is morality? Let's say: Someone gives you gifts, does you a favour, and you say thank you. What does thank you mean? There is no law that says you have to say thank you. It means a minimal acknowledgement of what the other person did to you, what they were not forced to do - and you say thank you. What would happen if you stopped saying thank you? I mean, in a sense... we would not be breaking any law, nothing would happen apparently, but in a sense society would fall apart. That we have certain moral criteria, criteria of morality - how we behave towards each other, what is appropriate and what is not. Criteria that cannot be - that is the point - cannot be clearly defined. You cannot write them down and say: this is it.

And it seems to me that the problem of today's Slovene society is largely the problem of Hegelian morality. This means that certain types of statements, certain types of thinking, certain actions, which should simply be considered obscene, are actually allowed in the political sphere. Not that they should be prohibited by law, because here - let us say the problem of hate speech - it is always difficult to calibrate the right to freedom of expression and hate speech on the other side.

In a way, it is always incomprehensible to me - and this is a question of morality - a question of common consensus, customs and practices. What is permissible, what is appropriate and what is not? And I have the impression that, especially in the last ten years, the standards of public discourse in Slovenia have fallen very sharply. That it is suddenly permissible to say and do things that could not have been done publicly even in the beginning after independence and also in socialist times. And that the consensus criteria for what is decent and obscene are beginning to fall,

which is very difficult to remedy. This cannot be put back by a few decrees. And you see, if you remember Milošević, Serbia, what first happened in Serbia, before the whole disintegration of Yugoslavia, wars and so on, was a terrible decline in public speech and morality. That is, what is decent to say. And these are things that can be destroyed very quickly. But then it takes decades to rebuild.

And here it seems to me that this is a question of decency, of 'common decency', which in a sense is always the most important political question. Unwritten laws that cannot be included in the political program or in legislation, and the question of stupidity, that something that is obviously stupid is publicly permissible... it seems to me that this too falls into the category of falling criteria of decency, morality and custom. This is what poisons us a little in this country, very poisonous, because it also arouses this general depression that in some general puddle of manure a man can no longer do this, even if he says his opinion, not much will change for him".

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Poklicne odločitve in vodenje kariere v kontekstu avtonomnosti in samoodločanja

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Nova podoba dela, zaposlitve in kariere

Za sodobno dinamično družbo velja, da vsak dan nastajajo novi poklici, nova področja delovanja, pa tudi nastajanja in usihanja podjetij ali panog, kjer posamezniki uresničujejo svoje kariernne cilje (Drobnič, 2014). Savickas (2011) govori o tem, da pogosto menjavanje zaposlitve in karierna nestabilnost prisiljujeta delavce, da konstantno sprejemajo poklicne in kariernne odločitve. Vstop v današnji svet dela zahteva več truda, globljega samospoznanja in večjega zaupanja kot kdaj koli prej. Posamezniki se morajo spopadati z nestabilnimi poklici in s pogostimi prehodi med zaposlitvami, zato potrebujejo znatno več pomoči kariernih svetovalcev in tudi drugačen pristop v svetovanju.

Rousseau (1996) poudarja, da novi trg dela v hitro spreminjajočem se gospodarstvu terja drugačno kariero posameznika, ki ne pomeni življenjske zaveze enemu delodajalcu, ampak kot ponavljajoča prodaja storitev in veščin nizu delodajalcev, ki potrebujejo bolj projektni pristop. Pregled sodobnih delovnih praks kaže, da je socialna reorganizacija dela ustvarila novo psihološko pogodbo med organizacijami in njihovimi člani. Danes morajo biti delavci zaposljivi na način kot vseživljenjski učeči se delavci, ki se zmožni hitre zavezanosti organizaciji za določen čas in so emocionalno pripadni delu, pri čemer pa izkazujejo profesionalnost in zmožnost hitrega prilagajanja.

Nekdanja trdna lojalna vez med delodajalcem in delojemalcem je pomenila garancijo zaposlitve, ki je sedaj očitno ni več, odnos pa vse bolj temelji na ekonomskih in finančnih elementih v okviru začasnega dela

(Patton in McMahon, 2006). S tem se delavec kot agent spreminja v nekakšnega delodajalca, zaposlitev pa ima vse bolj vsebino podjetnega pogodbenega posla. V tem smislu se spreminjajo tudi delovna mesta, ki jih delavci sami ustvarjajo in spreminjajo, ko ustvarjajo svojo kariero. Zaradi teh sprememb je nujno redefinirati poklicno orientacijo, karierno svetovanje in vlogo šol ter drugih inštitucij, ki se pojavljajo v vlogi sodelujočih pri kariernem razvoju posameznikov.

Dinamika trga dela je posegla tudi na področje delovnih karier oseb s posebnimi potrebami. Uresničevanje inkluzivne paradigme na izobraževalnem področju, ki omogoča tudi osebam s posebnimi potrebami obiskovanje rednih šol, jim je odprla tudi možnosti delovnih karier na odprtem trgu dela: to pomeni več novih priložnosti, pod drugi strani pa tveganj neuspeha v konkurenci z ostalimi delavci. Dinamika v ekonomiji in na trgu dela je posegla v invalidske delavnice in podjetja s slabšo organizacijo ter nekonkurenčnimi produkti, kjer je bilo zagotovljeno zaščiteno delo vsem s priznano invalidnostjo in nizkimi prihodki, a hkrati brez možnosti zaposlitve izven teh ograj.¹ Odprta pot na običajni trg dela za invalide in osebe s posebnimi potrebami predstavlja za njih izziv, a hkrati tudi povsem drugačno poklicno odločanje ter vodenje kariere, ki postaja podobna ostalim delavcem na trgu z vsemi tveganji in izzivi.

Kariera kot dinamičen proces

Razumevanje kariere se je v zadnjih šestdesetih letih korenito spremenilo. Nekdanjemu trajnemu načinu zaposlovanja je bilo prilagojeno tudi poklicno odločanje, v katerem je dominirala teorija lastnosti in zahtev, ki jo je razvil Parsons (1909) in je predstavljala statičen pogled na svet poklicev in zaposlitev. Sledil je premik v razmišljanju, da je poklicna odločitev proces (Ginzberg et al., 1951) in da je poklicna odločitev ireverzibilna. Z nadaljnjo dinamiko družbe pa je sledilo spoznanje, da je kariera vseživljenjski proces, ki ga utemelji Super (1953) s teorijo vseživljenjskega kariernega razvoja, ki jo sestavljajo tako poklicne kot življenjske vloge. Teorija socialnega učenja predvsem s Krumboltzem (1979) in Mitchellom (1984) pa poudari, da se spreminja tudi posameznik v interakciji z okoljem in da je pravzaprav vse spremenljivo; slednje je možno opredeliti s sintagmo, da je gotovo edino to, da je vse negotovo. V ta konteksti sprememb se umesti

¹ Po drugi svetovni vojni je nastalo 12 invalidskih delavnic, ki so v velikem številu zaposlovala invalide. To je trajalo vse do leta 1990. Po tem letu je v petih letih nastalo več kot 100 invalidskih podjetij, tržno prilagodljivih, ki so zaposlovala invalide in neinvalide po principu integracije, medtem ko je večina starih propadla ali pa so se zaradi nujnosti konkurence preorientirale v invalidska podjetja.

tudi ustrezno razumevanje kariere, ki zahteva od posameznika drugačno ravnanje.

Kariero posameznika v sedanjem času razumemo kot dinamičen in vseživljenjski proces, ki ga mora posameznik obvladati. Obvladati mora predvsem problematiko prehodov med zaposlitvami, izgrajevati svoj karierni razvoj, ki postaja ključni del njegove samopodobe. Zlasti to slednje izpostavlja Savickas (2012), ki svoj svetovalni model gradi v okviru konstruktivističnega pristopa, s katerim pomaga klientu pri njegovem konstruiranju in rekonstruiranju jaza, ki ga potem kot takšnega prevaja na svoje poklicno področje (Super, 1990). Klasičen pristop enkratne odločitve za poklic zato ni uporaben, saj sta delo in zaposlitev postala negotova, varnost delovnega mesta se spreminja v sistem bolj zanesljivih kontinuiranih zaposlitev (Watts, 2006).

Namesto vseživljenjskega izobraževanja – vseživljenjsko učenje

Zamenjavo izobraževanja z učenjem je treba videti predvsem v pomenu, da je učenje kot pridobivanje znanja stvar notranje posameznikove aktivacije in organizacije, ne pa stvar okolja (šola, institucija ...), kar je značilno za industrijski način razmišljanja. Po mnenju Škaličeve (2018) današnja slovenska šola vse natanko odredi, učenec in starši se lahko odločajo samo med izvršiti ali ne izvršiti. To je dresura ubogljivosti, ne pa učenje odgovornosti!

Ellyard (1993) posebej izpostavi, da bi moral posameznik v prvem obdobju izobraževanja pridobiti željo po kontinuiranem in vseživljenjskem učenju, ljubezen do učenja, in razvijati sposobnost za učenje. To je ključni imperativ, da bodo mladi ljudje pripravljeni za prihodnje življenje in delo ter da se njihova volja in interes za učenje z leti ne bosta zmanjševala. Tak način razmišljanja pa je povsem drugačen, kot ga vidijo tradicionalno šolanje, tradicionalne oblike zaposlovanja in tradicionalno vodenje kariere.

Vseživljenjsko učenje (ne izobraževanje!) Longworth in Davies (1996: str. 22) definirata kot razvoj človekovega potenciala skozi kontinuirani podporni proces, ki stimulira in opolnomoči posameznika za pridobivanje znanja, veščin, vrednot in razumevanja v toku celotnega življenja in temelji na zaupanju, kreativnosti in opravljanju vseh vlog v različnih okoljih in okoliščinah. Povezava med vseživljenjskim učenjem in kariernim razvojem se je utrdila zlasti v zadnjem času in pomeni ključni dejavnik uspeha politike vseživljenjskega učenja in posameznikove zaposljivosti (Watts, 2006).

Medtem ko je bilo učenje v industrijski družbi usmerjeno predvsem na vsebino, postaja v poindustrijski dobi predvsem vprašanje procesa, zato ključna učna vprašanja vse bolj poudarjajo razmišljanje, načrtovanje,

reševanje problemov, pogajanje, delo v timu, komunikacijo, monitoring, evalvacijo in uporabo tehnologije (Law, 1996; Waltz in Feller, 1996). Teorija kariernega učenja, ki jo razvija Law (ibid.), poudarja pomen posameznikovega kariernega razvoja v tem, da deluje v učnih procesih s svetom in da razvija potrebne strategije za to. Zato je za mladega človeka v njegovem razvoju pomembno, da že zgodaj pridobi potrebne učne informacije in vtise ter jih presaja in razvršča v ponavljajoče spoznavne vzorce in končno preko fokusiranja na poklic, delo, okolje in sebe sprejema odločitve (Patton in McMahon, 2006). Ta pristop poudarja individualni proces organiziranja in interpretacije informacij iz različnih virov, ne pa sledenje zahtevam avtoritet v okolju. Izstopajoča pri tem sta predvsem pomembnost osnovnih veščin za dostop, organiziranje in interpretacijo relevantnih informacij in ustrezna pomoč za mnoge posameznike, in to tako pri razvoju njihovih veščin kot tudi pri delu na tem procesu.

Vseživljenjsko učenje je zato treba razumeti kot lastno voden proces (Ellyard, 1993: str. 10), ki kot takšen postane osnova za vodenje uspešne kariere v 21. stoletju. Pri tem se kot vseživljenjsko učenje razume v celostnem smislu: kot pridobivanje poklicnih znanj in veščin vodenja kariere. Za usvajanje teh je treba imeti ustrezna znanja ter pristope. S tem postane vseživljenjsko učenje celostno v smislu »osebne samoaktualizacije, aktivnega državljanstva, socialne integracije in zaposljivosti«. Takšno široko razumevanje vseživljenjskega učenja je možno postaviti z ustrezno vseživljenjsko karierno strategijo.

Učenje kot interakcija z okoljem

Vseživljenjsko učenje se pojavlja tako načrtovano kot tudi nenačrtovano, vsebuje formalne in neformalne oblike (Patton in McMahon, 2006). Ker se vse bolj poudarja uporabo teorije socialnega učenja pri pridobivanju kompetenc, postane učenje vsakdanja zadeva, ki je vključena v okoljski okvir in postavljena ter vodena s strani posameznika.

V bistvu gre za to, da je vsak posameznik kot sistem vpet v socialno okolje, od katerega dobiva tudi različne vplive, ki jih uporablja za svoj učni, osebni in karierni razvoj (Jacobs, 2002). Tradicionalno učenje je bilo odvisno od institucij, kot so šole, univerze, medpodjetniški centri, organizacije in agencije vlade, ki so povsem nadzirale učne procese, pri čemer je bil poudarek na izobraževanju in usposabljanju mladih, ne pa na učenju ljudi vseh starosti. Ta izobraževanja so bila vnaprej koncipirana in niso upoštevala specifičnih potreb posameznika, torej niso gledala s perspektive posameznika in tudi niso bila dovolj usmerjena k njemu. Zato sledi logično razmišljanje, da je treba spremeniti učni proces tako, da bodo v učenju upoštewane posameznikove potrebe, da bo tudi sam aktiven in

bo v procesu sodeloval. Gre za modele izobraževanja v skladu z zahtevami in potrebami posameznika. Takšen pristop terja spremembo politik izobraževanja in tistih mehanizmov, ki spodbujajo posameznike k samostojnemu oblikovanju strategij in izvedb učenja, inkluzivnih praks, zagotavljanja in nujenja znanj o načinih in metodah učenja ter seveda o uporabi naj sodobnejše tehnologije.

Posameznik je v tem sistemu učenja nekakšen odprt sistem, v katerega prihajajo vplivi iz okolja in katere posameznik akceptira, predeluje in transformira v učnem procesu. Učna lokacija na tak način postane pravzaprav sam posameznik. V ta samoorganizacijski sistem posameznik vključuje nova spoznanja v svojo miselno shemo in koncept, ki pa ga hkrati tudi spreminja, s tem pa tudi vedno znova konstruira in rekonstruira svojo identiteto ter kariero (Savickas, 2012) v relaciji z okoljem. Takšno pridobivanje znanj se drugače razumeva. To niso le kumulacije različnih vsebin, ki jih nudijo izvajalci poučevanja, pač pa konstruiranje znanj, veščin in kompetenc, ki jih filtrira in usvoji posameznik. Tako pridobivanje znanja ima drugačno kvaliteto, njegovo realnost in uporabnost pa določi vsak posameznik.

Če posameznika razumemo kot vseživljenjsko učečo se osebo v smislu lastno vodenega učenja in kariernega razvoja, potem moramo dati večji pomen učečemu namesto učitelja, saj učeči postane agent lastnega učenja. Posameznik namreč, kot pravita Patton in McMahon (2006), sam konstruira sebe kot samousmerjevalno osebo, ki je odgovorna za lastno učenje, nikakor pa to ni naloga učitelja ali svetovalca. Zato Peavy (2004) predlaga ne samo, da se spremeni hierarhični odnos med klientom in svetovalcem ali med učiteljem in učencem, pač pa, da se uporabi primernejše izraze, s katerimi bomo zaznamovali ta odnos v smislu partnerstva in bodo reflektirali aktivno vlogo obeh sodelujočih.

Ko zaposlitev in kariera postaneta kreacija posameznika

Učenje za vseživljenjsko kariero bi lahko ponazorili s transportno metaforo Knowdella, s katero ponazarja spremembe pri poklicnem odločanju in vodenju kariere od sredine prejšnjega stoletja naprej:

V začetku petdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja lahko kariero razumemo kot vožnjo z vlakom, ki je stabilna in trajna po tirnicah do posamezne destinacije. Po letu 1970 se to potovanje spremeni v avtobusno potovanje, v okviru katerega avtobus obišče mnogo lokalnih vmesnih destinacij in se prilagaja potrebam malih krajev. Potovanje v 21. stoletju pa je potovanje s terenskim avtomobilom po poteh in smereh izven poti. Pri tej metafori je poudarek na prevoznem sredstvu, kjer posameznik vse bolj zavzema

sedež voznika, zato da bi prevzel popolno kontrolo svoje kariere do uspeha (Knowdell, 1996: str. 184).

Ta prispodoba odseva tudi v razmišljanju drugih teoretikov, npr. Herra (1992), ko pravi, da kariera ni isto kot zaposlitev, pač pa kreacija posameznika. V tem postane observacija okolja zelo pomemben faktor, ki ga mora vsak posameznik upoštevati. S tem postane konstruiranje poti-kariere ključni moment v kariernih teorijah in praksah. Zato bi lahko trdili, da je zelo spremenljivo okolje, ki je prisililo posameznika v konstantno prilagajanje na njegovi poklicni poti, vplivalo tudi na razvoj teorij in instrumentov, ki bi verodostojno in učinkovito omogočali iskanje rešitev.

Sodobne teorije in pristopi temeljijo na principu vključevanja več disciplin in pomenu avtonomne vloge posameznika v kariernih odločitvah, kar so tudi ključni razlogi, da je v teh teorijah vse več vpliva teorije socialnega učenja in kognitivnega spoznavanja. To so ključni razlogi, da je postal posameznik »agent v konstruiranju lastne kariere« (Cochran, 1997; Peavy, 2004), ali pa tako, da mora posameznik sebe dojeti, kot da je samozaposlen (Watts, 2006), ker se od njega pričakuje, da bo sam upravljal svojo lastno kariero (Jarvis, 2002). To pa pomeni, da prevzema odgovornost za lastno učenje in vseživljenjski karierni razvoj (Collin in Watts, 1996). Kariera je zato postala proces in ni več struktura (Watts, 1996). Je torej inkluzivni koncept, ki se nanaša na vsakega posameznika in ne samo na vrh hierarhične organizacijske strukture.

Uspešna kariera – brez linearnosti in subjektivna presoja uspešnosti

Uspešna kariera se je nekdaj razumela kot vzpenjajoča se pot, ki ima svoj vrh in smo jo lahko ocenjevali z objektivnimi merili uspešnosti. Sedanja kariera je postala drugačna: kariera se vodi vertikalno, horizontalno, v organizaciji in izven nje, vključuje enega ali več delodajalcev, posameznik pa je tisti, ki jo postavlja kot življenjsko kompozicijo. Zato posameznik sprejema ponavljajoče odločitve na svoji karierni poti v odvisnosti od okoliščin, v katerih deluje, s tem pa postane proces kompleksen, kar tudi ilustrirajo sodobni pristopi v karieri (Sistemska teorija kariernega razvoja – Patton in McMahon, 2006). Zato se kariera sama po sebi razume kot konstantno spreminjajoča in v interakciji vplivov. Chen (1998) jo poimenuje kot življenjski proces, ki je avtonomno voden na osnovi lastnih premislekov.

Osebni karierni vrh, če o njem sploh lahko govorimo, posameznik ne ustvarja v okviru enega podjetja, temveč skozi kontinuiran proces, ki ga tvori veriga dela, zaposlitev in aktivnosti – tudi vzporednih. S tem se premakne način komuniciranja in pozicioniranja med delodajalcem in delojemalcem. Ta novi pristop v zaposlovanju je spodbudil menedžment in delavce, da rekonceptualizirajo kariero v pomenu brez meja (Arthur, 1994),

kot spreminjajočo (Hall, 1996), prilagojeno (Benko in Weisberg, 2007), kaleidoskopsko (Sullivan in Mainiero, 2008) ali kot portfelj (Handy, 1998).

Izbira kariere in njeno presojanje nista predmet objektivacije, pač pa subjektivna zadeva, ki je vpeta v okolje trga dela, družino, socialne sisteme ter globalizacijske tokove, v katerih deluje posameznik in uresničuje svoj karierni razvoj (Patton in McMahon, 2006). Zato je vsak izmed nas prisiljen mnogokrat v življenju revidirati svoje poklicne odločitve in prehode na karierni poti. Ker je vodenje kariere stvar posameznika, za kar potrebuje znanje in avtonomen položaj, je posledično tudi odgovoren zanjo. V tem smislu je tudi presojanje o uspešni ali neuspešni karieri njegova zadeva in odgovornost. S tem je postala presoja o uspešni karieri izrazito individualistična in subjektivna zadeva. Posameznik jo prepozna kot zadovoljujočo življenjsko pot. Zato so v takem razmišljanju izreki o nekakšnih »sanjskih službah« pravzaprav mit, saj za nekoga to velja, za drugega pa sploh ne.

V začetku 21. stoletja pridemo še do enega bistvenega koraka v povezavi med življenjskimi in profesionalnimi cilji: zaposlitev in profesionalne naloge postajajo podrejeni življenjskim ciljem posameznika in ne obratno, da bi življenje prilagajali profesionalnim ciljem (Patton in McMahon, 2006). Torej, posameznik se ne podreja in posveča poklicu, pač pa poklicni in karierni aranžma prilagaja svoji osebnemu poslanstvu. V tem je mogoče zaznati novo etično paradigmo pravičnosti (Rawls, 1971), kjer se izpostavlja pomen posameznikovih ciljev, potreb in samoaktualizacije.

Savickas (2005) poudarja, da so konstruiranje identitete, prilagodljivost, namernost in pripovednost ključne dimenzije odločanja na karierni poti, ki jo prepoznavamo v novih pristopih. V smislu epistemoloških prvin se uporabljajo kot nekakšno načrtovanje življenja, ki se osredotoča na kontekstualne možnosti, dinamične procese, nelinearno napredovanje, mnogovrstne perspektive in osebne vzorce (Savickas, 2012). Zato konstruktivistični pristop temu ustrezno poudarja fleksibilnost, zaposljivost, zavezanost, čustveno inteligenco in vseživljenjsko učenje.

Učenje za kariero v šolah

Ključno vprašanje je, kako aplicirati teorijo o vodenju kariere v šolski sistem, da bi zagotovili usposobljenost učencev, dijakov in študentov za prehode s poudarkom na ključnih principih, ki se poudarjajo v luči novih teorij in pristopov za sedanji dinamični svet. Krumboltz (1996) poudarja učni princip na teoriji socialnega učenja; Lent, Hackett in Brown (1999) izpostavljajo samouspešnost in prepričanja, ciljne interese in veščine v procesih prehodov, medtem ko Savickas (2012) poudarja razvojno perspektivo posameznika v smislu dviga zavesti, da bi si posamezniki konstruirali

ustrezno pot na osnovi priložnosti v okolju. Solberg in sodelavci (2002) pa vidijo ustrezno pot za pridobitev večšin za prehode v šoli dela, ki je tesno povezana z življenjem.

V teh mnogovrstnih pristopih bi lahko prepoznali nekakšno spodkopavanje ustaljene karierne vzgoje ali izobraževanja za kariero, ki je sicer namenjena vsem učencem, dijakom in študentom. Za Hansena (1999) poplava teh pristopov in modelov karierne orientacije/vzgoje pomeni izkaz zmedenosti. Na trg prihaja veliko pristopov vsebin za samostojno vodenje kariere, ki so za nekatere uporabnike manj primerni, ne upoštevajo zelo pestre populacije med uporabniki – npr. oseb s posebnimi potrebami, ki imajo različne težave in zmožnosti za koriščenje takih informacij.

Crow (1999) meni, da bi morali prestrukturirati učenje in svetovanje za kariero v smislu učeče se družbe in posameznika, da bi ta postala multivivojska in interdisciplinarno učna skupnost, v kateri postaneta ključna pojma učenja in to, da se učimo od kogarkoli in kjerkoli. Postavlja se preferenčno vprašanje: Ali se učiti v šoli ali pa v širših skupnostih. Patton in McMahon (2006) trdita, da naj bi učenje za kariero postalo integralni dela vsakega kurikula, Chen (2005) pa naglaša predvsem potrebo po sodelovanju med svetovalnimi službami in učitelji v razredu.

Drobnič (2014) je v raziskavi na primeru slovenskih šol ugotovil, da so učitelji sicer pripravljene prejeti dodatne pedagoške obveznosti s področja poklicne vzgoje, vendar pa ob tem jasno opozorijo na potrebne deficite v znanju, veščinah in kompetencah. Istočasno se je pokazalo, da so tudi svetovalci na šolah s pomanjkljivim znanjem na področju kariernega svetovanja in vzgoje. Potrebo po boljši usposobljenosti navajata tudi Patton in McMahon (2006) in izpostavljata, da ne morejo opravljati le klasične šolske vloge. To terja od svetovalcev, da imajo ustrezno poklicno znanje in so stalno vpeti v usvajanje znanj ter kompetenc za izvajanje poklicne vzgoje in svetovanja, in sicer glede učenja za kariero pri učencih, o razvojnih kariernih teorijah, karierni vzgoji in usposabljanju, mednarodnih, nacionalnih in lokalnih trendih v izobraževanju ter prepoznavanju trendov na trgu dela.

Hkrati pa morajo postati učitelji v razredih usposobljeni za spodbujanje učenja pri učencih, da bodo le-ti postali vseživljenjsko učljivi in voljni učenja, kar je nov izziv v poučevanju v razredu. Svetovalci v šolah pa morajo postati svetovalci in spodbujevalci za samostojno vseživljenjsko učenje učencev.

Karierna vzgoja kot poseben predmet v šoli?

O uvajanju posebnega predmeta o karierni in karierni vzgoji v šoli potekajo diskusije. Poskusi takšnega predmeta so se na zahodu pojavili že v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, ko sta Sidney Marland (1972) in

Kenneth Hoyt (1982) skušala uvajati izobraževanje za kariero v Ameriki kot nacionalno prioriteto, vendar je to navdušenje potem precej splahnelo (Krumboltz, 1996).

Po navedbah Niklanovića (2009) se poklicna/karierna vzgoja kot samostojni predmet med drugim izvaja v Avstriji, Grčiji, Romuniji in Španiji ter na Cipru, Češkem in Finskem. Drugi način je združevanje poklicne vzgoje in izbranega predmeta v skupni predmet, ki ima določen fond ur za karierno vzgojo. Takšen predmet bi se lahko imenoval družbene vede (*ang. social studies*) ali osebno in družbeno izobraževanje (*ang. personal and social education*) in podobno. Za ta pristop so se odločili na Madžarskem in Poljskem ter na Malti in v Latviji.

V nekaterih državah je poklicna vzgoja opredeljena kot medpredmetna vsebina (Danska, Grčija) in se izvaja v sklopu drugih predmetov.

Tretji način je izvajanje programa poklicne vzgoje s seminarji in delavnicami izven rednega pouka (Francija, Malta, Estonija, Poljska). Vrsta držav uporablja kombinacijo naštetih načinov (Avstrija, flamsko govoreči del Belgije, Češka, Španija, Velika Britanija). Niklanović (2009) ugotavlja določene slabosti prvih treh modelov. Izključno medpredmetni način poučevanja poklicne vzgoje se je izkazal kot ne dovolj učinkovit, saj ne more zaobjeti vseh tem poklicne vzgoje, s seminarji pa šole zajamejo le manjši del dijakov. Države, regije ali šole se odločajo za kombinacije modelov, ki po njihovem mnenju dosežejo najboljše učinke. Vedno večja aktualnost poklicne vzgoje terja, da urejajo poklicno vzgojo z ustreznimi predpisi, ki imajo zakonsko moč (Niklanović, 2009).

Svetovanje za kariero v luči novih konceptov avtonomije

Tradicionalni karierni pristop vidi svetovalca kot tistega eksperta, čigar naloga je reševanje problemov stranke, razlaga rezultatov, testiranje in ocenjevanje klientov ter dajanje nasvetov. Poudarek je na komunikacijski dimenziji ukvarjanja s klientom (Patton in McMahon, 2006). Zato je bil svetovalac deležen kritike s strani klienta ali naročnika v primeru, ko se ni zadosti posvetil svetovancu ali je dal napačen nasvet. V sodobnem kariernem pristopu konstruktivizma pa je osredotočenost na svetovalni proces bistveno večja in v drugačnih dimenzijah.

Klici po novih pristopih v svetovanju se porajajo tako iz teoretičnih spoznanj kot tudi iz praktičnih potreb. Karierno svetovanje zavzema širše polje obravnav, nujnosti učenja skozi vse življenjsko obdobje, poklicno/življenjsko uravnoteženje, mednarodne delovne izkušnje, karierne prehode, nezaposlenost, vodenje dvojne kariere ipd. Pri tem je treba bolj upoštevati socialne okoliščine, kulturno ozadje posameznika, pa tudi napredek

tehnologije, ki ga je možno koristiti.² S tem se bolj tesno povezuje pojem osebnega in kariernega svetovanja in tudi graditev kariere, ki je večplastna (Collin in Watts, 1996; Savickas in Lent, 1994), pri čemer se Savickas (2012) osredotoča na povezavo med kariernimi teorijami in prakso, karierno teorijo in psihološkimi znanostmi ter kariernim svetovanjem in terapijo. S tem, ko postane kariera širše definirana s posameznikovimi življenjskimi vlogami, torej kot sestavni del človekovega življenja, se ustrezno temu pojavlja vprašanje povezave med osebnim in kariernim svetovanjem.

Watts (2006) poudarja, da se sedanji pristopi v svetovanju za kariero spreminjajo od klasičnega konservativnega, kjer je vloga svetovalca dominantna v smislu »pametnega« odločevalca, v bolj liberalni pristop, kjer je vloga svetovalca bolj motivacijska in reflektivna, saj posameznik na osnovi danih informacij prevzema poklicne odločitve in odgovornost za svojo kariero. Na ta način spreminja okolje okoli sebe in se tudi sam spreminja v smislu pridobivanja znanj, veščin, kompetenc in sprejemanja novih vlog.

Zato je treba v kontekstu razumevanje kariere, ki je kompleksen pojem osebnega in profesionalnega razvoja, nujno povezovati osebno in karierno svetovanje. Hackett (1993), Krumboltz (1996) poudarjata potrebo po stapljanju teh svetovanj, Savickas (2012) pa trdi, da ne moremo enostavno ločiti kariernega svetovanja od osebnega. Ravno tako sistemska teorija v kariernem razvoju (Patton in McMahon, 2006) poudarja vključenost obeh pristopov v svetovanje, karierno in osebno. Povezanost obeh pristopov je še bolj poudarjena v sodobnih pristopih kariernega svetovanja – konstruktivizmu, kjer postane del svetovanja za kariero tudi terapija (Savickas, 2012).

Savickas (2012) sugerira, da je treba preiti od vprašanja, kaj je res, k vprašanju participacije in komunikacije, od objektivitete k perspektivnosti, tako da se karierno svetovanje reformira v interpretativno disciplino. Takšno karierno svetovanje lahko razumemo kot skladno razvojno profesijo, ki je zelo kompleksna. Herr (1997) pa navaja, da se mora karierno svetovanje distancirati od klasičnega poklicnega svetovanja in odločanja, kajti karierno svetovanje mora biti sprotno odzivno na vse spremembe v družbi, ki so hitre, temeljite in globalne.

V zadnjem času se nove oblike kariernega svetovanja pojavljajo zlasti kot konstruktivistični pristopi, v katerih morajo biti svetovalci dinamični,

2 Tu lahko govorimo tudi o uporabi različne podporne tehnologije pri odkrivanju interesov, vrednot, spodobnosti in drugih osebnih lastnosti posameznika. Ta zagotavlja vnos velikega števila spremenljivk, veliko število izhodov in celo sistemiziranih svetovalnih poročil, ki omogočajo posamezniku samostojno preverjanje kompleksnosti lastnega osebnega profila za namen poklicnih odločitev in vodenje kariere. Hollandov test SDS, Kam in Kako so digitalno podprti in omogočajo izčrpna karierno-svetovalna poročila za posameznika na način uporabe na daljavo in tudi brez svetovalca.

ne avtoritativni; znati morajo uporabljati zelo različne metode, tehnike in strategije. Poleg tega pa Amundson (2009), Bloch (2005), Patton in McMahon (2006), Law (2003) ter Herr (1997) poudarjajo, da proces svetovanja ni postavljen v nek neodvisen in nepovezan prostor, pač pa se še kako vključuje v okoljske razmere, ki se konstantno spreminjajo.

Takšen celostni koncept kariernega svetovanja se nujno povezuje z drugimi svetovalnimi področji, zlasti so to osebno področje, svetovanje pri stresu in svetovanje v odnosih (Watts, 2006). S tem, ko je postala posameznikova kariera celostna zadeva, ki vključuje tako poklicne kot življenjske vloge, je postalo tudi svetovanje kompleksno, zato terja širok rang svetovalnih intervencij. Socialne spremembe generirajo vse večji obseg negotovosti in nejasnosti za posameznika, ki mu povzročajo stres, to pa je tisto, kar mora karierni svetovalec upoštevati.

Kot navaja Granvold (1996), so med ključnimi atributi sodobnega svetovalca sprejemanje (empatija), razumevanje, pristnost, brezpogojna pozitivna naklonjenost, ki so temeljni gradniki svetovalnega procesa. V klasičnem pozitivističnem pristopu, kjer se karierni svetovalec naslanja na ocenjevanje svetovančevih lastnosti, postavlja diagnozo ter daje nasvete, je svetovalec v osrednjem položaju in direktivni vlogi kot dajalec informacij in nasvetov. Konstruktivistični svetovalni proces je nedirektiven, saj se usmerja na pomoč klientu, da ta razume in rekonstruira svoje »zgodbe«. To je proces skupnega dekonstruiranja in konstruiranja tistega, kar je pomembno za svetovanca skozi proces informiranja, interpretacije, podpore, spodbujanja, strukturiranja in soočanja z izzivi (Savickas, 2012).

V svetovalnem procesu konstruktivizma je zelo pomemben jezik. Jezik ni samo način govornega sporočanja, pač pa je tudi miselni konstrukt o neki izkušnji, katerega je izoblikoval posameznik; je torej čisto njegov in ima za njega specifičen pomen. Zato je vloga svetovalca, da podpira in spodbuja posameznika pri njegovem rekonstruiranju zgodbe ali načrta karierni poti v okviru miselnega procesa, izraženega v jeziku. Zato Peavy (2004) pravi, da naj bi bil plodovit tak svetovalni proces, ki naj bi zagotavljal rekonstruiranje ali spremembo gledanja nekaterih aspektov življenja svetovanca. Zato Savickas (2012) poudarja, da se v svetovalnem procesu premaknemo od koncepta prilagajanja posameznika prevladujoči kulturi/zahtevam k afirmaciji različnosti in omogočanju posamezniku, da planira svoje lastno življenje ali kariero.

Pri tem nekateri namesto pojma intervencije uporabljajo pojem eksperiment (Peavy, 2004), v katerem posameznik razmišlja, deluje in čuti svoje težave ter probleme. Zato se poudarja spodbujanje fantazijskega razmišljanja s pomočjo miselnih procesov ali npr. samorefleksije, s čimer posameznik deluje kot eksperimentator. Peavy (2004) poudarja naslednje

ključne elemente: domišljijo ali stvarnost, razmišljanje, simulacijo ali realne eksperimente.

Amundson (2009) priporoča pri sodobnem svetovanju fleksibilnost, kar pomeni svetovalčevo zmožnost, da je izviren, domiseln, kreativen in željan za odpiranje novih situacij. Takšen odnos bi lahko poimenovali kot delovno partnerstvo, v katerem sta prejemnik in dajalec pomoči v aktivnem angažmaju, kar pomeni, da izključuje klasičen pristop, v katerem je svetovallec vseveden, stranka pa neuka in potrebna nasveta, pač pa je ta odnos zaznamovan z participacijo in pogajanjem (Peavy, 2004: str. 20).

V sodobnih konceptih svetovanja prepoznavamo dominacijo konstruktivističnih pristopov (Savickas, 2012), vendar pa, kot pojasnjuje Savickas, s tem ne izločajo tistih metod in tehnik v kariernem svetovanju, ki jih je razvila diferencialna psihologija ali psihologije razvoja in so še kako pomembne za celostno karierno svetovanje. Po njegovem prepričanju ugotavljanje psiholoških lastnosti posameznika – tipološki pristop (Holland), kakor tudi pristop razvojnih možnosti (Super, 1996) ostajata v sodobnem svetovanju enako pomembni fazi, vendar s to razliko, da ju lahko opravi klient sam, v nadaljevanju pa ob pomoči svetovalca konstruira svojo bodočo karierno pot. S tem poudarja pomen povezanosti in koristnosti vseh pristopov, konstruktivizem v svetovanju pa pomeni nujno potrebno nadgradnjo ali dopolnitev prejšnjih teorij in pristopov.

Osebe s posebnimi potrebami in kariera

Karierni razvoj oseb s posebnimi potrebami in invalidnostjo se omenja šele v zadnjih letih, predvsem po letu 2000, ko je postal trg dela dinamičen in negotov tudi za navedene kategorije oseb, torej, ko se srečujemo s hitrim nastajanjem in ugašanjem delovnih mest tudi v okviru invalidskih delavnic, invalidskih podjetij in podobnih oblik (Drobnič, 2014), ki so bile namenjene zaposlovanju teh oseb. Pred tem je intervencija na način enkratnega procesa rehabilitacije zadoščala za trajno zaposlitveno rešitev, sedaj pa postaja kariera oseb s posebnimi potrebami pomembna agenda na političnem in strokovnem nivoju. Zazijala je vrzel, kako izvajati procese poklicnega odločanja, vodenja kariere in rehabilitacije v sedanjih dinamičnih razmerah trga dela. Potrebno je omeniti, da obstaja relativno malo literature, ki se ukvarja s to problematiko v kontekstu vseživljenjske kariere oseb s posebnimi potrebami. Na tem področju je predvsem skupina okoli Wehmeyerja (1996) s pristopom samoodločitve ter model pristopa kompetenčnih prednosti, ki ga je razvil Drobnič (2014).

Drobnič (ibid.) poudarja, da je optimizem na kariernem področju oseb s posebnimi potrebami lahko povsem stvaren, če naredimo preobrat v teoriji in praksi dela, ki ga predstavi v kompetenčnem modelu kariere.

Pri tem izpostavi potrebne nove premise aktualnih sprememb, kot so individualna rast posameznika, ki mu odpira nove zaposlitvene perspektive, hiter razvoj novih poklicev in področij, ki postajajo za te osebe dosegljivo področje za razvoj kariere, in inkluzivne priložnosti ter graditev kariere na njegovih močnih področjih, ne na težavi ali motnji, ki je fokusna točka rehabilitacije. S tem nekdanji hendikep postane relativen, saj motnja, ki je vezana na določeno opravljanje dela, na drugem področju ni več ovira in kot taka ni več motnja.

Zato je pri vodenju kariere oseb s posebnimi potrebami bistvena opustitev medicinske paradigme (Drobnič, 2014), ker ta temelji na ukvarjanju z hendikepom, invalidnostjo, nezmožnostjo, ki je v kontekstu poklicne/karijerne orientacije nefunkcionalna, saj povzroča fokusiranje na tisto, kar je slabo in kar ne bo zagotovilo prednosti, hkrati pa bo povzročalo zniževanje samopodobe posameznika na podlagi okvare, kar vodi pogosto tudi do etiketiranja s strani okolja.

Nova spoznanja na medicinskem področju, zlasti zrcalnih nevronov (Dobbs, 2006), poudarjajo pomen pestrosti zunanjega okolja za razvoj socialnih veščin predvsem v zgodnjem obdobju (otroško in mladostno) posameznikovega razvoja, zato je inkluzija kot model integracije v izobraževanju in zaposlovanju pomembno načelo, ki omogoča osebno rast kompetenc in samozaupanja.

Drugo, kar velja izpostaviti pri kariernem razvoju in poklicnih odločitvah, je princip avtonomnosti in samoodločanja posameznika. Koncept samodoločanja, ki ga uvaja Wehmeyer (1996) na področju izobraževanja in prehoda na poklicno pot oseb s posebnimi potrebami, se sklada z izhodišči sodobnih pristopov v karieri, ki jih najdemo predvsem v teorijah konstruktivizma (Amundson, 2009; Chen, 2005; Collin, 1996; Conyne in Cook, 2004; Peavy, 2004; Savickas, 2012), saj poudarja pomen avtonomije posameznika v odločanju na karierni in življenjski poti ter interakcijo z okoljem. Samoodločanje in avtonomija sta po Wehmeyerjevem ključni prvini tudi za odločanje o podpornih ukrepih, zato ti ne smejo biti osebi s posebnimi potrebami vsiljeni.

Tako Wehmeyer s sodelavci (1996) samoodločanje obravnava kot dispozicijsko značilnost (karakterizacijo značilnosti in tendenc ljudi), ki se realizira z ukrepanjem. Da se bo oseba lahko uspešno samoodločala, je treba pri njej doseči rast v njeni vedenjski avtonomiji, samoregulaciji, opolnomočenju in samorealizaciji. S samoodločanjem posameznik internalizira poznavanje sebe in svoje ključne kompetence, vključno s sposobnostjo, da oceni svoje priložnosti, izpostavi svoje odločitve, se samoregulira, si sam svetuje in postavi svoje dosegljive cilje, razrešuje medosebne probleme, kompetenčno komunicira in učinkovito spreminja svoje preference.

Pri tem mu pomagajo šola, službe za poklicno orientacijo ter postavljen načrt prehoda. Tak pristop pa je drugačen od prejšnjih pristopov, ki gradijo zaposlovanje oseb s posebnimi potrebami in invalidov na rehabilitaciji, torej na ukvarjanju s posameznikovo težavo, motnjo in invalidnostjo.

Pri samoodločanju sta poudarjena značilnost dispozicij (lastnosti/potenciali), ki jih ima vsak, in izražena voljna dejavnost (Wehmeyer, 1996). Za Drobniča (2014) so močna področja v njegovem modelu kompetenčnih prednosti ključna podlaga poklicne in razvojne usmeritve ter jedro in opora za nadaljnji karierni razvoj. Tak pristop pomaga izboljšati posameznikovo samopodobo, ker se posameznik usmerja na svoje potenciale in ne na motnje. S tem se premakne identifikacija osebe od »invalidske« na profesionalno. Zato principi rehabilitacije – osredotočenost in izhajanje iz motnje, bolezni in invalidnosti – v poklicnem odločanju in vodenju kariere niso primerni, ker utrjujejo »invalidsko« samopodobo, ki se izraža v nemoči, podrejenosti in samoomejevanju (Drobnič, *ibid.*).

Samoodločanje bi moralo po Wehmeyerju (*ibid.*) postati pomembna prvina v vodenju kariere, in to v konkretnih vprašanih poklicnega odločanja in kariere. Zato mora biti karierna vizija, poklicna odločitev v domeni posameznika. Ravno tako tudi individualni načrt prehoda in izobraževanja, ne pa svetovalcev, psihologov in REHA-komisij, ki odločajo namesto posameznika. Vloga svetovalcev je v tem, da pomagajo osebi priti do odločitve glede poklica, vendar naj bo ta pomoč nedirektivna, kar pomeni, da svetovalec spodbuja posameznika, da pride do odločitve, ne pa da svetovalec pove, katera odločitev je prava (Watts, 2006).

Invalidnost posameznika se pogosto povezuje z neambicioznim načrtovanjem poklicnega razvoja in kariere (Wehmeyer, 1996). Poleg tega pa se že mlade s posebnimi potrebami namešča v posebne izobraževalne oblike in se jih s tem ločuje od drugih ter tako prikrajša za doseganje kompetenc, razvoj empatije in socialnih veščin, ki so nujne za karierni razvoj. Zato je treba osebam s posebnimi potrebami omogočiti ustrezno spodbudno okolje (integracija/inkluzija) ter druge vrste pomoči, da se doseže boljši nivo avtonomije (Drobnič, 2014). Zato naj se osebe vključujejo v običajno okolje, torej v vse splošne izobraževalne ali zaposlitvene oblike, ki ne pomenijo segregiranega (izločenega) okolja, ki poraja negativne asociacije pri večini in občutke zapostavljenosti ter izločenosti. Zahtevno okolje spodbuja intenzivni razvoj socialnih veščin, kar izhaja iz ugotovitev študij o zrcalnih nevronih (Dobbs, 2006).

Zato so klasični modeli in pristopi v kariernem svetovanju oseb s posebnimi potrebami, ki izhajajo iz pristopa avtoritete in pokroviteljstva do posameznika, manj primerni, ravno tako svetovanje, ki temelji na izhodiščni poziciji, ki jo predstavlja motnja, invalidnost ali težava

(medicinsko-diagnostični pristop). Izhodišče naj bo torej pomoč pri spoznavanju posameznikovih močnih področij ter usposobitev, spodbujanje in usposabljanje teh oseb za samostojno odločanje na mnogih prehodih, ki bodo sledili. S tem svetovalec najbolj prispeva k rasti samopodobe posameznika v kariernem smislu. Pri tem mora biti karierni svetovalec fleksibilen za samoomejitev poseganja v presojo ali odločitev posameznika – osebe s posebnimi potrebami. Intervencija svetovalca mora biti fleksibilna in takšna, da podpira posameznikov razvoj, avtonomnost in rast, nikakor pa ni ustrezno, da se posameznik podredi strokovni avtoriteti ali pa od nje postane odvisen.

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Primerjava dveh interdisciplinarnih, na učenca usmerjenih učnih pristopov za vpeljavo na področje matematike

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Vpeljava interdisciplinarnih, na učenca osredotočenih učnih pristopov v slovenski izobraževalni sistem

Učenje matematike s preiskovanjem je na novo vpeljan pojem v slovenskem matematičnem izobraževanju. Kot učitelj matematike sem želela natančno definicijo te inovacije. Je to nova metoda učenja, učna oblika, način poučevanja ali druge vrste učni izziv? Na področju izobraževanja v slovenskem jeziku težko najdemo učbenik ali knjigo, kjer bi pridobili sodobno terminologijo pojmov s področja didaktike. Ob pregledu tiskanih knjig in spletnih virov se zdi, da vlada na tem področju velika zmeda.

V nasprotju z enotno delitvijo *učnih oblik* v literaturi na frontalno, individualno, skupinsko učno obliko in delo v paru ali tandem (npr. Blažič et al., 2003; Tomić, 1999) sta delitev in imenovanje učnih pristopov, strategij, konceptov, inovacij pri pouku oziroma prijemov pri poučevanju zelo različna. Imena so odvisna od tega, ali obravnavamo poučevanje oziroma učenje pri pouku z metodološkega vidika, z vidika razvojne teorije, z vidika uporabe pri določenem predmetu ali kako drugače.

Pri predmetu Didaktične strategije na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani, katerega vsebina je dostopna na spletu (Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani, 2020), izpostavljajo tri *pristope* sodobnega pouka: problemski pouk, sodelovalno učenje in projektno učno delo. V knjigi Didaktični modeli nemških didaktikov, prevedeni v slovenski jezik, namesto pristopov pouka ločujejo več *konceptov* pouka. Avtorji visokošolskega učbenika Didaktika ločujejo več *strategij* pouka in omenjajo nejasnosti

v razumevanju pojma didaktična strategija, ki se prepleta s pojmom učna metoda in s strategijo poučevanja (Blažič et al., 2003: str. 39). Razlikovati bi morali med strategijami in koncepti pouka: strategije pouka so načrtovani postopki, usmerjeni v izvajanje in doseganje konkretnih namenov in ciljev pouka; »koncept pouka ima v primerjavi s strategijo pouka več teoretičnih obeležij, medtem ko strategija ta obeležja praktično operacionalizira v vsebini, metodah in organizaciji učnih situacij, v učni aktivnosti učitelja in učencev«, kot lahko preberemo v spletnem slovarju Termania (2020). V učbeniku Osnove visokošolske didaktike (Tomić, 1999), ki ga poleg učbenika Didaktika večinoma navajajo kot osnovno literaturo pri učenju didaktike, načinov, strategij, konceptov, pouka ali pristopov, prijemov pri pouku ni omenjenih, opisan je le problemski pouk. V didaktičnih priporočilih veljavnega učnega načrta za matematiko za gimnazije navajajo, da različne učne pristope (npr. raziskovanje in reševanje matematičnih ter avtentičnih problemov) lahko omogočimo z informacijsko in komunikacijsko tehnologijo (Učni načrt Matematika, Gimnazija, 2008).

V učbeniku (Blažič et al., 2003) ločijo 8 strategij pouka, opisanih v Preglednici 1, ki se v slovenski literaturi pogosto navajajo kot učni pristopi, ki so pripisani v drugem stolpcu Preglednice 1. V njej smo dodali tudi prevod, ki je najpogosteje naveden ob slovenskih zapisih. Seveda so nam posamezne besede razumljive: učenje izhaja iz učenca, poučevanje iz učitelja, pouk je organizirana interakcija učenja učencev in poučevanja učitelja ali bolj strokovno: »je načrten, organiziran in smotrno vzgojno-izobraževalni proces poučevanja, učenja in vzgajanja« (ibid.: str. 26). Pripis končnice učenje, poučevanje ali pouk je odvisen od tega, ali je v ospredju učenec in njegovo učenje ali učitelj in njegovo poučevanje. Kadar sta obe perspektivi enakovredni, uporabimo morda besedo pouk. V literaturi najdemo tako raziskovalni pouk kot raziskovalno učenje na primer. Več težav za nevesčega je v razlikovanju pristopov, konceptov in strategij pouka, učenja, poučevanja.

Uporaba naštetih strategij pouka v Preglednici 1 je odvisna od razvojne stopnje učečega in od predmeta, ki ga učimo pri pouku. Ločnice med omenjenimi strategijami pouka, učenja so v literaturi težje dostopne, med njimi pa zasledimo vrsto povezav. Blažič in sodelavci navajajo, da naj bi bil *odkrivajoči* pouk bolj načelo, ki naj bi usmerjalo vse strategije pouka. Je zelo zahteven za učence, saj naj bi svobodno raziskovali in pridobivali nova spoznanja. *Raziskovalni* pouk je usposabljanje učencev za samostojni odkrivajoči pouk; *projektni* pouk je sestavni del raziskovalnega in tudi *problemski* pouk je podoben raziskovalnemu, le da je osredotočen na probleme (ibid.: str. 39–41).

Preglednica 1: Strategije pouka, učni pristopi in angleški original.

Strategije pouka	Učni pristopi	Angleško imenovanje
1. Odkrivajoči pouk	Odkrivajoče učenje	<i>Discovery learning</i>
2. Raziskovalni pouk	Raziskovalno učenje	<i>Inquiry-based learning IBL</i>
3. Projektni pouk	Projektno učenje	<i>Project-based learning PBL</i>
4. Problemski pouk	Problemsko (naravnano) učenje	<i>Problem-based learning PBL</i>
5. Izkustveni pouk	Izkustveno učenje	<i>Experiential learning</i>
6. Ravnanjski (delovni) pouk	Delovno učenje	<i>Learning by doing</i>
7. Programirani pouk	Programirano poučevanje	<i>Programmed instruction</i>
8. Timski pouk	Timsko poučevanje	<i>Teaching as a team</i>

Prince in Felder (2006) na področju visokošolskega izobraževanja ločita učne pristope glede na induktivno ali deduktivno pot spoznavanja. Pri induktivni poti spoznavanja iz primerov in različnih aktivnosti učenci spoznajo splošno pravilo, medtem ko deduktivna pot spoznavanja pomeni, da podano splošno pravilo uporabimo na raznih primerih in pri raznih aktivnostih ter nadaljnjih sklepih. Avtorja menita, da pri induktivni poti učenci s pomočjo učitelja pridejo sami do novega znanja, medtem ko pri deduktivni poti učitelj najprej novo znanje poda, učenci pa ga preizkušajo in uporabijo v novih situacijah. Seveda poudarjata, da se v naravoslovju, inženirstvu in matematiki deduktivne ter induktivne poti spoznavanja prepletajo. Glede na način, ki pri učencih prevladuje pri usvajanju novega znanja, tudi učni pristope delita na induktivne in deduktivne. Pri deduktivnih, ki so bolj tradicionalni, govorita raje o poučevanju, pri induktivnih, kjer učenci generalizirajo novo spoznanje, pa govorita o učenju. Tako prve štiri učne pristope v Preglednici 1 uvrščata med tiste s prevladujočo induktivno potjo spoznavanja. Pri teh bomo tudi mi uporabili besedo učenje, čeprav gre za interakcijo učenja in poučevanja.

Avtorja postavljata *raziskovalno* učenje (IBL) za krovni učni pristop, ki vključuje odkrivajoče, projektno (PjBL) in problemsko (naravnano) učenje (PBL). Omenjenim pristopom iščeta razlike v končnem produktu oziroma v izidu učenja oz. poučevanja, v količini vodenja s strani učitelja in v ocenjevanju ter ugotavljata, da se marsikje razlike zabrišejo. Če namreč *odkrivajoče* učenje dalje delimo na vodeno in nevodeno odkrivajoče učenje, se vodenega težko loči od ostalih štirih učnih pristopov. Medtem ko so za IBL značilna zanimiva vprašanja iz realnega življenja (realne situacije), na katera učenci iščejo odgovore (in si postavljajo nova vprašanja) ter preko njih pridobijo nova spoznanja o zastavljeni situaciji, so za PBL značilni problemi iz vsakdanjega življenja, ki sprožijo učenje

novega znanja, ki je potrebno za rešitev problema; pri PjBL so v ospredju interdisciplinarni obsežnejši problemi – tako imenovani projekti, podobni tistim v delovnem okolju. Vprašanja si seveda zastavljajo tudi učenci pri PBL in PjBL in raziskovanje situacije pomeni lahko tudi reševanje problema ali izzove opravljanje večjega projekta, ki zahteva obširno analizo in zaključno predstavitev (ibid.), zato so argumenti za krovni pristop lahko upravičeni. V svetovno priznanih znanstvenih revijah podajajo kritiko o nepravilni rabi in razumevanju omenjenih učnih pristopov (Hmelo-Silver et al., 2007) in poudarjajo, da pri pouku v realizaciji ti pristopi niso minimalno vodeni ali celo nevodeni s strani učitelja, temveč ima učitelj pomembno vlogo pri izvajanju takega učnega procesa kot oblikovalec pouka, usmerjevalec, motivator ipd.

V Sloveniji se med sodobnimi učnimi pristopi matematike večkrat omenjajo *izkustveno* učenje, *raziskovalno* učenje in *odkrivajoče* učenje s prevladujočo induktivno potjo spoznavanja, vendar tudi pri predmetu samem omenjenih pristopov ne zmoremo natančno ločevati (Kmetič in Sirnik, 2010). Slovenski prevod za IBL v eni sami slovenski izobraževalni instituciji je pri različnih STEM predmetih (predmeti naravoslovja, tehnike, tehnologije, inženirstva in matematike) različen:

- *učenje s poizvedovanjem* oz. poizvedovalno učenje pri tehniki (Jenstrle, 2017),
- *učenje z raziskovanjem* pri naravoslovju (Petek, 2012),
- *učenje s preiskovanjem* pri matematiki (Suban, 2017).

Učitelj matematike, ki si želi nekoliko bolj spoznati nov način, pristop, izziv, prijem, strategijo pouka, učenja oz. poučevanja in želi z njim matematiko povezati z drugimi predmeti, je lahko upravičeno zmeden že samo zaradi prevodov, kaj šele zavoljo slabih vsebinskih razlikovanj in morebitne nepravilne rabe didaktičnih pojmov.

V nadaljevanju bomo primerjali dva *učna pristopa*, kot bomo poimenovali inovaciji PBL in IBL. Prvega, ker smo ga pred leti sami uvajali v poučevanje statistike, ki je vsaj na ravni srednje šole del matematike (Drobnič Vidic, 2011, 2017), in slednjega, ker je postal zelo promoviran v slovenskem poučevanju matematike v zadnjih letih. Po teoretični primerjavi obeh pristopov na podlagi tuje literature bomo preverili, koliko objav o obeh pristopih najdemo v slovenski literaturi, in preverili, kakšne prevode uporabljajo avtorji. Nato pa bomo na podlagi analize tujih objav ugotavljali, kateri pristop se bolj uporablja v matematiki v primerjavi z naravoslovjem, in skušali podati smernice za učinkovit učni pristop matematike.

IBL in PBL pri matematiki

V poučevanju matematike so se v Evropi oblikovala naslednja središča, ki poudarjajo svojevrstne načine sodobnih poti spoznavanja pri matematiki in so bila predstavljena na največjem mednarodnem kongresu o matematičnem izobraževanju ICME-13 (Bloom, 2016):

- Michèle Artigue (prednik: Brousseau): francoska šola učenja matematike, imenovana *Didactical Engineering*,
- Marja van den Heuvel-Panhuizen (prednik: Freudenthal): nizozemska šola učenja matematike, imenovana *Realistic Mathematics Education*,
- Rudolf Sträßer (prednik: Kirsch): nemška šola učenja matematike, imenovana *Stoffdidaktik* in kasneje pogosto izpostavljeno matematično modeliranje,
- Maria Alessandra Mariotti (prednica: Castelnuevo): italijanska šola učenja matematike s sodelovalnim učenjem v multikulturnem okolju in akcijskim raziskovanjem.

Prav vsako od sodobnih evropskih središč razvoja matematičnega izobraževanja ima teoretična izhodišča, ki omogočajo implementacijo IBL (Artigue in Blomhøj, 2013): francoska šola z raziskovalnim pristopom do reševanja problemov, nizozemska z matematizacijo kot osnovno zahtevo za učinkovito reševanje realnih problemov, nemška z osredotočenostjo na snov, dostopno učencem, in z matematičnim modeliranjem realnega sveta za njegovo razumevanje ter italijanska s sodelovalnim učenjem kot učinkovitem načinu reševanja interdisciplinarnih kompleksnih situacij v multikulturnem okolju.

Karakteristike IBL

Pojem IBL se nanaša na učenje oz. poučevanje, osredotočeno na učenca, pri katerem učenci postavljajo vprašanja, raziskujejo določene situacije in razvijajo lastne poti do novih spoznanj. Učenci preiskujejo situacijo tako, da jo opazujejo, berejo dodatno literaturo in iščejo že znane informacije, planirajo raziskavo, eksperimentirajo, uporabljajo različna orodja za analizo in interpretacijo podatkov ter diskutirajo o možnih rešitvah. Pri pouku v naravoslovju je pri IBL v ospredju učenje po ciklu petih e-jev: *engagement, exploration, explanation, elaboration in evaluation* (Oguz-Unver in Arabacioglu, 2011), kar predstavlja cikel opazovanja situacije (problema), njenega raziskovanja, razjasnitve situacije oziroma pojava ali rešitve problema, zapisovanja spoznanj, argumentov in predstavitev ter ocena opravljenega dela. Preiskovanje zahteva tako pridobivanje znanih informacij in predpostavk, ki so lahko tudi iz drugih področij in ne le iz področja, kjer

situacijo preučujemo, kot tudi uporabo kritičnega razmišljanja in logičnega sklepanja ter uporabo in vključevanje dodatnih in alternativnih razlag, da se pridobi nova spoznanja, saj znanstveno raziskovanje vključuje vse to (Maaß in Artigue, 2013). Za preiskovanje je torej značilno: postavljanje vprašanj, interdisciplinarno iskanje virov in novih idej, reševanje problemov, modeliranje, matematizacija, raziskovanje, analiza dokumentov in podatkov, eksperimentiranje, testiranje, razlaga, razmišljanje, argumentiranje, dokazovanje, strukturiranje novega znanja, povezovanje, predstavitve in diskusija (Artigue in Blomhøj, 2013; Suban, 2017).

Za te vrste procesov je pogosto potrebno sodelovanje in delo v skupinah, novo vlogo pa mora prevzeti tudi učitelj, ki spodbuja učence k preiskovanju, odkrivanju lastnih poti do spoznanj in podpira sodelovalno delo. Učitelj usmerja učence k postavljanju vprašanj, spodbuja jih k uporabi njihovega predznanja pri preiskovanju, upravlja delo majhnih skupin in diskusijo, podpira in usmerja individualno učenčevo delo, ko je to potrebno. Pomaga jim vzpostaviti povezave med njihovimi dognanji in splošnimi (matematičnimi) zakonitostmi (Maaß in Artigue, 2013).

Karakteristike PBL

Problemsko naravnano učenje (PBL) je na področju medicine vpeljal Barrows na univerzi McMaster konec sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja. To je na učenca usmerjeno učenje oz. poučevanje, pri katerem problemi sprožijo učenje nove snovi. Pred začetkom obravnave snovi se namreč majhnim skupinam učencev postavi problem (situacija). Ti morajo problem razčleniti in ugotoviti, kaj problem od njih zahteva – katero novo znanje morajo osvojiti, da bodo problem rešili. Problem naj bo postavljen iz realnega sveta oziroma stroke, da mlade motivira, in mora biti seveda tak, da sproži učenje nove snovi. To slednje ločuje PBL od širšega problemskega učenja, kjer je problem lahko teoretični ali realni, ki sproži učenje nove snovi ali pa le razvija veščine reševanja problemov.

Za reševanje problema sta navadno na voljo dve fazi. V prvi fazi s petimi koraki pri pouku se učenci v majhnih skupinah (navadno okoli 5) soočijo s problemom, ugotovijo, kaj od njih zahteva, in z deževanjem idej ugotovijo, katero že pridobljeno znanje jim morda lahko pomaga rešiti problem. Seveda morajo ugotoviti, česa še ne znajo, katere informacije je treba še pridobiti, da bi problem lahko rešili. S tem se prva faza zaključí in učenci samostojno izven pouka pridobijo nove informacije. V drugi fazi z dvema korakoma nove informacije v skupini zberejo in z njimi rešijo problem. Rešitev zapišejo, lahko tudi predstavijo in kritično ovrednotijo. Celoten proces imenujejo tudi cikel 7 korakov (Boud in Feletti, 1998) in je predstavljen v prispevku v prilogi na konkretnem primeru pri

spoznavanju statističnih vsebin pri matematiki v gimnaziji (in preoblikovan za IBL s ciklom 5 e-jev).

Učitelj prevzame vlogo usmerjevalca in ne posredovalca novega znanja. Učence usmerja, sprašuje, pomaga, da ne bi zašli na stranpoti, jim zastavlja vprašanja in nanje tudi odgovarja, vendar ne tako, da bi razkril rešitev problema, ampak tako, da učenci aktivno rešujejo problem naprej. Do rešitve problema naj pridejo učenci sami s pomočjo lastnega predznanja in interdisciplinarnega povezovanja področij. Pri pravem PBL snov kurikula narekujejo problemi in ne obratno. Znanje, ki je potrebno za reševanje problemov stroke, je tisto, ki ga morajo mladi osvojiti, kar se nanaša predvsem na visokošolsko izobraževanje.

Primerjava IBL in PBL

Že tuji raziskovalci so se spraševali, kakšne so podobnosti in razlike med IBL in PBL ter med nekaterimi drugimi aktivnimi interdisciplinarnimi načini učenja (Feletti, 2006; Hmelo-Silver et al., 2007; Oguz-Unver in Arabacioglu, 2011; Prince in Felder, 2006; Spronken-Smith, 2012). Oba pristopa sta primer aktivnega učenja, ki v ospredje postavljata učenca z njegovim učnim procesom in ne učitelja. Obema je značilno preiskovanje, pri PBL je to preiskovanje odprtega problema iz življenja ali stroke, pri IBL preiskovanje neke situacije, pojava, vprašanja ali tudi problema, lahko teoretičnega ali iz življenja oziroma stroke. S tega vidika je IBL krovna metoda. Prav tako naj bi aktivnosti pri PBL potekale daljše obdobje in konstantno pri obravnavi nove snovi pri pouku in lahko združujejo več predmetov, medtem ko za IBL te zahteve eksplicitno ni podane, a že ime pove, naj bi učenje temeljilo na raziskovanju, torej naj bi ta aktivnost potekala dalj časa. Pisne zahteve in priporočila za PBL glede zastavljanja realnih problemov, ki sprožijo učenje snovi v daljšem učnem obdobju, kot je šolsko leto, in interdisciplinarno povezovanje raznih predmetov so večji kot pri IBL. Natančnejša primerjava med IBL in PBL je v mnogih karakteristikah podana v Preglednici 2, ki smo jo zapisali na podlagi trditve v primerjalnih študijah (Hmelo-Silver et al., 2007; Oguz-Unver in Arabacioglu, 2011; Prince in Felder, 2006; Spronken-Smith, 2012).

Oba učna pristopa se teoretično močno razlikujeta po nivojih poučevanja in po najprimernejših področjih učenja (Preglednica 2). IBL naj bi bil značilen za osnovnošolski nivo, PBL za študij. Matematika ni poudarjena ne pri IBL ne pri PBL, so pa naloge učencev, vodilo in specifični izidi pri IBL bolj pisani na kožo naravoslovnemu načinu raziskovanja pojavov. Cikel sedmih korakov je pri reševanju problema pri PBL nekoliko podrobneje razčlenjen kot cikel 5 e-jev pri preiskovanju problema z IBL, oba načina aktivnega reševanja sta predstavljena v prilogi, seveda sta

Preglednica 2: Podobnosti in razlike med IBL in PBL.

Karakteristike	IBL	PBL
Osrednja dejavnost	Preiskovanje zastavljene situacije	Reševanje problema, ki sproži učenje nove snovi
Predmet dejavnosti	Situacija (pojav), problem	Nestrukturirani problem
Cilj	Spoznavanje nove snovi	Spoznavanje nove snovi
Vodilo	Učenje preko neposrednega opazovanja in preiskovanja kot znanstvene raziskave.	Učenje preko realnega problema z uporabo lastnega predznanja in novih informacij.
Pionirji	Dewey, Schwab	Dewey, Barrows
Način učenja	Osredotočeno na učenca, cikel petih E-jev.	Osredotočeno na učenca, cikel sedmih korakov.
Učna oblika	Lahko v eni skupini, v manjših skupinah, individualno, v paru	V manjših skupinah (4-6)
Predznanje	Ni nujno potrebno, novo znanje se lahko pridobi z opazovanjem.	Je nujno potrebno, na njem se gradi znanje, potrebno za rešitev problema.
Naloga učitelja	Usmerjevalec, vir vprašanj, vodja	Usmerjevalec, tutor
Naloga učencev	Postavljajo vprašanja, pojasnjujejo, oblikujejo hipoteze, interpretirajo, sprašujejo in odgovarjajo...	Oblikujejo naloge, iščejo nove informacije, so vir vprašanj, oblikujejo učne cilje, določajo rešitve problema...
Nivo izobraževanja	Najprimernejši za osnovnošolski nivo	Najprimernejši za visokošolski nivo
Najprimernejše področje izobraževanja	Za vsa področja, posebej naravoslovje	Za vsa področja, posebej za medicino, inženirstvo
Specifični izidi	Razumevanje konceptov znanstvenega dela, uporaba znanja, vzpodbujanje kreativnosti	Učinkovito reševanje realnih problemov, pridobivanje veččin samostojnega in vseživljenjskega učenja, uporaba znanja

oba načina dela le priporočena, uporabljajo se tudi drugi. Predznanje je pri PBL nujno potrebno, pri IBL lahko učenci potrebno predznanje za delo pridobijo tudi z opazovanjem. Pri matematiki je pogosto pri zastavljeni situaciji potrebno poleg opazovanja oz. preiskovanja situacije uporabiti določeno matematično predznanje (Artigue in Blomhøj, 2013). S tega vidika je IBL pri matematiki podoben PBL, ki ima v določenih pogledih strožje zahteve.

V prispevku želimo ugotoviti, kako pogosto in na katerih področjih se omenjena pristopa preučujeta ali uporabljata v slovenskih člankih, nato pa napravimo primerjavo tudi pri specifični tuji literaturi. V njej želimo ugotoviti, kako pogosta sta učna pristopa v matematiki glede na

naravoslovje, saj bi na podlagi tega lahko izluščili, kateri od omenjenih pristopov je primernejši za področje matematike ali za njuno interdisciplinarno povezavo.

Metoda dela

Uporabljamo kavzalno-neeksperimentalno metodo za primerjavo dveh učnih pristopov. Ker naš namen ni ugotavljanje učinkovitosti obeh pristopov, ampak ugotavljanje smiselnosti umestitve v poučevanje matematike, nismo izbrali metaanalize, ki zahteva statistično analizo eksperimentalnih raziskav, ampak študijo literature obeh pristopov tako na slovenskem področju kot širše.

Za kratek pregled slovenskih prispevkov o IBL in PBL smo se odločili zato, da preverimo, ali se težave v slovenskih zapisih danih učnih pristopov, ki smo jih omenili, odražajo tudi v prispevkih. Želeli smo ugotoviti, ali se za preučevana učna pristopa uporabljajo kateri drugi izrazi in ali se v tem delu omenjeni besedni sklopi za IBL ali PBL uporabljajo tudi za kakšen drug učni pristop. Prav tako smo želeli ugotoviti, v kolikšni meri se dani pristop uveljavlja na področju matematike oziroma ali teoretične domneve o naravoslovju kot značilnem področju uveljavljanja IBL slovenski prispevki potrjujejo.

Seveda je slovensko področje izobraževanja majhno in dejavnost na določenem pedagoškem področju je lahko odraz manjših skupin raziskovalcev, ki uvajajo neko inovacijo. Zato smo želeli dobiti vpogled, kako je z obema obravnavanima učnima pristopoma na področju matematike in naravoslovja v tujini. S kvalitativno analizo visokokakovostnih tujih prispevkov smo želeli ugotoviti ne le področja vključevanja učnega pristopa, ampak tudi izobraževalni nivo, kvaliteto opravljene raziskave, vrsto raziskave, metodo dela, udeležence v raziskavi in druge značilnosti, ki bi nam osvetlile uporabo obeh pristopov na področju matematike.

Metaanalize navadno preučujejo učinek določenega načina poučevanja pri empiričnih raziskavah z eksperimentalno in kontrolno skupino. Zaradi majhne količine tovrstnih raziskav avtorji pogosto segajo poleg visokokakovostnih revij tudi po neobjavljenih delih avtorjev posebnih tujejezičnih skupin (Demirel in Dagyar, 2016). V metaanalizi vseh vrst na učenca osredotočenih načinov učenja je bilo v študiji (Savelsbergh et al., 2016) analiziranih skupno 56 raziskav za analizo, kar je za vse vrste na učenca osredotočenih učnih pristopov bore malo. Pri takem preučevanju so spet drugi avtorji uporabili posebno statistično metaanalizo, ki je omogočala vključitev eksperimentalnih raziskav s samo eno preučevano skupino s podatki pred testom in po njem (Belland et al., 2017), česar mnogi avtorji ne odobravajo. Druge vrste raziskav, kot so študija primera,

opazovanje, primerjalna študija in podobno, v metaanalizah navadno niso zajete, čeprav nam dajo lahko kvalitetne informacije o danem učnem pristopu. Res je, da so eksperimentalne raziskave za vpogled v učinkovitost danega učnega pristopa najpomembnejše, vendar se pogosto zgodi, da rezultati, kjer eksperimentalna skupina ni imela zadovoljivega učinka, ostanejo neobjavljeni. Tudi mnoge karakteristike realizacije učnega pristopa kot so: način izvajanja pristopa (pri pouku ali izven njega), količina priprav učitelja za realizacijo inovacije, vloga učitelja, uporabljeni učni material in podobno, v metaanalizah najpogosteje niso podane (Belland et al., 2017; Demirel in Dagyar, 2016). Da bi ugotovili, kateri učni pristop se na danem področju pogosteje uporablja in ima večjo popularnost, imajo neeksperimentalne raziskave prav tako veliko vlogo kot eksperimentalne. Vključevanje tovrstnih raziskav omogoča sistematični pregled (znanstvene) literature, ki so ga za posamezni pristop že opravili na področju naravoslovja (Brown, 2017; Lin et al., 2012).

Da bi zajeli tudi neeksperimentalne raziskave in pridobili vpogled v pojavitev preučevanih dveh učnih pristopov v matematiki glede na naravoslovje, smo se v pričujočem delu omejili na sistematični pregled specifične literature z vsebinsko analizo (Vogrinc, 2008: str. 57). Na ta način smo želeli ugotoviti:

- Ali sta obravnavana dolgoročna učna pristopa IBL in PBL pogosteje uporabljena (ne pa nujno učinkovitejša) v naravoslovju ali v matematiki glede na 5-letna obdobja?
- Kakšne so razlike med dolgoročnima pristopoma na področju matematike glede na kvaliteto obravnave, nivo poučevanja, vrste raziskovalne metode in udeležence v učnem pristopu glede na področje naravoslovja?

Za odgovore na raziskovalna vprašanja smo skrbno izbrali prispevke na področju matematike in naravoslovja, kjer je IBL in/ali PBL središče preučevanja, in določili, na katerem področju je pristop obravnavan. Na slovenskem področju smo za to uporabili knjižnični informacijski sistem Cobiss, ki združuje raziskovalce in učitelje različnih področij. Tujo literaturo smo omejili na pregled prispevkov v takih svetovno uveljavljenih revijah s področja izobraževanja, ki enakovredno objavljajo prispevke s področja matematike in naravoslovja. Tako smo marca 2018 v MetaIskalnik¹ vnesli besede *science, math in education*. Od sedmih najdenih revij sta bili le dve taki, ki sta omogočali poln dostop do člankov, izhajali vsaj 10 let in sta imeli faktor vpliva: *International journal of science and mathematics*

¹ http://home.izum.si/izum/ft_base/

education (IJSME) in Euroasia journal of mathematics, science and technology education. Odločili smo se, da pregledamo prispevke v prvi reviji, ki je edina omogočala hkratno iskanje po besednih sklopih, saj smo želeli doseči, da sta matematika in naravoslovje kot didaktični področji vpeljevanja inovacij enakovredno zastopani.

Selekcioniranim prispevkom tuje revije smo določili kvaliteto obravnave, področje izobraževanja, izobraževalni nivo obravnavanega učnega pristopa, ki je lahko osnovna, srednja šola ali univerza. Če nivo v raziskavi ni en sam, smo zapisali najnižji izobraževalni nivo, ki je omenjen. Nivo se nanaša na snov, ki je bila z ucnim pristopom zajeta, ne na preučevane osebe. Če so z raziskavo preučevali kakovost vključevanja pristopa v osnovno šolo pri naravoslovju z nalogami, ki so jih sestavljali prihodnji učitelji, smo izbrali osnovnošolski nivo pristopa in ne univerzitetnega, saj tja pristop vključujemo. Ločili smo tri vrste raziskav: kvalitativno, kvantitativno in mešano, ter naslednje raziskovalne metode, ki so jih avtorji prispevkov uporabili: kavzalno-eksperimentalno, kvazi kavzalno-eksperimentalno, kavzalno-neeeksperimentalno in deskriptivno metodo. S prvo metodo avtorji primerjajo učinkovitost eksperimentalnega faktorja z eksperimentalno in kontrolno skupino, z drugo pa razliko v učinkovitosti le-tega pred in po njegovem vnosu. Take raziskave so največkrat kvantitativne. Kavzalno-neeeksperimentalne metode, ki vključujejo najpogosteje študijo primera ali analizo vprašalnikov, pa so lahko kvalitativne ali kvantitativne. Nato smo določili tudi preučevane osebe, ki so lahko učenci, učitelji oziroma prihodnji učitelji, ki se za poklic še izobražujejo, lahko pa so akterji učitelji in učenci skupaj. Nato smo najpomembnejše prispevke z uvajanjem učnega pristopa na področje matematike tudi podrobneje vsebinsko analizirali.

Metoda je preverljiva in zanesljiva, saj so vsi prispevki javno dostopni in so podane vse karakteristike selekcije in analize. Vse izbrane prispevke in njim določene karakteristike smo ponovno analizirali po enem letu, ko smo za primerjavo na podoben način selekcionirali prispevke baze *Web of Science* (Wos) z namenom nadaljnje raziskave. To omogoča večjo kredibilnost raziskave, ki je zaradi vpetosti rezultatov neposredno v prakso zadovoljive veljavnosti. Primerjava izsledkov s teoretičnimi izhodišči ponuja boljšo triangulacijo, ki pa bi se jo dalo še izboljšati z dodatnimi metodami dela, kot sta intervju ali druga študija literature (Vogrinc, 2008).

V zaključku smo povzeli težave slovenskih prevodov pri seznanjanju z danim ucnim pristopom, podali omejitve raziskave in dodali smernice za vključevanje pristopov na področju matematike in svetovali, na kaj moramo biti pozorni, ko iščemo zase najprimernejšo inovacijo kot učitelji, in ko o inovaciji učinkovito poročamo kot raziskovalci.

Rezultati

Uporaba IBL in PBL v slovenski literaturi

V Cobiss smo decembra 2019 preverili, kako pogosto v člankih pišejo o IBL in PBL. V ukazno iskanje člankov smo zaporedoma vnesli besedne sklope: raziskovalno učenje, učenje z raziskovanjem, preiskovalno učenje, učenje s preiskovanjem, poizvedovalno učenje in učenje s poizvedovanjem, kar naj bi po nekaterih virih (Jenstrle, 2017; Petek, 2012; Suban, 2017) ustrezalo kratici IBL. Zatem smo vnesli še besedne sklope: problemsko naravnano učenje, problemsko zasnovano učenje, problemsko učenje in učenje s problemi ter učenje z reševanjem problemov, ki naj bi morda ustrezali slovenskemu prevodu PBL (Drobnič Vidic, 2005). Ugotavljali smo število slovenskih in tujejezičnih prispevkov, obdobje objave, prevode za učni pristop in področje poučevanja. Pri slednjem smo ločili področja: matematika, naravoslovje, tehnika oz. tehnologija, STEM, druga področja (z oznako »drugo«) in prispevke, pri katerih izobraževalno področje ni izpostavljeno in se učni pristop obravnava splošno (z oznako »vse«).

Za prva dva besedna sklopa smo dobili 116 zadetkov (med njimi tudi zbornike s konferenc). Med temi zadetki je 84,4 % prispevkov pisanih v slovenskem jeziku, kar kaže Preglednica 3, tujejezični so pisani v angleškem jeziku. Razen petih so vsi objavljeni v dvajsetem stoletju. Kar 86 prispevkov je iz naravoslovja, 4 iz matematike, 5 iz tehnike oz. tehnologije, 1 iz STEM, 5 iz drugih področij (predvsem zgodovine) in 15 je splošnih prispevkov (Preglednica 3). Od teh 116 prispevkov jih ima le slabih 10 % prevod *inquiry-based learning* in enak odstotek prispevkov ima drugačnega, ostali slovenski prispevki pa nimajo angleškega prevoda. Pojavljajo se prevodi *research-based approach*, *learning through research*, *research learning*, *research-based learning* ali *scientific learning*. Besedni sklop *učenje s preiskovanjem* je najden v Cobiss le v 4 člankih, vsi so objavljeni v letu 2017 in v 2018, vsi prevodi so *inquiry-based learning* in vsi prispevki se nanašajo na matematiko. Dalje je besedni sklop *učenje s poizvedovanjem* uporabljen v enem članku iz leta 2019 in trije članki preučujejo *poizvedovalno učenje*. Vsi so bili objavljeni v letih 2014 in 2015 ter se nanašajo na področje tehnike oz. tehnologije. Skupno je kar 69 % prispevkov o IBL na področju naravoslovja, 12 % splošnih prispevkov, 7 % na področju tehnike oz. tehnologije in 6 % na področju matematike (ostalo STEM in vse).

Besedni sklop *problemsko naravnano učenje* za PBL je najden v 23 člankih, objavljenih med 2001 in 2012. Med njimi je 57 % slovenskih prispevkov. Največ prispevkov ta učni pristop uporablja na drugih področjih, ki v Preglednici 3 niso izpostavljena. Po en je na področju naravoslovja in matematike. Le štirje članki imenujejo PBL kot *problemsko zasnovano*

Preglednica 3: Število prispevkov o IBL in PBL po področjih: naravoslovje, matematika, tehnika/tehnologija, STEM, druga področja in vsa področja.

Besedni sklopi	Število	Jezik	Nar	Mat	Teh	STEM	Drugo	Vse
Učenje z raziskovanjem	40	SL: 31	26					5
		TJ: 9	6	1	2			
Raziskovalno učenje	76	SL: 67	47	3	3		5	9
		TJ: 9	7			1		1
Učenje s preiskovanjem	4	SL: 3		3				
		TJ: 1		1				
Preiskovalno učenje	0							
Učenje s poizvedovanjem	1	SL: 1			1			
		TJ: 0						
Poizvedovalno učenje	3	SL: 3			3			
		TJ: 0						
Skupaj IBL	124	104+19	86	8	9	1	5	15
Problemsko naravnano učenje	23	SL: 13	1	1			8	3
		TJ: 10		1			6	3
Problemsko zasnovano učenje	3	SL: 3		1			2	
		TJ: 0					0	
Problemsko učenje	49	SL: 25	2	1	1		8	13
		TJ: 24	3	2	7		8	4
Učenje s problemi	0							
Skupaj PBL	75	41+34	6	6	8	0	32	23
Skupaj IBL PBL	199	145+53	92	14	17	1	37	38

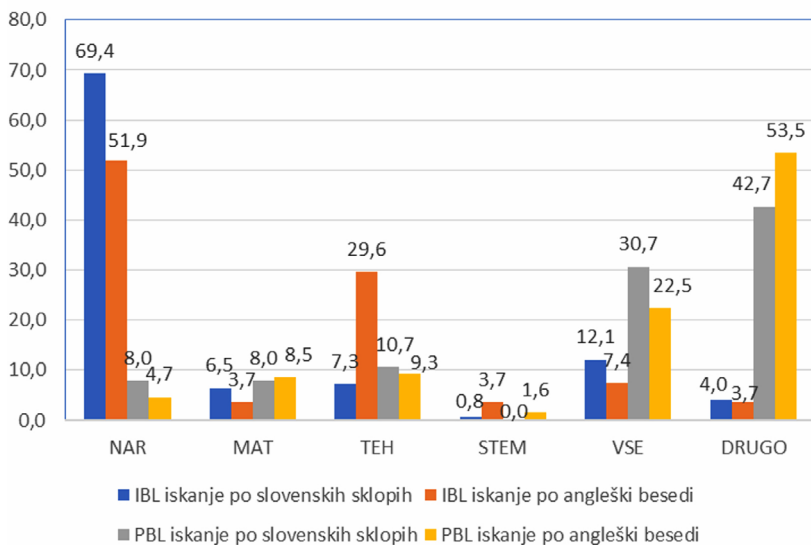
učenje (od tega 1 angleški) na področju matematike, inženirstva in zdravstvene nege. Ko smo vnesli besedni sklop *problemsko učenje*, smo dobili 49 zadetkov, od tega 51 % slovenskih. Čeprav je problemsko učenje lahko uporabljeno širše kot pojem metode pri pouku, ki je zajeta le krajši čas oz. del učne ure in ne gre za učni pristop, ki se uporablja pri učenju kontinuirano dalj časa, ima kar 55 % prispevkov angleški prevod *problem-based learning*, torej PBL, 35 % jih nima angleškega prevoda, po enkrat pa se

pojavijo prevodi: *problem-based teaching*, *inquiry-based teaching*, *learning by doing*, *experiential learning*, *project work in problem-based scenarios*. Pet prispevkov je objavljenih od 1990 do 1996 in ti prispevki na spletu niso dosegljivi, nimajo prevoda, med njimi sta tudi prispevka dr. Strmčnika, ki uvaja problemsko učenje med ostale učne pristope in poudarja, da lahko ta način poučevanja poteka le del učne ure, lahko individualno ali v paru in torej ne gre za pravi PBL. Ostali članki so bili izdani od leta 2000 do 2019 in najpogosteje področja ni izpostavljenega (35 %) ali pa je preučevanje usmerjeno na druga področja visokošolskega izobraževanja (33 %). Za besedni sklop učenje s problemi in za učenje z reševanjem problemov v Cobiss ne najdemo nobenega prispevka. Skupno kar 43 % PBL prispevkov pokriva druga področja, predvsem so to medicina, zdravstvena nega in tuji jezik stroke, 30 % je splošnih prispevkov, kjer področje ni določeno, 11 % prispevkov je na področju tehnike oz. tehnologije in po 8 % na področju matematike in naravoslovja (Preglednica 3).

Seveda lahko pedagogi-raziskovalci uporabljajo tudi drugačno besedno zvezo za vsako od preučevanih inovacij. V Cobiss smo zato preverili še, koliko prispevkov se nanaša na angleško besedno zvezo *inquiry-based learning* in koliko na *problem-based learning*. Točno 27 člankov preučuje *inquiry-based learning* (torej so avtorji večinoma slovenski), od tega je 37 % prispevkov slovenskih. Prispevki so od leta 2010 do 2019, od tega je 14 prispevkov pri naravoslovju, 8 pri tehniki oz. tehnologiji, 2 prispevka sta splošna (Vse), po 1 pa obravnava matematiko, STEM in drugo področje. Seveda je med temi prispevki že precej takih, ki smo jih našli preko slovenskih besednih zvez, saj imajo angleški prevod. Nekaj teh prispevkov pa slovenskega prevoda nima. Novih slovenskih prevodov za IBL pri pregledu teh prispevkov nismo našli, razen imena raziskovalni pristop ali pouk namesto raziskovalno učenje.

Prispevkov z besedno zvezo *problem-based learning* je 129, od tega 30 % slovenskih. Prispevki so od leta 1998 dalje (do leta 2000 je pet člankov). Le 6 prispevkov je na področju naravoslovja, 11 pri matematiki (vključena statistika), 12 pri tehniki oz. tehnologiji, 2 na STEM področju, 29 je splošnih prispevkov in 69 prispevkov je objavljenih na drugih področjih, predvsem na področju medicine, zdravstvene nege, tujega jezika stroke, inženirstva in arhitekture. Pri prevodih se pojavlja poleg že omenjenih in uporabljenih slovenskih besednih zvez še problemsko orientiran pouk in problemsko naravnani ali zasnovani študij, kar nakazuje, da je veliko prispevkov s področja visokošolskega izobraževanja. Odstotki tako najdenih prispevkov v Cobiss prek slovenskih besednih zvez, navedenih v Preglednici 3, kot prispevkov, najdenih z angleško besedno zvezo, po kateri se imenuje kratica učnega pristopa, so zbrani na Sliki 3.

Iskanje IBL in PBL prispevkov v brskalniku COBISS



Slika 1: Deleži obravnavanih področij prispevkov v brskalniku Cobiss, najdeni po eni izmed v Preglednici 3 podanih slovenskih ključnih besed za IBL oz. PBL, ali po angleški besedi inquiry based za IBL in problem based za PBL.

Odstotki področij, ki jih najdemo po tujih besednih zvezah, so podobni kot odstotki področij tistih prispevkov, ki jih najdemo s slovenskimi besednimi zvezami v Preglednici 3; področje STEM, ki združuje matematiko, naravoslovje, tehniko oz. tehnologijo kot strokovna področja (ali inženirstvo), je malo zastopano. Največja razlika je pri tehniki oz. tehnologiji, ki je zastopana v dobrih 7 % prispevkov, najdenih s slovenskimi besednimi zvezami, in v slabih 30 % prispevkov, najdenih po tuji besedni zvezi. Naravoslovja je največ pri IBL, druga področja so obakrat najbolj zastopana pri PBL. Po 8 % je matematike pri PBL in do dvakrat manj pri IBL. Slika 1 z odstotki pa ne pokaže, da smo pri iskanju po slovenskih besednih zvezah našli veliko več prispevkov s področja IBL kot PBL, po tuji besedni zvezi pa je izid ravno obraten: PBL je zastopan v veliko večji meri kot IBL. Ker mnogo prispevkov nima dostopa do polnega besedila, smo vsebinsko analizo opravili pri tuji literaturi.

Pregled prispevkov v tuji literaturi

V iskalnik Springerlink s prispevki revije IJSME smo vstavili najprej besedno zvezo *inquiry-based* in nato zvezo *problem-based* (z vezajem ali brez). Od leta 2003, ko je revija začela objavljati prispevke na spletu, do začetka

leta 2018, ko smo pričeli z našo analizo, smo dobili 176 zadetkov za *inquiry-based* in 82 zadetkov za *problem-based*. Tako smo zadetke razdelili po petletnih obdobjih, da bi dognali trend obravnavanih pristopov. Poleg vezne besede *-based* se v praksi omenja tudi *-oriented*, *-centred* in morda še kaj drugega, vendar smo se pri analizi literature omejili le na *-based*, saj je to tudi osnova za kratici IBL in PBL. Najprej smo izločili prispevke, v katerih so besedne zveze slučajno skupaj, v katerih zveza ne pomeni učnega pristopa ali so besede najdene v literaturi. Izločili smo 30 zadetkov pri IBL in 34 zadetkov pri PBL. Preostalim zadetkom smo določili, kako poglobljeno v prispevku preučujejo učni pristop, kjer smo ločili prispevke

- neosrednje obravnave, ki pristop omenjajo v pozitivnem ali negativnem kontekstu, vendar ta ni osrednja tema prispevka, inovacija ni vključena v raziskovalna vprašanja;
- osrednje obravnave, kjer je dani pristop osrednja tema v prispevku in vključen v raziskovalna vprašanja;
- in določili, pri katerem predmetu pristop preučujejo, kjer smo ločili
 - matematiko,
 - naravoslovje,
 - matematiko in naravoslovje skupaj,
 - STEM.

Prispevke smo razvrstili v petletna obdobja od začetka 2003 do začetka 2008, od 2008 do začetka 2013 in od 2013 do začetka 2018. Nato smo analizirali prispevke, kjer je dani pristop IBL ali PBL v središču obravnave, in jih karakterizirali glede področja učenja, nivoja poučevanja, kvalitete študije in preučevanih udeležencev raziskave.

Primerjava vpeljave IBL in PBL po petletnih obdobjih

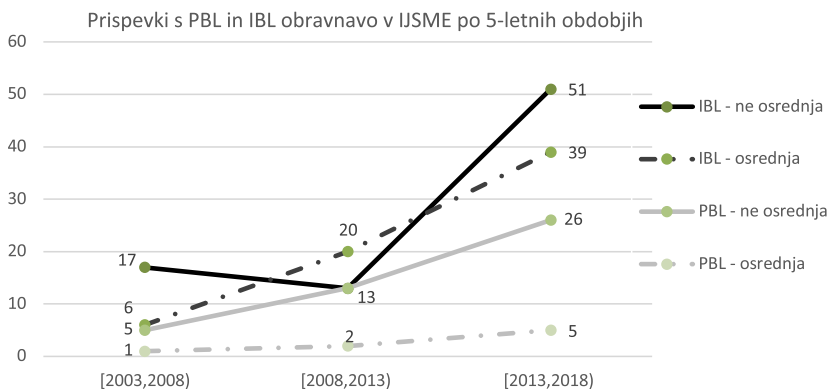
Besedna zveza *inquiry-based* se v prispevkih najpogosteje navezuje na *learning*, kar določa kratico IBL, pa tudi na *education*, *strategy*, *approach*, *activities*, *instruction*, *science*, *project*, *practical work*, *teaching*, *classroom*, *course*, *method*, *lessons*, *experience*, *pedagogy*. V po enem članku *navajajo inquiry-based curriculum*, *interactions*, *investigastons* ter *mathematics in classical mechanics*. Med prispevki, ki se sklicujejo na *inquiry-based* učni pristop ($n = 146$) tega bomo v nadaljevanju imenovali IBL-, se v kar 55,5 % prispevkov avtorji sklicujejo na ta pristop, a ta ni osrednja tema obravnave. IBL je večinoma omenjen v pozitivnem smislu kot pristop, v katerem je tema njihove raziskave (lahko) uspešna oziroma izpeljana, ali v zaključku, da je njihova tematika primerna za IBL ali v skladu z IBL priporočili. V člankih, kjer omenjajo IBL, je v negativnem smislu IBL naveden le dvakrat, in sicer, da lahko aktivnosti, kot je IBL, če niso dobro vpeljane,

privedejo do zmotnih prepričanj in da je v primeru, če IBL ne izvaja izkušeni učitelj, taka vpeljava zanj velik izziv. Seveda so v člankih, kjer je dani pristop osrednja tema obravnave, omenjene tudi nekatere kritike ali opozorila (Drobnič Vidic, 2019). Od 146 prispevkov se IBL pristop v 11,0 % obravnava pri matematiki, v 13,0 % pri matematiki in naravoslovju skupaj, le v 3,4 % pri STEM predmetih in v 72,6 % pri naravoslovju.

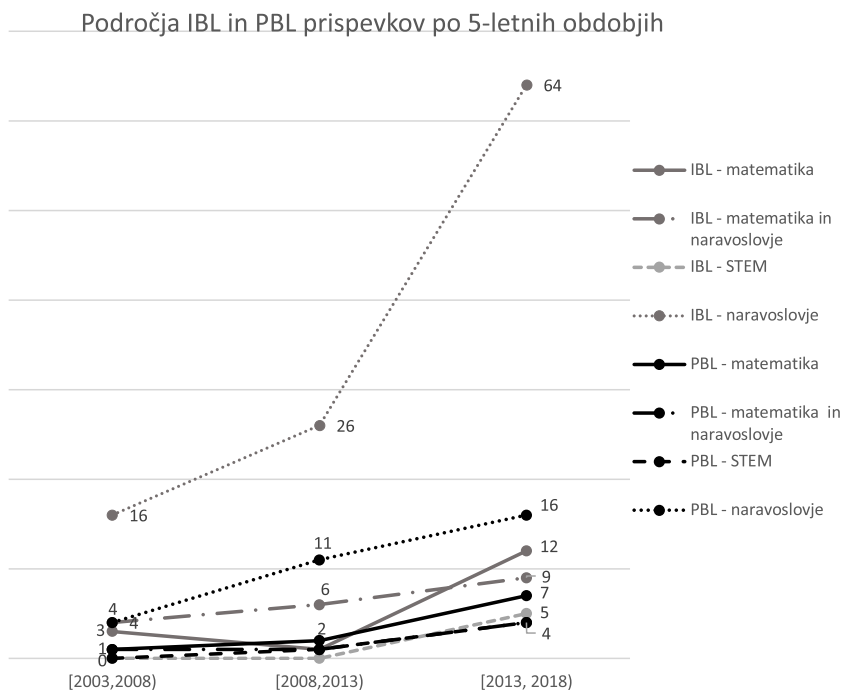
V 52 člankih najdemo besedno zvezo *problem-based*, ki se najpogosteje navezuje na *learning*, redkeje na *approach* in po enkrat na *education*, *strategies*, *activities*, *scenario math teaching*, *assessments*. Vsi se nanašajo na učni pristop, ki ga poimenujemo PBL, le en prispevek uporablja kratico PBL s poimenovanjem *project-based learning*. Kar 84,6 % prispevkov se sklicuje na ta pristop, a ta ni osrednja tema obravnave, prispevkov s pristopom kot osrednjo temo obravnave je le 15,4%. Večinoma je PBL omenjen v pozitivnem smislu ali nevtralnno kot konstruktivistično učenje, kjer je promovirano kritično razmišljanje, omogočeno samoregulacijsko učenje ali učenje, imenovano *science writing heuristics*, ki vključuje tako segmente IBL kot PBL. V negativnem smislu je PBL uporabljen v prispevkih le dvakrat, prvič omenjajo, da pri PBL študenti izkazujejo nižje osnovno znanje v medicini od tistih pri tradicionalnem pouku in da je PBL eden od na učenca osredotočenih učnih pristopov, kjer pri eksperimentalnem preučevanju nastopi mnogo nekonsistentnosti primerjalnih skupin. Med 52 prispevki je 19,2 % prispevkov na področju matematike, 11,6 % na področju matematike in naravoslovja skupaj, le 9,6 % pri STEM predmetih in 59,6 % na področju naravoslovja.

Oba pristopa imata največ obravnav na področju naravoslovja, vendar je pri IBL razmerje prispevkov iz naravoslovja in matematike 65 : 10, pri PBL pa 30 : 10. Pri PBL je večji delež matematike in področja STEM kot pri IBL, kjer je večji delež naravoslovja ter matematike in naravoslovja skupaj. Pri IBL je precej večji delež prispevkov, kjer je pristop osrednja tema obravnave, kot pri PBL, kjer je takih prispevkov malo.

Prispevke smo nato razdelili na petletna obdobja, da bi videli, kako se vrednosti spreminjajo po letih. Primerjava vrednosti po petletnih obdobjih na Sliki 2 kaže, da deleži prispevkov, kjer je učni pristop v osrednja tema obravnave, skorajda linearno naraščajo (prekinjeni črti). Polni črti na Sliki 2 nakazujeta, da število prispevkov o IBL kot neosrednji obravnavi v drugem petletnem obdobju upade, v zadnjem strmo naraste, pri PBL pa prispevki z neosrednjo obravnavo dokaj linearno naraščajo.



Slika 2. Trend osrednjih in neosrednjih obravnav po številu prispevkov v IJSME z IBL in/ali PBL.



Slika 3. Trend IBL in PBL objav po številu prispevkov v IJSME po področjih: samo matematika, samo naravoslovje, matematika in naravoslovje skupaj, STEM: matematika, naravoslovje, tehnika/tehnologija, inženirstvo (strokovni predmeti) skupaj.

Število prispevkov o IBL oziroma PBL po posameznih področjih z leti narašča, kot kaže Slika 3, razen področja matematike pri IBL, kjer število prispevkov v drugem petletnem obdobju pade s 3 na 1, potem pa naraste na 12 prispevkov v zadnjem petletnem obdobju. Povezovanje STEM predmetov z IBL ali PBL je trend zadnjega petletnega obdobja, a še to z malo prispevki (črtkani črti na Sliki 3). Najmanj hitro naraščajo prispevki z matematiko in naravoslovjem skupaj (črtkano-pikčasta črta na sliki), najhitreje pa naraščajo prispevki o IBL s področja naravoslovja, kjer je tudi daleč največ prispevkov, v zadnjem petletnem obdobju kar 64.

Analiza prispevkov, kjer je IBL ali PBL osrednja tema obravnave

Prispevke iz IJSME, kjer je IBL ali PBL osrednja tema obravnave, smo analizirali podrobneje. Pri vsakem prispevku smo ugotovili, na katerem področju učenja je dani pristop raziskan, na kateri stopnji izobraževanja, kakšna vrsta raziskave je izvedena in katera metoda raziskovanja je izpostavljena, delne izsledke smo predstavili v Drobnič Vidic, 2019. Nazadnje smo ugotovili, ali so udeleženci v raziskavi učenci, učitelji ali morda oboji.

Od skupno 73 raziskav, kjer je eden od preučevanih pristopov v središču obravnave, je matematika zastopana v štirih prispevkih, naravoslovje pa v 56 prispevkih, kar kaže Preglednica 4. Iz nje razberemo, da več kot polovica raziskav zajema osnovnošolski nivo izobraževanja, kvantitativne in kvalitativne raziskave so dokaj enakomerno zastopane, najpogosteje pa se avtorji poslužujejo kavzalno-neeksperimentalne metode, le en prispevek pa uporablja več metod raziskovanja. Zanimivo je, da so v več kot polovici raziskav kot preučevane osebe zastopani učitelji ali prihodnji učitelji.

Čeprav je prispevkov IBL učnega pristopa veliko več kot pristopa PBL, napravimo primerjavo med pristopoma. Naravoslovje je v obeh učnih pristopih raziskano v veliko večji meri kot matematika, ki pri PBL sploh ni zastopana, pri IBL pa je delež matematike le 6,2 % (Preglednica 4). Prav tako preglednica kaže, da sta matematika in naravoslovje kot skupno področje zastopana le pri IBL (12,3 %), pri PBL pa je dobro zastopano STEM področje (25 %). Glede nivoja izobraževanja je pri IBL izpostavljen osnovnošolski nivo v več kot polovici prispevkov, univerzitetni pa le v 18,7 %, medtem ko so nivoji pri PBL dokaj enakomerno porazdeljeni. Kvantitativne in kvalitativne raziskave so enakomerno zastopane pri IBL, pri PBL je več kvalitativnih raziskav. Pri obeh pristopih prevladuje kavzalno-neeksperimentalna metoda, ki najpogosteje vključuje študijo primera. Pri PBL so najpogostejši akterji v raziskavi učenci (62,5 %), pri IBL pa učitelji ali prihodnji učitelji, ki so preučevani v 55,4 % prispevkov.

Preglednica 4: Karakteristike osrednjih objav o IBL ali PBL.

Preučevana inovacija:	IBL	%	PBL	%	Skupaj	%
Področje preučevanja	65	100,0%	8	100,0%	73	100,0%
Matematika	4	6,2%	0	0,0%	4	5,5%
Matematika in naravoslovje	8	12,3%	0	0,0%	8	11,0%
STEM	3	4,6%	2	25,0%	5	6,8%
Naravoslovje	50	76,9%	6	75,0%	56	76,7%
Nivo izobraževanja	65	100,0%	8	100,0%	73	100,0%
Osnovna šola	38	58,5%	3	37,5%	42	57,5%
Srednja šola	15	23,1%	3	37,5%	18	24,7%
Univerza in več	12	18,4%	2	25,0%	13	17,8%
Vrsta raziskave	65	100,0%	8	100,0%	73	100,0%
Kvantitativna	27	41,5%	3	37,5%	30	41,1%
Kvalitativna	27	41,5%	5	62,5%	32	43,8%
Mix	11	16,9%	0	0,0%	11	15,1%
Raziskovalna metoda	65	100,0%	8	100,0%	73	100,0%
Kavzalno-eksperimentalna	16	24,6%	1	12,5%	17	23,3%
Kvazi kavzalno-eksperimentalna	9	13,8%	1	12,5%	10	13,7%
Kavzalno-nekspertimentalna	38	58,5%	6	75,0%	44	60,3%
Deskriptivna	1	1,5%	0	0,0%	1	1,4%
Nedoločeno	1	1,5%	0	0,0%	1	1,4%
Osebe preučevanja	65	100,0%	8	100,0%	73	100,0%
Učenci	21	32,3%	5	62,5%	26	35,6%
Učitelji ali prihodnji učitelji	36	55,4%	2	25,0%	38	52,0%
Učenci in učitelji	7	10,8%	1	12,5%	8	11,0%
Drugo	1	1,5%	0	0,0%	1	1,4%

Podrobnejša analiza prispevkov, povezanih z matematiko

Kljub obetavnemu številu IBL raziskav (65), kjer je učni pristop v središču preučevanja, ugotovimo, da ni veliko takih prispevkov, ki so povezani z matematiko. Z njo je povezanih 15 prispevkov, ki jih bomo podrobneje analizirali: 4 s področja matematike, 8 s področja matematike in naravoslovja skupaj ter tri s področja STEM, kjer se predmetoma pridruži

še tehnika / tehnologija in inženirstvo (oziroma strokovni predmeti). V Preglednici 5 so razvrščeni po letu objave, kjer prvi prispevek sodi v prvo petletno obdobje (Rogers et al., 2007), naslednji štirje pa v drugo petletno obdobje. Preučili bomo še 2 prispevka, ki imata v središču obravnave pristop PBL pri STEM predmetih.

Med IBL prispevki je v več kot polovici obravnavan osnovnošolski nivo matematike (v kombinaciji z naravoslovjem ali STEM predmeti), preostanek si dokaj enakomerno delita srednješolski in univerzitetni nivo, kar kaže Preglednica 5. Od prispevkov, ki smo jim dodelili osnovnošolski nivo izobraževanja, pa jih kar 5 sega še v srednješolski nivo. Dalje je med prispevki največ kvantitativnih raziskav, le 4 raziskave so namreč kvalitativne in 2 mešani. Samo v eni uporabijo kavzalno-eksperimentalno metodo (Dogan, 2012) in pri dveh kvazi kavzalno-eksperimentalno metodo, kjer preučujejo učinek eksperimentalnega faktorja s testom pred in po njem. Pri enajstih raziskavah uporabijo kavzalno-eksperimentalno metodo, od tega je 5 študij primera in 6 analiz vprašalnika, v eni raziskavi pa avtorji uporabijo opisno metodo. Kar 9 prispevkov je takih, kjer so osebe učitelji ali prihodnji učitelji, nato so trije prispevki, kjer so preučevane osebe učenci in enako število raziskav učiteljev in učencev skupaj. Prispevki so podrobneje opisani v Preglednici 5.

Od osmih prispevkov s področja matematike in naravoslovja skupaj le en prispevek interdisciplinarno vključuje obe področji v pouk (Wing Mui, 2013), pri enem preučujejo mnenja učiteljev obeh predmetov o smiselnosti in pogostosti vključevanja IBL v pouk (Marshall et al., 2009), pri ostalih prispevkih pa razvijajo vprašalnik (Marshall et al., 2010; Shore et al., 2012) ali izobražujejo učitelje na obeh področjih skupaj, a ni nujno, da snov pri IBL tudi interdisciplinarno povezujejo (Lotter et al., 2014; Rogers et al., 2007; Tuan et al., 2017; Turner et al., 2018). Osebe v raziskavi so vselej učitelji ali prihodnji učitelji, dvakrat ti skupaj z učenci.

Pri treh STEM področjih matematika med predmeti nikjer ni posebej izpostavljena. V raziskavi (Ibrahim et al., 2017) z MAVIES vprašalnikom ugotavljajo, v kolikšni meri se vključuje v STEM projekte matematično razmišljanje, obliko interdisciplinarne povezanosti STEM predmetov in delež samostojnega raziskovanja pri študiju na splošno. Thibaut in sodelavci (2019) preučujejo pomen osebnega prepričanja za izvedbo interdisciplinarnega povezovanja STEM predmetov z IBL ali PBL na belgijskih srednjih šolah, ena raziskava pa je opisna primerjava treh šol s PBL ali IBL STEM doktrino brez konkretnih interdisciplinarnih povezav (Lesseig et al., 2019).

Med štirimi prispevki iz samostojnega področja matematika s pristopom IBL so kar trije, ki vsebujejo konkretne primere srednješolskih

Preglednica 5: Prispevki o IBL v IJSME na področju matematike (skupaj z drugimi predmeti).

Področje	Skrajšan naslov	Kratek opis	Nivo	Vrsta	Metoda	Osebe	Število
NA:MA	Effective Professional Development in Science and Mathematics Education	Izboljšanje 3-tedenskega izobraževalnega programa z IBL-projektis segmenti PBL z vprašalnikom.	OŠ+SŠ	KVAL	NEEKS	Učitelji	47
NA:MA	K-12 Science and Mathematics Teachers' Beliefs About Use of Inquiry	Preverjanje smiselnosti in pogostosti uvajanja IBL v matematiko in naravoslovje z vprašalnikom.	OŠ+SŠ	KVAN	NEEKS	Učitelji	1222
NA:MA	The design and Validation of EQJIP: An Instrument to Assess IBL	Razvoj vprašalnika EQJIP o IBL na podlagi 102 učnih lekcij učiteljev in učencev z IBL-pristopom.	OŠ	KVAN	NEEKS	Učitelji	10+12
MAT	Emotion, confidence, perception and expectation case of mathematics	Preučevanje strahu in frustracij pri matematiki pri izvajanju polletnega IBL v OŠ ali brez njega.	UN	KVAN	EKS	Prihodnji učitelji	21+41
NA:MA	Planning, Enactment, and Reflection in IBL: Validating Questionnaire	Testiranje in analiziranje vprašalnika za IBL.	OŠ+SŠ	KVAN	NEEKS	Prihodnji učitelji	205
NA:MA	Connecting mathematics in primary science inquiry projects	Preučitev vključevanja matematike v naravoslovje v 72. skupinah učencev, ki sami izvajajo projekte.	OŠ	KVAN	NEEKS	Učenci	790
NA:MA	Building a Community of Practice around Inquiry Instruction	Enoletno izobraževanje v IBL programu s segmenti projektnega dela s PBL pristopom.	OŠ	MIX	KVAZI	Učitelji	49
MAT	Sociomathematical norms negotiating in the discussions	Sposobnost dijakov za izvajanje nevodnega IBL pri matematiki.	SŠ	KVAL	NEEKS	Učenci	6
MAT	Mathematical Practicing in Technological Setting	5-tedensko uvajanje IBL z dinamično geometrijo v področju matematike pri obravnavi lastnosti krožnic.	UN	KVAN	NEEKS	Prihodnji učitelji	10

Področje	Skrajšan naslov	Kratek opis	Nivo	Vrsta	Metoda	Osebe	Število
NA-MA	Investigating the Influence of ... Professional Development Course	Učinek 9-tedenskega IBL (zlastnostmi PBL) izobraževanja za učitelje matematike/naravoslovja.	SŠ	MIX	KVAZI	Učitelji	25
STEM	Teachers Roles, students personalities, Inquiry Learning Outcomes	Vprašalnik MAVIESo realizaciji IBL lastnosti (vloga učitelja, način spoznavanja snovi) pri STEM.	UN	KVAN	NEEKS	Učenci	85
NA-MA	Observing Inquiry-Based Learning Environments Using SIO Instrument	Vprašalnik učiteljem matematike in naravoslovja, ki izvajajo po dve lekciji z IBL in PBL projekti.	OŠ+SŠ	KVAN	NEEKS	Učitelji/ učenci	85
MAT	Developing Preservice Teachers Abilities to Modify Mathematical Tasks	Semestrsko preoblikovanje klasičnih matematičnih nalog v naloge z IBL pristopom bodočih učiteljev.	SŠ	KVAL	NEEKS	Bodoči učitelji	22
STEM	Teachers Attitudes Toward Teaching Integrated STEM	Pomen osebnega pripravljanja za vključevanje IBL, PBL in sodelovalnega dela za interdisciplinarni STEM.	SŠ	KVAN	NEEKS	Učitelji	263
STEM	An Analysis of Cultural Influences on STEM Schools: Similarities and Differences	Primerjava treh šol (OŠ nižji nivo, višji nivo in SŠ) učiteljev/ učencev, ki izvajajo mix IBL in PBLs STEM.	OŠ+SŠ	KVAL	DESKR	Učitelji/ učenci	/

nalog iz geometrijske snovi o krožnicah (Akyuz, 2016), iz snovi o limitah in odvodih (Partanen in Kaasila, 2015) in iz različnih učnih snovi od statistike do geometrije in funkcij (Lee et al., 2019). V slednjem prispevku ugotavljajo sposobnost prihodnjih učiteljev za preoblikovanje klasičnih nalog iz učbenikov v naloge za izvedbo IBL in podajo smernice za izboljšanje izobraževalnih programov na tem področju. Partanen in Kaasila (2015) preučujeta raziskovanje socioloških matematičnih norm pri raziskovanem učenju IBL dveh majhnih skupin dijakov, medtem ko Akyuz (2016) preučuje sposobnosti raziskovalnega učenja z dinamično geometrijo prihodnjih učiteljev matematike. Četrty prispevek je edini z eksperimentalno metodo eksperimentalne in kontrolne skupine, kjer preučujejo strah in frustracije pri matematiki z IBL in brez njega pri prihodnjih učiteljih matematike (Dogan, 2012).

Kot smo v prejšnjem razdelku pri analizi prispevkov z osrednjo temo IBL pristopa ugotovili, da so preučevane osebe najpogosteje učitelji in prihodnji učitelji, tudi konkretni primeri prispevkov, povezanih z matematiko v tem razdelku, kažejo, da je v tujini tendenca pripraviti učitelje na IBL in pripraviti instrumente za merjenje njegove učinkovitosti. Veliko prispevkov povezuje s pristopoma učitelje matematike in naravoslovja, redko pa interdisciplinarno povezujejo obe področji. V analizi raziskav smo opazili, da sta IBL in PBL pogosto povezana, saj se v petnajstih raziskavah, povezanih z matematiko, pri šestih omenja PBL skupaj z IBL (Lesseig et al., 2019; Lotter et al., 2014; Rogers et al., 2007; Thibaut et al., 2019; Tuan et al., 2017; Turner et al., 2018).

Imamo le 2 prispevka, kjer je PBL osrednja tema obravnave in je področje povezano z matematiko. Ta dva prispevka preučujeta področje STEM. Enega smo omenili že pri IBL, je edina opisna analiza s primerjavo treh šol z IBL ali PBL izvedbo pri STEM predmetih (Lesseig et al., 2019). V drugem prispevku preučujejo PBL učni pristop, ki ga imenujejo *project-based learning*, vendar se v njem srednješolci ukvarjajo z nestrukturiranimi problemi kot pri PBL (Han et al., 2015). Avtorji s kvantitativno kavzalno-eksperimentalno metodo primerjajo, kako tako učenje vpliva na boljše in slabše učence pri STEM predmetih.

Če vrednosti v Preglednici 5, navedene v tem razdelku, preračunamo v odstotke, ugotovimo, da so ti v vseh kategorijah zelo podobni odstotkom v zadnjem stolpcu Preglednice 4, ki kaže karakteristike prispevkov vseh področij v IJSME, tako matematike kot naravoslovja, večja razlika je le v količini kvantitativnih raziskav. Teh je skupno 41,1 % (Preglednica 4), pri prispevkih povezanih z matematiko, pa jih je 9, kar je v deležu 62,5 %, sorazmerno manj pa je kvalitativnih raziskav.

Zanimivo je, da od vseh teh prispevkov IBL ali PBL pristopov, povezanih s področjem matematike, le 5 prispevkov najdemo z iskalnikom *Wos* s ključnimi besedami *problem-based, inquiry-based in mathematics*, kjer smo opravili iskanje z namenom nadaljnjega preučevanja te tematike, čeprav iskalnik vključuje raznovrstne visokokakovostne revije s faktorjem vpliva, torej tudi revijo *IJSME*. Vzrok je nepojavljanje iskanih besed v povzetku, naslovu ali ključnih besedah, ki jih iskalnik preišče, lahko tudi drugačno poimenovanje omenjenih učnih pristopov, enkrat tudi iskana beseda, ki se ne pojavi v osnovni zapisani obliki, ali pa je vzrok novejši članek, saj na *Wos* pridejo prispevki z več kot enoletnim zamikom, mi pa smo obravnavali prispevke *IJSME* prek brskalnika SpringerLink takoj, ko so prišli na splet (še pred tiskano objavo).

Interpretacija rezultatov

Podatki prispevkov iz slovenske virtualne knjižnice kažejo, da se na Slovenskem ukvarjamo z IBL in PBL v 21. stoletju, saj je pred letom 2000 objavljenih le 11 prispevkov s področja IBL ali PBL od 199. Kratko lahko strnemo, da IBL v slovenski literaturi prevladuje z imenom raziskovalno učenje oziroma učenje z raziskovanjem v naravoslovju in ima v polovici primerov prevod *inquiry-based learning*, v polovici primerov drugačnega, a je pogosto brez angleškega prevoda. PBL prevladuje z imenom problem-sko (naravnano) učenje na drugih področjih, kot so medicina in tuj jezik stroke s prevladujočim prevodom *problem-based learning* v tujejezičnih prispevkih. V poimenovanjih učnih pristopov pa smo neenotni, saj uporabljamo tudi izraze preiskovalno učenje na področju matematike ali poizvedovalno učenje na področju tehnike oz. tehnologije in druge izraze za PBL, a nekoliko redkeje.

Medtem ko je v slovenskem brskalniku IBL pristop večinoma vezan na področje naravoslovja, je pristop PBL vezan na druga področja. Pri matematiki je procentualno PBL malo bolj zastopan kot IBL. Pri tehniki oz. tehnologiji se kaže največja razlika med številom objav za IBL najdenih prek slovenskih besednih zvez in objav, najdenih po angleški besedi. Razmerje med slovenskimi in tujejezičnimi prispevki je pri IBL okoli 10 proti 2 v korist slovenskih prispevkov, pri PBL pa je tujejezičnih prispevkov malo manj kot polovica. To morda nakazuje, da prispevki o PBL segajo v terciarno področje, ki je veliko bolj vpeto v tuj izobraževalni prostor kot ostala področja.

Z nekoliko neobičajno študijo literature smo pridobili vpogled v uvajanje IBL in PBL na področje matematike na tujem. Osredotočili smo se na revijo, ki enakovredno objavlja prispevke s celotnim besedilom na področju izobraževanja matematike in naravoslovja, pri kateri smo

ugotavljali zastopanost posameznega pristopa na področju matematike glede na naravoslovje. Prispevke z IBL in PBL pristopom smo ločili po petletnih obdobjih. Oba učna pristopa se pogosto omenjata kot primera dobre prakse na področju matematike in na področju naravoslovja, toda člankov, ki imajo PBL kot osrednjo temo obravnave, je veliko manj kot tistih z IBL. Učna pristopa sta v naravoslovju pogosteje zastopana kot v matematiki, a se v odstotkih matematika nekoliko bolj pogosto omenja pri PBL kot pri IBL (ne pa tudi poglobljeno obravnava). Lahko rečemo, da se na področju matematike pristop PBL omenja pogosteje kot IBL, vendar je potem manj konkretnih realizacij. To niti ne preseneča, saj je PBL pristop precej bolj zahteven tako s stališča zahtev, kot s stališča učiteljevih priprav in aktivnosti učencev. Naraščanje števila prispevkov po petletnih obdobjih, ki ima enega od obravnavanih pristopov za osrednjo temo obravnave, nakazuje, da sta pristopa obetavna na vseh obravnavanih področjih, najbolj pa to velja za IBL na področju naravoslovja. Prav tako je trend zadnjega petletnega obdobja vpeljava enega od pristopov interdisciplinarno na področje STEM.

Pregled prispevkov, ki imajo IBL ali PBL kot osrednjo temo obravnave, se sklada s teoretičnimi izhodišči, da se IBL najpogosteje omenja na področju naravoslovja, vpeljava tja je precej bolj pogosta kot v matematiko (podobno smo ugotovili tudi s slovenskim pregledom). Prav tako je število prispevkov skladno s teoretičnimi karakteristikami, da se IBL najpogosteje obravnava na osnovnošolskem nivoju, pri PBL pa univerzitetni nivo sicer ni najbolj zastopan, kot navajajo teoretični izsledki, a enakovredno nastopa z ostalima nivojema. Analiza tudi nakazuje, da so pri IBL vrste raziskav enakomerno zastopane, pri PBL prevladuje kvalitativna statistična analiza. Morda temu botruje težavno eksperimentalno primerjanje PBL s tradicionalnim poukom, kar smo prebrali kot negativno kritiko v enem izmed IJSME prispevkov. Pri obeh pristopih pa je malo eksperimentalnih raziskav v primerjavi z neeksperimentalnimi. Pri IBL so najpogostejše osebe v raziskavi učitelji ali prihodnji učitelji, pri PBL pa učenci. To nakazuje, da se pri IBL bolj osredotočajo na učiteljeve priprave na drugačno izvedbo pouka kot pri PBL, kjer so učitelji pogosto samouki.

Podrobnejša analiza tistih prispevkov, ki segajo na področje matematike, ponovno nakazuje, da posvečajo raziskovalci pri IBL veliko pozornosti izobraževanju učiteljev in njihovi pripravi na drugačen pristop učenja in poučevanja. Učitelje in prihodnje učitelje matematike in naravoslovja izobražujejo v posebnih izobraževalnih programih za realizacijo IBL v pouk ali z njimi preverjajo instrumente za merjenje učinkovitosti IBL. Pri vključevanju IBL v STEM je matematika zaenkrat bolj v imenu kot v dejanski interdisciplinarni povezavi, pa tudi povezav matematike z

naravoslovjem skorajda ni, saj gre le za skupne napore učiteljev enega in drugega področja za realizacijo IBL. Zanimivo pa je, da najdemo v tistih maloštevilnih prispevkih, ki IBL uvajajo v čisto matematiko, tudi konkretne primere problemov.

Skoraj polovica prispevkov, povezanih s področjem matematike, poleg IBL pristopa vključuje tudi karakteristike PBL pristopa ali omenja tudi ta pristop, kar ne nasprotuje teoretični domnevi, da je IBL krovni pristop in lahko vsebuje tudi PBL, kar najbrž tudi pripomore k večji zastopanosti krovnega pristopa v prispevkih (Preglednica 5).

Zaključek

Poimenovanje na pedagoškem področju v slovenskem jeziku je občutljiva dejavnost, saj področje združuje raziskovalce različnih strok in izobraževalnih nivojev, ki poimenovanja pogosto oblikujejo po lastnih zamislih. Prav zaradi neenotnosti poimenovanj in zahtevne slovenske slovnice pa je iskanje objav določenega učnega pristopa zahtevno, kar slovenske raziskovalce na pedagoškem področju bolj ločuje kot pa združuje. Že tako majhno slovensko jezikovno področje po našem mnenju ne potrebuje posebnega izrazoslovja učnega pristopa pri različnih predmetih. Na podlagi najdenih poimenovanj slovenske literature bi se odločili za enotno imenovanje *raziskovalno (naravnano) učenje: RNU* za IBL ter *problemsko (naravnano) učenje: PNU* za PBL, kar pa bi moralo biti usklajeno in odobreno s strani strokovnjakov s področja didaktike. Beseda v oklepaju nakazuje, da je to učni pristop, ki se v kurikulum uvaja kontinuirano daljše časovno obdobje.

Izvedena raziskava slovenske in tuje literature ima precej omejitev, ki jih je treba izpostaviti. Prvič: zaradi izpostavljenega neenotnega poimenovanja pristopov učenja oz. poučevanja je nemogoče obravnavati vsa poimenovanja za omenjena pristopa in tako povedati, kolikšen del na temo navezujočih se prispevkov je sploh bil analiziran. Iskanja nismo usmerili na problemsko ali raziskovalno orientirano učenje oz. poučevanje na primer (ang. *problem-oriented learning, inquiry-oriented learning*), ki se tudi pojavlja pri nas in v svetu (prim. Rahayu et al., 2011; Woods, 2014). Prav to smo v prispevku želeli tudi poudariti, saj bi enotno poimenovanje učitelju, ki želi neko inovacijo vpeljati v prakso, zelo olajšalo delo. Pri slovenski literaturi so poleg pestrega nabora poimenovanj še dodatne težave, saj vse slovenske objave niso vodene elektronsko. Pri pregledu tuje literature smo se omejili na pregled ene same visokokakovostne revije, in sicer IJSME, kar je tudi treba dodati med omejitve. Vendar pa menimo, da nam je uspelo s to selekcijo realno predstaviti delež objav obeh pristopov na področju matematike in naravoslovja. Ta omejitev področja na naravoslovje in

matematiko je precej zmanjšala število zadetkov, saj je ta selekcija izločila mnoge prispevke, pri katerih bi bila lahko celovita slika splošne uporabe pristopov drugačna. Seveda pa to ni bil naš namen. Za vpogled v prispevke z enim od omenjenih učnih pristopov za področje matematike bi bilo smiselno v prihodnje analizirati prispevke celotne baze *Wos* ali *Scopus*, kjer bi dobili več zadetkov uporabe samo na področju matematike.

Ker je PBL s svojimi karakteristikami – delo v majhnih skupinah, spoznavanje nove snovi preko interdisciplinarnih problemov, samostojnost učencev pri iskanju novi informacij in učiteljeva vloga tutorja – težje izvedljiv kot IBL, je vsaj v fazi vpeljevanja v pouk matematike IBL enostavnejši, bolj prilagodljiv trenutnim zahtevam kurikulumu in prijaznejši učiteljem. Pri realizaciji obeh ne gre pozabiti, da to ni učna metoda, ki jo vpeljemo v pouk le enkrat v delu učne ure, ampak gre za dolgoročno tendenco učitelja, da neka nova situacija (pojav, problem, projekt) sproži pri pouku aktivnosti in razmišljanje učencev, ki na podlagi predznanja, radovednosti in učiteljeve podpore sprašujejo, odgovarjajo in pridejo do novih spoznanj na konstruktivistični način. Ko se želimo kot učitelji pripraviti na novo vlogo usmerjevalca pri IBL ali PBL, bomo našli veliko tuje literature o IBL, pri iskanju materiala za delo učencev pa nam pogosto pomagajo prispevki o PBL z realnimi problemi, saj ti pri pouku matematike pogosteje kot naravni pojavi oziroma situacije izzovejo matematične aktivnosti, kot je reševanje problemov.

Tako IBL kot PBL omogočata interdisciplinarno povezovanje matematike z drugimi predmeti, kar je priporočilo v naših učnih načrtih in kar smo zaznali kot trend zadnjega petletnega obdobja v tuji literaturi predvsem pri povezovanju STEM predmetov (Slika 3). Vsebinski pregled tuje visokokakovostne revije s področja matematičnega in naravoslovnega izobraževanja pa pokaže, da je manj prispevkov, ki bi prikazali dolgoročno realizacijo pristopa na interdisciplinarnem področju matematike in naravoslovja s konkretnim materialom (naloge, problemi), več je analiz razvoja instrumentov za merjenje učinkovitosti pristopa in splošnih izobraževalnih programov za učitelje, kar je zaslediti v zadnjih letih tudi pri povezovanju STEM predmetov. Specifični pregled literature nam tudi kaže, da imamo učitelji pri iskanju kvalitetnih prispevkov, ki bi nam pomagali pri lastni vpeljavi pristopa, težave. Mnogi kvalitetni prispevki v ključnih besedah, naslovu ali povzetku nimajo zapisanega imena za dani pristop oziroma poimenujejo pristop drugače kot večina raziskovalcev (Wing Mui, 2013) ali nimajo zapisane iskane besede v pravi slovnični obliki (Partanen in Kaasila, 2015), zato taki prispevki z običajnim iskanjem ne dosežejo ciljne populacije. Prav zato moramo tudi v slovenskem jeziku skrbno izbirati

besede za pedagoške pristope, saj le tako s svojim prispevkom informiramo ciljno publiko, ki si tega želi.

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PRILOGA

Primer PBL / IBL problema in predvidenega postopka reševanja (prirejen iz Drobnič Vidic (2005) za dijake)

Število rezervacij za sedež na letalu. *Ameriško letalo, ki leti na relaciji New York – Boston, ima na voljo 120 sedežev. Navadno vsak, ki se želi peljati na omenjeni relaciji, najprej v agenciji rezervira sedež na letalu. Napravljenih je lahko največ 120 rezervacij. Ker pa je ta linija zelo obremenjena, so večinoma vsa mesta na letalu zapolnjena z rezervacijo sedeža. Seveda tisti, ki je sedež rezerviral, lahko pride na letalo, ali pa ne. V povprečju 5 % ljudi, ki rezervirajo sedež na letalu, v resnici ne pride na letalo zaradi tega ali onega razloga. Zato so se v agenciji, ki organizira lete na tej relaciji, odločili, da bodo sprejemali 126 rezervacij namesto 120 rezervacij za let na omenjeni relaciji. Razmisli, zakaj po tvojem mnenju je agencija ravnala tako in utemelji, ali je ravnala prav!*

Nestrukturirani problem sproži pri pouku matematike s PBL uvajanje diskretne slučajne spremenljivke in učenje njenih lastnosti po obravnavi verjetnostnega računa. Reševanje problema poteka po modelu 7 korakov v skupinah po 4-6 učencev in učiteljem kot usmerjevalcem skupin v dveh učnih urah (dveh fazah).

I. FAZA 1. korak: *Razjasnite pojme ali koncepte, ki niso razumljivi! Pri branju problema učenci pogledajo, če so jasni vsi pojmi. Stavek »V povprečju 5 % ljudi, ki rezervirajo sedež na letalu, v resnici ne pride na letalo zaradi tega ali onega razloga.« lahko interpretiramo kot »Verjetnost, da oseba, ki rezervira sedež, ne pride na letalo, je enaka 5 %.«.*

2. korak: *Povejte s svojimi besedami, kaj problem zahteva!* »Želimo ugotoviti, zakaj je agencija začela sprejemati natanko 126 rezervacij namesto 120 rezervacij in ali je s tem ravnala prav.« bi se lahko glasilo vprašanje v problemu.

3. korak: *Kakšna rešitev ali postopek reševanja vam najprej pade na pamet? (deževanje idej)* Deževanje idej pomeni, da v skupini učenci vse ideje, ki se jim porodijo v glavi, tudi povedo. Učenci lahko pridejo tudi do idej, da stevardese odstopijo sedež, če je treba, da je najbrž 6 pilotov in stevardes skupaj... Pogosto učenci, ki se učijo bolj površinsko, poskušajo kar sestaviti rešitev s številkami, ki so na razpolago, zato se pri deževanju idej lahko pojavi tudi ideja: »...zato, ker je $120 \cdot 0,05$ natanko 6«. Toda, ko poskušajo nato ugotoviti, kaj ta izračun sploh pomeni in ali je agencija ravnala prav, tak preprost račun ne zadošča. Zato je potrebno vsa razmišljanja nekako zapisati in urediti.

4. korak: *Spisek možnih razlag oziroma natančnejša analiza reševanja.* Učiteljski skupinam učencev lahko s podvprašanji pomaga do spoznanj:

- da sta po rezervaciji vsakega sedeža le dve možnosti: da oseba pride na letalo ali ne,
- da je vseh sedežev 120 ($n = 120$) in toliko rezervacij,
- da je verjetnost dogodka A, da osebe kljub rezervaciji ni na letalo, enaka $p = P(A) = 0,05$,
- da je verjetnost negacije dogodka A, da oseba ne pride na letalo, enaka $1 - p = 0,95$.

Ker se pri vsaki rezervaciji lahko zgodi le dogodek A ali njegova negacija in predpostavimo, da so dogodki za rezervacije neodvisni, lahko učenci uporabijo Bernoullijev obrazec za izračun števila neodvisnih poskusov v zaporedju enakih poskusov: $P(k) = \binom{n}{k} p^k (1-p)^{n-k}$.

Po Bernoullijevem obrazcu učenci izračunajo, da je verjetnost, da natanko ene osebe ni na letalo s 120 sedeži ($k = 1$), enaka 0,013. Učitelj nato lahko vpraša (če se učenci ne vprašajo sami): »Ali lahko izračunamo, kolikšna je verjetnost, da dveh oseb, ki sta rezervirali sedež, ni na letalo?« »Verjetnost, da treh oseb ni?« ...«...da šestih oseb ni?« Lahko si razdelijo delo in vsak učenec v skupini izračuna nekaj vrednosti po Bernoullijevi formuli. Zapišejo preglednico z izračunanimi vrednostmi in morda ob pomoči učitelja ugotovijo vse vrednosti, ki jih preglednica vsebuje. Pogosto se namreč zgodi, da učenci pozabijo na število 0, ali pa ne vedo, katero je teoretično največje možno število oseb, ki rezervirajo let, a ne pridejo na letalo. Nato učitelj pove, da se omenjena preglednica z vsemi možnimi vrednostmi k in pripadajočimi izračunanimi verjetnostmi $P(k)$ imenuje *verjetnostna shema* za slučajno spremenljivko X, ki je odvisna od slučaja. *Slučajna spremenljivka X* je lastnost, ki jo v problemu preučujemo. V našem primeru je to število oseb, ki kljub rezervaciji sedeža na letalu s 120 sedeži ne pride na letalo.

5. korak: *Oblikovanje učnih ciljev*. Učenci po izračunanih nekaj vrednostih skupaj z učiteljem določijo cilje:

- zapisati celotno porazdelitveno shemo za X (to lahko storijo s funkcijo BINOM.DIST s programskim paketom Excel),
- predstaviti verjetnostno shemo s primernim prikazom,
- poiskati v literaturi čim več lastnosti dane slučajne spremenljivke X (vrsta, diskretnost, vsota verjetnosti v verjetnostni shemi, matematično upanje, disperzija),
- izračunati tabelo za letalo z namišljenimi 126 sedeži.

II. FAZA 6. korak: *Pridobivanje informacij zunaj skupine*. Naloge izpolnjevanja preglednice in prikazovanja tako imenovane binomske slučajne spremenljivke in preučevanja lastnosti si lahko učenci tudi razdelijo in jih opravijo izven pouka. Vse omenjene izračunane karakteristike nato pri pouku združijo, zapišejo in jih predstavijo, ter izračunajo tudi za slučajno spremenljivko Y , ki meri možno število ljudi na namišljenem letalu s 126 sedeži.

7. korak: *Poročanje, sinteza, preverjanje pravilnosti novih informacij (interpretacija)*. Ko učenci dobijo vse rezultate, ugotovijo, da je 6 vrednost slučajne spremenljivke z največjo verjetnostjo in hkrati matematično upanje $E(X) = np = 6$ te slučajne spremenljivke X . Vendar nam matematično upanje ne pove vsega o slučajni spremenljivki. Pomemben je tudi standardni odklon (koren disperzije). V našem primeru sicer ni preveč velik (2,4), saj je $D(x) = npq = 5,7$ toda dovolj, da se v veliko izidih dogodi neljuba situacija, ko potnik nima svojega sedeža. Verjetnost, da bo letalo z namišljenimi 126 sedeži preveč polno, je enaka 39 %, kar je zelo veliko. S takšnim ravnanjem si bo agencija kmalu nakopala nezadovoljstvo potnikov in verjetno agencija s 126 rezervacijami ni storila prav. Za zaključek lahko podamo primer, zakaj je binomska spremenljivka tako pomembna in da je približek za normalno slučajno spremenljivko, ki je zvezna.

Pri IBL z enakim problemom vpeljemo novo snov: diskretne slučajne spremenljivke. Uporabimo cikel petih E-jev z aktivno uporabo diskusije s celotnim razredom, del učne ure pa učenci lahko delajo tudi v parih ali manjših skupinah ali individualno.

1. *Opazovanje situacije / seznanitev s problemom (ang. ENGAGE)*. Pri branju problema učenci pogledajo, če so jasni vsi pojmi. Učitelj izzove učence, kako bi drugače zapisali stavek: »V povprečju 5 % ljudi, ki rezervirajo sedež na letalu, v resnici ne pride na letalo zaradi tega ali onega razloga.« Sprašuje jih, kaj želimo ugotoviti? Povejte s svojimi besedami!

2. *Raziskovanje situacije / problema (ang. EXPLORE)*. Učitelj učencem lahko s podvprašanji pomaga do spoznanj:

- da sta po rezervaciji vsakega sedeža le dve možnosti: da oseba pride na letalo ali ne,
- da je vseh sedežev 120 ($n = 120$) in toliko rezervacij,
- da je verjetnost dogodka A, da osebe kljub rezervaciji ni na letalo, enaka $p = P(A) = 0,05$,
- da je verjetnost negacije dogodka A, da oseba ne pride na letalo, enaka $1 - p = 0,95$.

Kaj se po posamezni rezervaciji lahko zgodi? Ali so dogodki za odpoved rezervacij neodvisni? Kako računamo verjetnosti pri zaporedju neodvisnih poskusov, kjer nas zanima le dogodek A? Kolikšna je verjetnost, da natanko ene osebe ni na letalo s 120 sedeži ($k = 1$)? Ali lahko izračunamo, kolikšna je verjetnost, da dveh oseb, ki sta rezervirali sedež, ni na letalo? Verjetnost, da treh oseb ni? ...da šestih oseb ni? Se lahko zgodi, da nihče klub rezervaciji ne pride na letalo? Učitelj učencem lahko razdeli delo in vsak učenec (v skupini) izračuna nekaj vrednosti po Bernoullijevi formuli. Zapišejo preglednico z izračunanimi vrednostmi in morda ob pomoči učitelja ugotovijo vse vrednosti, ki jih preglednica vsebuje. Pogosto se namreč zgodi, da učenci pozabijo na število 0, ali pa ne vedo, katero je teoretično največje možno število oseb, ki rezervirajo let, a ne pridejo na letalo. Ne sprašuje le učitelj, ampak postavljajo vprašanja tudi učenci.

3. *Razjasnitve pojava ali rešitve problema (ang. EXPLAIN)*. Učitelj pove, da se omenjena preglednica z vsemi možnimi vrednostmi k in pripadajočimi izračunanimi verjetnostmi $P(k)$ imenuje *verjetnostna shema* za slučajno spremenljivko X, ki je odvisna od slučaja. *Slučajna spremenljivka X* je lastnost, ki jo v problemu preučujemo. V našem primeru je to število oseb, ki kljub rezervaciji sedeža na letalu s 120 sedeži ne pride na letalo. Učenci po izračunanih nekaj vrednostih (skupaj z učiteljem)

- zapišejo celotno porazdelitveno shemo za X (to lahko storijo s funkcijo BINOM.DIST s programskim paketom Excel),
- predstavijo verjetnostno shemo s primernim prikazom,
- določijo vsoto verjetnosti v verjetnostni shemi,
- skupaj z učiteljem določijo matematično upanje, disperzijo, standardni odklon.

4. *Zapisovanje spoznanj, argumentiranje in predstavitev (ang. ELABORATE)*. Naloge izpolnjevanja preglednice in prikazovanja tako imenovane binomske slučajne spremenljivke in preučevanja lastnosti si lahko učenci tudi razdelijo. Vse omenjene izračunane karakteristike nato združijo, zapišejo in jih predstavijo. Izračune in nova spoznanja ponovijo na novi situaciji: na slučajni spremenljivki, ki meri verjetnosti na letalu z namišljenimi 126 sedeži. Ko učenci dobijo vse rezultate, ugotovijo, da je 6 vrednost slučajne spremenljivke

z največjo verjetnostjo in hkrati matematično upanje $E(X) = np = 6$ te slučajne spremenljivke X . Vendar nam matematično upanje ne pove vsega o slučajni spremenljivki. Pomemben je tudi standardni odklon (koren disperzije). V našem primeru sicer ni preveč velik (2,4), saj je $D(x) = npq = 5,7$ toda dovolj, da se v veliko izidih dogodi neljuba situacija, ko potnik nima svojega sedeža. Verjetnost, da bo letalo z namišljenimi 126 sedeži preveč polno, je enaka 39 %, kar je zelo veliko. S takšnim ravnanjem si bo agencija kmalu nakopala nezadovoljstvo potnikov in verjetno agencija s 126 rezervacijami ni storila prav.

5. *Ocena opravljenega dela (ang. EVALUATE)*. Učenci ocenijo pomen uvažanja diskretne slučajne spremenljivke, zakaj je binomska spremenljivka tako pomembna in da je približek za normalno slučajno spremenljivko, ki je zvezna.

Recenziji · Reviews

Gillett-Swan, Jenna, Coppock, Vicki (ed.). *Children's Rights, Educational Research and the UNCRC: Past, Present and Future*. United Kingdom: Symposium Books Ltd, 2016.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is among the most ratified human rights treaties in human history. As one of the critical initiatives in the field of children's rights, the CRC provides a legal framework that wishes to uphold the protection and further development of children's rights internationally. Seeing that children spend most of their formative years in education, it is crucial to ensure that the educational practices in use are consistently in line with the CRC and its guidelines. Following ratification of the CRC, the work continues throughout various organisations such as the 2014 European Conference on Education Research, which give rise to further debates within the academic forum.

A round-table discussion inspired by the 2014 European Conference on Education Research saw the publication of "*Children's Rights, Education and the UNCRC past, present and future*", which critically analyses contemporary issues surrounding the CRC and children's rights. In its seven chapters, the authors explore multiple themes of the CRC and engage in critical discussions over the implementation of several of its aspects. By providing diverse contexts and case studies from scholars in Australia, Finland, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom, the text may be seen as a valuable introductory collection of scientific papers for education research in the CRC context.

In the first chapter, John I'Anson presents readers with a comprehensive historical analysis of children's rights and educational research within

the CRC framework. The chapter is divided into four subparts that address various key themes concentrated around educational research in the area of children's rights.

By highlighting the importance of the 'voice' and 'participation' phenomena in contemporary research on children's rights, the author acknowledges that the *notion* of 'voice' is problematic since it itself derives largely from '*Western individualism*', showing that it is essential to pay attention to the complexity of children's geographies in which children's right to participation is upheld.

By understanding that the legal entity of the framework comes with obligations, I'Anson presents a series of arguments in which he acknowledges important tensions in research practice. The argument is directly linked to children's rights and cultural contexts in which research is conducted, thereby suggesting an argument for research to be characterised by the interpretation of children's rights and the sociology of childhood as a universal category with its own ethical issues and challenges.

Written by Louise Gwenneth Phillips, the second chapter starts with an outline of Article 42. The author emphasises the deficient implementation of the "human right" to education in children's lives by presenting a historical narrative in which the lack of children to possess any "status" derives from the notion in which children are seen as "property of parents or guardians" given the philosophical context in which children's rights have been perceived sociologically.

Noting the development in which we see the CRC as an internationally recognised legislative framework, Phillips states that the CRC still largely remains "unknown to adults and children" although positive actions in the form of international programmes and national initiatives have emerged as part of the CRC, like the UNICEF Child Friendly Schools programme and the National Curricula and Policy for Children and Young People.

The third chapter is written by Nina Thelander and somewhat continues on from Phillips' idea of international initiatives leading to positive outcomes through her analysis of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (HRE) as an introduction to her study of HRE in Swedish primary schools. The chapter provides a practical examination of the dual implications of children's rights to education; first, education *as* a human right and, second, education *for* human rights.

The concept of HRE is explored by Thelander in great detail, ranging from how the right itself is conceptualised in society to how the right is executed and delivered by international organisations like the UN. Implementation of the CRC, Thelander argues, led to a shift in how we

think about childhood and children's rights during a period in which sociology and children's rights became a topic of research.

Moving the focus over to the development of international and local policies regarding HRE, the text examines the experiences of two Swedish teachers. The decentralisation of the school system in Sweden arguably allowed for the development of a school curriculum which provides an insight into the obstacles faced by educators with respect to educational implementation of the CRC.

Written by Reetta Niemi, Kristiina Kumpulainen and Lasse Lipponen, Chapter four gives an excellent example of the long-standing tradition of recognising children's rights to agency and votes in Finland. Empirical data presented in the chapter were gathered in a primary classroom community with children aged 7 to 13. The authors collocated their analysis to three models of participation, followed by the introduction to the Finnish National Core Curriculum and their understanding of the concept of participation.

The study has incorporated various theoretical models to further reflect on the varying results of measuring participation. The developed methodology showcases how certain legislative aspects of the CRC can be implemented in classroom-based practices.

The article also emphasises other relevant ethical considerations such as standards of responsibility, transparency methods and inability of anonymity. Yet, the research *consistently* shows that important factors are involved when talking and examining participation since participation in school is never free from standardised curricula or official laws and acts.

The fifth chapter presents a practical examination of how socioeconomic status and precariousness can deprive a child of the right to citizenship. Authors Joana Lúcio and Fernando Ilídio Ferreira explore this theme by considering the implications of the 2008 economic recession in Portugal. In their analysis, the authors examine the subject matter extensively via the lens of the welfare state mechanism in terms of continuing the implementation of children's rights.

It is revealed throughout the study that austerity led to a reduction in state-provided economic support for families, which directly impacted family well-being. This in turn created hardships which actively put children at-risk-of-poverty and social exclusion, while directly affecting access to and measures of provision, protection and participation.

The study gives a clear example of how important it is for educators to prepare for "teaching" children's rights in line with participation and citizenship. The data gathered in the context of a research project investigating components of the curriculum of the Institute of Technical

Education revealed that the knowledge possessed by educators is largely 'theoretical', leaving educators incapable of explicitly identifying instances where the CRC is respected and enforced. As such, the results show the extent in which educators are unprepared to implement the CRC and the need to reinforce the social and cultural dimension of ITE (Initial teacher education) which potentially, if combined together, can act as a protective mechanism against the vulnerabilities children face.

In the sixth chapter, Gordon Tait and Mallihai Tambyah present analysis of an Australian case study which showed that, despite the CRC being one of the most ratified conventions in the world, it faces many challenges in being implemented in national frameworks, stating three main reasons for that; governmental, legal and definitional.

Taking the concept of privacy into consideration, the authors critically assess and question Rengel's (2013) restatement of the foundational through an essential understanding of privacy with a cultural and historical connection. The authors dig deeper into the subject matter by discussing introduction to childhood as one of the most regulated spaces and reflecting on its tension in triangulation within children and the concept of privacy at home and at school.

Tait and Tambyah offer insights into the surveillance and privacy of the student population, with important considerations concerning personal surveillance and big data in the era of increased tech globalisation. Their study examines aspects of moral panic over the concept of sexuality and public liability in the educational sphere as regards privacy. It reflects on how educational facilities are exposed to civil actions in cases of negligence and personal injury, thus reflecting on the zones of pupil privacy equating directly with zones of economic and personal risk.

The authors provide readers with an in-depth discussion of the lack of legal implementation of the CRC through the example of the UNCRC having no legal repercussions if it is not upheld – thereby reflecting on the limited scope of the implementation of international legal frameworks. The case study in which Australian law in this regard is examined reflects the above-mentioned.

In the final chapter, Jenna Gillett-Swan and Vicki Coppock examine how the UNCRC can act as a tool for shaping further research and methodologies in the development of policies for children's rights. They recognise new-age digitalisation as a tool which can pose both challenges and opportunities while also discussing the complexity of participation and access as key to furthering the development of children's rights. Crucially, this emphasis on how increased digitalisation has changed the

space in which children learn and develop is presented as the main focus of the study, with each author discussing issues like privacy and safety.

The study also highlights how the UNCRC acts as a framework for contextualising children's rights, reflecting on how the UNCRC can be used for the purposes of continued upskilling educators in the discussion on children's rights, ethics and online safety with further implementation of Articles 13 and 17 of the CRC.

The volume as a whole provides readers with insightful themes and discussions on issues surrounding children's rights and the UNCRC as a policy. The book acts as an introductory guide for policymakers in the field of education and sociology. The concept of childhood is introduced and presented in a sensible and cohesive manner.

The chapters all present diverse articles on numerous topics that introduce the reader to historical, thematic and contextual discussions concerning the CRC and its implications. Despite limited case studies which focus on selected countries, the book recognises the importance of educators, classroom environments and guardians in the sphere of the CRC and can act as a starting point for further research on children's rights within interdisciplinary approaches and methods.

The book allows the reader to see the concept of children's rights as an idea that stretches beyond the classroom and is influenced and affected by culture and economics. The conclusion brings together the resonating aspects of each chapter, before introducing an epilogue which draws out some of the key findings of educational research concerning children's rights.

If one is to consider Nietzsche, as quoted by l'Anson in the first chapter, "...counter to our time and thereby action on our time and, let us hope, for the benefit of a time to come" resonates deeply with the scope of action in which the book can act as a stepping stone.

Pascale Emily Pečnik

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Hyslop-Margison, Emery J., Thayer, James, *Teaching Democracy: Citizenship Education as Critical Pedagogy*. Rotterdam, Boston and Taipei: Sense Publishers, 2009.

"There is no escaping the world we now live in" is a statement that is true when participatory democratic decision-making is removed from the realm of public policy formation (Hyslop-Margison and Thayer, 2009, p.

37). This trend is seen increasingly today in various societal government intrusions in the era of the 'new normal'. Even though the book *Teaching Democracy* was published over a decade ago and should be read with its critical theory glasses on, it seems that in the current world its message that transformative citizenship education is needed is more relevant than ever. The latest trends in capitalism (neo-liberalism and hyper-globalisation) and dominant characteristics of societies across the world (rise of populist movements, racism, migrations and increasing human rights breaches) continue to transform our lives and societies that suit the image of the market (Heggart et al., 2018). We are facing a pandemic that is heavily tied to globalisation, consumerism and ecology. This is shown, for example, in the use of face masks that on one side are becoming a fashion trend and ways of promoting businesses and popular culture personas and, on the other, a tool of politics for controlling people around the world. The pandemic is a product of the global movement of people and goods, especially unsustainable tourism, overcrowding, transport, unnecessary business and scientific meetings and so on (Adam, 2020b). The description given by the book's authors applies today more than ever: "These are extremely tenuous times for modern democratic states and for democracy more generally as the international community has drifted dangerously towards a monolithic vision of the socially possible" (Hyslop-Margison and Thayer, 2009, p. xvi).

Today, children are bombarded with ideological messages designed to persuade them that appearance, wealth and conspicuous consumption influence self-worth and social status. Schools have a big role to play in teaching citizenship to our children, but what exactly do they teach? Do they aim to create critical citizens or simply loyal followers who will vote every 4 years and remain passive political participants? It seems the latter prevails since the dominant educational agenda is oriented to teaching children to fit with a predetermined 'social reality' that excludes students as future citizens from meaningful political participation. 'To obey and fit the model' is taught as the best strategy. The book *Teaching Democracy* aims to challenge such school curricula and proposes a model of citizenship education that borrows heavily from critical theory insights. It intends to both inform and empower future citizens to participate actively in social design and reconstruction (Hyslop-Margison and Thayer, 2009, p. xvii). More concretely, the book has two main aims. First, it wishes to articulate the threat to democracy by the current citizenship education approaches which promote passivity, compliance and protect the status quo. Second, it wishes to provide a way out of this anti-democratic trap and change those critiques into concrete political actions by providing (in

the authors' words) an "ideal pedagogical approach to appropriately educate our students as future democratic citizens" (Hyslop-Margison and Thayer, 2009, p. xviii).

The book is divided into five chapters. The first chapter discusses the current threats to democratic citizenship posed by the "monolithic and globally pervasive ideology of neo-liberalism" (Hyslop-Margison and Thayer, 2009, p. 1). Democratic choices are difficult, if not impossible when citizens are unable to imagine possible social, economic and political alternatives. The authors reveal how neo-liberal education programmes have exploited many of the tools of critical discourse and turned them into instruments of exploitation. In the second chapter, the authors begin to articulate their vision of what they understand as meaningful democratic citizenship. They review a range of existing international conceptions and policies related to the field and say that denying students the critical exploration of social realities is not simply anti-democratic but anti-educational and morally reprehensible. In the third chapter, the authors look for arguments for critical pedagogy, providing the necessary praxis to restore the democratic rights of students, workers and all citizens to participate fully in the organisation and restructuring of democratic societies. They review several contemporary international citizenship models and objectives and show how the majority of policies fall within the 'thin model' of citizenship that is discursively focused on the market economy and consumer objectives.

In the fourth chapter, the authors illustrate how critical theory can transform traditional notions of citizenship and citizenship education by reviewing perceived threats to formal political participation and analysing why these ideas and solutions are presently inadequate. By focusing on the work of critical theorists like Pierre Bourdieu, Zygmunt Bauman, Anthony Giddens and Jurgen Habermas, they develop a case for a programme of thick democratic citizenship. Education has a critical role to play in bringing about changes in the rapidly altering material conditions of a society that require an active political response originating in both the education and civil realms. "As such, a program that educates for citizenship and democratic participation within the context of global capitalism must re-evaluate what it means to participate as a citizen, to belong to a community, and reflect on the need to empirically and theoretically elucidate emerging models of citizenship and democracy based on these understandings" (Hyslop-Margison and Thayer, 2009, p. 95). Citizenship education based on critical theory is embedded within a transformative framework that views democratic citizenship and society as fluid, dynamic and flexible.

In the last, fifth chapter, the authors discuss the current state of understanding democratic citizenship by focusing on the example of various Canadian curriculum policy documents, which reveal differing understandings of what citizenship means and how it is manifested in curriculum development. They reveal that the majority of citizenship programmes are developed as a result of increased government attention to what constitutes a 'good' citizen – someone who possesses certain predisposed knowledge, often including banal historical facts about national history and electoral/legislative processes and uses this information in a certain prescribed fashion. Such a citizen is usually obedient and compelled to vote in elections when his civic duty allows him to do so. The passive stance adds to the growing sense of alienation so commonly seen in today's societies among many young voters who understand that their political choices amount to no real choice at all. On the contrary, the engaged democratic citizen does more than just occasionally cast a vote, he/she is engaged in a full-time endeavour that involves seeking new knowledge and constantly reflecting on that knowledge. He/she is constantly engaged in public debate, actively participating in their community by volunteering or engaging in various forms of political activism. A 'good citizen' is also an effective, dedicated and efficient worker who understands their fundamental right to form and join labour unions and create change in workplace conditions. Citizenship education based on critical pedagogy considers society and citizenship as dynamic, fluid and contestable constructs where fundamental social change is both imaginable and practically possible. Here, formal political processes are only one of the possible forms of political participation. In such an education, students are equipped with critical thinking tools, which amongst others involves discussions around globalisation, neo-liberalism, international trade agreements and their impact on their way of life.

Despite its occasional utopian rhetoric, the book is highly relevant for today's reflections on the state of citizenship education and discussions about active citizenship and critical thinking pedagogy. The pandemic is a clear sign of a civilization crisis in which the triangle created between globalisation, consumerism and sustainable development is defined by capitalist and market processes and trends (Adam, 2020a). The abolition of the capitalist production and regulatory system cannot solve the problems of civilisation, which are more deeply rooted in individualistic and consumer (acquisitive) behaviour. The pandemic crisis has taught us that a less wasteful consumer model and lifestyle is possible and that the old model which was indifferent to nature and balanced social development is no longer easy to replicate. As the authors of the book conclude, we should

teach all of our students the basics of the electoral process, the role of various government bodies and departments, stress the importance of voting, the importance and need for active political and social participation and to critically reflect on past and current national and international political and economic actions.

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Maja Dolinar

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Raziskovanje med politiko in znanostjo v zadnjih štirih desetletjih: poročilo z okrogle mize ob izteku raziskovalne poti prof. dr. Darka Štrajna

Urška Štremfel

Ob formalnem izteku raziskovalne poti posebno pozornost namenimo cenjenemu kolegu prof. dr. Darku Štrajnu, dolgoletnemu glavnemu in odgovornemu uredniku Šolskega polja. Njegovo bogato raziskovalno pot je ob prejemu priznanja za življenjsko delo na področju raziskovanja vzgoje in izobraževanja za leto 2018 Komisija za podelitev priznanj Pedagoškega inštituta in Slovenskega društva raziskovalcev na področju edukacije (SLODRE) strnila tako (Pedagoški inštitut, 2018).

Predstavitev raziskovalnega dela prof. dr. Darka Štrajna

Dr. Darko Štrajn je s svojim delom na Pedagoškem inštitutu in širše pomembno zaznamoval polje vzgoje in izobraževanja v Sloveniji. Leta 1986 je postal direktor Pedagoškega inštituta, kjer je kot direktor deloval do leta 1993, za tem pa je na inštitutu postal raziskovalec. V času, ko je bil direktor, se je Slovenija začela dogovarjati in tudi vstopila v mrežo mednarodnih primerjalnih raziskav Mednarodne organizacije za raziskovanje učinkov v izobraževanju (IEA), ki so pomembno vplivale na oblikovanje smernic reforme šolstva v devetdesetih letih. S tem je Pedagoški inštitut, ki v asociaciji zastopa Slovenijo, pod vodstvom dr. Darka Štrajna postal polnopravni član organizacije IEA, ki združuje preko 60 držav. Pedagoški inštitut še vedno tesno sodeluje z omenjeno mednarodno organizacijo in se vključuje v mednarodne primerjalne raziskave znanja ter s tem skrbi za neodvisno zunanjo evalvacijo dela osnovnošolskega in srednješolskega sistema v Sloveniji.

Leta 1993 je dr. Darko Štrajn opustil funkcijo direktorja in se posvetil raziskovalnemu delu. V svojih projektih na inštitutu se je osredotočal

predvsem na študij funkcioniranja izobraževanja v družbenem kontekstu. Z vzpostavitvijo raziskovalnih programov, financiranih s strani Agencije RS za razvoj in raziskovanje, je kar tri zaporedna petletna obdobja vodil matični raziskovalni program inštituta z naslovom »Edukacijske raziskave« in ga vzpostavil kot pomembno referenco na tem področju. Leta 2004 je bil program »Edukacijske raziskave« (P5-0106), pod njegovim vodstvom, po mnenju ARRS med najuspešnejšimi v Sloveniji (<http://www.arrs.gov.si/sl/progproj/rprog/gradivo/inc/Naj-razisk-prog-2004.pdf>). Vseskozi pa se je ob svojem znanstveno-raziskovalnim delom in skozi njega izkazoval kot izjemen družbeno angažiran intelektualec.

Doslej je izdal pet monografij, prispeval številna poglavja v monografijah in, poleg številnih prispevkov in medijskih pojavljanj, objavil preko sto raziskovalnih člankov in esejev. Je tudi soavtor več učbenikov s področja državljske vzgoje in etike. Njegova celotna bibliografija je dostopna na https://bib.cobiss.net/bibliographies/si/webBiblio/bib201_20201204_220027_09436.html.

V času ključne šolske reforme (1996–1999) je bil član Nacionalne kurikularne komisije. V vsem času svoje profesionalne dejavnosti je sodeloval na mnogih mednarodnih srečanjih (Velika Britanija, Francija, Švedska, Nemčija, Italija, Nizozemska, Portugalska, Kitajska, Južna Koreja, ZDA, Poljska ...). Leta 1998 je za štiri mesece obiskal Amsterdam School of Cultural Analysis (ASCA), posebno enoto podiplomskih študijev na amsterdamski univerzi. Občasno predava na različnih fakultetah Univerze v Ljubljani (Filozofska, Pedagoška, Fakulteta za družbene vede), redno pa na Fakulteti za podiplomski humanistični študij (ISH) v Ljubljani (sedaj AMEU-ISH). Na tej fakulteti je bil v začetku l. 2009 izvoljen v naziv rednega profesorja.

V svojem delu dr. Darko Štrajn s povezovanjem različnih ved in/ali področij vednosti ter z ohranjanjem tematske širine utrjuje vez s tradicijo pedagogike in hkrati vez s sodobnimi dogajanja v mednarodnem raziskovalnem prostoru. Njegov teoretski opus je izjemno širok in obsežen. Zanimajo ga tako teoretski premiki v vzgoji in izobraževanju kot tudi dinamika šolskih reformnih procesov. Koncept »družbe znanja« je v problematičnem postneoliberalnem kontekstu izraziteje postal predmet njegove kritične refleksije. V družbeni realnosti ugotavljamo stabilizacijo šolskega sistema in kurikulov ter prve indikacije načrtovanj novih obsežnejših šolskih reform s pričetkom okoli l. 2020, kar edukacijskim vedam postavlja zahteve, da na novo premislijo in postavijo izhodišča, koncepte in projekcije v dolgoročnem smislu. Znanstveni in raziskovalni dosežki dr. Štrajna so torej raznoliki in kažejo na poudarjeno interdisciplinarno profiliranost. Odziv strokovne javnosti in širšega okolja na delovanje dr.

Darka Štrajna se kaže v številnih povabilih za njegovo sodelovanje z drugimi raziskovalnimi sredinami in obenem javnimi nastopi, pa tudi z vključevanjem v uredniške odbore znanstvenih revij. Nastopal je na vrsti konferenc z znanstveno-raziskovalnimi prispevki, pogosto pa se pojavlja tudi v različnih medijih s strokovnimi prispevki, poljudnimi članki, intervjuji.

Dr. Darko Štrajn se torej izkazuje kot izjemno ploden raziskovalec na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja, ki ga interdisciplinarno povezuje z drugimi vedami, in kot družbeno angažiran intelektualec, ki si s svojim delom – znanstvenim in strokovnim – kontinuirano prizadeva za izboljšave na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja ter na drugih področjih družbenega življenja.

Poročilo z okrogle mize

Ob formalnem izteku raziskovalne poti dr. Darka Štrajna je Slovensko društvo raziskovalcev na področju edukacije (SLODRE) 5. 12. 2019 organiziralo okroglo mizo, v središču katere so bili razmisleki o odnosu med znanostjo in politiko na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja, ožje, kako se ta odnos razvija skozi čas, kaj nanj vpliva in kaj se lahko naučimo iz obdobja preteklih 40 let.

Okroglo mizo je kot izraz spoštovanja in hvaležnosti do kolega dr. Darka Štrajna organiziral in vodil ddr. Zdenko Kodolja, na njej pa so sodelovali tudi dr. Slavko Gaber, mag. Marjan Šetinc, dr. Tatjana Vonta ter dr. Pavel Zgaga. Ugledni gostje, s katerimi je dr. Darko Štrajn sodeloval na svoji formalni raziskovalni poti, so svoje misli in poglede o sodelovanju med znanostjo in politiko na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja črpali iz svojih bogatih izkušenj ter temeljnih filozofskih izhodišč tega sodelovanja.

V uvodnem nagovoru se je dr. Darko Štrajn iz perspektive sodelovanja znanosti in politike spominjal svoje raziskovalne poti. Socialistično reformo vzgoje in izobraževanja s t. i. usmerjenim izobraževanjem je izpostavil kot začetek dileme med vzgojo in izobraževanjem kot procesom posredovanja znanja na eni strani in usposabljanja za poklice na drugi strani. Družboslovno-humanistična intelektualna elita tistega časa je do usmerjenega izobraževanja kot usposabljanja za poklice in odmika od šole kot posredovalke znanja in kulture imela številne strokovne zadržke. Pedagoški inštitut je le-te jasno izrazil z organizacijo simpozija o vsestransko razviti osebnosti. Čeprav je ta po oceni govorca sicer predstavljal epistemološki preboj v slovenskih vedah v vzgoji in izobraževanju, je hkrati sprožil spor s takratno vladajočo oblastjo, katerega rezultat je bila skorajšnja ukinitvev Pedagoškega inštituta. Začetek njegovega direktorovanja Pedagoškemu inštitutu leta 1986 so zato zaznamovali negotovi časi,

kasnejše obdobje v času osamosvajanja Slovenije pa je mogoče razumeti kot čas demokratizacije, poudarjenega pristopa od spodaj navzgor in avtonomnosti Pedagoškega inštituta. Za ta čas je značilno tudi širjenje njegovih dejavnosti na izvajanje mednarodnih raziskav znanja ter vzpostavljanje interdisciplinarnega znanstvenega raziskovanja na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja. Čeprav so bili po osamosvojitvi postavljeni trdni temelji, na katerih izobraževalni sistem v Sloveniji sloni še danes, dr. Darko Štrajn meni, da je nastopil čas novih reform, za katere je potreben politični in širši družbeni konsenz, ter novih paradigem v raziskovanju vzgoje izobraževanja. Tudi v tem času pa odnos med znanostjo in politiko predstavlja pomemben in nikoli razrešen izziv.

Dr. Pavel Zgaga je v svojem prispevku spomnil, da sta znanost in politika tudi neizbežno prepleteni, demoniziranje politike in idealiziranje znanosti pa ne predstavlja prave poti njunega razumevanja. Rečemo celo lahko, da se je politika (predvsem z razvojem na podatkih temelječega odločanja) poznanstvenila in znanost politizirala, ob naraščanju populizma pa prihaja tudi do situacij, ko se znanosti ne verjame več. Izpostavil je, da je sodelovanje med znanostjo in politiko v različnih javnih politikah, zgodovinskih obdobjih in nacionalnih okoljih specifično, tako je treba misliti in razumeti tudi sodelovanje med znanostjo in politiko na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja v zadnjih štiridesetih letih v Sloveniji. Zanj je do določene mere značilno prehajanje akterjev med znanstveno in politično sfero, predvsem pa je zanj značilna odsotnost t. i. oblikovalcev politik (eng. policy makers), oziroma pozitivne weberjanske birokracije kot posrednika med znanostjo, ki ne nosi politične odgovornosti za pravilne/napačne politične odločitve, ter visoko politiko, ki se na stroko (lahko tudi) ne spozna.

Dr. Slavko Gaber je spomnil, da je bil v času osamosvojitve Slovenije dosežen družbeni konsenz o tem, da bomo pri postavitvi izobraževalnega sistema delovali drugače od dotedanjih praks. Pri tem ne gre zanemariti pomena dolgega zorenja idej, številnih diskusij in tudi nestrinjanj. Hkrati pa je odločitev politike za vednost, znanje in znanost pomenila, da njenih podatkov ni bilo več mogoče spregledati. Izpostavil je, da je nemogoče postaviti (vzgojno-izobraževalni) sistem, ki bo večno deloval, pomembno pa mu je dati temelje, da se lahko razvije in smiselno upravlja. Pri tem sta temeljna naklonjenost in vzajemno pripoznavanje znanosti in politike potrebna in ključna.

Dr. Tatjana Vonta je predstavila začetke t. i. akcijskega raziskovanja na področju predšolske vzgoje v Sloveniji. To je predstavljalo pomemben premik od deskriptivnih raziskav, ki so ugotovljale obstoječe stanje na področju predšolske vzgoje, k intenzivnejšemu sodelovanju in oblikovanju

inovacij skupaj s praktiki. Takšna poglobljena oblika sodelovanja s praktiki v Centru za kakovost v vzgoji in izobraževanju Korak za korakom, katerega dolgoletna vodja je bila dr. Tatjana Vonta, poteka še danes. Izpostavila je, da so njeno 42-letno kariero raziskovalke na Pedagoškem inštitutu zaznamovala tudi obdobja izrazito pomanjkljivega financiranja raziskav, čeprav je bil njihov pomen s strani politike pripoznan, ter menjave 11 direktorjev in direktoric.

Mag. Marjan Šetinc se je spomnil začetkov mednarodnih sodelovanj (npr. UNESCO, ERA), ki so zaznamovala raziskovalno delo v obdobju osamosvajanja Slovenije. Podrobno je pojasnil začetke izvajanja mednarodnih raziskav znanja v Sloveniji, ki jih je motivirala želja po zunanjem vpogledu v stanje vzgoje in izobraževanja. Prva izvedena raziskava leta 1989 je pokazala velike razlike v znanju dijakov in dijakinj na področju matematike in naravoslovja med slovenskimi šolami ter prinesla t. i. zunanje dokaze ter podlage, da je treba nekaj storiti in spremeniti.

Ddr. Zdenko Kodelja je odnos med znanostjo in politiko v zadnjih štiridesetih letih na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja v Sloveniji opisal kot nihanje med dvema ekstremoma – političnim voluntarizmom, ki je določal šolske reforme (npr. usmerjeno izobraževanje), ter vsaj deklarativnim sklicevanjem šolskega ministra oziroma ministrice na na podatkih temelječe odločanje. Poudaril je problematičnost prepletanja teh dveh ekstremov v obliki, da se skuša z raziskavami legitimirati politični voluntarizem, ter v tem pogledu izpostavil pomen sodelovanja znanosti in politike že v začetni fazi oblikovanja politik. Izmed omejitev na podatkih temeljčega odločanja, sicer izhajajočega iz anglosaškega sveta, je izpostavil arbitrarnost politike pri tem, kaj so tisti (znanstveni) rezultati, ki zanj veljajo, in dejstva, na podlagi katerih bo izvajala svoje politike. Čeprav politične odločitve lahko izhajajo iz dejstev, je treba upoštevati, da politika končne odločitve vedno sprejme sama na podlagi vrednostnih sodb, zanje pa nosi tudi politično odgovornost in posledice. Kot omejitev na podatkih temeljčega odločanja lahko razumemo tudi neenotnost stroke o tem, kaj je na določenih področjih in v določenih situacijah ključno. Pri tem na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja na primer lahko prihaja do konceptualnih naspotij med raziskovalnimi trendi, med t. i. tradicionalisti in inovatorji, med zagovorniki različnih metod in tudi med zagovorniki različnih idej o arhitekturi šolskega sistema. Iz navedenega razloga je pomembno, da se tudi z vzgojo in izobraževanjem ne ukvarja ena sama znanstvena disciplina, ki bi določala prave strokovne rešitve, temveč da se politika snuje in izvaja v skladu s spoznanji različnih strok.

Izkušnje, ki so jih sogovorniki in sogovornica nabirali v specifičnem in pomembnem zgodovinskem momentu desetletje pred in tri desetletja

po osamosvojitvi Slovenije, predstavljajo nepredstavljivo dragoceno podlago za razmisleke o odnosu med znanostjo in politiko na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja danes in v času, ki sledi. Okrogla miza je v tem pogledu prinesla mnogotera spoznanja, med katerimi naj izpostavimo nedokončnost razmerij med znanostjo in politiko ter pomen družbenega in političnega konsenza pri uvajanju šolskih reform. Nenazadnje je okrogla miza prinesla tudi uvid v dragocenost kontinuiranega profesionalnega sodelovanja s somišljeniki, v krogu katerih je cenjeni kolega dr. Darko Štrajn formalno zaključil svojo raziskovalno pot, ki pa se v resnici intenzivno nadaljuje.

Vir

Pedagoški inštitut (2018) Predstavitev nagrajenca, dr. Darka Štrajna, prejemnika Priznanja za življenjsko delo na področju raziskovanja vzgoje in izobraževanja za leto 2018. Spletna stran: <https://www.pei.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Strajn.pdf> (pridobljeno 15.4.2020).

Zoe Moody

OTROKOVE PRAVICE DO, V IN Z IZOBRAŽEVANJEM: IZZIVI IN PRILOŽNOSTI

Otrokove pravice v izobraževanju so soočene s številnimi izzivi njihovega uresničevanja kot tudi s priložnostmi, ki jih na to področje prinašajo spremembe v družbi in izobraževanju. Prvič, globalni izziv je zagotavljanje dostopa do kakovostnega izobraževanja vsem otrokom, ne glede na njihove značilnosti, kot so spol, migrantski status, invalidnost, socialno-ekonomski status, etnično poreklo, govoren jezik doma itd. Drugič, izziv šole 21. stoletja je učinkovito izvajanje Konvencije Združenih narodov o otrokovih pravicah (1989) – ne glede na to, ali to predstavlja zaščito otrok pred diskriminacijo in nasiljem ali ustvarjanje okolja medsebojnega razumevanja in sprejemanja ali spodbujanje učenja, ki temelji na participativni pedagoški praksi in strukturah za večjo socialno pravičnost. Nenazadnje, izziv, s katerim se sooča področje izobraževanja danes in se bo še toliko bolj v prihodnosti, je, kako otrokom omogočiti, da postanejo resnični nosilci sprememb, sposobni odgovoriti na izzive globaliziranega – kompleksnega in raznolikega sveta, ter pri tem spoštovati pravice vseh.

Članek na podlagi raziskovanja večdimenzionalnih odnosov med otrokovimi pravicami in izobraževanjem podaja globalno sliko področja skozi prizmo različnosti, participacije in družbenih sprememb. V tem pogledu naslavlja otrokove pravice do, v in z izobraževanjem. Opredeljuje glavne ovire za dostop do izobraževanja po svetu, preučuje ustvarjanje inkluzivnega in s pravicami podprtega šolskega okolja ter razpravlja o transformativni razsežnosti izobraževanja o otrokovih pravicah.

Ključne besede: otrokove pravice, izobraževanje, različnost, participacija, družbene spremembe

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS TO, IN AND THROUGH EDUCATION: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Children's rights in education incorporate many challenges in terms of both implementation and the pedagogical and social change opportunities they bring. First, ensuring access for all to quality education, regardless of characteristics like gender, migrant status, disability status, socio-economic status, ethnic background, family language etc., is a global concern. Second, effective implementation of the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) in schools – whether protecting them from discrimination and violence or creating a spirit of mutual understanding and acceptance, or fostering learning based on participatory pedagogies and structures for greater social justice – remains a challenge for the 21st century school. Finally, the ambition to enable children to become genuine agents of change capable of responding to today's challenges in a globalised world, in all its complexity and diversity, while respecting the rights of all, raises many questions which the field of education faces now and will increasingly do so in the future.

Exploring the multidimensional relationships between children's rights and education, this article aims to give a clear picture of the field globally, through the prism of diversity, participation and social transformation as challenges for research and practice. Its aims are threefold: addressing the right of the child *to, in and through* education. First, the main obstacles to accessing education worldwide are identified; the issue of producing an inclusive, rights-infused environment in schools is then examined; finally, the transformative dimension of education and rights-education is discussed.

Keywords: children's rights, education, diversity, participation, social transformation

Suzana Kraljić

URESNIČEVANJE IN ZAŠČITA OTROKOVIH PRAVIC DO IZOBRAŽEVANJA

Konvencija Združenih narodov o otrokovih pravicah, sprejeta leta 1989, je prvi mednarodni zavezujoči instrument, ki otroke izrecno priznava kot človeška bitja s prirojenimi pravicami. Konvencija določa otrokove pravice na vseh področjih njihovega življenja; eno od teh področij predstavlja izobraževanje. Upoštevač pomen izobraževanja za kratko-, srednje- in dolgoročno blagostanje otrok se članek osredotoča na izvajanje in zaščito

pravice do izobraževanja, kot izhaja iz Konvencije in drugih pomembnih mednarodnih pogodb. S pregledom izbranih odločb Evropskega sodišča za človekove pravice pa izpostavi problematiko kršenja otrokovih pravic do izobraževanja. Posebna pozornost je namenjena tudi posledicam, ki jih ima pandemija COVID-19 na pravice otrok do izobraževanja.

Ključne besede: pravica do izobraževanja, mednarodne pogodbe, Evropsko sodišče za človekove pravice, omejitve, pandemija COVID-19

Suzana Kraljić

IMPLEMENTATION AND PROTECTION OF THE CHILD'S RIGHT TO EDUCATION

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted in 1989, becoming the first international binding instrument to explicitly recognise children as human beings with innate rights. The Convention on the Rights of the Child sets out children's rights across all areas of their lives, including education. Given that education is crucial for the short-, medium- and long-run well-being of every child, the main stress is on implementing and protecting this right in important international human and children's rights treaties. The author highlights problems arising from selected cases of infringements of children's right to education, especially in ECtHR decisions. In the last section, attention is paid to the COVID-19 crisis and its impact on children's right to education.

Keywords: right to education, international treaties, ECtHR, limitations, COVID-19 crisis

Jelena Vranješević

KONVENCIJA O OTROKOVIH PRAVICAH IN ODRASLOST: KAKO RAZGRADITI MIT?

Podoba otroka v Konvenciji o otrokovih pravicah je opredeljena s tako imenovano 3-P formulo, ki vključuje zaščito, zagotavljanje in participacijo. Medtem ko zaščita in zagotavljanje otrokovih pravic s stališča odraslih nista sporna, saj sta skladna s prevladujočo podobo otroka kot nezrelega, nepopolnega in pasivnega objekta skrbi in zaščite odraslih, je del formule, ki predpostavlja participacijo otroka pri uresničevanju njegovih/njenih pravic, veliko bolj kontroverzen. Participacija opredeljuje otroka kot subjekta pravic ter proaktivnega partnerja v procesih (so)oblikovanja njegove/njene lastne družbene realnosti. Medtem ko se zaščita in zagotavljanje osredinjata na potrebe otroka, participacija uvede koncept kompetenc/razvijajočih se sposobnosti, ki otroku omogočajo aktivno vključenost v vse odločitve, ki ga/jo zadevajo, in tako spodkopava obstoječi režim

resnice o podobi otroka. Članek razpravlja o obstoječih režimih resnice in t. i. samoumevnih in popolnoma neprevpraševanih predpostavkah, ki predstavljajo močno podlago za upravičenje in ohranjanje odraslosti z vidika zatiralnih praks do otrok ter potencialov Konvencije o otrokovih pravicah v procesu njihove dekonstrukcije. Participacija, interes in razvijajoče se sposobnosti otrok so obravnavani kot način dekonstrukcije odraslosti in predpostavk na katerih le-ta temelji.

Ključne besede: Konvencija o otrokovih pravicah, participacija, interes otrok, razvijajoče se sposobnosti

CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD AND ADULTISM: HOW TO DECONSTRUCT A MYTH?

The image of the child in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is represented by the 3-Ps formula (protection, provision and participation). The first two Ps are not debatable from an adult point of view since they are in tune with the prevailing image of the child as the immature, incomplete and passive object of adults' care and protection (as future adults). Yet, the participation part of the formula is much more controversial. Instead of the child as the object of rights, participation introduces the image of a child as the subject of rights, a (pro)active and competent partner in the process of (co)construing his/her own social reality. While the protection and provision narratives focus on needs, participation introduces the concept of competencies/evolving capacities that enable children to be actively involved in all decisions that might affect them, thus opposing the dominant "regimes of truth" with respect to the child's image. This article discusses the regimes of truth, i.e. assumptions that are taken for granted and totally un-questionable, which constitute a powerful basis for justifying and maintaining the *adultism* – the oppressive practices towards children as well as the potential of the CRC in the process of deconstructing those oppressive practices. Participation, the best interest of the child, and the concept of evolving capacities will be discussed as a way to deconstruct the adultism and the assumptions on which it rests.

Keywords: CRC, adultism, participation, the best interest of the child, evolving capacities

Marjan Šimenc in Zdenko Kodelja

URESNIČEVANJE PRAVICE DO IZOBRAŽEVANJA V SLOVENIJI

Prispevek na kratko predstavi uresničevanje pravice do izobraževanja v Republiki Sloveniji, kot izhaja iz Konvencije o otrokovih pravicah. Uvodoma opozori na poseben status pravice do izobraževanja, ki ni samo

pravica otrok, temveč tudi odraslih. Poleg tega je pravica do izobraževanja tesno povezana z uresničevanjem vseh drugih pravic. Prispevek predstavi splošen pregled uresničevanje pravice glede na opredelitve 28. in 29. člena Konvencije. Nato pa predstavi nekaj uresničevanja konvencije na izbranih področjih. Gre za izobraževanje romskih otrok, kvaliteto znanja, zasebno šolstvo. Na kompleksnost problematike uresničevanja pravice romskih otrok do izobraževanja je večkrat opozorjeno v mednarodnih poročilih Republike Slovenije o uresničevanju konvencije. Manj jasno pa je, da je tudi kvaliteta znanja, ki ga dobijo učenci v šoli, moment, ki ga je mogoče obravnavati iz zornega kota konvencije. Prispevek tudi analizira ureditev zasebnega šolstva: to je področje izobraževanja, ki je bilo v Sloveniji deležno največjih sprememb v obdobju po sprejemu Konvencije o otrokovih pravicah, analiza pa pokaže, da je ureditev taka, da v celoti zadošča zahtevam, ki so zapisane v Konvenciji.

Gljučne besede: Konvencija o otrokovih pravicah, izobraževanje, romski otroci, kvaliteta znanja, zasebno šolstvo

THE REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA

The article presents the realization of the right to education, as set out in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in the Republic of Slovenia. At the outset, attention is drawn to the special status of the right to education, which is not only the right of children, but also adults. Moreover, the right to education is closely linked to the realization of all other rights. This article presents a general overview of the implementation of rights according to Articles 28 and 29 of the Convention. Then it outlines the problems with the implementation of the Convention in selected areas. The main points are related to the education of Roma children, the quality of knowledge, private education. The complexity of the problem of the realization of the rights of Romani children to education has been repeatedly pointed out in international RS reports on the implementation of the Convention. It is not so obvious, however, that the quality of the knowledge received by students in schools is also an aspect that should be considered from the perspective of the Convention. This article analyses the regulation of private schools: this is the area of education in Slovenia where the biggest normative and factual change has occurred in the period after the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The analysis shows that the arrangement is such that it satisfies the requirements set forth in the Convention.

Keywords: Convention on the Rights of the Child, education, Romani children, quality of knowledge, private education

Urban Boljka, Jasmina Rosič in Tamara Narat

KDO ODLOČA? ODLOČEVALCI IN OPAZOVALCI V PROCESIH (NE)PRAVIČNE PARTICIPACIJE V SLOVENSKIH OSNOVNIH ŠOLAH

V prispevku obravnavamo neenakosti pri uveljavljanju pravice do participacije v osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji. Osredotočamo se predvsem na participacijo otrok v različnih participativnih praksah, kot so razredne skupnosti, ki jih zastopajo predstavniki razredov, šolske skupnosti, ki jih v ponekod zastopajo predstavniki šol, Otroški parlament itd. Naše ugotovitve temeljijo na podlagi tematske analize 16 fokusnih skupin s 166 otroki in kažejo, da so predstavniki razredov in udeleženci forumov najpogosteje izbrani na podlagi njihovih osebnostnih lastnosti (zgovorni otroci, ki so aktivno vključeni v razne šolske in obšolske dejavnosti, otroci z zglednim vedenjem, ki so zagnani, samostojni, zanesljivi, zaupanja vredni ter priljubljeni med sošolci in učitelji) in/ali na podlagi njihovih visokih izobrazbenih dosežkov. Ti otroci imajo navadno boljše sposobnosti kot drugi otroci in načeloma izhajajo iz družin, ki niso socialno-ekonomsko prikrajšane. Nasprotno, učenci iz družin z nizkim socio-ekonomskim statusom in s socio-kulturnim ozadjem, otroci z vedenjskimi, čustvenimi in učnimi težavami ne dobijo priložnosti za aktivno sodelovanje in so (v najboljšem primeru) zgolj zastopani. Z uporabo Rawlsove konceptualizacije pravičnosti (1971, 1999) in pristopa pripoznavanja (Fraser, 2001) ocenjujemo, ali je mogoče ureditev in prakso participacije otrok v šolah v Sloveniji oceniti kot pravično. Ocenjujemo, da je ureditev participacije otrok v osnovnih šolah, upoštevajoč prvi pristop, pravična (pod določenimi pogoji), upoštevajoč drugi pristop k razumevanju pravičnosti pa ne. Čeprav imajo načeloma vsi otroci pravico do participacije, obstoječa ureditev ne zagotovi enakih možnosti za sodelovanje ranljivejših skupin otrok in ne enakih rezultatov participacije.

Ključne besede: participacija otrok v osnovni šoli, neenakosti, tematska analiza, egalitarni liberalizem v izobraževanju, pristop pripoznavanja

Urban Boljka, Jasmina Rosič and Tamara Narat

WHO CALLS THE SHOTS? THE INSIDERS AND OUTSIDERS OF (UN)JUST PARTICIPATION IN SLOVENIAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The article deals with inequalities in exercising the right to participate in elementary schools in Slovenia. We chiefly focus on the participation of children in various participatory practices such as class communities represented by class representatives, school communities in some cases represented by school representatives, the Children's Parliament etc. Our

findings (based on thematic analysis of 15 focus groups with 157 children) show that class representatives and forum participants are most often selected based on their personality traits (eloquent children actively involved in class and outside school activities, children with exemplary behaviour who are driven, independent, reliable, trusted and popular among classmates and teachers) and/or their high educational attainment. They are perceived to have better opportunities and talents than other children and, in principle, come from families which are not socio-economically deprived. On the contrary, pupils from disadvantaged socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, children with behavioural, emotional and learning difficulties do not receive the opportunity to actively participate and are (at best) merely represented. Using both the Rawlsian approach to the conceptualisation of justice (1971, 1999) and the recognition approach (Fraser, 2001), we assess whether the arrangement and practice of child participation in schools in Slovenia may be considered just. We argue that, according to the first approach, the arrangement of child participation in elementary schools in Slovenia can be considered just under certain conditions whereas, according to the second approach, less so. Child participation lacks substantive equality in participation outcomes even though in principle all children have the same right to participate.

Keywords: Child participation in elementary school, inequalities, thematic analysis, egalitarian liberalism in education, recognition approach

VARIA

Mirta Mornar, Jelena Matić Bojić, Iva Odak, Nina Eliasson, Katinka Göttsche, Lana Jurko, Ana Kozina, Aleš Ojsteršek, Christine Sälzer, Manja Veldin in Svenja Vieluf

SOCIALNE, EMOCIONALNE IN MEDKULTURNE KOMPETENCE UČENK IN UČENCEV IN NJIHOV RAZVOJ V ŠOLSLEM OKOLJU

V zadnjih nekaj desetletjih se je število programov za razvoj socialnih, emocionalnih in medkulturnih kompetenc učenk in učencev v šolah znatno povečalo. To se ujema z rastočim prepoznavanjem vloge šol pri spodbujanju ne le spoznavnega, temveč tudi socialnega in emocionalnega razvoja njihovih učenk in učencev. Čeprav področji socialnih in emocionalnih kompetenc na eni strani ter medkulturnih kompetenc na drugi izhajata iz raziskovalno različnih področij, se zdi njihovo združevanje v skupno socialno, emocionalno in medkulturno učenje (SEM) zaradi podobnosti med pristopi smiselno.

Obstaja zelo veliko različnih SEM programov, ki ponujajo številne uporabne pripomočke za razvoj socialnih, emocionalnih in medkulturnih

kompetenc. Vendar pa je samo izbira programa, ki bi ga želeli uporabiti na ravni šole, zahtevna in odpira vprašanja tako načina izvedbe kot tudi in predvsem preverjanja učinkovitosti ter načinov evalvacije samih programov. Obstoječi SEM programi se razlikujejo glede na pristop, vsebino in samo izvedbo.

V tem prispevku se želimo posvetiti vprašanju spodbujanja SEM, s posebnim poudarkom na vsebini in teoretičnem ozadju obstoječih programov ter njihovih metodoloških in izvedbenih vidikov. Dodatno se osredinjamo na evalvacijo obstoječih programov, kateri so najpomembnejši učinki programov in kateri vidiki izvajanja so najpomembnejši za spodbujanje razvoja SEM kompetenc v izobraževalnem kontekstu.

Prispevek predstavlja pregled vidikov, ki jih je smotrno upoštevati tako pri razvoju kot pri izvajanju SEM programov. Pri tem izpostavljamo, da je še posebej smiselno, da so programi zasnovani celostno kot podpora socialno, emocionalnem in medkulturnem učenju. Glede na pomen SEM kompetenc za splošno dobro počutje učenk in učencev (in posledično njihovih staršev in strokovnih delavcev šole) spodbujamo raziskovalce in praktike k njihovi širši uporabi.

Ključne besede: socialne in emocionalne kompetence, medkulturne kompetence, intervencijski program, izobraževanje

STUDENTS' SOCIAL, EMOTIONAL AND INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCIES AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT IN SCHOOL SETTINGS

Over the last few decades, there has been a significant rise in the number of programmes aimed at developing students' social, emotional and intercultural competencies. This has coincided with growing recognition of the role that schools have to play in fostering not only the cognitive, but also the social and emotional development of their students. Despite targeting separate competencies, there seem to be many similarities in approaches to students' social and emotional learning (SEL) as well as developing intercultural skills, presenting a rationale for their integration and conceptualisation on the social, emotional and intercultural (SEI) level.

The myriad of different SEI programmes provides an arsenal of useful tools for school-based SEI learning. However, choosing which programme to use, considering how to implement it and determining whether it will be effective can be quite overwhelming. Existing approaches aimed at teaching SEI competencies vary greatly depending on the programme, as does the content of the programme and its design.

In this article, we seek to tackle the question of how SEI competencies are taught, with particular emphasis on the content and theoretical or

conceptual background of existing interventions, together with their methodological and organisational aspects. We also explore whether and how the evaluation of existing programmes has been conducted, the most important results and the aspects of implementation which are key to fostering the development of SEI competencies in educational contexts.

This article presents an overview of relevant aspects worth acknowledging while developing and implementing SEI programmes, and which might prove especially useful when programmes are conceptualised within the overall SEI (instead of the more often used SEL) learning framework. Given the importance of SEI competencies for the overall well-being of students (and hence their parents and school staff), we encourage researchers and practitioners to build upon these insights while developing and implementing comprehensive SEI programmes.

Keywords: social and emotional competencies, intercultural competencies, intervention programme, education

Andraž Teršek

JAVNE UNIVERZE V POSTSOCIALISTIČNIH DRŽAVAH BI PO PANDEMIJI 2020 UTEGNILE POSTATI NEAKADEMSKE

Trdni in preverljivi znaki kažejo na več razlogov za upravičeno zaskrbljenost in kritiko poti, ki so jo v zadnjih dveh desetletjih ubrale javne univerze v evropskih postsocialističnih državah. Neizpolnitev njihove družbene vloge in funkcije kot varuhov znanja, mnenja, kritičnega mišljenja in odprtosti je vzrok za resno zaskrbljenost. Univerze so sprejele agresivno logiko trga. Namesto da bi se uprle zgolj birokratskim in surovim upravnim pogojem in merilom, ki jih je naložila država, so se univerze v celoti in nekritično podredile diktatom oblasti in odborov pod nadzorom države. Predstavniki akademije so postali pasivni in apatični sužnji robotskega tehnokratskega razčlovečenja. Zaradi teh pojavov univerze niso bistveno skrbele za izobraževanje kritičnih državljanov, moralnih osebnosti in pogumnih civilnih intelektualcev, opremljenih z verodostojnim in kakovostnim znanjem in samopodobo, skupaj z ustreznim etičnim samorazumevanjem njihove sistemske in družbene vloge. Akademiki so izgubili samozavedanje o svoji najpomembnejši javni vlogi – ohranjanju in napredovanju pristne demokracije in legitimnosti političnega sistema. Zdi se, da so te univerze postale skoraj ali skoraj neakademske. In končno bi lahko postale popolnoma neakademske ravno zaradi pandemije leta 2020.

Ključne besede: univerze, znanje (kot vrednota), izobraževanje, etika, demokracija

PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES IN POST-SOCIALIST STATES COULD BECOME 'UN-ACADEMIC' AFTER THE 2020 PANDEMIC

Firm and verifiable signs give reason for legitimate concern and criticism of the path taken by public universities in European post-socialist states in the last two decades. Not fulfilling their social role and function, as guardians of knowledge, thought, critical reflection and open-mindedness, is a cause for serious concern. Universities have bowed to the aggressive logic of the market. Instead of resisting the purely bureaucratic and brutal administrative conditions and criteria imposed by the state, universities have completely and uncritically subjected themselves to the dictates of authorities and committees controlled by the state. Academics have become passive and apathetic slaves of robotised technocratic dehumanisation. These phenomena have led universities to considerably fail to take care of the education of critically thinking citizens, of moral personalities and courageous civil intellectuals equipped with authentic and high-quality knowledge, and with self-respect, combined with an appropriate ethical self-understanding of their systemic and social role. Academics have lost awareness of their most important public role in the maintenance and progress of genuine democracy and the political system's legitimacy. It seems that these universities have become almost non-academic. And they could finally become 'un-academic' due to the 2020 pandemic.

Keywords: university, knowledge (as value), education, ethics, democracy

Janez Drobnič

POKLICNE ODLOČITVE IN VODENJE KARIERE V KONTEKSTU AVTONOMNOSTI IN SAMOODLOČANJA

Avtor obravnava spremembe v upravljanju kariere, ki so se zgodile v zadnjih letih zaradi dinamičnih sprememb v gospodarstvu in na trgu dela ter vplivov sodobnih pristopov, ki izhajajo iz teorij razvoja kariere. Očitno je, da je sedanje karierno vodenje kompleksno in se naslanja na psihološke teorije, ki se ukvarjajo s strukturo posameznika in njegovimi razvojnimi fazami, v zadnjem času predvsem tiste, ki se osredotočajo na identiteto ter kreiranje individualnosti. V tem kontekstu smo priča razvoju inovacij, ki se kažejo v zahtevah po avtonomnem vodenju kariere in kariernem konstruiranju, lastnem upravljanju učnih procesov, samoodločanju in drugih prvinah. Vse te inovacije avtor uporablja tudi pri osebah s posebnimi potrebami, kjer predstavi sintetizirani model kompetenčne kariere za to populacijo.

Ključne besede: kariera, samoodločanje, osebe s posebnimi potrebami, karierno konstruiranje, avtonomija

VOCATIONAL DECISIONS AND CAREER GUIDANCE
IN THE CONTEXT OF AUTONOMY AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The author reviews changes in career management that have occurred in recent years due to a dynamic economy and labour market, as well as the influences of modern approaches deriving from career development theories. It is obvious that the current career guidance is complex and relies on psychological theories dealing with the structure of an individual, with developmental phases and, more recently, those focusing on identity and creating individuality.

In this context, the emphasis is on the requirements for autonomous management and career construction, the own management of learning processes rather than passive education and other innovations. The author applies all of these innovations to persons with special needs, where he also presents a synthesised competence career model for this population.

Keywords: career, self-determination, people with special needs, career construction, autonomy

Andreja Drobnič Vidic

PRIMERJAVA DVEH INTERDISCIPLINARNIH NA UČENCA
USMERJENIH UČNIH PRISTOPOV ZA VPSELJAVO NA PODROČJE
MATEMATIKE

V prispevku primerjamo učenje s preiskovanjem (ang. *inquiry-based learning* – IBL), ki je novo vpeljani pojem v slovensko matematično izobraževanje, in problemsko naravnano učenje (ang. *problem-based learning* – PBL), ki v tem izobraževanju do sedaj ni bilo pogosto uporabljeno. Analiziramo skupne karakteristike in razlike obeh aktivnih interdisciplinarnih učnih pristopov, osredotočenih na učence. S kratko analizo prispevkov na slovenskem področju z omenjenima učnima pristopoma podamo kritiko neenotnega poimenovanja in vpeljavanja danih učnih pristopov v slovenskem prostoru. S specifično študijo tuje literature ugotovimo, kako pogosto posamezni učni pristop uporabljajo pri matematiki glede na naravoslovje, kako pogosto z njima interdisciplinarno povezujejo obe področji in kakšen je trend po 5-letnih obdobjih. Spoznamo, na katerem izobraževalnem nivoju se posamezni pristop uporablja, s katerimi vrstami raziskav pristopa preučujejo v svetu in katere osebe so najpogosteje preučevane v prispevkih. Podamo nekatere omejitve raziskave, ki bodo morebiti spodbudile raziskovalce in učitelje k nadaljnjemu preučevanju te tematike. Kvalitativna analiza prispevkov PBL in IBL pristopa nam kaže, kje so pomanjkljivosti pri vpeljavi pristopov na področje matematike in smernice za njeno interdisciplinarno poučevanje.

Ključne besede: učenje s preiskovanjem / učenje z raziskovanjem (IBL), problemsko naravnano učenje / problemsko zasnovano učenje (PBL), matematika, naravoslovje, študija literature

COMPARISON OF TWO INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDENT-CENTRED LEARNING APPROACHES FOR INCORPORATION IN THE FIELD OF MATHEMATICS

In this article, we compare two approaches to learning: inquiry-based learning (IBL) introduced recently in Slovenian mathematics education and problem-based learning (PBL) that has not often been used in this educational field. Common characteristics of both interdisciplinary approaches are emphasised and the main differences of both active and student-centred approaches are analysed. The problem triggers new statistical contents that need to be learned by students in 'gymnasium'. We offer criticism of the non-unique translations of the two approaches in the Slovenian education sphere. A specific study of the scientific literature allows conclusions on which approach is more appropriate for mathematics in comparison to the field of science, how often these two learning fields are interdisciplinary connected and which trends emerge shown in 5-year periods. A comparison of the IBL and PBL approaches reveals differences in the educational level of inclusion, the interdisciplinary integration of fields, the research method most often used and the study participants. We list some disadvantages of this research and hope to encourage other researchers and teachers to work further in this field. Qualitative analysis of the IBL and PBL approaches revealed shortcomings in the recent inclusion of such an approach in the field of mathematics and also gives guidelines for successful interdisciplinary mathematics teaching.

Keywords: inquiry-based learning (IBL), problem-based learning (PBL), mathematics, science, literature review

Avtorji · Authors

Zoe Moody

je profesorica na Univerzi za izobraževanje učiteljev v kantonu Valais v Švici in višja raziskovalna sodelavka v enoti za inter- in transdisciplinarnost Centra za študije otrokovih pravic Univerze v Ženevi. Raziskuje in poučuje na interdisciplinarnem področju izobraževanja in otrokovih pravic. Njeni raziskovalni interesi so otrokove pravice v in z izobraževanjem, družbeno-izobraževalna okolja, socialna kohezija, diskriminacija in nasilje v šoli. Je francosko govoreča urednica »Swiss Journal of Educational Research« in namestnica vodje mreže »Raziskovanje otrokovih pravic in izobraževalna omrežja« (25) Evropskega združenja raziskovalcev na področju edukacije (EERA, ECER).

Zoe Moody

Professor Zoe Moody works at the University of Teacher Education Valais and is a senior research associate at the Inter- and Transdisciplinarity Unit, Centre for Children's Rights Studies, University of Geneva. Her interdisciplinary research and teaching activities lie at the intersection between Education and the field of children's rights studies. Her interests include children's rights in and through education, socio-educative environments, social cohesion, discriminations, school bullying. Zoe Moody is notably the French-speaking editor of the Swiss Journal of Educational Research and deputy link convenor of the Research on Children's Rights and Education Network (25) of the European Conference on Educational Research (ECER).

Suzana Kraljić

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Suzana Kraljić

is an associate professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Maribor, Slovenia. She teaches and researches in the field of family law (especially child law), medical law, and succession law. She has thus far been principal researcher in several bilateral and student research projects. She was a visiting lecturer at the universities of Novi Sad, Marburg, Vilnius, Brno, Tallin, Bucharest, Budapest, and Čakovec. Apart from cooperating in various international projects as a national reporter (guided by e.g. Deloitte Consulting Belgium; T. M. C. Asser Institute – Hague; University of Aberdeen; Eotvos Lorand University of Budapest etc.), she is a national contact person for the EAHL. She wrote the first Slovenian commentary on the Family Code.

Jelena Vranješević

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Associate Professor Jelena Vranješević works at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade where she teaches Developmental Psychology and Psychology of Education. She has written four monographies and numerous papers and articles published in relevant journals and scientific conference proceedings. She has co-authored and coordinated national and international projects on social justice/education for diversity, communication and conflict resolution, intercultural education and the child's rights, and also reference books on these topics. She has participated in research projects dealing with different aspects of improving the quality of education: parents' participation in education, inclusive education and teacher professional development.

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Zdenko Kodelja

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Zdenko Kodelja

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Urban Boljka

je doktor socioloških znanosti. Naziv je pridobil leta 2011 na Univerzi v Ljubljani. Trenutno je zaposlen kot strokovno-raziskovalni sodelavec na Inštitutu Republike Slovenije za socialno varstvo. Raziskovalno se ukvarja

s socialno in družinsko politiko, kazalniki blaginje otrok, revščino, univerzalnim temeljnim dohodkom in upodabljanjem podatkov.

Urban Boljka

obtained his PhD in Sociology from the University of Ljubljana in 2011. He is currently a research fellow at the Social Protection Institute of the Republic of Slovenia. His research interests include: social and family policies, child well-being indicators, poverty, universal basic income and data visualisation.

Jasmina Rosič

je magistrica socialnega dela in je trenutno zaposlena kot doktorska raziskovalka na Šoli za raziskovanje množičnih komunikacij na KU Leuven. Področje njenega raziskovalnega delovanja je vpliv uporabe medijev pri prikrajšanih mladostnikih. V preteklosti je bila zaposlena tudi kot raziskovalka na Inštitutu Republike Slovenije za socialno varstvo ter asistentka na Fakulteti za socialno delo Univerze v Ljubljani.

Jasmina Rosič

holds a master degree in social work and is currently a doctoral researcher at the School for Mass Communication Research at the KU Leuven. Her research focus on the impact of media use among disadvantaged adolescents. She was also a researcher at the Social Protection Institute of the Republic of Slovenia and a part-time assistant at the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Ljubljana.

Tamara Narat

je doktorirala iz socioloških znanosti na Univerzi v Ljubljani. Trenutno je kot raziskovalka zaposlena na Inštitutu Republike Slovenije za socialno varstvo, kjer na podlagi uvida v študije s področja sociologije otroštva svoj raziskovalni fokus usmerja predvsem v tematike, povezane z blaginjo in kakovostjo življenja otrok.

Tamara Narat

has a PhD in Sociology from the University of Ljubljana and is presently a researcher at the Social Protection Institute of Republic of Slovenia. Her professional work is related to topics covering sociology of childhood, with a special emphasis on child well-being and the quality of life of children.

Mirta Mornar

je diplomirala in magistrirala iz psihologije na Fakulteti za humanistične in družbene vede Univerze v Zagrebu. Od marca 2018 je kot asistentka raziskovalka zaposlena v Centru za raziskave in razvoj na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja na Inštitutu za družboslovne raziskave v Zagrebu. Sodelovala je v več nacionalnih in mednarodnih raziskovalnih projektih, med drugim tudi v projektu ROKA v ROKI: socialne in čustvene kompetence za nediskriminatorno in vključujočo skupnost (celostni pristop). Njeni raziskovalni interesi vključujejo pedagoško psihologijo, zlasti socialno in čustveno učenje ter psihično blagostanje v izobraževalnem kontekstu.

Mirta Mornar

holds a BA and MA in Psychology from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. She has worked since March 2018 in the Centre for Educational Research and Development at the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb as a research assistant. She has participated in several national and international research projects, including Hand in Hand: Social and Emotional Skills for Tolerant and Non-discriminative Societies (A Whole School Approach). Her research interests encompass educational psychology, particularly social and emotional learning and well-being in an educational context.

Jelena Matić Bojić

je diplomirala, magistrirala in doktorirala iz psihologije na Fakulteti za humanistične in družbene vede na Univerzi v Zagrebu. Zaposlena je kot podoktorska raziskovalka v Centru za raziskave in razvoj na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja na Inštitutu za družboslovne raziskave v Zagrebu. Njeni raziskovalni interesi zajemajo pedagoško psihologijo, osebnost in socialno psihologijo. V svoji doktorski disertaciji je raziskovala povezavo med osebnostjo, kognitivnimi sposobnostmi in nagnjenostjo k predsodkom do različnih družbenih skupin (t. i. generalizirani predsodki). Še posebej jo zanimata razvoj medkulturnih kompetenc in zmanjševanje predsodkov v izobraževalnem kontekstu.

Jelena Matić Bojić

holds a BA, MA and PhD in Psychology from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. She works as a postdoctoral fellow at the Institute for Social Research – Zagreb, Centre for Educational Research and Development. Her research interests encompass educational psychology, personality and social psychology. In her doctoral thesis,

she explored the association between personality, cognitive ability and proneness to prejudice towards different social groups (i.e. generalised prejudice). Dr. Matić Bojić is particularly interested in the development of intercultural competencies and prejudice reduction within educational contexts.

Iva Odak

je diplomirala in doktorirala iz sociologije na Fakulteti za humanistične in družbene vede Univerze v Zagrebu. Dela kot raziskovalna sodelavka v Centru za raziskave in razvoj na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja na Inštitutu za družboslovne raziskave v Zagrebu. V svoji doktorski disertaciji je raziskovala povezavo med družbenim položajem družine in izobraževalnimi dosežki ter izobraževalnimi odločitvami. Njeni raziskovalni interesi vključujejo sociologijo izobraževanja, s poudarkom na socialni razsežnosti izobraževanja in izobraževalnih neenakostih.

Iva Odak

holds a BA and PhD in Sociology from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. She works as a research associate at the Institute for Social Research – Zagreb, Centre for Educational Research and Development. In her doctoral thesis, she explored the association between the social position of the family and educational achievement and educational choices. Her research interests include the sociology of education, with an emphasis on the social dimension of education and educational inequalities.

Nina Eliasson

je doktorica znanosti in višja predavateljica na področju naravoslovnega izobraževanja na Univerzi Mid Sweden. Njen raziskovalni interes je predvsem učenje in poučevanja naravoslovja, s posebnim poudarkom na vprašanjih spola in mednarodnih primerjavah dosežkov učencev in učenk. Leta 2017 je doktorirala z nalogo Komuniciranje šolske znanosti. Je strokovna sodelavka raziskave TIMSS za področje naravoslovja na Švedskem. Prav tako je bila med leti 2011–2016 strokovna sodelavka raziskave PISA za področje naravoslovja in med 2011–2013 za področje reševanja problemov. Je članica švedske ekipe projekta ROKA v ROKI.

Nina Eliasson

is a senior lecturer in Science Education at Mid Sweden University. Her research interests are mainly science education and communication with a special focus on gender issues and large-scale student assessments. Nina

graduated in 2017 with the thesis *Communicating School Science*. Nina is also a TIMSS Science expert in Sweden and was a PISA Science expert in Sweden between 2011 and 2016 and PISA problem-solving expert between 2011 and 2013. Dr. Eliasson is a member of the Swedish HAND in HAND team.

Katinka Gøtzsche

je magistrica psihologije in dramaturgije ter predsednica Danskega združenja za spodbujanje življenjske modrosti pri otrocih. Kot srednješolska učiteljica poučuje otroke in mladostnike o čuječnosti in kako razvijati prisotnost, zavedanje in empatijo. Je ena vodilnih trenerk pri projektu Brezstresno vsakdanje življenje za otroke (SELF-Care), ki vključuje izobraževanje učiteljev o čuječnosti in odnosnih kompetencah v prostorih Danskega centra za čuječnost na univerzi Aarhus. Je učiteljica na dvoletnem mednarodnem izobraževanju, ki se odvija v Nemčiji ter poučuje bodoče učitelje v danskem razvojno-raziskovalnem projektu o odnosnih kompetencah na univerzitetnem kolidžu VIA v Aarhusu. Prav tako je trenerka programa ROKA v ROKI za šolsko osebje.

Katinka Gøtzsche

holds an MA in psychology and dramaturgy and is the Chairwoman of the Danish Association for the Promotion of Life Wisdom in Children. She has been a high school teacher and taught children and adolescents in mindfulness and how to develop presence, awareness and empathy for several years. She is one of the lead trainers in the project: Stress-free Everyday Life for Children (SELF-Care), education for school teachers in mindfulness and relational competence situated at The Danish Centre for Mindfulness at Aarhus University. On top of being a teacher in a 2-year International Education programme in Germany, she is a trainer for the developmental and research project "The Relational Competence Project" at the VIA University College intended for student teachers, as well as a trainer for the Hand in Hand school staff programme.

Lana Jurko

je od leta 2006 zaposlena v NEPC-u, mednarodni nevladni organizaciji mreže centrov izobraževalnih politik. Na svoji karierni poti je bila učiteljica angleščine, strokovnjakinja za programsko opremo ter operaterka v službi za pomoč uporabnikom, trenutno pa opravlja delo koordinatorke projektov in raziskovalke. Pri svojem delu je sodelovala z mednarodnimi organizacijami, kot so Združeni narodi in OSCE, šolami, nevladnimi organizacijami ter z raziskovalnim inštitutom (Center za raziskave in razvoj

s področja vzgoje in izobraževanja na Inštitutu za družboslovne raziskave v Zagrebu). Od ustanovitve NEPC-a je sodelovala v več kot ducat mednarodnih projektih in pri pripravi publikacij na področju javnih politik, do stopa do izobraževanja in socialnega vključevanja.

Lana Jurko

has been with NEPC, an international non-governmental membership organisation of education policy centres since 2006. Her career spans from being an English teacher to software trainer and help desk operator to project coordinator and assistant researcher to her current position. She worked at international organisations like the United Nations and the OSCE, schools, non-government organisations, at the research institute (Centre for Educational Research and Development, Institute of Social Research in Zagreb). Since the inception of NEPC, she has led over a dozen international projects and publications in educational access, inclusion and policy.

Ana Kozina

je raziskovalka, docentka in vodja Centra za evalvacijske študije na Pedagoškem inštitutu. Njeno delo je osredotočeno na področje razvojne (razvojni in časovni trendi agresivnosti in anksioznosti, njuno medsebojno delovanje in vloga anksioznosti in agresivnosti na ravni posameznika, na šolski ravni in na ravni skupnosti) in pedagoške psihologije (socialno in čustveno učenja, načrtovanje preventive in intervencije ...). Je članica uredniškega odbora Založbe Pedagoškega inštituta, predsednica Slovenskega društva raziskovalcev na področju edukacije (SLODRE) in članica sveta EERA (European Education Research Association).

Ana Kozina

is a researcher, assistant professor and head of the Centre for Evaluation Studies at the Educational Research Institute. Her work lies in the field of developmental (developmental and time-related trends of aggression and anxiety, their interplay and the role anxiety and aggression play on the individual, school level and community levels) and educational psychology (social and emotional learning, prevention and intervention designs etc.). She is a member of the editorial board of Educational Research Institute Press, president of the Slovenian Educational Research Association (SLODRE) and a council member of the European Education Research Association (EERA).

Christine Sälzer

je profesorica pedagogike na Univerzi v Stuttgartu. V Braunschweigu, Bernu in Friburgu (Švica) je študirala pedagogiko, psihologijo in sociologijo. Doktorirala je leta 2010. V letih 2008/2009 je bila gostujoča predavateljica na Šoli za izobraževanje Stanford. Christine Sälzer je dokončala habilitacijo leta 2016 na TU München; njeno delo se je osredotočalo na mednarodne primerjave dosežkov učencev in učenk kot empirične podlage za oblikovanje izobraževalnih politik. V letih 2018/2019 je bila nadomestna profesorica za nacionalne in mednarodne primerjave dosežkov učencev in učenk na univerzi Heidelberg. Od leta 2010 do 2017 je bila nacionalna koordinatorica raziskave PISA v Nemčiji.

Christine Sälzer

is a professor of education at the University of Stuttgart. She studied education, psychology and sociology in Braunschweig, Berne and Fribourg (Switzerland), where she was awarded a PhD in 2010. In 2008/2009, she was a visiting scholar at the Stanford School of Education. Christine Sälzer completed her habilitation in 2016 at TU Munich; cumulative work focused on large-scale assessments as an empirical reference for educational policymaking. In 2018/2019, she served as a substitute professor of national and international large-scale assessments at Heidelberg University. Between 2010 and 2017, Christine Sälzer was a national project leader of the PISA study in Germany.

Aleš Ojsteršek

je direktor Urada za razvoj izobraževanja na MIZŠ in nekdanji sekretar Urada za mladino. Skrbi za razvoj in upravljanje projektov na področju mladinskega sektorja, za razvoj normativnih področij mladinskega sektorja in deluje na področju kohezijske politike EU in razvoja človeških virov v Sloveniji.

Aleš Ojsteršek

is the director of the Education Development Office at the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport; a former Secretary of the Office for Youth developing and managing projects for the youth sector, and developing normative areas of the youth sector; and works in the areas of EU cohesion policy and developing human resources in Slovenia.

Manja Veldin

je psihologinja in raziskovalka na Pedagoškem inštitutu v Ljubljani. Manja je sodelovala s Centrom za psihodiagnostična sredstva, Svetovalnico

Kameleon, v študijah „Kvaliteta življenja bolnikov po presaditvi ledvice „ in „Pojasnjevanje učinkovitosti reševanja problemov s področja trojne narave predstavitev naravoslovnih pojmov „, EU projektih (ROKA v ROKI, BRAVEdu, ETTECEC) in vodila evalvacijo nacionalnega projekta (Inovativna učna okolja podprta z inovativno pedagogiko 1: 1). Trenutno sodeluje na več evropskih projektih (HEAD, DITEAM in NEMO) in je doktorska kandidatka eksperimentalne psihologije.

Manja Veldin

is a psychologist and works as a researcher at the Educational Research Institute in Ljubljana. She has cooperated with the Centre for Psychodiagnostic Assessment, Chameleon consulting, participated in the studies “Quality of life of patients after kidney transplantation” and “Explaining effective and efficient problem solving of triplet relationship in science concepts representations”, a few EU projects (HAND in HAND, BRAVEdu, ETTECEC) and led the evaluation of a national project (Inovativna učna okolja podprta z inovativno pedagogiko 1:1). Currently, she is working on several EU projects (HEAD, DITEAM and NEMO) and is a PhD candidate in Experimental Psychology.

Svenja Vieluf

je doktorirala iz psihologije in je trenutno podoktorska raziskovalka na Oddelku za kakovost in evalvacijo izobraževanja na Inštitutu za raziskave in informacije v izobraževanju Leibniz/DIPF. Sodelovala je pri razvoju instrumentov in analizi podatkov pri več nacionalnih in mednarodnih raziskavah (npr. OECD študiji PISA in TALIS). Trenutno je njeno raziskovanje osredotočeno na poučevanje in učenje v heterogenih razredih, transkulturno učenje in pravičnost v izobraževanju.

Svenja Vieluf

holds a PhD in Psychology and is currently a post-doc researcher at the Educational Quality and Evaluation Department of the DIPF | Leibniz Institute for Research and Information in Education. She has been involved in instrument development and data analysis for several national and international large-scale surveys (e.g. the OECD studies PISA and TALIS). Her research is presently focused on teaching and learning in heterogeneous classrooms, transcultural learning, and educational justice.

Andraž Teršek

je sodobni ustavni in avantgardni pravni filozof. Devet let je bil zaposlen kot pedagoški asistent na Pravni fakulteti v Ljubljani. Trenutno je matično

zaposlen na Pedagoški fakulteti Univerze na Primorskem, predava pa tudi na Fakulteti za humanistične študije iste univerze in na Evropski pravni fakulteti Nove univerze. Objavil je številne znanstvene, strokovne in poljudnoznanstvene članke. Je avtor več strokovnih in znanstvenih knjig. Izdal je tudi roman in knjigo poezije. Dvakrat je prejel priznanje Prometej znanosti in se redno uvršča na vsakoletni seznam desetih najvplivnejših pravnikov.

Andraž Teršek

is a modern constitutionalist and avant-garde legal philosopher. He worked for 9 years as a teaching assistant at the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana. He is currently employed by the Faculty of Education, University of Primorska, but also lectures at the Faculty of Humanities at the same university and at the European Faculty of Law, New University. He has published numerous scientific, professional and popular science articles. He is the author of several professional and scientific books and has also published a novel and a collection of poetry. He has twice received the Prometheus of Science Award and is regularly included in the annual list of the ten most influential lawyers.

Janez Drobnič

je uveljavljen strokovnjak na področju inkluzivnega izobraževanja, karijerne orientacije in zaposlitvene rehabilitacije oseb s posebnimi potrebami. Na svoji karierni poti povezuje teoretična znanja s prakso bodisi preko svetovanj ali pa razvija izvedbene modele oblike in pristope za te osebe v okviru edukacije in zaposlovanja. Kot docent na Pedagoški fakulteti Univerze na Primorskem lahko nudi študentom veliko praktičnih izkušenj, ki se povezujejo z različnimi teorijami kariernega razvoja ali socialne integracije oseb s posebnimi potrebami v okviru inkluzivne paradigme.

Janez Drobnič

is an established expert in the field of inclusive education, vocational and career guidance and vocational rehabilitation. In his career, he has linked theoretical knowledge with his counselling practice, or has developed operational models, forms and approaches in education and employment. As an assistant professor at the Faculty of Education of the University of Primorska, he can offer students practical experience related to the development theories of career guidance or social integration of people with special needs within an inclusive educational paradigm.

Andreja Drobnič Vidic

je docentka na Fakulteti za matematiko in fiziko, Univerza v Ljubljani. Magisterij je opravila na tej fakulteti, doktorsko disertacijo pa na Filozofski fakulteti na Oddelku za pedagogiko in andragogiko o problemsko zasnovanem študiju v inženirski statistiki. Njeno raziskovalno področje so novi trendi v poučevanju matematike ter učenje statistike na področju inženirstva, predvsem na področju tehniške varnosti. Prejela je nagrado za najboljši prispevek mladih avtorjev na področju statističnega izobraževanja s predstavitvijo PBL pristopa pri učenju statistike za bodoče inženirje na največji mednarodni konferenci o statističnem izobraževanju ICOTS8.

Andreja Drobnič Vidic

is an associate professor at the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics at the University of Ljubljana (UL), Slovenia. She obtained a master's degree in Mathematics at the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics and a doctoral degree in Pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts, UL, with a dissertation on problem-based learning in engineering statistics. Her interests include new trends in mathematics education and engineering education, teaching and learning engineering statistics and mathematics, and applicable statistics in safety engineering. She received an IASE Excellence Award for the best paper by an early career author at the ICOTS8 introducing PBL in teaching statistics for future engineers.

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Poglavja v knjigi: Walzer, M. (1992) The Civil Society Argument. V MOUFFE, Ch. (ur.). *Dimensions of Radical Democracy. Pluralism, Citizenship and Community*. London: Routledge.

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For the works of an author that were published in the same year, distinguish between them by adding small letters (a, b, c, etc.), e.g. (Bourdieu, 1996a). Repeatedly cited works should use the following: (ibid.). Please, use the following style for each of publication:

Books:

Bradbury, I., Boyle, J., and Morse, A. (2002) *Scientific Principles for Physical Geographers*. Harlow: Prentice Hall.
Garber, M. (1999) *Symptoms of Culture*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Journal Articles:

Kerr, D. (1999b) Changing the political culture: the advisory group on education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools. *Oxford Review of Education*. 25 (1–2), pp. 25–35.

Book chapters:

Walzer, M. (1992) The Civil Society Argument. In: Mouffe, Ch. (ed.), *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship and Community*. London: Routledge.

Websites:

http://www.cahiers-pedagogiques.com/article.php?id_article=881 (5, 5, 2008).

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