A COMMUNITY COLLEGE FOR POLAND'S FUTURE

By

DAVID J. P. MARZAK

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1994
Copyright 1994

by

DAVID JOHN PAUL MARZAK
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dr. James L. Wattenbarger, chairperson of the doctoral committee, deserves special gratitude and thanks for his prudent counsel, for the use of his library, and for the donation of books and other resource materials, which were invaluable to the research. Appreciation also extends to Dr. John Lombardi, President of the University of Florida, for his realistic attitude, honest assessment, and practical approach to educational problems, which helped to keep the researcher’s feet on the ground.

Dr. David Honeyman also deserves gratitude for his technical help and assistance in forming the research design. Dr. Arthur White deserves thanks for his extended telephone conversations and expertise in the history of education, which were necessary for the dissertation.

Further gratitude and appreciation are due to Dr. William Sullivan, who spent long hours reviewing and critiquing each chapter. He also deserves thanks for his intellectual support and understanding which were essential at key moments of the research.

It is essential to thank my close friend and colleague James Sund for his criticism and diligent endeavor to understand every facet of the research so that he could enter into a significant and scholarly dialogue much needed and desired by the researcher.
Thanks are extended to the Kosciuszko Foundation for their generous financial support and for helping the researcher establish key contacts at the National Ministry of Education in Poland. Special appreciation is extended to Reverend Robert Baker, Pastor at the Basilica-Cathedral in St. Augustine, for his constant support and consistent guidance throughout the research and for his firm insistence to complete the project during the final stages. Finally, the researcher’s wife and children receive abundant thanks for their prayers and their thoughtfulness throughout the long hours and years of research. The researcher’s wife sacrificed herself for both this dissertation and for the Polish people; she made this dissertation possible.

MOST ESPECIALLY, THANKS BE TO GOD...

June 1994

D. J. P. M.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ......................................................................................... iii
ABSTRACT ........................................................................................................... viii

## CHAPTERS

1 INTRODUCTION ............................................................................................... 1
   Research Methods ......................................................................................... 1
   Need for the Study ...................................................................................... 2
   Definition of Community College .............................................................. 5
   Procedures and Methods of Analysis ......................................................... 6
   Limitations .................................................................................................. 9
   Delimitations ................................................................................................. 10
   Significance of the Study ............................................................................ 11
   Organization of the Study ......................................................................... 12

2 HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND SOLIDARITY 14
   The Evolution of Polish Democratic Thought ........................................ 17
   The Partitioning of Poland ...................................................................... 19
   The Constitution of May 3, 1791 ............................................................... 20
   The Polaniec Manifesto and the 1794 Uprising ........................................ 21
   Manifesto of the Polish Democratic Society ........................................... 23
   Poland Between the Wars ......................................................................... 24
   Solidarity .................................................................................................... 25

3 PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION .................................... 34
   Assumption Number 1: Equal Opportunity for the Individual .................. 36
   Assumption Number 2: Value to Democratic Government ....................... 44
   Assumption Number 3: Value to Society .................................................. 54
   Assumption Number 4: State Responsibility ........................................... 62
   Assumption Number 5: Local Control ..................................................... 67
   Assumption Number 6: Post High School Education ............................... 80
   Other Assumptions .................................................................................. 83
      Historic Rise of the Polish Worker ....................................................... 83
      The Abrupt Transition from Totalitarian Rule ..................................... 83
      Expansion of Secondary Education Increases Demand for Postsecondary Education .................................................. 83
   Summary ........................................................................................................ 85


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>THE IDEA OF A COMMUNITY COLLEGE</th>
<th>87</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expanding Higher Education in Poland</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Innovations in Higher Education</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Idea of a Community College</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Community College Curricula</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>College Transfer</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Success of Transfer Students in Four Year Colleges and Universities</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Liberal Education of Manual Workers</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adult Education</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Remedial Education</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5</th>
<th>COMMUNITY COLLEGE ACCESS AND ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>135</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Effect of Proximity and Cost on Community College Access</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community College Organization</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Community College as Part of a University</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Community College as Part of a College</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Combining Secondary Technical Schools and Community Colleges</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Curricula and Community College Organization</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organizational Benefits of a College Campus</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6</th>
<th>THE POLISH SYSTEM OF EDUCATION</th>
<th>166</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Early Origins</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Commission of National Education</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Third Partition</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prussia</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polish Education after World War I</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The German Occupation</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Russian Occupation</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elementary Schools</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary Schools</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post-Matriculate School</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Role of the College in Polish Higher Education</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational and Technical Education in Poland</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Higher Education Act of 1991</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic Vocational School (BVS)</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary Vocational Schools (SVS)</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technicums</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational Proprietary Education (ZZDZ)</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Publicly Supported Adult Education</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational Education Unemployment and Population Growth</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education

A COMMUNITY COLLEGE FOR POLAND'S FUTURE

By

David J. P. Marzak

August 1994

Chairperson: Dr. James L. Wattenbarger
Major Department: Educational Leadership

This dissertation contributes to the field of community college planning and development. The sole purpose of the research is to design a community college for Poland's future. Designing a community college is a complex task requiring background in the philosophy of education, sociology, political science, history, and administration. The research includes each of these components studied in light of Poland's history, culture, inherited educational infra-structure, economy, and move toward democratic statehood. The study includes three major sections. The first analyzes, synthesizes, and evaluates social and philosophical principles of democratic education applicable to higher education in Poland. The second is an analysis of scientific studies pertaining to community college development in the United States.
that are relevant for community college development in Poland. The key issues studied in section two are access, success of community college transfer students, curricula, and community college organization. In the third section, Poland’s educational history, organization, access and articulation are studied in order to identify and to understand the unique social environment in which the sociological and philosophical principles of education, developed in sections one and two, are applied.

Based upon these findings, a community college model is developed. This model can contribute to the building of a democratic society in Poland. It enables educational leaders in Poland to expand educational opportunity, while concurrently safeguarding academic excellence in the nation's institutes of higher learning, especially the nation’s universities. Furthermore, the model provides a plan for the provision of broad general and liberal education, as well as vocational and technical training needed by the people of Poland. The model does all of this while optimizing existing resources, thereby significantly reducing costs.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Research Methods

The formidable challenge faced by educational leaders in post-Socialist Poland far exceeded that of their educational forebears. They did not have to wrestle with two centuries of historical discontinuity nor did they suffer the impediments of a social reformation from an antithetical totalitarian regime to a democratic society. Post-Socialist educational reform in Poland focused on curriculum, organization, administration, finance, and teacher training. The reform process was difficult and proceeded in several directions. Political confusion and ideological wrangling left the country without unifying and guiding principles for education. The adoption of a national constitution was continually postponed by divisive debate concerning, among other things, the nature of democracy and the way to build a democratic society. Consequently, this research required the study of two related topics in light of Poland’s history, culture, inherited educational infra-structure, economy, and move towards democratic statehood: (a) It analyzed, synthesized, and evaluated social and philosophical foundations of democratic education applicable to higher education in Poland; (b) It constructed a community college model on these foundations. This community college model contributed to the building of a democratic society by providing a plan for expanding educational opportunity while concurrently
safeguarding academic excellence in the nation's institutes of higher learning. Furthermore, the model did all this while optimizing existing resources.

Need for the Study

The Polish National Ministry of Education was fully cognizant of the need to expand educational opportunity. Opening up possibilities for higher education to large number of youth was a prerequisite to future economic and social development. "We find it necessary to expand the range of available forms of higher education" (1991, p. 15).

Vice Minister of Higher Education in Warsaw, Roman Duda, spoke of this problem of expanding access. In 1992 less than 10% of the college age population enrolled in postsecondary education. According to Duda, (1992) this was 1/2 the level for Europe and 1/4 the level of the United States and it "reflects the government's neglect of higher education."

Writing about the status of Polish higher education in the European Journal of Education, Elizbieta Wnuk-Lipinska confirmed Duda's observation that only 10% of Polish secondary school graduates entered the higher education system. If we "employ Martin Trow's definition that there is mass education when at least 15% of all young people at secondary school graduation age are admitted to higher education institutions . . . [it may be] assumed that in this [the Polish] situation students are practically hand picked" (1990, p. 409).

The Polish National Ministry of Education, aware of the problems to democracy caused by limited enrollments, made a liberal enrollment projection for
mass higher education exceeding the 15% level indicated by Trow. "It is necessary to increase the number of students at higher education institutions. Attainment of the 20% index will necessitate the growth of... the existing network of higher education" (1991, p.15).

The development of community universities in Warsaw and Krakow exemplified the type of educational innovation necessary to alleviate social problems caused by the transition. Warsaw University implemented a community education program in 1991. It existed to educate local social and political leaders. The purpose of the Local Government and Local Development program administered by the community university, an extension of Warsaw University, was, according to Professor Andrzej Piekara, director of the program, "to make local authorities in Poland more civilized... It will train people professionally and educate them morally" (Stankiewicz-Button, 1991).

The state universities in Krakow and Poznan developed similar programs. The Krakow program was perhaps the most extensive. It offered a "four year, structured, general education program" (Wulff, 1992, p. 66). Courses included medicine, health and disease, Polish history and literature, European history and literature, human rights, and ethnic minorities. "Students reported liking the classes and the opportunity to study at the university that was once only a dream" (Wulff, 1992, p. 66).

Unfortunately, the community university provided only limited access and educational opportunity--technical training was virtually nonexistent. Because there were only 11 universities operating in urban areas, the bulk of the Polish population was unable to
take advantage of the community university. However, with systematic organization, structure, and the design of alternative models, the open university could be remodeled into a system of community colleges better able to serve the Polish people.

Poland needed innovative plans and blueprints for the democratization of higher education. Consequently, the National Ministry of Education committed itself to the study of community colleges. As a result, they investigated community colleges in the United States. “This decade [1990-2000] should witness the decision whether Poland is to introduce such new forms of continuous education as ‘open university’ and ‘community college’” (Polish National Ministry of Education 1991, p.18).

The Ministry of National Education's search for viable models led them to the well-planned system of community colleges in the state of Florida. Florida's community colleges also attracted educational leaders from countries such as Russia—which established a cooperative effort with the Florida Community College at Jacksonville to organize a community college in Kazan, Russia (Community Colleges for International Development, 1992, pp. 1-42). The search for viable models for the nation of Poland led educational leaders there to Miami-Dade Community College (Weidenthal, 1993, p. 6). According to Weidenthal, Miami Dade's partnership in Poland emerged from the expressed intention of Polish officials to broaden student participation in higher education from 8 percent to 20 percent over the next decade (1993, p. 6).

Aware of this need for community colleges in Poland, the Institute of Higher Education at the University of Florida approved the research undertaken in this
dissertation in August 1991. This research proceeded under the auspices of the Director of the Institute of Higher Education, James Wattenbarger, and with the acknowledgment of Mr. Jerzy Wisniewski, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Relations at the National Ministry of Education in Poland.

**Definition of Community College**

Short term postsecondary education had many names. Besides the more common names, “community college” and “junior college,” the institutions were also known as “two-year college,” “city college,” “people's college,” and “democracy's college” (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p.5). The title, community college, was adopted in this research. This designation emphasized their territorial community affiliation and distinctive mission.

Their several missions distinguished them from junior colleges with an isthmian function (Koos, 1924) to provide lower division transfer students to upper division universities. Although community colleges had an Isthmian function that integrated both secondary and tertiary education, they had other important missions such as vocational, occupational, and community education.

The community colleges were locally and regionally oriented institutions usually integrated into a state system of education. They served the educational needs of a diverse student body. These educational needs traditionally included “academic transfer preparation, vocational-technical education, continuing education (for adults), remedial education, and community service” (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p.15). Academic transfer preparation serviced advanced students desiring further higher
education beyond the sophomore year. Remedial education serves late bloomers or adults deficient in basic math and language skills but desiring further education.

**Procedures and Methods of Analysis**

This dissertation was a continuation of earlier research (Marzak, 1989). Marzak examined in detail the impact of Polish history and culture on the Solidarity social movement, the relationship between church and state under the old regime, and the political and religious environment in post-Socialist Poland. The methodology for this current research included an investigation, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation of past and present studies to identify the criteria used to plan and to build community colleges in democratic countries. Additional methodology employed for this study included a policy and a descriptive historical analysis necessary to provide the contextual framework that permitted successful cross-cultural application of these criteria.

To acquire knowledge and understanding of the Polish environment, the research required several visits to higher educational institutions in Poland, the American Embassy in Warsaw, the Polish National Ministry of Education, the Universities of Warsaw and Krakow, and the Lublin Kuratorium (Regional Superintendent of Education). The researcher conducted interviews in Lublin with its president [mayor], with labor leaders at Solidarity headquarters, and with local labor leaders at on-site enterprises in the same city. In addition, the researcher did political studies and earned a diploma in Polish history and culture at the Catholic University in
Lublin (KUL). Funding and referrals provided by the Kosciuszko Foundation in New York City sustained the research.

The study required analysis of many different public records. These included (a) actuarial records consisting of the Statistical Yearbook (Rocznik Statystyczny), demographic data from the Regional Kuratorium, and data from the United Nations; (b) Political records and legislation promulgated by the Sejm and the Polish Senate, including the Higher Education Act, the Territorial Self Government Act, the Privatization Act, and legislation concerning the role of the Church in education relevant to this study; (c) Government documents including communiqués issued by the National Ministry of Education; and (d) Reports of the Polish mass media, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and numerous international educational journals.

It was necessary to use secondary data analysis to develop community college planning criteria for Poland, since primary data were lacking. Nachmias observed “from a conceptual-substantive point of view, secondary data may be the only source of data available to study certain research problems” (1987, p. 312).

There was very little published research pertaining to community college development in Poland. Therefore, this study relied upon community college development literature utilized in other democratic countries such as the important research undertaken by Koos, Wattenbarger, and Knoell.

In summary, this study was a comparative sociology of education utilizing secondary data, policy analysis, and historical data. The study applied to Poland planning criteria used to construct community colleges in the United States.
According to Borg and Gall "The study of a nation's [in this case, the United States] past educational policies provides a valuable basis for understanding its current policy-making activities; for making predictions about the outcomes of these activities; and for suggesting the significance of these activities for policy makers in other countries" (1989, p. 834, italics added). The researcher chose the methodological approach based upon the paucity of educational data and the lack of indigenous community college models in Poland. It was necessary to provide a philosophical foundation before any further research could take place. Quantitative research proved impossible under the circumstances; that is, community colleges do not exist in Poland.

The application of cross-cultural data was an especially difficult procedure. The researcher could not legitimately apply data without a thorough and objective investigation of the foreign milieu. Thus secondary data acquired from community college research undertaken in the United States combined with policy analysis of Polish documents and historical contextual probing of Poland seemed most apropos for the current study. As Nachimas indicated, the secondary analyst must study a wide range of materials covering different areas which may result in a wider scope and depth than are possible with a single primary data research project. "With such secondary analysis, we can better understand the historical context" (1987, p. 312).

As such, the secondary analyst is "more likely to be more exhaustive in his definition of a concept, to think about it not only in accustomed ways, but in all sorts of ways, thereby gaining new insights" (Nachimas, 1987, p. 313).
Finally, this study did not consider administrative problems concerning the location of community colleges, their finance, or community analysis through survey research. All of these will occur in the future if the model is accepted. The sole purpose of this research was the development of a viable foundation model for a community college to serve the people of an emerging democratic society in Poland.

**Limitations**

1. The insufficient availability of educational data limited the research. Kenneth Wulff attested to this fact in his book *Education in Poland* (1992). He stated in the preface that “Very little material is available on Poland and virtually no material is available in the field of Education.”

In the short span of five years, Poland had four prime ministers, the birth of over 100 political parties, a constantly shifting population in the Sejm, and the election of over 50,000 new local government officials. These people were responsible for engendering new statistical and demographic data in Poland. Due to its use as propaganda, the data gathered under the former regime was totally unreliable. Consequently, it had very low objective significance. Because of the demands placed on these new leaders and the constant change of officers and policies, reliable demographic data continued to be difficult to obtain.

2. Another very significant limit on the study was the lack of a written constitution. Serious debate slowed down the essential process of defining the basic philosophical tenets by which Poland would govern itself in the modern world.
Therefore, the researcher used a policy analysis of major legislative acts that might or might not have validity after Poland adopts a new constitution.

3. Perhaps the most serious limit on this study was its reliance on secondary data. According to Nachimas (1987), problems may emerge with this type of data "if there is insufficient information . . . to determine potential bias, errors, or problems with internal or external validity" (p. 315).

External criticism was not a limitation in this study. There was no doubt about the authenticity of the documents themselves; all the policy documents were taken from neatly typed originals. However, there could have been undetected problems in the translation of legislative acts.

There was also limited internal criticism since the documents studied were public records stating a policy preference which had the legitimate force of law. However, the mass media reports and, to a lesser extent, the journal articles were subject to internal criticism; the accuracy and worth of statements found in such documents was often debatable. It was difficult to determine bias without first ascertaining the ideological standard of a journal or media publication; even then scientific rigor demanded by the profession probably safeguarded the scholarly journals from this negative scrutiny. However, it was difficult to claim this methodological privilege for the media information.

Delimitations

1. The researcher delimited the study to the major components of community college planning in democratic societies: access, curricula, and organization.
2. Further delimitations included the study of humanistic and political questions relevant to democratic societies. Economic and technological questions, although important, were not the primary concern of this analysis (the researcher’s primary concern was with democracy not capitalism). There was plenty of material pertaining to the role of education and economic development in Poland. However, Polish people were lacking an understanding of democracy and the role and function of education in a democratic society. Alfred Twardecki (1992) addressed this topic in the Polish Warsaw Voice.

While a sea of ink has already been spilled on the subject of a free market, an awareness of the essence of democracy is less prevalent. Asked to define democracy and the ways to put it into practice, many people are unable to provide more than generalizations. What's more, an analysis of the context in which the word is used shows that even among representatives of the political elite there is frequently a lack of knowledge of its definition. It is not a question of an etymological or semantic definition, but rather of a knowledge of the content and consequences lying at the back of the word. ... The picture of democracy is currently based more on imaginative ideas than on knowledge.

This research was, therefore, appropriately delimited to educational planning and developmental principles relevant to the building of a democratic society in Poland. The administrative design, nature of the curricula (including the types of degrees offered), and the organization of the community colleges were contingent upon these principles.

**Significance of the Study**

First, this study advanced educational planning knowledge because it applied, with scientific discretion, accepted criteria for community college development to a country in Eastern Europe—not previously studied. The findings could have wider
ramifications for the development of community colleges not only in Poland but in Russia and the Ukraine as well.

Second, this research provided a practical solution to an education problem articulated by educational policy makers in Poland. They had interest in the planning and development of community colleges. The model developed as a result of this research provided a foundation on which to build a viable community college system. The implementation of this model could have major theoretical and practical applications to higher education in Poland. In the end, it might affect human development in the entire region.

**Organization of the Study**

The research was developmental and deductive. It consisted of five major steps, each built upon the other. These steps logically proceeded from an extensive review of the relevant literature and adhered to the following sequence:

1. The research began with an analysis of the historical development of democratic institutions and the concomitant emancipation, enfranchisement, and elevation of working people in Poland to positions of local and national leadership.

2. This was followed by a discriminate study of the philosophical and sociological foundations of education necessary to generate first principles which guide subsequent educational development in emerging democratic societies.

3. The research continued with a study of community college development in the United States. It utilized the well-documented research findings pertaining to development, access, and organization in order to develop practical guidelines based
upon the American experience that are important for community colleges in Poland.

4. To implement the results of this research, a detailed study of the Polish environment including an examination of the history of educational reform in Poland, the Communist legacy, and the inherited educational infrastructure was undertaken.

5. Finally, a community college model was developed. This model was based upon the historical need established in part one, the first principles demonstrated in part two, the experience of the United States studied in part three, and the development of Poland's educational system examined in part four. The research concluded with a summation of the findings and with recommendations for the successful development of community colleges in Poland.
CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND SOLIDARITY

Since Classical Antiquity the symbiotic relationship binding political philosophy, manifested in a legal system of laws founded on constitutional principles, and public education has been well understood. Writing about education in Book seven of his *Politics*, Aristotle stated:

> No one would dispute the fact that it is a lawgiver's prime duty to arrange for the education of the young. In states where this is not done, the constitution suffers. Education must be related to the particular constitution in each case, for it is the special character appropriate to each constitution that set it up at the start and commonly maintains it, e.g. the democratic character preserves a democracy, the oligarchic, an oligarchy. (Saunders & Sinclair, 1981, p.452)

Political leaders desiring to establish a democratic society have to first establish a democratic character in the body politic. This task is usually delegated to educational institutions. They must transmit the knowledge and understanding of democracy. They must also employ democratic pedagogical methodologies as well. The task of education in a democracy is extremely demanding—every citizen is expected to participate in the political life of the state. The responsibility of political education in monarchic and aristocratic states, although broad in design and curricula, is less quantitatively demanding. That is, educators can limit enrollment and thereby focus their efforts on the formation of a ruling aristocracy, as was the
practice in the Ancient Greco-Roman World. Classical education emphasized rhetoric, speculative philosophy, ethics, and dialectics contained in the Trivium and the Quadrivium. Oligarchic social and political leaders expected the mass of common people and slaves to show filial reverence for their authority and to render obedience to their supposedly sagacious decisions (Saunders & Sinclair, 1981, Book III, pp. 193-231).

Unfortunately, the contemplative life of the Greco-Roman aristocracy rested on the yoke of a large slave class. Maritain criticized this type of leisure. According to him, the ancient understanding of the superiority of contemplation meant that

mankind lives for the sake of a few intellectuals. . . . The high truth of the superiority of the contemplative life was bound up with the contempt of work [and the working person] and the plague of slavery. Even the work of freemen, of the artist or the artisan, was scorned. . . . 'All artisans have a despicable occupation, because there can be nothing noble in a workshop', said the good Cicero. (1960 p.165)

"Greek society limited higher education to the χαλοχαγανία [virtuous] free and wealthy citizens, and denied it to humble laborers, . . . to the slaves and barbarians who conversely were the χαχξοι (the wicked)” (Giordani, 1977, p.184).

Whenever "slaves and poor people were concerned, virtus [virtue] no longer had any raison-d'être, . . . for they were not the 'good and the beautiful' but the mob, . . . the wicked” (Giordani, 1977 p.185).

In order to continue their life of contemplative leisure, oligarchic political and social leaders in the Ancient World depended upon the dehumanizing institution of slavery. Maritain (1960, pp. 165-66) reasoned that the emancipation of humanity from
this degradation necessitated the historical growth of democratic social structures. He believed that the idea of democracy was related to the radical advocacy of human rights introduced in the Ancient World through the diffusion of Christianity. A carpenter from Nazareth, a member of the wicked (χαροί), established this new religion which spread through the efforts of other members of the χαροί despised by the aristocracy (Giordani, 1977, p. 280). The Epicurean, Celsus, like his peers, considered labor the worst of all evils. He expressed his "disdain for a society founded by a 'carpenter's son,' whose mother was a working woman, whose first disciples were laborers and whose believers, in Celsus' time, belonged for the most part to the proletariat" (Giordani, 1977 p. 280).

They formed a tightly knit and cohesive social group conscious of their rights and dignity. This new attitude and consciousness of strength in the social outcasts seemed rash and intolerable to the upholders of class privilege, to that part of the bourgeoisie which then abhorred as dangerous the spiritual rise of the masses, stratified beneath the feet of the privileged. That is why they clamored that they ruthlessly be repressed. (Giordani, 1977, p.295)

According to Maritain, the new religion taught the destitute the "quality of the human race, the natural equality of all men . . . , the dignity of labor and the dignity of the poor" (1986, p.xxiii). These values gave birth to democratic ideas such as the inalienable rights of the person, equal protection of the laws, and the need for the consent of the governed to exercise political authority. Those advocating the new ideas did not intend them to be socially divisive, but rather, intended them to promote solidarity, to "destroy the differences built by the claims of wealth and education,
differences that always resolved themselves into class distinction and conflict” (Giordani, 1977 p. 296).

Maritain (1986) delineated the historical development of these religio-political ideas as well as the progressive emancipation of the working classes. During the Enlightenment these ideas culminated in a new political philosophy focused on human liberty and the inalienable rights of human beings. These democratic ideas took firm root in 18th century Poland.

The Evolution of Polish Democratic Thought

Poland had a democratic legacy already centuries old when the ideas first developed in France and in the United States. Democratic ideas have a natural home in Poland. Poles trace the provincial unification and the birth of democratic institutions in Poland to their legendary chieftain, Piast, chosen by the Polanians to rule over them in the ninth century. He established the Piast family as hereditary rulers over the Polanians, the most prominent of the Slavic tribes to settled between the Odra and Vistula rivers. His successors beginning with Mieszko I in 966 AD were the actual historic founders of the Polish monarchy. The reign of Casimir III (1310-1370), the only Polish King to be deemed “Great,” and the Tatar invasions of the 13th century helped to unify and consolidate the rule of the Polanians. By the end of the 14th century, the “first national assemblies or Sejms and provincial sejmiks were convening sporadically” (Miller, 1990, p.11).

The Polish nobility, szlachta used their control over the sejm to wrestle significant powers from the crown. The szlachta successfully established a precedent known as the Kosice
Privilege, which forced Casimir's successor, King Louis of Anjou, to grant liberties and tax concessions to the szlachta in exchange for their support of his succession to the crown.

King Jagiello further extended due process rights and the privilege of Habeas Corpus to the nobility in 1422. This extension occurred "centuries before any Western European counterpart" (Brzezinski, 1991, p. 54). By 1493 political leaders introduced a bicameral legislature consisting of an aristocratic senate, appointed by the king, and a more democratic sejm, elected by the regional sejmiks. During the reign of King Aleksander (1501), the increasingly influential Sejm exacted the power of legislative initiative and introduced the political doctrine, Nihil Novi (nothing new), which prohibited the king from enacting new laws without the consent of the Sejm. At this time, the monarchy also became completely elective rather than hereditary.

In 1573, Henry Valois, the first elected King was forced to sign a Pacta Conventa. This covenant between the monarch and the nobility made it necessary for the king to "swear to uphold a steadily expanding body of constitutional law" (Frost, 1990, p. 33). The szlachta promised obedience only so long as the monarchs honored their oath. The nobility forced the king to recognize their right of resistance, indeed, "their duty to disobey the king if he contravened his oath" (Davies, 1982, p. 334).

In subsequent reigns, these 'Henrican Articles' formed a fixed constitutional contract which never varied. They insisted, among other things, on the nobility's right to elect their king freely in the future; . . . on their right to approve all declarations of war, all impositions of taxes, and all summons of the levee-en-masse; on regular meetings of the Sejm according to the Union of Lublin, and on the principle of toleration as enshrined in the act of the Confederation of Warsaw; and on the nomination of the sixteen resident Senators, not by the king, but by the Sejm. (Davies, 1982, p. 334)
By the “16th century, Poland developed an elaborate balance of power” (Brzezinski, 1991, p. 55). The king delegated substantial powers to the Provincial Sejmiki. The nobility monopolized all membership in these bodies. The famous Polish “Noble Democracy” of the 16th-18th centuries was in reality a system of class privilege because it excluded the large peasant population.

Local and regional interests continually clashed with national ones as democratic ideas progressed. The introduction of the Liberum Veto in 1654 assured further political division and paralysis. This veto was a “device whereby any single member could halt the proceedings of the Sejm by a simple expression of dissent (by a personal veto) . . . . It was considered quite improper to continue when a single voice was raised with the words Veto (I deny) or Nie pozwalam (I do not allow it)” (Davies, 1982, p.345). The veto assured that anyone could suspend the sessions of parliament at will. In the reign of King August III (1733-63), “Only one session of the diet succeeded in passing any legislation at all, in a span of thirty years” (Davies, 1982, p. 303).

The Polish craze for democratic rule resulted in fragmentation of the country into local power bases that weakened national unity at a time when Poland’s neighbors were consolidating autocratic regimes with power firmly established at the center. Poland's political and “constitutional paralysis paved the way for financial ruin, for military impotence, and for foreign invasion” (Davies, 1986, pp. 301-305).

The Partitioning of Poland

The overemphasis on legislative power weakened the nation and resulted in a series of defeats and national Partitions beginning in 1773. It culminated in the dissolution of the nation
with the Third Partition in 1795 (Davies, pp. 541-542). Ironically the partitions of Poland occurred during the European Enlightenment. Poland's leading patriots and reformers understood the "French recipes by heart, but they had no hope of feeding the nation any sort of diet until they took control of their own kitchen" (Davies, 1982, p. 532).

After the First Partition, patriotic reformers attempted to take control of Poland through the formation of a secret coalition known as the "Four Year Diet." Members of the Sejm worked secretly on the drafting of an indigenous constitution that was ratified on May 3, 1791. The Russians, however, viewed the work of the Four Year Sejm as an act of revolutionary conspiracy and set about crushing its reforms (Davies, pp. 529-531). The result was the Second Partition.

Nevertheless, to later generations, this Constitution of the Third of May assumed a symbolic importance out of all relation to its practical significance. It was the Bill of Rights of the Polish tradition, the embodiment of all that was enlightened and progressive in Poland's past. . . . Karl Marx expressed his fulsome admiration: 'This constitution appears against the background of Russo-Prusso-Austrian barbarity as the only work of freedom which Central Europe has ever produced of its own accord. . . . The history of the world knows no other example of such generosity by the gentry.' (Davies, 1982, p.535)

The Constitution of May 3, 1791

The Constitution of May 3, 1791, was the first written constitution in European history. It replaced the liberum veto with a majority vote and enhanced the power of the executive ending the Pacta Conventa. The constitution also gave burghers new rights of freedom from arbitrary arrest, the right to purchase landed estates, and the recognition of their upward mobility. This made them "junior partners with the nobility in political life" (Stone, 1990, p. 67).
The peasants, comprising 75% of the population, however, gained no significant political or civil rights from the constitutional reforms (Stone, 1990, p.67). Political leaders inspired by the ideals of the Enlightenment attempted a broader democratic reformation including the peasants at the time of the 1794 Uprising.

**The Polaniec Manifesto and the 1794 Uprising**

The Kosciuszko Uprising of 1794 resulted in an attempt to expand the privileges and immunities of the Noble Democracy. Leading members of the aristocracy advocated hitherto unheard of rights for the peasantry.

Where the purpose of the May Constitution had . . . been a mild revolution, the 1794 Uprising engineered a bloodless social restructuring . . . Serfdom was not abolished, but it was curbed . . . through the inculcation of a social awareness of the peasants . . . More than that, they [the reformers] aimed at the education and enlightenment—indeed ultimately at the enfranchisement—of the largest social classes. (Kasparek-Obst, 1980, p. 61)

Although the aristocracy granted the newly empowered peasant class historically unprecedented rights, the insurrection failed. The partitioning powers, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, signed the final partition at St. Petersburg in the year 1797. It stated that

in view of the necessity to abolish everything which could revive the memory of the existence of the Kingdom of Poland . . . the high contracting parties are agreed and undertake never to include in their titles . . . the name or designation of the Kingdom of Poland, which shall remain suppressed as from the present and forever. (Davies, 1982, p. 542)

As a result of the Third Partition, it was impossible to implement any of the advanced constitutional and democratic social projects. Nonetheless, these ideals continued to develop amidst national suffering and oppression which gave birth to political philosophers and poets who inspired the nation with their liberal ideas expressed in prose and poetry.
These thinkers included Hugo Kollataj and Stanislaw Staszic. Kollataj, a "major architect of the May 3, 1791 Constitution" (Skurnowicz, 1990, p.75) believed that the peasants should be treated with "dignity and extended citizenship." He also advocated "granting worthy individuals, such as teachers and soldiers, the opportunity to enter the szlachta estate" (Skurnowicz, 1990, p.77).

Staszic, like Kollataj, advocated a wider diffusion of szlachta virtues and the ennobling of all inhabitants of "Polish lands, who would then share the privileges and obligations of citizenship" (Skurnowicz, 1990, p.80). He appealed to the szlachta to end feudal oligarchic government so that a "real republic of the whole nation might be born" (Skurnowicz, 1990, p.80).

This group of reformers endeavored to change the nation by means of educational institutions. New schools subordinated to universities advocated by Kollataj, Rector of the Uniwersytet Jagiellonski w Krakowie, aimed at the formation of a "nation in the Polish-republican sense: the nation was to be composed of citizens, not only szlachta" (Rostorowski, 1990, p.81).

Kollataj and Staszic influenced an entire generation helping to give birth to fundamental democratic ideals expressed in the new genre of Romantic literature. Even through the dark days of foreign occupation, Romanticism "could always supply the nation's needs whenever Polish politics was found wanting" (Davies, 1982, pp. 21-22).

Adam Mickiewicz's poetry embodies the Polish spirit:

For the Polish nation did not die. Its body lieth in the grave; but its spirit has descended into the abyss, that is into the private lives of the people who suffer slavery in their own country... But on the third day the soul shall return again
to the body, and the Nation shall rise, and free all the peoples of Europe from slavery. (Davies, 1982, p.9)

Mickiewicz's use of the concept "Nation" in the upper case is significant. Prior to 1795, the "Polish nation was usually reserved as an appellation for those inhabitants who enjoyed full civil and political rights, and thus for the nobility alone" (Davies, 1982, p.11).

As a result of romanticism and Polish tenacity, the partitioners could not erase the evolving Polish cultural heritage. Poland's democratic traditions continued to develop, even during the most oppressive Third Partition. Solidarity and mass democratization, ironically resulted from a German and Russian kulturkampf which attempted to remove the official Latin language and impose Russian and German in its place. This was a decisive moment in Polish history and it coincided with the democratic reforms. Latin was the language of the szlachta; it set them apart from the peasants, who spoke the native Polish. With the suppression of Latin, the Polish tongue became a "great force of unity, while previously it had divided. It united the nobility with the peasantry, pushing them towards a common cultural heritage" (Davies, 1982, p.21). People became "conscious of shared traditions, and ideals of equality" (Davies, 1982, p.88) which helped to forge a deeper understanding of democracy and the unity of the nation in the 19th and 20th centuries.

**Manifesto of the Polish Democratic Society**

In November 1830 a new uprising occurred as a result tyrannical Russian injustices. According to Joan Skurnowicz, "The concrete goal to create a unified society, a modern nation as a prerequisite for the restoration of the Polish state entered into the mainstream of Polish
political thought" (1990, p.91). The failure of the Uprising resulted in a great emigration of Polish intellectuals to the West and a period of intense Russification.

Of the many fraternities formed in exile, the Polish Democratic Society (TDP) proved to be the most durable. The TDP issued its famous Manifesto in 1836. The Manifesto affirmed belief in the Sovereignty of the People, in a Democratic Republican Government, in the Universal Rights of Man, and the principle of social equality . . . It condemned the szlachta for its monopoly of power and its historical refusal to grant citizenship to the peasants. . . . The manifesto was the most comprehensive and succinct creed of democratic principles in Polish political tradition. (Lewalski, 1990, p.103)

The Manifesto advocated a reborn Poland in which political power (Wszechwładztwo) would "be returned to the people. The present ruling class would be disbanded, would have to descend to the people. . . . The democratic idea, which now is in the hands of the subjugated, would become a unifying force" (Manifesto of the Polish Democratic Society, quoted in Biskupski & Pula, 1990, p. 206). These words manifested the evolution of Polish political ideas. However, given the nature of the foreign occupation, they remained mere rhetoric. Poland would have to wait until its rebirth as a nation during the Second Republic inaugurated in 1921.

Poland Between the Wars

Due to superpower negotiations, Poland emerged from World War I as an independent nation. Once again the Poles repeated the political mistakes of the past: excessive pluralism; an overly powerful but divided legislature incapable of decisive steps in a time of hyper-inflation and profound social unrest; and a weak executive incapable of uniting the nation. The situation deteriorated and resulted in a coup led by Marshall Pilsudski in May of 1926.

Under Pilsudski's guidance a new constitution was adopted in 1935. This constitution significantly increased the power of the executive and made the "sejm, the senate, the armed
forces, the courts, the Government, and a Supreme Board of Control all subordinate" to him (Kasparek-Obst, 1980, p.103).

Pilsudski favored rule by a political aristocracy, albeit, a natural aristocracy as defined by Thomas Jefferson. This increased opportunity for all members of society even those from the lower strata if they possessed the requisite virtue and merit. Understood thusly, Pilsudski's rule was an advance in the unfolding Polish democratic heritage: The constitutional rights granted to the populace in 1935 had been articulated but never implemented during the period of 16th-20th century Poland.

Pilsudski's guided democracy did not last long; he died only three weeks after the constitution's ratification. In 1939, German and Soviet troops once again crossed Polish borders. Poland found itself in the grip of foreign oppressors unable as yet to let its latent light of democracy burst forth. This illumination would have to wait another five decades for the collapse of totalitarian Communist rule. The combined Nazi-Soviet occupation resulted in numerous attempts to force the country into submission. The unexpected rise of the Solidarity Revolution broke the totalitarian shackles. This revolution was viewed by many in Poland as the beginning of the poetic prophecy formulated 150 years earlier by Mieckiewicz: Poland would rise again and “set all the nations of Europe free.”

the soul shall return again to the body,
and the Nation shall rise, and free all the peoples
of Europe from slavery. (Davies, 1982, p.9)

Solidarity

Throughout Polish constitutional and democratic history the enfranchisement and ascendancy of working class people were latent ideals. As a result of the Solidarity social
movement, these ideas resurfaced. The Solidarity revolution might accomplish what the Communist Revolution was unable to accomplish: more equitable social structures and sharing of national resources, the freeing of people from alienating labor and from the spiritual despair which makes life miserable, from the profound human alienation which separates human beings from themselves, each other, and from nature.

The Solidarity revolution was a paradox for the ruling Communist regime. Communism claimed to represent the workers, but it was the workers it claimed to represent who revolted under the banner of Solidarity. Solidarity, a sui generis democratic philosophy had the possibility of replacing the seemingly advanced doctrine of Communism. This new social and political philosophy required the cooperative effort of workers and intellectuals. If it was to be truly democratic, it could not be the product of an elite “vanguard” of Marxist or Szlachta origin. There could be no more “dictatorship of the proletariat.”

Throughout the nation, industrial and agricultural workers occupied many of the most significant positions of political leadership. In the first local elections, the Polish people chose over 50,000 new political leaders to run local governments; the bulk of these new leaders were working people with only high school diplomas (Senator Stepien, 1990, pp. 1-13). An electrician and labor union leader, Lech Walesa, defeated a leading member of the intelligentsia, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, for the presidency. Poland had a president who claimed to be a “man of the soil, not the academy” (Walesa, 1987, p.4). The electors chose him, an electrician, to help guide the nation through the formative stages of democracy. Unlike America's founders and first presidents, Walesa was not a wealthy member of the aristocracy.
Maritain (1986) foresaw this type of historic ascendancy of the working and peasant classes:

Whether we will it or not, and in accordance with an essential postulate of democratic thought, the new leadership must come forth from the depths of the nations. It will be composed of the working and peasant elite, together with the elements of the former leading classes which have decided to work with the people. (p.67)

Solidarity held the historical promise of the maturity of the working class and the unity of all classes as foreseen by Maritain. It was a threat to the ruling Communist regime and “perhaps like the Noble Democracy it [was] also ahead of its time” (Ash, 1985, p. 229).

According to Carroll “From August 1980 to December 1981, Solidarity seemed to carry all before it; then, literally overnight, it was crushed” (1989, p. 537). The Communist President, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, declared a “state of war” on Solidarity and Polish society in December of 1981. The surprise was “total, the suppression massive, swift, iron-fisted, and universal” (Carroll 1989, p. 546).

By the seventieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1987, Solidarity was not able to rebound from the crushing blow delivered by Jaruzelski. It appeared that Davies, Ash, and Carroll were correct: Solidarity was ahead of its time. From the present historical hindsight clearly Solidarity from 1981-1987 was ahead of its time. It is also clear that its time may have now come. The beginning of independence and the demise of the Soviet Union coincided with the Solidarity Revolution that culminated in 1989. This peaceful revolution finally toppled the Communist regime in Poland and caused a domino like effect throughout all of Eastern and Central Europe.
A careful study of democratic origins in the United States illustrated how atypical was the rise of Solidarity and the Polish working class. Colonial America, according to Bernard Bailyn, was "dominated by the sense that the natural social leaders of society should be the political leaders" (1968, p.88). John Jay, a writer of the Federalist papers, made the point clearly: "The people who own the country ought to govern it" (Bowen, 1966, p.72). The innovative idea that permitted common people to choose their own representatives was radical for the times. But no one seriously thought that these same people were fit to lead a nation. In fact, there was serious debate concerning their ability to simply choose leaders (Bowen pp. 69-79). This led to the establishment of an electoral college which, in practice, kept the choice of senators and the executive in the hands of the aristocracy (Gruver, 1972, p. 213).

Further, the American Framers were well versed in the radical political ideas of the Enlightenment. But they were unable to part with the institution of slavery. In spite of all the noble oratory pertaining to the Rights of Man, the slave trade was given legal sanction and the Negro defined in the constitution as 3/5s of a human for political purposes (Gruver, 1972, pp. 211-212). The Emancipation Proclamation announcing the freeing of slaves was not issued until 1863. The dignity and equal treatment demanded by Negroes would have to wait a further 100 years for the Supreme Court ruling (1954) in Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. The court declared that separate facilities for Negroes are inherently unequal thus giving rise to desegregation and the Civil Rights movement of the fifties and sixties (Alexander & Alexander, 1985, pp. 409-414). In short, democracy in America was still evolving in 1990. The "tragedy of modern democracies is that they have not yet succeeded in realizing
democracy" (Maritain, 1986, p.18). If political suffrage for common people was a radical idea in America, political leadership exercised by common people is a revolutionary idea in Poland.

Solidarity was, in many ways, a worker's movement which held the promise of cooperation between the social classes and the sharing of political power in the shaping of the nation's destiny. According to Andrzej Micewski, who was one of Walesa's chief counselors, “There is no doubt that group (the intelligentsia) played a leading role in the creation of the Solidarnosc movement, although it should be said that most of the credit should go to the workers” (Cardinale, 1990, p.13).

Unfortunately, a fault line developed between the intellectuals and the workers with whom they shared power. Certain members of the intelligentsia still held undemocratic and elitist ideas that workers and peasants were unfit for political leadership. According to Peter Grootings,

when we look at the human resource side of the reform, we notice a great deal of attention being given to education and training of entrepreneurs and managers, and also some attention to supporting the unemployed. But that is almost all. It seems that with the greatly desired dissolution of the communist system the working class has ceased to exist. (1991, p.29)

Walesa recognized the seriousness of the growing division. In addressing the problem at a political rally in Krakow a city that unites Polish history and Solidarnosc, he said, “I will do all I can to keep the intelligentsia and the workers united” (Cardinale, 1990, p.7).

This task of social unity, of Solidarity, built on democratic principles was in many ways, the duty of the Polish Ministry of National Education. This Ministry had the mission to develop democratic pedagogical methodologies and curricula, to educate its teachers in the nature and intricacies of democratic citizenship, and to develop a delivery system for the
transferal of this new knowledge and understanding. Failure to act decisively on this mission would most likely result in an increasing split within the government. There would also be a rift between the nation and the state, just as there was during the Partitions and under Communist rule. Such a rift would make all talk about democracy and Solidarity meaningless. According to Twardecki, there was

an absence of political dialogue in Poland and of a common language and clear understanding of the situation—both on the part of the ruling elite and the public... There is a danger of a gap being created between the elite and those who are governed... It now seems that one of the most urgent tasks is to make our leaders aware of this danger. Only then can we count on a mutual understanding between those who govern and those who are governed, on the support of the majority of the public, and on the success of our political reforms. (1992, p.10)

In order to avoid a split and to keep the hope and promise of a democracy built upon principles of Solidarity alive, the citizens of Poland had to persuade the National Ministry of Education to provide the educational innovations that would enable them to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to participate in the building up of their country.

The principle role in the next phase of evolution belongs to it [the working class] and to its own historical upward movement. It is not, however, by withdrawing from the rest of the community in order to exercise a class dictatorship, as Marxism would have it, that the workers and peasants will be in a position to play this inspiring and renewing role. It is by organizing and educating [italics added] themselves, by becoming aware of their responsibilities in the community, and by uniting in their task all the elements, to whatever class they may belong, who have determined to work with them for human liberty. (Maritain, 1986, pp. 170-171)

If Maritain was correct, to assure their ascendancy, the Polish people needed access to new forms of higher education especially at the local level. There the practice of democracy was most crucially in accord with both the principles of federalism and subsidiarity.
The task was more than momentous; the revolution was only a starting point. Poland had many heroes who were known for their stubborn tenacity in the face of totalitarian adversity. Could these people do more than resist opposition? Could they do more than tear down oppressive regimes? Could they also build a modern democratic nation that implemented the democratic ideals that the country had so long suffered to preserve? The new working class leaders had to endeavor to receive and then provide the people of Poland with the indispensable learning that would suit them for leadership and the sharing of power with traditionally well educated political and social leaders. The danger was most acute at the local levels of government, where the majority of newly elected leaders were from the working and peasant classes. Lack of quality community education would most likely result in power shifting back to the center, to paternalism, and to federal mandates that were necessitated by incompetence at the district and local levels.

In fact, Article 96 section 1 of the local government law of 1990 provided a provision for power shifting back to the center in the event of incompetence at the local level.

In the event of recurring violations of the constitution or of legislative Laws by the Gmina [local government] Council, the Sejm (national legislature) may, at the request of the Prime Minister, then appoint a person who will perform the functions of those authorities, pending the election of new Gmina authorities.

From the beginning, Solidarity stressed the importance of local democratic government. When Walesa was still an electrician and the leader of a labor movement he, according to Davies,

rejected the concept of a centralized organization based on a powerful central executive issuing directives to its regional branches. Instead, he argued in favor of the sovereignty of the existing regional (strike) committees, whose delegates to the National Co-ordinating Committee would be free to approve or ignore its
recommendations. Such a system is strangely reminiscent of the Sejm and Sejmiki of the old Republic. (1982, p. 723)

Thus, from the beginning, Walesa advocated local power and initiative and a program of local democratic representation. Davies concludes that, “The Polish working class can be seen to be reviving the political traditions of the Noble Democracy-traditions that have seemed to survive almost two centuries of suppression” (Davies, 1982, p. 724).

Good as this may seem, it is necessary to recall the repressive and anti-democratic tendencies of the Noble Democracy which (advanced as they were) served only the szlachta estate and left the common people in a state of dependency and poverty without equal protection of the laws. The rebirth of democratic ideas indigenous to Poland was only a possibility.

As part of the transition from the old system to the new, about 3,000 citizens groups under the auspices of the newly formed Commission for Local Self Government met to form, and establish the procedure for the election of 110,000 local councilors (Brzezinski, 1991).

These local elections took place on May 27, 1990. Across the country, 52,000 seats were contested. “Generally speaking, the election was won by candidates endorsed by Solidarity Civic Committees” (Stepien 1991, p. 11). However, only 25% of these elected officials had ever participated in government before; 70% had only a high school education or less (Stepien 1991).

According to Brzezinski

The organizers of the new local government system face the dilemma of how to train and to educate over half a million people-who for years were urged by a totalitarian centralized state not to participate in local governance-to operate the new municipalities under democratic traditions.” (1991, p.107 note)
To assure the consummation of Poland's unique democratic tradition, the exercise of political power at the local community level needed nurturing through sound and wholly adequate systems of local education for political, economic, and social leaders. The newly empowered agricultural and industrial workers were also called to participate in the governing of the nascent democratic structures being erected throughout Poland. This type of political exercise required new innovations in democratic education of both elected political leaders and newly empowered industrial and agricultural workers.

In the United States, the community college promoted democratic growth including the education and empowerment of working people. Many of these people became political and social leaders, others became more highly educated citizens better able to participate in the affairs of their country. Local colleges similar to the community colleges in America were necessary in Poland if it was to achieve its status as a democratic nation.
CHAPTER 3

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

In disquisition's of every kind there are certain primary truths, or first principles upon which all subsequent reasoning must depend. . . Of this nature are the maxims in geometry that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts; that things equal to the same are equal to one another; that two straight lines cannot enclose a space; and that all right angles are equal to each other. Of the same nature are these other maxims in ethics and politics, that there cannot be an effect without a cause; that the means ought to be proportioned to the end; that every power ought to be commensurate with its object.

Alexander Hamilton; Federalist Papers No. 31

James Wattenbarger (1950) constructed a community college planning model for the state of Florida on six generally accepted assumptions that pertain to education in democratic societies. According to Wattenbarger (p.15), “There are at least six assumptions with respect to public education which seem to be basic to the development of public junior colleges.” These six assumptions are

1. **Equal opportunity for the individual.** Democratic education must offer equal opportunity for all youth to develop as the interests and the abilities of each seem to indicate.

2. **Value to democratic government.** Democratic education is necessary for democratic government.

3. **Value to society.** Democratic education is necessary for the continuous improvement of society.

4. **State responsibility.** Democratic education . . . is best accomplished when the states assume responsibility for developing the framework of educational structure and for equalizing opportunity within their borders.

5. **Local control.** Democratic education is best accomplished when a large measure of local control of education is vested in local administrative units.
6. **Post-high school education.** The changing character of the population and the dance of technology make education beyond the twelfth grade necessary if one accepts the first five assumptions. (pp. 15-16)

According to Wattenbarger the sixth assumption, based upon acceptance of the other five, was basic to the development of public junior colleges in the United States (1950, p.16). To these five assumptions could be added three others which made the sixth applicable and essential for the development of a democratic society in Poland:

a. The historical rise of the Polish worker necessitates democratic education in order to avoid a reversion to either totalitarian or oligarchic rule.

b. The abrupt transition from Communism/Socialism to democracy is so immense that new types of democratic education for Polish citizens is imperative.

c. The expansion of educational opportunity at the secondary level planned by the Polish National Ministry of Education will result in increased demand for postsecondary educational opportunities. This new demand necessitates the creation of community colleges if the other assumptions are accepted.

These assumptions, when grounded in historical examination and a valid philosophy of education, become, according to Hamilton, "first principles upon which all subsequent reasoning depends." Fully integrated, these principles form an educational foundation upon which a community college in Poland should be built. However, both the foundation and the subsequent community college system will be affected by the realities of the Polish environment. Consequently, the researcher examined this milieu. "To say what ought to be or what ought to be done without discovering what is, is meaningless. . . . The application of a law or policy to a particular case depends on a judgment of the particular facts of the case" (Adler, 1958, p. 60).
“I shall” thus “divide into two parts the considerations that I should like to submit, one dealing with philosophical principles, the other with practical application” (Maritain, 1962, p.44). “Unless we start by setting ourselves straight on the level of theory, we shall certainly go backward rather than forward on the level of practice” (Adler, 1945, p.111). Accordingly, this chapter presents the educational theory underlying the first principles from which the research proceeds. Chapter six provides a study of the Polish environment. In chapter seven the principles are applied. Of the nine principles or assumptions listed, the first (Equal Opportunity for the Individual) was of special and critical importance.

Assumption Number 1: Equal Opportunity for the Individual

Educational opportunity for all people is a relatively recent idea. This idea is well known in modern democratic societies that stress the rights and dignity of each citizen. The concept of universal education, a natural corollary of universal suffrage, is incompatible with the limited educational opportunity characteristic of ancient aristocratic societies. These societies formulated the undemocratic educational doctrine that some people are born free and others are by nature slaves or servants existing to perform servile labor that others might prosper and pursue a life of learning and leisure (Adler 1957, p. 129). Thomas Jefferson articulated the fundamental democratic tenet: “All eyes are opened, or are opening to the rights of man. . . . The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them” (Counts, 1934, p. 20).
Only an elite aristocracy received the benefits of a liberal education in the Ancient World, which fitted them to "ride" on the backs of a large slave class destined to a life of toil. In fact, the term *schola* (school) originally meant a learned discussion or dispute which only those with time for leisure and "they alone" could engage in" (Adler, 1958, p. 6). Writing about liberal education in 1945, Adler asserted that it is undoubtedly easier to formulate a plan of liberal education if it is intended only for a limited few favored with endowment or economic wealth. However, in a democratic society the formulation of an educational plan is much more complex because it involves giving every citizen the type of education once given to only a favored few. Of course, there were those, like Rousseau, quoted in Adler, (1958. p. 7) who took exception: "Why should men who lived and died in the sweat of their labor be sent to school?" Because, the authentic democrat rebuts, if they were sent to school, perhaps they would not have to live and die in the sweat of their labor. Apparently Rousseau had difficulty comprehending the relationship between human dignity, universal suffrage, and universal education.

Adler answered Rousseau by clearly stating in *The Schooling of a People*, that the underlying assumptions supporting universal education in a democratic society "all rest on the proposition declared self-evident in the Declaration of Independence; namely, that all men are by nature equal" (1958, p.129). The sanctity of each human being is the essence of democracy. It is the reason why every individual in an authentic democratic society should be given equal opportunity to develop. Redden and Ryan cogently expressed this fundamental democratic tenet:
Democracy does not rest on freedom of restraint. It does not depend on
universal suffrage. It probably can persist without freedom of speech or press.
These are external expressions and safeguards of a deeply fundamental truth of
human nature. . . . Democracy recognizes that it must wither and die as a
distinctive way of life if it abandons the primacy of the individual. (1944,
p.103)

The alternatives according to Robert Hutchins are "democracy with liberal
education for all, and aristocracy, with liberal education for the few" (1976, p. 88).
Hutchins' thoughts applied to the conditions in post-Socialist Poland, which found
itself potentially liberated from decades of totalitarian rule: "We are living through
one of the greatest revolutionary periods in history. . . . The real goal is justice. It is
to throw off the yoke of the oppressor, foreign or domestic, and to enable every
human being . . . to achieve his potential" (Hutchins, 1976, p. 88). Maritain insisted
that the primary reason people formed political communities was to advance the
common good and the good of each and every individual person through the right to
work, to private property, to exercise political power, and to receive an education

Democratic societies provide the opportunity of educating and emancipating
all people from ignorance and helping them to achieve their full human potential.
However, advocacy of human development is without meaning unless educators have
a definition of human nature. If it is true that the primary end of education in
democratic society is human development, human development becomes the first
principle of education because "the end of education is its first principle" (Adler,
1958 p.46, italics added). Maritain, also realized this fact: "The first problem in
education is to define the ends" (1943, p. 3).
Because education aims at helping people toward their own human achievement, it cannot, according to Maritain "escape the problems and entanglements of philosophy, for it supposes by its very nature a philosophy of man, and from the outset it is obliged to answer the question: what is man" (1943, p. 4)? How can educators help humans if they do not know what a human being is? It is unnecessary to formulate a philosophy of man for this dissertation. It is enough to simply state that such an anthropology should include both empirical and ontological elements drawn from both scientific inquiry and deductive reason. At the core of this philosophy is the development of the human person for whom democratic society ultimately exists. On this first principle there is general and wide acceptance. It is sufficient to realize that:

- every theory of education is based on a conception of life and, consequently, is associated with a system of philosophy.
- Naturalistic philosophy has given rise to naturalistic education (Spencer); Socialism to social education (Durkheim, Dewey, Natrop, Kerschensteiner); Nationalism to a national and state system of education (Fichte and the Prussian school). (Maritain, 1962, p. 39)

No serious student of education can avoid the question "What is man?" This question is the "unavoidable preamble to any philosophy of education" (Maritain, 1962, p. 51).

The question of human nature:

Regarding the question, What is man?, Adler, (1941) a Perennial educational theorist, responded:

Human nature is everywhere the same. . . . By human nature I mean the nature a human offspring has at birth--whatever it is that makes that offspring something capable of growing into a man rather than a flea or a pig. . . . Trying to make a baby pig into an adult man is one miracle no educator has ever attempted. . . . When I speak of constancy and universality of human nature, I mean precisely what a biologist means when he speaks of uniformity in
procreation of any plant or animal species. . . . So long as the human species endures on earth, all members of that species will have the same specific nature. (pp. 58-59)

It is a sociological fact that human beings acquire a cultural heritage and that this heritage evolves in history (see Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, and Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*). However, the fundamental structure of human nature, the “dignity, rights and aspirations [of] a person . . . do not change” (Maritain, 1962, p. 51). The cultural and historical domains of education are ceaselessly changing and in “flux.” The human being, however, has certain enduring characteristics such as the emotions of joy and sadness, love and hatred, jealousy and altruism, calm and anger, which attest to the permanent aspects of human nature. Every human being possesses the intellectual abilities to memorize, to imagine, and to understand (Kelly, 1956, pp. 17-18). There are universal cultural institutions that attest to the human desire to transcend the ordinary and the culturally mundane. According to Adler “Man in the past, in the present, and in the future is still man; there is such a thing as human nature” (1958, p. 169). The abiding characteristics of human nature make it “sheer illusion to speak of a ceaseless reconstruction of the aims of education” (Maritain, 1962, p. 52).

There is what Maritain refered to as “individuality” distinct from “personality” (1943, pp. 7-9) “Here we face the classical distinction between the ego and the self which both Hindu and Christian philosophies [as well as humanistic psychology] have emphasized” (Maritain, 1943, p. 8). Individuality is subject to cultural and historical change, for example, the cultural belief patterns which influence a person’s thinking.
Personality, however, is beyond the flux and constitutes the enduring emotional, intellectual, and aesthetic capacities which make the human species unique and possible.

Development of the interior qualities of personality are as essential to people as are the exterior habiliments and mechanical habits necessary to sustain dignified human existence. “The welfare of individuals and societies depends not only upon external developments that take place in the world but also upon an inner balance which men and women as individuals and as members of societies have some power to achieve and retain” (Nef, 1946, p. 6).

Consequently, Maritain (1943) reasoned that the kind of animal training which deals with psychophysical habits, conditioned reflexes, sense memorization, etc., undoubtedly plays its role in education. . . . But education is not animal training. The education of man is human awakening. What matters most in education is the continual appeal to the intelligence and free will in the young. (p. 9)

Education has many specific aims, including the transmission of a nation’s culture and heritage, the story of human development enfolded in the history of civilizations, the preparation for civic duties, and the skills which lead to employment and material betterment. These must at no time be disregarded. However, the primary aim of education is to fortify a person with “knowledge, strength of judgment, and moral virtues” (Maritain, 1962, p. 10). Clearly education has a sociological function, which serves both the individual and society and enables a person to take part in social life. But, this is not the primary aim it is the secondary essential aim. . . . The essence of education does not consist in adapting a potential citizen to the conditions and interactions of social life,
but first in making a man, (person) and by this very fact in preparing a citizen. (Maritain, 1962, pp. 14-15)

Hutchins (1976) also recognized that every society must have some means of socialization. However, social and cultural ends require educational leaders to make normative philosophical judgments. Adler believed that such judgments are necessary in education because educational judgments are practical judgments involving alternative actions that depend in part upon knowledge of the matters in fact involved. Facts are descriptive. They tell us what is the case. . . . They do not tell us what to do about it. But educational judgments are, in the end, not descriptive, but prescriptive, they tell us what to do. It is precisely at this point, where a judgment must be made as to what to do educationally, that the still more fundamental principles, the principles upon which judgments are made about good or bad, right and wrong, just and unjust, come into play. They are normative, or moral, or value judgments indicating what should or should not be done in a given situation. (1958, p.60)

Normative judgments reside in the domain of practical philosophy; they are invalid in the realm of empirical social science which is limited by the self imposed epistemological boundaries of positivism. Although education is a social science, it involves practical decisions that effect human beings in no small way. It is nearly impossible to remain value neutral in educational practice. Is it prudent to render judgments affecting human lives without asking if they are good or bad, right or wrong? Because an educational philosopher like Hutchins did ask such questions, he rejected pejorative educational practices:

If a state is bad, like a Nazi or Communist state, it makes men bad in order that they may be tractable subjects of a bad state . . . It may be what society wants. In pragmatic terms, in terms of success in the society, it may be a good system. Although it may be a system of training or instruction, or adaptation, or meeting immediate ends, it is not a system of education. No, the purpose of education is to improve men [people]. If education makes them bad it is not education, but something else. Society is to be improved not by forcing a program of social reform . . . through the schools or otherwise, but by
improvement of the individuals who compose it. . . The individual is the heart of society. (1976, p. 67)

The validity of this statement was so apparent that Adler proclaimed that the adjustment school [which favored the sociological ends of education and the molding of the educand to the social environment] was the "highest treason to the child" (1958, p. 17). He was vehement in denouncing: education that placed primary emphasis on maintaining or improving the existing social order while neglecting the need to improve human beings. (Adler, 1958, p. 17). According to Benjamin Barber, Whitman Professor of Political Science at Rutgers "If schooling merely imitates society, it can only replicate and reinforce its weaknesses" (1992, p. 222). Finally, Maritain (1962) also criticized the structural functional approach to education. He believed that education should never depart from its essential mission to improve human beings. When education is reduced to a functional sociological institution serving the ends of a particular society, it can be corrupted by the seemingly objective norms, mores, and folkways of that society. If society is "permeated with errors, cruelties, or slavery, the task of education is not to perpetuate it, but to strive to change it" (Maritain, 1962, p. 99).

In summary, the proper object and primary end of education in a democratic society is the development of each human person. Its real aim is to make a human, the liberation of the human person. All of the civil and political rights enjoyed by people in democratic societies, including the right to an education, ultimately rest on "the respect for human dignity in each individual, whether or not he represents an
economic value for society—all these rights are rooted in the vocation of the person” (Maritain, 1986, pp. 158-159).

Assumption Number 2: Value to Democratic Government.

Horace Mann recognized this basic tenet when he stated that “the establishment of a republican form of government without well-appointed and efficient means for universal education of the people is the most rash and foolhardy experiment ever tried by man” (quoted in Adler, 1958, p. 281). Early in the development of the United States Thomas Jefferson and many of his contemporaries pointed out the need for education if the people were to rule themselves (Wattenbarger, 1950, p. 18). A democracy is the “only society that can be destroyed by the ignorance of its people, for its people are its sovereigns. The subject can live politically without an education, the citizen cannot” (Adler, 1958, p. 119).

Thomas Jefferson understood the necessary link between democracy and education. He argued, said Barber (1992) in his Notes on Virginia, that if the people are “the ultimate guardians of their own liberty,” then we had best “render them safe” via a “thorough education.” He wrote to James Madison that “the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty is to educate and inform the whole mass of people” (Barber, 1992, pp. 223-224).

A nascent democratic society (indeed all democratic societies) such as Poland, required democratic education if it was to remain on the path to democracy and avoid retrogression to totalitarian rule, oligarchy and paternalism. According to Tocqueville, the concentration of power and the subjection of individuals will increase amongst democratic nations, not in the same proportion as their equality, but in the same proportion as their ignorance. Amongst a nation which is ignorant
as well as democratic, an amazing difference cannot fail speedily to arise between the intellectual capacity of the ruler and that of each of his subjects . . . The administrative function of the state is perpetually extended, (under such circumstances) because the state alone is competent to administer the affairs of the country. (Reeve, 1968, p. 309)

As long as citizenship was limited to basic political participation it did not require mass education. However, in a democracy political participation extends beyond basic privileges and immunities to the ability to affect and sometimes (through referendum) to determine public policy. Consequently, democratic societies have a special incentive to provide mass education (Adler, 1958, p. 8).

Education is essential in democratic societies. Almost every theorist agrees with this assumption. The more difficult task is to define what education in a democratic society entails.

What is democratic education?

The solution to the question, what is democratic education? is found in the reasoning that led Wattenbarger (1950) and other leading educational theorists to adopt assumption one, the primacy of each individual human person in a democratic society. It is an education, said Maritain (1962), which “helps human persons to shape themselves, discipline themselves, to love and prize the high truths which are the very root and safeguard of their dignity”(p. 158). A democratic education is not an education which inculcates democratic slogans

in children and regiments them for democracy in the manner that a fascist education inculcates fascist slogans in children and regiments them for service of a fascist state. To train along lines inspired by animal training is precisely the special mark of the totalitarian states. . . .Let them keep it! They will die of it! (Maritain, 1962, p. 153)
The advocacy of human growth and development in democratic societies led to the rejection of the acquisition of vocational and technical skills as the primary aims of democratic education. Such aims are essential, but, they are secondary and subordinate to the first principle of full human growth, which makes a person most fit for any vocation or profession. The people of Poland have experienced the dehumanizing effects of industrial labor served by a system of vocational education which functioned as a tool of the technological ends of the state. This system did as much to dehumanize human beings as it did to liberate them from the bondage of industrial servitude for which the schools prepared them.

Lech Walesa, the president of Poland, explained the situation of the worker in that country under Communist rule.

People had to get up at four or five in the morning and travel to work on a train packed to the roof, they slaved away until six or eight in the evening and then went home only to fall asleep on their chairs, in front of a bowl of soup or the television. They worked from dawn to dusk every God-given day and in frightful conditions: in rain, wind, and freezing temperatures, or else in suffocating heat, breathing the fumes given off by lead paints and toxic concentrations of welding gases, deafened by the ceaseless din of hammer sand vibrations of the polishing machines. Anyone who doesn't know what is meant by the expression 'rat men', should come to the shipyard and see how the men crawl on their stomachs with their rust scrubbers inside long pipes just wide enough for a man's body, covered in rust and sweat, or how they creep, armed with their acetylene blow torches, to work under the tankers' petroleum tanks. Then they'll see what's meant by exhausting human labor, inhuman labor that ruins a man's health. (1987, p. 82)

Adler (1983) considered the place of vocational education in democratic societies and concluded that although it was an essential part of education, it was outmoded and a vestige of aristocracy.

Most people do not know that democracy, properly defined in the modern sense as constitutional government with truly universal suffrage, and the
securing of all natural or human rights, was not in existence at the beginning of this century (in America). At that time women were still disenfranchised, human rights were not secured, and economic rights were not even dreamed of. It is therefore not surprising that we do not have a democratic system of education. We have instead an anti-democratic, or undemocratic system of education, a holdover from the nineteenth century . . . We have a two track educational system. We separate the children into sheep and goats, and we do not give them the same quality of schooling. It is about time . . . that we try and create . . . a system of schooling that fits democratic society. (pp. 280-281)

In 1951, Adler argued that

Vocational training is training for work or labor, it is specialized rather than general; it is for an extrinsic end; and ultimately it is the education of slaves or workers. . . . It makes no difference whether you say slaves or workers, for you mean that the worker is a man who does nothing but work. (p. 96)

This type of situation does not end by a nation merely throwing off the shackles of totalitarian rule, proclaiming itself to be democratic, and holding free elections which help to qualify it for aid from the World Bank or IMF. Although these things are important, they are just beginnings. A nation has to endeavor valiantly to become democratic in reality. This does not happen by announcing a few rhetorical slogans and giving lip service to the idea. No, a nation becomes democratic, first and foremost, by the education of people, which elevates them and enables them to become participating citizens capable of assisting their country, articulating their needs, organizing to work for justice, partaking in the transformation of society, and making informed and well reasoned choices among potential social, economic, and political leaders.

Prime Minister Pawlak in his inaugural address of 1993 manifested an understanding of the magnitude of educational needs for the construction of a
democratic society in Poland when he “pledged to treat education as an investment in Poland’s future” (Sabbat-Swidlicka, 1994, p. 47). This investment must exceed mere “pay increases” and proceed to a reformation of the entire educational system, starting with the formation of a new generation of educators trained in democratic concepts of education and mastery of the knowledge and means by which human growth is promoted.

If the working person does not receive an education that emphasizes more than just vocational or technical details, he/she will continue in subjugation with little hope of amelioration save the vapid and meaningless sentimentality of political and intellectual overlords. Tocqueville recognized this eventuality.

While the workman concentrates his faculties more and more upon the study of a single detail, the master surveys the extensive whole, and the mind of the latter is enlarged in proportion as that of the former is narrowed. In short time, the one will require nothing but physical strength without intelligence; the other stands in need of science, and almost of genius to assure success. This man resembles more and more the administrator of a vast empire— that man a brute [a rat man]. What is this but aristocracy? (Reeve, 1968, p.218)

Tocqueville referred to this type of rule as an “aristocracy of manufacturers (more appropriately an aristocracy of investors or of capital today) which springs from the bosom of democracy” (Reeve, 1968, p. 219). This type of eventuality should have been of great concern to a country like Poland, where according to Peter Grootings “all in all . . . about 80% of each generation enters the vocational education system. . . . The great mass of Polish people is traditionally channeled into the working class” (1991, p.32). Grootings provides a gloomy reminder about the current situation of the worker in Poland.
When we look at the human resource side of the reform, we notice a great deal of attention being given to education and training of entrepreneurs and managers, and also some attention to supporting the unemployed. But that is almost all. It seems that with the greatly desired dissolution of the communist system the working class has ceased to exist. (1991, p.29)

It is in a world subject to this process of "fragmentation" said Maritain (1943) which "also dreams of having each man pigeonholed for a specialized task in a technocratic beehive, that education has to pursue its work of universal integration" (p.99). Addressing this problem of integration and solidarity at a political rally in Krakow, President Walesa said, "I will do all I can to keep the intelligentsia and the workers united" (Cardinale, December, 1990, p.7). It is to be hoped that the president realized the importance and meaning of these words for secondary and higher education in Poland. Writing about the situation in Poland, Alfred Twardecki, noted that there was

an absence of political dialogue in Poland and of a common language and clear understanding of the situation—both on the part of the ruling elite and the public. . . . There is a danger of a gap being created between the elite and those who are governed. . . . It now seems that one of the most urgent tasks is to make our leaders aware of this danger. Only then can we count on a mutual understanding between those who govern and those who are governed, on the support of the majority of the public, and on the success of our political reforms. (1992, p.10)

"It would seem," said Tocqueville,

as if the rulers of our time sought only to use men to make things great; I wish that they would try a little harder to make great men; that they would set less value on the work, and more upon the workman; that they would never forget that a nation cannot long remain strong when every man belonging to its individually weak; and that no form or combination of social polity has yet been devised to make an energetic people out of a community of pusillanimous and enfeebled citizens. (Reeve, 1968, p.326)

Citizens need an education that ennobles them. Such an education is not merely social adaptation, political indoctrination, nor utilitarian vocationalism. For the
sake of the new democratic society that was being built in Poland, it was more than ever necessary that education there was the

education of man, and education for freedom, the formation of free men for a free commonwealth. . . . However great the need for technicians may be it would be an irremediable mistake not to return to the primacy of liberal education. (Maritain, 1943, p. 103)

Democratic education is liberal education.

Maritain (1962) argued that democracy demands liberal education that promotes the general human development of all people throughout society. People are devastated by an intellect that limits them to one specific task or makes them a technical or vocational tool in the hands of the state. If a liberal education is not made available to every person, “political democracy is a delusion, and the aristocrats [who argued that only they require a liberal education and everyone else a vocational one or none at all] are right” (Adler, 1958, p. 102). It is elitist to assume that only a few people are fit to receive a liberal education and that the rest should be shunted into a type of vocational training. Liberal education treats everyone as an aristocrat and respects the dignity and the ability of each to achieve their fullest potential, given the appropriate pedagogical methodologies, before beginning specific vocational training (Adler, 1957).

Liberal education does not prepare the intellect for a specific functional task. Instead, it “cultivates and liberates as well as forms and equips intelligence, it prepares for the development of the intellectual virtues.”¹ Once this threshold is crossed it “particularizes to a

¹ The intellectual virtues include art, science, and wisdom. These virtues grow through exercise as superadded perfections, superior in quality to natural intelligence (which includes only memory and imagination but not deductive logic or independent reason). We have natural intelligence and scientifically formed intelligence perfected by the intellectual virtues. Science and wisdom are scientifically formed after the acquisition of the arts, which are natural intelligence and skills of
specific branch of knowledge. Universal knowledge is not possible at this level of science or intellectual virtue (as it is at the level of the arts)” (Maritain, 1962, p. 49). Universal education is not the role of elementary school. It should begin in high school and culminate in college. Universal education is possible because it does not aim at developing scientific minds but rather it aims at providing a basic education using the tools of natural intelligence (Maritain, 1962, pp. 49-50). Adler (1941) explained that

wisdom is the highest most excellent intellectual virtue, the arts are the least of the intellectual virtues. But the arts come first in development. Arts require practice in order that skills of reading, writing, speaking, listening, analyzing, measuring, and observing become habits of the intellect. (p.183)

Thus elementary education exercises natural intelligence through the cultivation of sense and imagination (Maria Montessori’s pedagogy is a fine example of this type of education) it involves sensory learning as a tool for the formation of skills which will be more fully formed and prepared (for science) by education at the secondary and collegiate level in the liberal arts and humanities.

Newman (1959) provided perhaps the most eloquent definition of the distinction between art and science. In speaking of the higher intellectual virtues, he made his object clear by juxtaposing them to the “bodily eye” or the ability of the natural intelligence to remember and imagine.

The power of discriminating between truth and falsehood, of sifting out the grains of truth from the mass, of arranging things according to their real value and, . . . of building up ideas. Such a power is the result of scientific formation of mind; it is an acquired faculty [italics added] of judgment, of clear sightedness, of sagacity, of wisdom, of philosophical reach of mind, and of intellectual self possession and repose, qualities which do not come of mere acquirement. The bodily eye, the organ for speaking, writing, listening, analyzing, measuring, and observing. Maritain, J. (1962) The Education of Man. West Port, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
apprehending material objects, is provided by nature; [natural intelligence] the eye of the mind [on the other hand] . . . is the work of discipline and habit. This process of training, by which the intellect, instead of being formed or sacrificed to some particular or accidental purpose, some specific trade or profession . . . is disciplined for its own sake, for the perception of its own proper object, and for its own highest culture, is called liberal education. (pp. 170-171)

The key to understanding liberal education is to realize that it entails continual exercise in the arts and sciences until a person is able to "form habits, which are the vital transformation of the (minds) operative power" (Newman, 1959, p. 183). As such, the goal of an arts and humanities education is "not the mastery of subject matters" but the ability to think, reason and utilize all of the intellectual and artistic skills necessary for the higher study of subject matter at the university where the mind is exercised to its fullest in the domain of independent and original research in scientific pursuits or in quest of wisdom.

Adler repeated this tenet in 1957: "Humanistic study will serve to cultivate the liberal arts rather than lead to learned mastery of the subject itself" (p. 147). Weigle gave a basic summary of the meaning of liberal education.

The very term "liberal arts" is itself vague and confusing to many people. At the risk of oversimplification I will offer a definition which will aim to disassociate the liberal arts . . . from identification with any particular set of courses or subject matters. First, let us think of arts as being skills—in this case, skills of the mind, basically the skills of thinking, communicating, analyzing, and judging. But then, in what sense are they "liberal?" The root meaning to be applied in this case is that of "freeing," . . . The liberal arts then are fundamental skills to which a man must be exposed so that his mind may be freed, that is so that his mind may be sharpened and developed into a convenient and useful tool, always at his command and disposal. It is (a) . . . most practical education equally applicable in any field of future endeavor. (1953, pp. 18-19)

Vocational education, on the other hand, does not seek to develop a person's intellectual skills, but only their functional physical skills. Consequently it is not appropriate in a democracy because it does not help students to become social and political participants but
only workers limited in scope, ability, and outlook (Adler, 1958). "It is unjust and undesirable that those who because of the accidents of youth could not complete the formal schooling that the average citizen obtained in childhood and youth should remain without it all their lives" (Hutchins, 1976, p.85).

If educational leaders in Poland failed to provide liberal education to the citizens of Poland, and the majority of children there continued to receive “an education conceived mainly as special trade preparation,” the schools ran the risk of acting as “an agency for transferring the older divisions of leisure and labor, culture and service, mind and body, directing and directed class, into a society nominally democratic” (Adler, 1958, p. 89). Vocational education is not the appropriate education for free people. The only education appropriate to free people is liberal education.

If all men are to be free, all men must have this education. It makes no difference how they are to earn their living or what their special interests or aptitudes may be. They can learn to make a living, and they can develop their special interests and aptitudes, after they have laid the foundation of free and responsible manhood [personhood] through liberal education. It will not due to say they are incapable of such education. This claim is made by those who are to indolent or unconvinced to make the effort to give such an education to the masses. (Hutchins, 1976, p.73)

John Dewey in 1916 published *Democracy and Education*. In this work, Dewey showed himself to be an opponent of vocational education when taught for utilitarian rather than liberal ends. He believed that all children in a nascent democratic society have the “same destiny”, and therefore should be afforded the “same quality of schooling”. “All have the same three elements in their futures: the demands of work, the duties of citizenship, and the obligation of each individual to make the most of himself or herself that his or her capacities
allow—to lead rich and fulfilling lives” (Adler, 1984, p.2). Liberal education contributes to each one of these futures, vocational education does not.

**Assumption Number 3: Value to Society**

According to Wattenbarger “democratic education is necessary for the continuous improvement of society” (1950, p.13). This assumption attests to the value and importance of the secondary sociological and utilitarian functions of education. Wattenbarger quoted John Russell.

The most precious resource in any state is the intelligence of the population. The prosperity of the people depends, in part, upon the supply of natural resources with which the land is endowed, but in larger measure upon the extent to which the intellectual capacities of the population are developed along the lines that contribute to her general welfare. ... Expenditures for education are an investment that yields magnificent returns to the social group as a whole. The more a state or country can put into the development of the intellectual resources of its population the greater the returns will be in future prosperity and security. If a state falls behind others in the provision of education, it denies its young people the privilege of the fullest participation in future opportunities. Such a state also is likely to have relatively few of its own citizens equipped to make effective use of its natural resources, leaving these resources to be exploited by outsiders from states where better educational facilities are provided. (1950, p.21)

The implementation of this assumption is more a matter of pedagogical methodology than of curriculum change. Democratic education benefits society by helping students form a “democratic character.” This character manifests itself in group participation, free initiative, creativity, and active citizenship, which contribute to the continual improvement of society. It fosters respect for the dignity of each and every human being. This respect is manifested in the value educators place on the many contributions students make to their own education. “From the very start the teacher must respect in the child the dignity of the mind, must appeal to the child’s power of understanding, and conceive of his own effort as preparing a human mind to
think for itself” (Maritain, 1943, p. 26). Democratic pedagogy values student initiative and encourages free choice through appeal to and development of the educand’s interior resources and through the prohibition of exterior compulsion such as fear or threats of punishment utilized by practitioners “accustomed to the old domineering methods” (Montessori, 1964, p. 100) used by Communist educators. The peril of servilism and dependence fostered by such methods lies “not only in that useless consuming of life, which leads to helplessness, but in the development of individual traits which indicate all too plainly a regrettable perversion and degeneration of normal man” (Montessori, 1964, p.100).

This perversion and degeneration of human beings is fostered by educational methods that promote dependence, apathy, and loss of human dignity, and consequently have a negative impact on society. Under Communist control, education in Poland was subordinated to the Party’s demand for industrialization, which resulted in the vocalization of secondary education (Ra’anan & Perry, 1987, p. 55). The industrial policy was the result of a materialist philosophy that promised to enrich society and liberate the worker. Paradoxically, it impoverished society and demoralized the worker. Soviet authorities had to wrestle with the stunning “social ills of alcoholism, crime, corruption, prostitution, and laziness” (Smith, 1988, p. 246). Under the Socialist system of education, instead of increased social benefits and an exhilarated citizenry, the result was a working class that “wanted to work as little as possible, steal as much as they could, and drink as much as was available” (Volgyes, 1986, p. 245).

The Soviet model of education was “overly structured and stressed rote learning rather than creative inquisitive thought. Pupils were “trained rather than educated, and [were] frequently alienated by the exhortatory tone of their teachers, by compulsory Russian lessons,
and by excessive doses of political propaganda" (Davies, 1982, p. 603). In fact, didactic pedagogy stressing student passivity and rote learning were emphasized over independent rational and creative thought and the formation of intellectual virtues, even at the university level. In many university classes, teachers read directly from the textbooks, rather than lecturing while students took verbatim notes. . . . Besides being deadly boring, such teaching methods discourage analytical inquiry (Smith, 1988, p.245).

The Soviet model of education adopted by the Poles narrowly focused on applied science and the contribution that people could make to the betterment of society. In the Soviet system of higher education, according to Ra'an an & Perry, there was "no counterpart to the liberal arts education" so common in democratic societies. The task of Soviet schools was to "train specialists. . . . Boys and girls must decide at an early age whether they wish to become teachers, librarians, metallurgists, doctors or whatever, and then enroll in a course of study that supposedly prepares them for their life's work" (1987, p. 56) The Communists believed that people would find human fulfillment by putting their talents to work building a Socialist commonwealth. They placed primary emphasis on the work rather than on the worker, which resulted in dissatisfaction and ultimately in revolt and the ruin of communist society.

This disregard for the human development of individuals had negative social consequences other than those cited above. Very few people "regardless of their educational achievement—stayed at the job to which they were initially assigned" (Ra'an an & Perry,1987, p. 57). Soviet researchers found that persons moving from job to job spend thirty to sixty days without any employment whatsoever. A second problem involves the waste of resources for manpower training and retraining programs. Roughly half of all people who change their place of work also change their occupation. Finally, high rates of labor turnover have been linked to
on the job injuries (through negligence or lack of familiarity with machinery) and have helped to undermine morale among workers. (Ra’anan & Perry, p. 57)

Consequently, Polish society which had a right to expect a return from its investment in education was instead plagued with dehumanized workers unable or unwilling to offer their very best efforts for the improvement of the society to which they belonged. This phenomenon was an enigma for Socialist theorists who claimed to be building a workers state. The result was a never-ending study of the social problems associated with Socialist society and the working class.

Soviet newspapers and scholarly journals [were] filled with articles condemning the apathy, sloppiness, low labor productivity, and a cavalier attitude manifested by workers and peasants alike. With monotonous regularity, essays [appeared] recommending a greater degree of ‘industrial democracy,’ calling for more worker participation in management, or urging that group of peasants be allowed to decide for themselves what to grow and how to grow it. (Ra’anan and Perry, 1987, p.57)

The scholarly reports urging the democratization of the work place, humane worker participation in the decisions that affect their lives, and self direction for peasants were meaningless. The society had to make a genuine commitment to democratic education, to the construction of a democratic society, and to the dignity and growth of human beings. Society does have a right to expect a return from its citizens. According to Maritain (1986) “The essential and primordial objective for which men assemble within the political community is to procure the common good of the multitude” (p.127). However, Maritain insisted that although the end of society is the common good.

If one fails to grasp the fact that the good of the body politic is a common good of human persons . . . this formula may lead in its turn to other errors of the collectivist or totalitarian type. The common good of society is neither a simple collection of private goods, nor a good belonging to a whole which draws the parts to itself, as if they were pure means to serve itself alone. (1960, p.72)
This seemed to be the problem bequeathed to Polish educational leaders by their Russian overlords. If educational institutions in Poland were to contribute to the building of an authentic democracy for the benefit of Polish society, it could not be forgotten that the "very function of civil society" is "to procure a common good essentially human, whose chief value is the freedom of expansion of persons with all the guarantees that entails" (Maritain, 1960, p. 81). Adler, also recognized this fact when he stated that "the common good is not an end in itself; the well being of the community is a good because it contributes to the happiness of citizens" (1939, p.43). When the social function of education is diverted from this task and made a mere slave to material production or technology in the name of social efficiency it will argued Maritain "find itself inevitably referred in its entirety to this output and to the society which procures it" (1986, p.81).

To maintain this type of economic output and dominance over humanity, Communism, which was a "type of economic theocracy" required an extremely rigorous and tense discipline. But it can only seek this discipline through external methods of pedagogy and constraint. Now, without any sort of interior ethics, implying and respecting the aspirations . . . of the person, without a vivid faith which communicates its fervor to the minds of people, no strong social discipline is really possible. (Maritain, 1986, p.82)

Totalitarian regimes, said Adler, misuse education because they "misuse men. They must use education as they use other pressures and propaganda, secret police and concentration camps, to make men into political puppets" (1939, p.44). Consequently society ends up cheated, with much less of a return on its investment than had been expected. Instead acute social pathologies develop In Poland, the consequence was "one million People [in a nation of only 37 million] classified as alcoholics: 40 per cent of all alcohol consumed was
reportedly drunk at the work place" (Ash, 1985, p.27). Worker absenteeism and apathy reached unprecedented heights and eventually culminated in the Solidarity Revolution. This revolution gave birth to a democratic society. But that society needs democratic education to correct the social ills that resulted from the Communist occupation.

Poland’s educational authorities recognized the problems associated with the undemocratic educational methods of the past regime. Authorities at the National Ministry of Education (1991) criticized the excessive information storage emphasized by the Soviets and their neglect of necessary skills of information processing. The National Ministry of Education (1991) therefore recognized the need to reduce the amount of content presented to students in subjects that did not require automatic answers and in which gaps in knowledge could be filled at a later time through self study.

These are exactly the types of development that foster initiative and liberal education. The personnel in the Ministry of Education understood the need to move away from an education which emphasized external compulsion and totalitarian methods to one that was more student centered and promoted self initiative and cooperation in the educational task.

All changes in the approach to learning should be linked with a broader change in the assumptions concerning education in general. It is the pupil, his personality, abilities and motivation that must become the focus of attention in the Polish school. Pupil’s needs and interests should have a bigger influence on teacher’s work, their choices of their syllabus, contents and methods of teaching. (1991, p.3)

This type of student centered education aimed at the human needs of students rather than the mere economic needs of society is the type of education that can liberate people and produce the most positive results for society. According to Montessori,

once we have accepted and established such principles, the abolition . . . of external forms of punishment will follow naturally. Man, disciplined through liberty, begins to desire the true and only prize which will never belittle or disappoint him,—the birth of
human power and liberty within the inner life from which his activities must spring. (1967, p.101)

Maritain also recognized the necessity of building up and appealing to the inner reason and volition of the child. External pressure in the form of threat, punishment, or even reward has only ephemeral results which leave the interior world of the educand “either dormant or bewildered and rebellious” (1943, p.40). Paradoxically, the most efficacious way to promote the social good is to promote first the individual human good of each student through liberal education.

The utilitarian aspect of education—which enables the youth to get a job and to make a living—must surely not be disregarded . . . but this practical aim is best provided by the general human capacities developed. And the ulterior specialized training which may be required must never imperil the essential aim of education. (Maritain, 1943, p.10)

Freedom means absence from coercion and the development of reason through which people acquire the “authority to govern themselves” (Adler, 1939, p. 49). Democratic education recognizes the importance of human volition and its interior components. According to Kelly the “essential feature in freedom . . . is the element of choice, which is the culmination of the exercise of freedom” (1956, p.143). Freedom permits deliberation free of compulsion.

The power of choosing or deciding which of the motives presented will lead to action is the culmination of the exercise of reason. This power of decision supposes the absence of determinism. The decision comes from the individual; he is conscious that the final decision lies in his power; he is aware that his acts are his own; he approves of them and consents to them. (Kelly, 1956, p.145)

The National Ministry’s emphasis on student participation in decision making and the formation of advanced cognitive processes over mere memory exercises manifested a concern for democratic education. If implemented, such education would have positive benefits to society, as assumption three indicates.
One of the most articulate and well known advocates of the social utility theory of education was John Dewey. He too criticized didactic pedagogical practices that made the teacher the primary locus of learning rather than the student. Dewey opposed “imposition from above” and advocated “expression and cultivation of individuality.” He advocated free activity and anathematized external control (1963, p.19). However, he realized that the rejection of external control did not signify the rejection of all authority, but rather the need to search for a more effective source of authority (1963, p.21). Adler claimed that this new more effective authority is “nothing more than the voice of reason. Through the discipline of reason, men have the authority to govern themselves and use the freedom of self-government” (1939, p.49). To avoid external repression, democratic education promotes the development of reasoning powers and the exercise of the free choice that flows from the pupil’s minds. Dewey therefore emphasized that the learner needs enough freedom to promote intellectual development (1963, p.22) and argued that “democratic social arrangements” built on “individual freedom, kindliness, and persuasion promote a better quality of human experience . . . than do non-democratic ones” (1963 p.34). He concluded that there is no point in the philosophy of democratic education that is “sounder than its emphasis upon the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process” (1963, p.67).

Adler confirmed Dewey’s belief in the primacy of the student in learning.

The truth here is that the primary, though not sole, cause of learning, whenever and wherever it occurs, is the activity of the learner’s own mind. Teachers are at best only a secondary cause, an instrumental aid, assisting the process by occasioning and guiding the mental activity of the learners in their charge. (1984, p.5)
In summary democratic education aims at developing the human powers of cognition and volition as well as the experience and integration of the emotions with the goal of promoting human development and the attaining of happiness. Democratic education respects the dignity of each person and permits the exercise of free choice guided by the interior force of reason while frowning on the exercise of raw authority in the form of external compulsion which fosters rebellion rather than cooperation. Paradoxically, this type of approach to education when joined with the liberal arts and humanities results in a greater benefit to society than that which promotes utilitarian vocational and technical pursuits as its primary aim. The failure of the communist educational model attests to this basic tenet of democratic education.

Adler (1982) concluded his discussion on the future of free institutions by highlighting the relationship between the social problems faced by a nation and liberal education. His words were important for political and educational leaders in Poland.

Our country faces many insistently urgent problems... the shrinking of essential resources and supplies of energy, the pollution or spoliation of the environment, the spiraling inflation accompanied by the spread of unemployment. To solve these problems, we need resourceful innovative leadership. For that to arise and be effective, we must have an educated people. Trained intelligence, in followers as well as leaders, holds the key to the solution of the problems we face. (p.79)

“It is time,” said Parnell (1989, p.33) to value our human resources as much as, if not more than, we value our natural resources.” What is the role of the state in promoting these human resources?

**Assumption Number 4: State Responsibility**

According to Wattenbarger, (1950, p. 15) “democratic education is best accomplished when states assume responsibility for developing the framework of educational structure and
for equalizing opportunity within their borders." Wattenbarger (1994) explained what he meant by this.

Democratic education is best accomplished when legitimate authority is either devolved to local government through statute or through constitutional provision. The state’s role should be one of providing the framework necessary for organized coordination but not control of educational institutions which is best accomplished at the local level. (J. L. Wattenbarger, personal communication, May 6, 1994)

Under Communism, according to Polish Senator Jerzy Stepień, "the totalitarian system aimed at the confrontation of a helpless individual with an omnipotent state, a state that encompassed everything: politics, economy, culture, and communication. Everything was regimented, even social gatherings and associations" (1989, p.1). Stepień explained further that under Communism we would always hear that there is only one valid interest, which in practice was the interest of the state ruled by the communists. This attitude prevented even the articulation of local interests. The communist system was... based on a monolithic system of state authority with local branches hierarchically subordinated to the top. All power was centralized. (pp. 4-5)

This centralization of power resulted in "substantial limitations of academic freedom and university autonomy". These liberties are essential for institutions of higher education which "require the freedom to research, teach, and publish without being subject to punishment because of the nature or content of what is studied or researched" (Sadlak, 1991). Sadlak further explained that all "policy making and governance in the Polish universities were coordinated and supervised by central political/state bodies." Top academic and administrative positions were included in the nomenklatura system used to implement the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism.² The result according to Volgyes (1986) was a

² A concept of totalitarian rule whereby an appearance of local control is given by the appointment of local authorities who are responsible for implementing party directives. Article 19 of the Communist Party Rules defines democratic centralism in terms of four criteria: (1) all leading party bodies are elected from below; (2) these bodies are to make reports to... higher ranking party organs; (3) strict party discipline is
social-political organization that was totally output-oriented. In a sense, every policy was a 'public policy' without regard to either the 'input' or the 'feedback loops.' Communist states impose their will on people whom they regard as hostile, who do not know the 'truth,' who are not enlightened enough to understand why sacrifices are demanded of them. Therefore these people ... cannot be trusted to provide 'correct' input. (p.122)

As a result of this type of thinking, party members or their representatives exercised authority over the academic senate and other decision making bodies as ex-officio members (Sadlak, 1991).

Cohen and Brawer emphasized the point,

the line between coordination and control is fine. Many educators would prefer that the resources be provided with no strings attached, fearing that the state mandates regarding programs and types of services that may be provided within specific categories would unduly restrict their efforts to provide the proper services for their constituents. (1982, p.105)

Cohen and Brawer also suggested that, "State level coordination has certainly magnified the sets of regulations under which community colleges operate, [has] moved decision making to a broader political arena, and [has] fostered the development of administrators whose chief skill and responsibility is to interpret the codes" (1982, p.106).

Adler argued against the employment of professional administrators who are not also professional or expert teachers with a broad background and understanding of education as well. He insisted that the educational community, like any community, needs government and leadership. However, he pointed out that schools and colleges are not ordinary communities, but communities devoted to learning. Consequently, the head of the school, its administrators, should not be:

---

observed; (4) the decisions of higher party organs are binding on lower ranking party bodies. Smith, G. (1988) *Soviet Politics continuity and contradiction*. New York: St. Martin's Press
even primarily concerned with running the school economically or efficiently or with keeping the peace of the community. Keeping the peace, doing justice, balancing budgets, enforcing laws, are the main business of political community at any level; they are not the main business of the school community. Its main business is teaching and learning. The head of the school ... should therefore, administer all other affairs in ways that facilitate the main business. (1982, pp. 64-65)

Further, state control carries with it the very real threat of reducing educational institutions to the status of tools in the hands of the dominant party. It carries the threat, (as it did under Communism,) of turning education into a political arena for imparting appropriate ideologies. According to Sadlak higher education (under Communist State control) was a means of political education within the ideological framework of Marxism-Leninism. Monitoring by the academic community of conformity to political and ideological objectives was an essential part of the relationship between the state and party bureaucracy and academia. It was also a system that allowed periodic outbursts of anti-intellectualism, ideologically motivated fabrications of research as well as the application of politically orthodox teaching. (1991, pp. 4-5)

To avoid an autocratic repetition that would debase higher learning in Poland it was necessary to insist on a coordinating, not a controlling, function for state agencies involved in education. Certainly great benefits have flowed to the colleges and universities as a result of clear planning and coordination. Cohen and Brawer pointed out that statewide coordination has lead to increased efficiency, better articulation between educational institutions at all levels and a more equitable sharing of public funds (1982, p.105). The practical consequence of assumption four is a system of educational governance wherein the state, through the exercise of its constitutional powers, provides a coordinating function while maximizing local control over educational institutions through the delegation of legislative, executive, and judicial functions.
The second half of assumption four specifies the state responsibility for equalizing educational opportunity within its borders. The assumption rests on the pillar of human dignity in a democratic society. If all human beings are to be provided equal protection under the laws and the possibility for advancement through the exercise of a right to education, it is necessary for the state to provide the minimum financial base necessary for all citizens, not a simple minority, to enjoy the exercise of this right. Wattenbarger (1950) illustrated the fact that the "ability to support an educational system varies greatly within a single state. Unless adequate guarantee is made by the state, unequal educational facilities cannot be avoided" (p. 29). He concluded that this assumption is

partially based upon the three first assumptions; for if democratic education is necessary for democratic government and for the improvement of society and if equal opportunity is to be offered all youth, then the state must assume this responsibility both from a legal and practical standpoint. (1950, p. 29)

There was a problem however, with the implementation of assumption four. The problem revolved around the belief that the power of the purse carries with it the power to control. If this is a political verity, the first half of this assumption cannot be fulfilled and democratic education is jeopardized. (Either the state acts as a coordinator of higher education or as a controller.) The ideal is state level coordination with a maximum of local autonomy in the use of resources.

However, if the power of the purse does indeed carry with it the power to control, it is not possible to vest local administrative units with power over education as suggested by assumption five. To resolve this problem it was necessary to recognize that the power of the purse is a derivative power. It exists as a means to implement the primary purpose of
democratic government, which is to promote the common welfare, the good of all citizens (Maritain, 1960, p. 81).

If education demands a degree of autonomy to fulfill its mission, it is necessary for the state to vest power in local education agencies thereby giving them the freedom to teach with minimum political, ideological or sociological constraint. If democratic education is best accomplished when the state coordinates rather than controls education, as Wattenbarger maintained and the experience with Communism indicated, and when it equalizes opportunity through the distributive power of the purse, then assumption five concerning the local control of education follows logically. Yet, it was still necessary to determine if state governments possess the authority to transfer powers to other governmental bodies and maintain for themselves only the important power of coordination. If they do have this authority, how is it possible to channel political power to educational agencies and keep it there? without interfering with their autonomy?

Assumption Number 5: Local Control

Local control was a logical derivative of the above discussion. However, there were grounds for doubting its legal or practical implementation. If local control did admit of implementation, how was it possible to establish the principle legally? State courts have consistently ruled that, “The common practice has been for the State to retain control of the public school system by organizing local bodies with plenary powers independent from local government. These local school boards are thus state agencies and their members are state officials” (Alexander & Alexander, 1985, p.87). Local education has fallen under the ambit of state control. Even though school boards are local institutions they are administrative
extensions of state government. Further, they lack the legal power to institute policies, (unless delegated these powers by the state, pertaining to schools within their district). Educational agencies should not have legislative powers since agency officials are not direct representatives of the people with constitutionally sanctioned law making prerogative” State agencies do not create statute, they rather “prolomgulate rules and regulations made pursuant to and within the scope of statute” (Alexander & Alexander, 1985, p.88).

John Locke articulated this basic tenet of representative government in his Second Treatise of Government:

The legislative cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands, for it being but a delegated power from the people, they who have it, cannot pass it over to others . . . nor can the people be bound by any laws but such as are enacted by those, whom they have chosen, and authorized to make laws for them. (Cox, 1982, p.87)

This does not mean, however, that a “subordinate body or official may not be clothed with authority to say when the law shall operate, or to whom, or upon what occasion” (Alexander & Alexander &, 1985, p. 89). This proposition concerns only law making powers and powers implied to the states because they are not explicitly or implicitly stated in the federal constitution and are therefore reserved to the states via the tenth amendment.

It has been argued that it is “impossible to conceive of the existence of a uniform system of common schools without power lodged somewhere to make it uniform” (Alexander & Alexander, p.96). In the court case (State Ex Rel. Clark v. Haworth) cited by Alexander and Alexander the court concluded that,

either the state has power to regulate and control the schools it owns, or it has not. That it does not have this power, we venture to say, no one will affirm. If it does have the power, it must reside in the law making department, for it is impossible for it to exist elsewhere. If the power does reside in the law-making department, then that department must exercise its discretion, and adopt such measures as it deems best. (1985, pp. 96-97)
The court seemed to have misunderstood that the issue of making a school system uniform is distinct from control over the same system; the two issues are different. It is true that power must be lodged somewhere and that it may be retained by the state legislature. Yet, even though the state may have the power to regulate and control the schools directly, it does not necessarily follow that this is the best means of implementing this power. Nonetheless, it seems improbable that the state will relinquish control over schools if it owns them and adopt a mere coordinating function. Thus, either assumption number five is erroneous or the principles and historical contingencies from which it flows are fallacious. It is also possible, and highly probable, that the issue is capable of resolution in a manner altogether different from than given by the state supreme courts cited by Alexander and Alexander.

The strength of the first four assumptions led to the conviction that an alternative solution to this interesting query had to be possible. Adopting an assumption that did not admit of practical implementation and calling it a first principle because it proceeded from a unified theory or philosophy of education subjected the theory to ridicule if it proved impossible to implement in fact. Such a theory would have been "valid", but it would not have been "true." It was necessary to admit that the assumption of local control proved legally impossible when education was considered as exclusively a legislative concern and when local governments were denied control of the schools within their territorial domain both in theory and in practice. There was a solution to this problem, however, a solution that was possible in Poland.

This issue of local control over education in a democratic society is so important and urgent that it was justified to speak of it as a constitutional issue. According to Alexander and Alexander (1985) most state constitutions define education as solely a state concern. "The
provision for and control of our public school system is a state matter, delegated and lodged in the state legislature by the constitution in a separate article entirely distinct from that relating to local government” (1985, p. 87).

This is a true statement; however, it does not maintain its veracity when the terms are changed. That is, although educational matters will always be a state concern, the control of the schools is not necessarily always a state matter. It is a matter necessitating state control only because of the way it is presented in the constitution. If local government and formal education are linked, rather than bifurcated, by a constitutional article, legal scrutiny may well produce an altogether different judicial opinion.

It is important to recall that the Federal Constitution of the United States makes no mention at all of education. As a result, states claimed jurisdiction over education as a residual power over which they had implicit control (Alexander & Alexander 1985, p.65). The word implicit was used because it is unclear whether or not the power over education is a residual power retained by the states, or “by the people” exercising their political rights through local units of government. Certainly there was no explicit granting of power to the states over education given in the constitution. Surely, it is correct to state that this was, at most, an implicit delegation only.

If education was seen as essential to democracy, as the Framers argued, why did they leave it out of the constitution? The answer may be that at that time there was no such thing as a state system of education anywhere in the colonies; in fact, there was no such system anywhere in the entire world at that time except in Poland. It was Poland that adopted the first National Education Commission in Europe in the year 1773 (Rostworowski, 1990, p.81). All
education to that point was either private, conducted by the churches, or under the control of local governments. In the United States, Massachusetts provides perhaps the most outstanding example of local control over education. Even before 1824, when Massachusetts opened up public schools in every town with more than 500 families, education in the New England colonies had a strong local orientation (Gruver, 1972, p. 334).

Either the Framers accepted this arrangement or they did not. Either they left education out of the constitution because they thought power to control it was beyond the legitimate authority of the federal government or because they thought it was a matter better handled by states or by local governments themselves, or both. According to Sullivan (May, 1994, personal correspondence), the Framers wrote much about public education. But, “the truth is, it was then felt to be a family responsibility, covered under the First Amendment. Obviously (to them), the need for local control was self-evident.” An answer to this question was unnecessary for the purpose of the dissertation. What was essential was to simply point out the ambiguity surrounding the issue of state control of education and the historical control over educational institutions exercised by local public and private authorities.

In the United States as late as 1800, only five states had mentioned education in their constitutions.

Five state constitutions paid lip service to the idea of publicly supported education, but by 1800 none of the states had actually implemented such a plan. In New England, town-supported schools became fewer and were usually replaced by private academies. In fact, private secondary schools became the rule in almost every section of the country. (Gruver, 1972, p 186.)

Of the states that did mention education in their constitutions, the most famous was Michigan because of its celebrated landmark Kalamazoo case: Stuart v School District No. 1 of the
Village of Kalamazoo (1874). In this case, the supreme court of Michigan validated the use of public tax dollars to support a state controlled school. The court reasoned that the Michigan Constitution of 1835 contained a provision on education that implied the power to tax necessary to support a local high school. The article on education in that constitution contained the following provisions:

(a) The legislature shall encourage by all suitable means the promotion of intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement.

(b) The legislature shall provide for a system of common schools. (Alexander & Alexander, p.33).

The fact is (see Alexander & Alexander, 1985, pp. 32-37) that there were no public high schools in Kalamazoo at the time (1874) except the newly established Union High School which needed tax support to remain viable. All students seeking higher university education attended the private Kalamazoo College first4. There were no public high schools for students unable to attend Kalamazoo. Significantly, there was not any explicit mention of state control or power over education in Michigan. The court had to strain to find such an implied power in the article on education cited above. This article merely encouraged the “promotion” of intellectual pursuits and mandated “provision” for a system of common schools. The mandate to “promote” intellectual pursuits had nothing to do with control; it rather encouraged public

---

4 To avoid confusion it is necessary to point out that Kalamazoo existed in the era of the “People’s College.” The only common education at this time was basic elementary school. Kalamazoo was in actuality a high school with a liberal arts curriculum. Because secondary schools were so uncommon at this time, where they did exist, usually in more rural areas, they were treated as institutions of higher education. These colleges had several functions: preparation for the university, community education, and terminal education. (See Jurgen Herbst, The American People’s College: The Lost Promise of Democracy in Education, pp 275-294).
relations work through advocacy of the necessity and benefits of education. The constitutional mandate to “provide” for a system of public schools was intended to induce financial assistance and other types of support necessary to maintain the schools, but not to control them.

The same type of language existed in the Ordinance of 1787: “Schools and the means of education shall ever be ‘encouraged’” (Alexander & Alexander, 1985, p.55). The federal government provided land grants for the sole purpose of “espousing a federal interest in mass common school education for everyone.” However, these grants, according to Alexander and Alexander, were merely manifestations of state support, not attempts to control. In no way did the

federal government exercise control over education as a condition of receiving the grants. From these beginnings it was established that the federal government was to play an indirect role in the development of public education, to serve a stimulus function without direct control of educational policy or operation. (1985, p.55)

It is probable that such a stimulus function, which included both state-level “promotion” and “provision” for local education, was the intent of the Framers. Regardless of the answer to this query, this was certainly the direction that constitutional developments pertaining to education in Poland should have proceeded if democratic education with local control was to become an enduring reality in that country.

Educational institutions risk losing their necessary autonomy and academic freedom if the power to govern them is allocated to the state in the constitution. Paradoxically, they also risk losing their independence if the power to govern them is not mentioned in the constitution at all. In such a case, history and precedent indicate that state governments will assume control of local education by recourse to the doctrine of implied powers. It becomes necessary
therefore to protect the autonomy and freedom of educational institutions by writing this autonomy into the constitution itself.

**Constitutional Institutions.**

It is not enough to simply “imply powers” pertaining to education. Framers of the constitution must explicitly state to whom the powers concerning education belong; otherwise, educational institutions run the risk of monopolization by the state and its agenda. There is evidence that Poland was moving in the direction of local control of education. The National Ministry of Education released a study concerning future development for education in Poland. In that report, it stated that

we believe that there is need to continue the decentralization of the Polish educational system. The Ministry of National Education will cede part of its powers to educational boards in the provinces or directly to headmasters of schools and principals of other establishments. State schools will be granted a far-reaching autonomy in curriculum implementation, limited only by the general guidelines and minimum curricula. (1991, p. 19)

Both the Local Self Government Law of March 8, 1990 and The Law of 30 November 1990 on Revenues of the Gminas (local government units) and their Subsidiaries had provisions for the local control of education. These laws were legislative enactments not having the force of constitutional law. However, since Poland had not yet adopted a new constitution these enactment’s carried a special impact until overturned by new acts of the Sejm.

The Polish Legislature (1990a) stipulated the “scope and activity of Gminas that were not reserved to other entities.” Article 7 of this legislation specifies that a “Gmina’s local tasks shall include the satisfaction of the collective needs of their community.” Enumeration of particular local tasks follows. Line 8 of article 7 clearly designates that the Gmina’s
local tasks include "education, including primary schools, kindergartens, and other educational facilities."

In chapter 1, article 3 of the law on Gmina Revenues (1990c) line 2 specified that a "Gmina’s revenues shall include a part of the taxes which are the revenues of the State budget."

These revenues include,

subsidies for a Gmina’s own local task in the sphere of schools and other educational and guardian agencies transferred to a Gmina pursuant to Article 8 para 2 of the Law of 17 May 1990 on the Division and Functions of Jurisdictions.

The Law went further and provided an equalizing formula in Article 15 sections 2-4. Thus there was some evidence that the necessity for the local control of educational institutions and the democratic concept of equalization were both realized and possible in Poland. These eventualities boded well for the development of democratic education there.

Furthermore, Senator Jerzy Stepień reported that after the first free elections to the Polish Senate on 4 June 1989, the "first debate of the newly formed chamber was devoted to the re-instituting of territorial self government" (1989, p. 6). According to Stepień:

Self government and central state administration taken together comprise the public administration, representing respectively horizontal or vertical organization. They are separated but the local self-government may engage in certain matters of state administration either according to this law (The law on territorial self government) or as a result of special agreements. In this matter we continue the pre-World War Two Polish traditions of self government. The districts (gmina) therefore have by law prescribed certain tasks as their own. . . . Other tasks are carried out by the central government. (1989, pp. 7-8)

The National Ministry of Education understood the necessity of delegating control over education to local authorities. In fact, they promoted this phenomenon by promising to support private schools, which were farthest from the ambit of state control.

The state will support any educational initiatives taken by organizations as well as legal and physical persons who want to take over some of the responsibilities which now rest
with the state schools. . . . The state should provide greater financial assistance to non-public schools, which have the same rights and duties as public schools. State subsidies per pupil in non-public schools should amount to 50-70 per cent of outlays per pupil in a state school of the same type. It should also be possible to subsidize private or community care centers and other education-related institutions. (1991, p. 19)

Pszczolkowski was one of the first to recognize the movement in Poland to make schools self-governing with free choice of curricula, provided the minimum core curriculum was offered, and the liberty to draft the general rules and regulations by which the schools would be governed (1992. p.233). The birth of territorial self-governance led to such a strong move towards local control of education that Szebeny, after reviewing the Education Act of 1990, was able to comment that,

with the birth of the new administrative system provision for schooling became the responsibility of the municipalities. . . . Community schools will be entirely transferred to the municipalities by the end of 1994. Municipalities are obliged to submit any resolution adopted by them with reference to public education, to the vovoidship office within one week from the date of adoption. Vovoidship offices may suspend the execution of the resolutions but municipalities maintain the right to bring the matter before a court for arbitration. (1992, p. 23)

Further, Szebeny noted that, “Amendments to the Education Acts . . . declared that, in addition to the state, villages (communities) other legal entities (primarily the churches) and independent bodies could own schools and other educational institutions” (1992, p. 24). This process was similar to the development of education in the United States prior to the Kalamazoo decision. Polish authorities were establishing a system of more local control of education with “support” from the state. The wording in the Michigan Constitution and the North West Ordinance implied local control and state support. Those documents urged the state to “promote” and “encourage” but not to “control” education; this was originally intended to be a function of local government. According to Szebeny,
ownership of local educational institutions and their assets have been transferred from the state to the communities... Naturally, the state continues to support schools. In Poland... the extent of such support may account to total budgetary needs of primary education until 1995. (1992, p. 22)

This shift in governance of the schools was indicative of the general trend in higher education in most of Central Europe as well. According to Rupnik “Throughout Central Europe higher education has passed from total dependency on the state to a very large measure of autonomy. But its financing still comes from the state” (1992, p.148). In fact, Duda (1992) reported that the Rectors of Poland’s 12 universities were pushing for a clear government policy on higher education and scientific research. They wanted oversight taken away from the seven ministries, which govern them and favored investing oversight in a single government agency similar to the regency in Michigan and California. The rectors were not satisfied with the degree of autonomy given in the 1990 law on higher education and sought an ever greater autonomy and academic freedom.

The possibility of education being a local concern with equalizing support from the central government seemed well on its way towards becoming a reality. However, these reforms and others initiated by the recent Prime Minister, Hanna Suchocka, were being closely reviewed by the new government under Waldemar Pawlak. His government was taking steps to abandon many of the tenets of the reform planned by its predecessor. The conservative teaching lobby, which is opposed to the reform proposed by the previous government, is strongly represented in the current Sejm, and in the ruling coalition... The resultant politicization of the issue is bound to destabilize the situation in the schools still further and undermine the entire reform process. (Sabbat-Swidlicka, 1994, p. 42)

The constant political change and its resultant impact on educational reform in Poland was a perfect example of the tenuousness of the delegation of powers to local educational units. The
democratic reform of education was too precious a commodity to be subject to such a precarious political process. If the reform was not crushed, it was certainly jeopardized. It was essential, than that assumption five which supported local control of education, was established on something more certain than legislative initiative. The solution to this problem was the establishment of constitutionally based institutions of education.

According to Kaplan,

a public institution established by the state’s constitution is usually characterized, for legal purposes, as a ‘public trust,’ an ‘autonomous university,’ (or) a ‘constitutional university’ . . . . Such institutions “enjoy considerable freedom from state legislative control and generally are not subject to state administrative laws. (1989, p.446)

The case of Regents of University of Michigan v. State of Michigan (1975) illustrated the greater self-rule given to constitutional institutions. In this case, the court concluded that “although the legislature could impose conditions on its appropriations to the institutions, it could not do so in such a way which would interfere with the management and control of those institutions” (Kaplan, 1989, p.446). In this same case, the State Board of Education argued that it had “authority to approve program changes or new construction at the universities.” The court held to the contrary. It stated that, “The State Board of Education’s authority over the institutions was advisory only [italics added]. The institutions were required only to inform the board of program changes, so that it could knowledgeably carry out its advisory duties” (Kaplan, 1989, p.447).

Similarly in the case of San Francisco Labor Council v. Regents of the University of California (1980) the California Supreme Court cited the state constitutional provision for education at issue. This provision states that

the University of California shall constitute a public trust, to be administered by the existing corporation known as “The Regents of the University of California,” with full
powers of organization and government, subject only to such legislative control [italics added] as may be necessary to insure the security of its funds and compliance with the terms of endowments of the university and such competitive bidding procedures as may be applicable to the university by statute for the letting of construction contracts, sales of real property, and purchasing materials, goods, and services. (Kaplan, 1989, p.447)

Furthermore, the court discussed the autonomy of the Regents resulting from constitutional provision:

Article IX section 9, grants the regents broad powers to organize and govern the university and limited the legislature's power to regulate either the university or the regents. This contrasts with the comprehensive power of regulation the legislature possesses over other state agencies. (Kaplan, 1989, p.447)

The court also recognized the broad powers conferred upon the regents as well as the university's general immunity from legislative regulation. The regents have the general rule-making power in regard to the university. . . . The power of the regents to operate, control, and administer the university is virtually exclusive. (Kaplan, 1989, p.448)

In a 1976 case, the same court argued that "the university is intended to operate as independently of the state as possible (Kaplan, 1989, 44).

Thus, Alexander and Alexander's contention that the power for the operation of the public educational system originates "with a constitutional delegation to the legislature to provide for a system of education" (1985, p.2) is invalidated when instead of a constitutional delegation to the legislature, a constitutional delegation to provide for a system of education is granted to local governmental authorities instead. This was one solution to the difficulty of promoting liberal education free social and political impediments. This more farsighted approach to educational enactment would grant the constitutional power to operate public schools to local governmental bodies. Furthermore, the constitutional provision should indicate, as did the state of Michigan and the Northwest ordinance of 1787, that the federal or
state government should "support" and "provide" for the operation of educational bodies through the duty to equalize education throughout the state.

This examination of the difficulty reconciling the democratic concepts of state support of education with local control resulted in a confirmation of Wattenbarger's assumptions four and five. It also highlighted the importance of a constitutional proviso for education which advances democratic society by assuring local control and state support of schools and colleges throughout Poland. Consequently, it is possible to examine assumption six. If adopted, assumption six, leads to the conclusion that Poland is in need of community colleges.

**Assumption Number 6: Post High School Education**

According to Bartyzel (1992) "Poland can be counted among the countries with the largest and fastest growing unemployment in Europe. By 1991 there were 2,100,000 unemployed in Poland. That is 11.4% and 16.5% of people employed outside of agriculture." The education efforts of these unemployed people were dismal. Of the 2 million unemployed, "only 8,000 were directed to courses with the aim of learning a profession" (Bartyzel, 1992).

The introduction of new technology, especially computer technology resulted in the need for reeducation. "Most of the new jobs required computer skills." Private construction business was "on the rise, but people still thought that all it took were strong shoulders and a shovel." Poland was in need of mid-level education and training but lacked the educational institutions necessary for this type of education.

The Ministry of Education realized that it is necessary that every secondary... school should have a computer classroom with adequate hard and software, two teachers of computer science and at least six teachers of other subjects, able to use computers. (1991, p.9)
Since the number of teachers of computer science amounted to only 2,400, the Ministry estimated that

we must re-train some 6,600 teachers at post-graduate courses (or their equivalents). Similarly, since only 2,500 teachers of other subjects can presently use computers, while the target figure is at least 27,000, some 24,500 teachers have to undergo special training. (1991, p.9)

In addition to the educational problems posed by unemployment and shifting technology, the people of Poland were experiencing a significant change in their thinking and orientation due to the transition from Communism to democracy, which had an impact on all areas of social, political, and economic life. Edmund Mokrycki (1992) professor of sociology at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences explained the problem.

At the moment there is great ideological confusion. People do not know what kind of thinking is best for our times. The old models of real socialism are in conflict with what, for us, are the new values of a market economy. . . . The government [has not realized] how deeply rooted in us the consequences of the communist system are. I’m not merely talking about habits and ways of thinking, but also about institutions and the structure of group interests, which contradicts the principles of liberal reform.

Consequently, the National Ministry of Education in Poland realized that the changing character of the population and the advance of technology made education beyond secondary school necessary. The Ministry’s report (1991, p.15) on Directions of Changes in Education stated that

opening up the possibilities for higher education to a large number of youth is a prerequisite of future economic and social development. We find it necessary to expand the range of available forms of higher education. . . . It is necessary to promote different types of studies, such as evening, extra-mural, extension or distance learning. We should prepare a range of options for the unemployed and for those who want to improve their professional qualifications.

Furthermore, the Ministry articulated the need for post-secondary schools between the high school and the university: “it is necessary to expand the network of higher education
Institutions offering exclusively undergraduate studies and to turn some of the existing institutions into exclusively such establishments" (1991, p.15).

More specifically, the National Ministry acknowledged the objective to “adapt post-secondary education to the needs generated by the economic and social conditions and to the solutions adopted by western countries” (1991, p.14).

As for higher education, it should offer shorter forms of studies in addition to master’s courses. There should be an increase in the percentage of secondary school graduates who will take up studies at higher education institutions. (1991, p.6)

Western countries were able to democratize higher education successfully thereby meeting the human, economic, and political needs and demands of their citizenry by offering short term postsecondary education in community colleges. These colleges made it possible to handle the increased enrollments in higher education while protecting the academic integrity of the universities at the same time. As such, these colleges were attractive to Poland’s Ministry of Education, which committed itself to study the possibility of establishing community colleges: “This decade should witness the decision whether Poland is to, introduce such new forms of continuous education as “open university” and “community college” (1991, p.18).

No further discussion of assumption six is necessary. The fact that the Ministry of Education committed itself to studying the possibility of establishing community colleges in Poland was evidence enough that the facts upon which this assumption is based and the assumption itself, are valid indicators of the need for the development of community colleges in Poland.
Other Assumptions

Historic Rise of the Polish Worker

There are other almost self evident assumptions relevant to community college development in Poland. These three additional assumptions make community college education in Poland imperative if one accepts the others. One of these assumptions, the historical rise of the Polish worker, was discussed in chapter two. This assumption developed because of the unique history of Poland and the concomitant unfolding appreciation of the rights and dignity of the working person. The assumption is brief:

The historical rise of Polish workers which culminated in the Solidarity movement and the birth of democratic social and political structures in Poland necessitated democratic education to avoid a reversion to either totalitarian or oligarchic rule.

The Abrupt Transition from Totalitarian Rule

This assumption is self evident; it functions to underline the urgency of implementing genuine democratic reform in higher education:

The nature of such an abrupt transition from Communism/Socialism to democracy was so immense that new types of democratic education for Polish citizens were imperative.

Expansion of Secondary Education Increases Demand for Postsecondary Education

This final assumption when added to the others makes community college development imperative in Poland. Wulff reported that only two Polish students out of every one hundred are able to take advantage of higher education. This “places Poland ahead of only East Germany and Romania in Eastern Europe” (1992. pp. 5-6). The Ministry of Education believed that, “there should be an increase in the percentage of secondary school graduates who will take up studies at higher education institutions” (1991, p.6). According to this same
report, (1991) only 8% of Polish youth entered higher education. A new national minimum of 20% attendance in higher education by the end of the century was established by the National Ministry of Education (1991, p.14). The Ministry was expanding full secondary education hoping to thereby increase, from 50% to 70%, the number of students finishing secondary education and thus eligible for postsecondary studies (1991, p.6).

Research conducted by Koos and later by Wattenbarger in the United States supported this assumption made by the National Ministry. Wattenbarger concluded his analysis of factors contributing to community college development by indicating that, “The development of public junior colleges has followed only a few steps behind the development of public high schools” (1950, p.41). The growth of community colleges depends upon “the normal and upward extension of the secondary schools” (Wattenbarger, 1950, p. 54).

In 1957 Wattenbarger served as Director and Secretary of the Community College Council (CCC) which drafted a plan for community college development in the state of Florida. The report indicated that secondary school population was a major criterion affecting postsecondary student enrollments. The CCC considered this factor so important that it created a formula for extrapolation of community college enrollment based on high school population in the college’s service district (Community College Council, 1957, p. 33).

Deegan & Tillery also noted that expanding secondary enrollments required continued development of the community college. Democratization of public school education, leads to increased completion rates from high schools and consequently has a positive effect on community college enrollment figures (1988, p. 3). If educational opportunity at the secondary level was increased in Poland to any where near the projections of the
National Ministry, there would be increased pressure on higher education to both expand and open up its doors to the increased applicant pool. When added to the foregoing assumptions, the projected increase of secondary school applicants necessitated the creation of community colleges in Poland.

**Summary**

The development of junior colleges is dependent upon specific social and political realities that do not exist in every country. Poland was a country in need of community colleges if it was to evolve further as a modern democratic nation. If a successful system of community colleges was to develop there, certain assumptions, that both promote and guide development of these colleges, needed acceptance. These assumptions are.

1. **Equal opportunity for the individual.** Democratic education must offer equal opportunity for all youth to develop as the interests and the abilities of each seem to indicate.

2. **Value to democratic government.** Democratic education is necessary for democratic government.

3. **Value to society.** Democratic education is necessary for the continuous improvement of society.

4. **State responsibility.** Democratic education... is best accomplished when the states assume responsibility for developing the framework of educational structure and for equalizing opportunity within their borders.

5. **Local control.** Democratic education is best accomplished when a large measure of local control of education is vested in local administrative units.

6. **Post-high school education.** The changing character of the population and the advance of technology make education beyond the twelfth grade necessary if one accepts the first five assumptions.
Wattenbarger contended that the wide acceptance of these assumptions, has “almost given them status as principles of democratic education” (1950, p.42). These assumptions were applicable to Poland. The final three assumptions made them more relevant and applicable:

(a) Maturation of the working classes.
(b) Transition from Communism, and
(c) Expanding educational opportunity at the secondary level.

It was concluded that these nine assumptions taken together indicated the need for democratic reform of higher education in Poland. If these assumptions were acceptable, the continued growth and development of community colleges in Poland was inevitable as well as desirable and was consistent with the evolving Polish democratic political structure in 1994.
CHAPTER 4

THE IDEA OF A COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Expanding Higher Education in Poland

The Polish National Ministry of Education found itself besieged with new problems in higher education. The necessity of mass education in a democratic society was never a problem until relatively late in the modern era. According to Adler, “No one ever dreamed of an age in which all men would be citizens who had to be educated” (1958, p.9).

In the United States [at the turn of the century] increased attendance at and graduation from American high schools resulted in new demands for higher education that could not, or would not, be met by existing colleges and universities. (Deegan & Tillery, 1988, pp. 6-7)

Poland faced a similar problem of providing increased educational opportunities that the universities and colleges were unable to provide. Further, the type of colleges needed to ameliorate the problem did not exist.

To handle the increased demand for higher education in Poland, Rupnik insisted that it will be necessary to double the number of university students in order to obtain an equal proportion of graduates comparable to that of the West [Italics added]. Poland . . . has [already] increased the number of new university students by 10-15%. It remains to be seen whether the university is institutionally capable of handling such rapid acceleration. (1992, p.148)

Kwiatowski did not think that the Polish university could handle the additional strain. He opined in the European Journal of Education.

The economic situation of institutions of higher learning is becoming so dramatic that any further increases in the number of students would seem to be out of the question. . . . The Polish university system is in real danger. There are too many competing needs
too few possible sponsors, to vague a mission and purpose, research education? (1990, p.391)

It was not necessary for Poland to emulate the West in the percentage of students attending the universities, as Rupnik suggested. If Poland continued in this direction, the universities may have experienced excessive organizational, administrative, and academic turbulence. Democratization of higher education has nothing to do with comparing university enrollments figures. It was not necessary for Poland to copy the West. A review of then current educational literature was enough to demonstrate that there were problems associated with expanding university enrollments in the West. The Western countries had much to offer, but Poland had to be extremely judicious and selective in the type of educational models it adopted.

There were many who believed that the democratization of higher education contributed to over population of universities in the West and was destroying academic life within them. Barzun argued against equalizing opportunity at the university.

As for keeping schools ‘democratic’ in the sense of ignoring differences of ability and ‘giving’ a [university] career to all who ask for it, this is the scheme which has just broken down and brought many people to the realization that it is wasteful, dangerous, and unjust. Ability and achievement are too important to the country to be any longer trifled with. (1959, p. 94)

Thomas Jefferson, himself, one of the fathers of the modern democratic revolution argued cogently for the necessity of mass education. In spite of this, he advocated limiting education at the university level to the “natural aristocracy.” In his personal correspondence to John Adams, Jefferson wrote,

I agree with you that there is a natural aristocracy [natural aristo] among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents. There is also an artificial aristocracy [pseudo-aristo], founded on wealth and birth, without either virtue or talents; for with these it would belong to the first class. The natural aristocracy I consider as the most precious gift of nature, for the instruction, the trusts, and government of society. And indeed, it would have been inconsistent in creation to have formed man for the social state, and
not to have provided virtue and wisdom enough to manage the concerns of society. May we not even say, that form of government is the best, which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural aristoi into the offices of government? The artificial aristoi is a mischievous ingredient in government and provision should be made to prevent its ascendancy. (Wilstatch, 1925, pp. 92-94)

Jefferson understood the special role for education in democratic societies to form the natural aristocracy. It is clear that he favored virtue and merit over wealth and birth. Jefferson thought it essential to provide avenues for members of the natural aristocracy to receive higher education. Consequently, he established the University of Virginia for the formation of social and political leaders taken from both the people and from the small class of wealthy Colonial families. Jefferson was not an oligarch; he advocated public support of poor scholars needing assistance to continue their studies; Jefferson realized that the country could not afford to lose even one of its natural leaders; therefore all necessary expense was accepted for their continued education which was a boon for society.

Jefferson, according to Wattenbarger, advocated the establishment of a community college system based upon a plan devised by the French Physiocrat Du Pont de Nemours (DuPont also served as a consultant with the first Polish National Ministry of Education) from whom “he drew much of his own philosophy of education” (1950, p. 48).

According to this plan, students would be admitted to these colleges from the common schools and while attending would prepare for the university. The colleges were to be placed in the state so that each county [italics added] would be served by a college . . . . Outstanding pupils of the common schools would be chosen to be educated at state expense. (Wattenbarger, 1950, p. 48)

Although the proposal never materialized, “many of the ideas designed in this plan were carried through in the American secondary and collegiate system” (Wattenbarger, 1950, p. 48).
Jefferson realized the need to promote both broad mass education, including higher college education, and selective university education for the natural aristocracy endowed with the necessary accouterments for social and political leadership. He did not favor making the university available to the general populace. Opening the doors of the university to the populace usually results in a situation where many graduates “cannot read accurately or write clearly”, cannot do simple algebra without “travail or doubt, cannot argue their thoughts with fluency or force . . . and, cannot trust themselves to use a foreign language” (Barzun, 1959, pp. 98-99). Research (explored below under the subtitle “College Curricula”) supported Barzun’s opinion.

In Poland, the Vice Rector of Warsaw University, Jacek Holowka, also advocated limiting enrollment at the university to the “natural aristocracy.” In a recent interview Holowka, (personal communication, Dr. J. Holowka, March 15, 1994) claimed that “Poland needs colleges for working people, but the university must remain selective. The purpose of the university is to educate the ‘natural aristocracy.’” “If the university is to be . . . an institution of the highest grade, its enrollment should be limited to students capable of high achievement” (McConnell, 1962, p. 84).

According to Kwiatowski (1990), new democracies require careful nurturing and cultivation. “There is a formidable task of teaching teachers, lawyers, negotiators, journalists, administrators, and many others. The university cannot be replaced here by any other institution” (p.393). Kwiatowski’s insistence on the essential task of higher education in helping to solve the social crisis was commendable. However, he seemed so much an elitist that he neglected to mention workers, farmers, factory workers, and the broad citizenry in his list of
those who needed to be "carefully nurtured and cultivated" in a democracy. According to Kwiatowski, the university cannot handle the mass of workers needing education nor should it admit them because the university's mission was to form social and political leaders. Since the university seemed unable to answer the clarion call for mass democratic higher education, another solution was necessary; the type of solution first envisioned by Du Pont and Thomas Jefferson. Dr. J. B. Conant insisted that

> a large part of the future enrollment in higher education should be accommodated in [community] colleges. . . . One of the principle purposes of this redistribution would be to permit the universities to concentrate on their proper role as centers of scholarly work, graduate and professional education, and research. (quoted in McConnell, 1962, p. 84)

Kwiatowski was unable to articulate such a solution, because there was no history or experience of community colleges in Poland. He unwittingly violated all the principles of democratic education. He would have educated the few and neglect the mass. What was this but an aristocracy, a benign "dictatorship of the Proletariat?" Poland needed to expand higher educational opportunities. The universities seemed unable to solve the problem. Therefore,

> the times [called] for the establishment of a new college or for an evangelistic movement in some of the old ones, which [would] have for its object the conversion of individuals and finally of the teaching profession to a true conception of general [democratic] education. (Hutchins, 1976, p. 87)

**Innovations in Higher Education**

Maritain stressed the necessity for innovations in higher education that would make colleges more available and democratic. He argued that it was necessary to break the "unipolar conception of liberal education" [unipolar because traditionally limited to the aristocracy] and replace it with a "bipolar conception [bipolar because restructured and made available to both the aristocracy and the masses]; and here we have the answer to our problem" (1962, p. 150).
The bipolar solution involved a restructuring of the liberal arts and an expansion of the humanities which would make them more relevant to the needs of both the modern world and to the needs of working class people (1962, p. 94).

Maritain argued for including mechanical arts and technology as part of a new "Trivium" which would continue to include the aesthetic and intellectual dynamics of the mind attained through the study of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. The study of Greek and Latin are "probably a waste of time," they will "be forgotten" (1943, p. 69). It is more appropriate to approach them as subjects in the graduate study of language, literature, history or philosophy. Instead, the Trivium should include a study of "philology and comparative grammar to obtain a more useful knowledge of the inner mechanisms of language" (1943, p. 69). The goal of the Trivium is not the mastery of books, but to enjoy the beauty and truths they contain with the powers of natural intelligence not intellectual virtue, as discussed in chapter three.

Similarly, the new Quadrivium would continue to be concerned with the rational activities of the mind but would include more mathematics and a humanistic study of science with special emphasis on physics, which Maritain called a "liberal art of the first rank, like poetry, and probably more important than mathematics" (1943, p.69). In addition to the traditional study of arithmetic and geometry, music, and astronomy, Maritain (1943) included cultural history and anthropology, psychology, sociology, and political science, using both deductive and inductive epistemologies.

In addition to broadening the curriculum to make it "bipolar" and more relevant to the needs of the modern world, Maritain insisted that a "deeper and more general principle must be brought to the fore" (1962, p. 148). This principle is the dignity of manual labor. Maritain
insisted that we “must do away with the idea that manual labor is the job of slaves” (Maritain, 1962, p. 149). This association was still present in the term “servile labor.” It was necessary to understand that the dignity of manual labor and of the working person was finally becoming a reality; no human is a machine. All work is human work deserving respect because it is a product of human hands and human minds, because it is an expression of the inner life sanctified in daily labor (Maritain, 1962, p. 149).

Accordingly, the school has a twofold function: (a) to provide an education for manual workers that takes cognizance of their intellect and (b) to provide an education for intellectual workers, people who use their heads more than they use their hands, that takes cognizance of their intellectual development before taking cognizance of their utilitarian desire for money (Maritain, 1962, p.150). It is necessary to overcome the historic opposition between manual and liberal education (Maritain, 1962, p. 150). Maritain insisted that “popular education [that is, vocational/technical education] must become liberal, and liberal education must become popular” (1962, p. 150). All people need liberal education because all have human minds that need to be developed. “Is it not clear that liberal education for all means liberal education for prospective manual workers as well as prospective intellectual workers” (1962, p. 150)? “If a liberal education is not made available to every person, “political democracy is a delusion, and the aristocrats are right” (Adler, 1958, p. 102).

In order to bestow this type of education on everyone, Maritain (1962) concluded, that it was necessary to make considerable changes in our social and educational structures of higher education to make them more democratic. Consequently, he envisioned a new type of liberal education for manual workers that provided both a general education and preparation
for some vocation. This education was not to involve apprenticeship training. Rather, it was to stress intellectual and theoretical training, mental development, in subjects suitable for such workers.

Maritain (1962) foresaw a new type of college that would have two different centers of training. One would stress intellectual training, the other, manual training. Both centers were to be equally esteemed, both were to emphasize the humanities though in different formats appropriate to the needs and abilities of students in each group.

Maritain envisioned the choice between the “two master directions” taking place at the end of high school, possibly earlier or later. The two centers in question could “Materialize either in one single, sufficiently large institution or in a variety of different colleges, vocational institutes, or advanced schools specializing in one matter or another” (1962, p. 151). The most important detail was that each should stress the liberal arts and humanities.

Moreover, Maritain differentiated the two types of learning to take place at each center. In the academic center, the humanities, liberal arts, and philosophy were to be matters of “formal learning” and craftsmanship and any type of manual work, including painting and sculpturing, are matters of “informal learning.” In the other center, manual service training was to be a matter of formal and systematic learning, whereas the humanities, liberal arts, and philosophy would be matters of “informal learning.” They required more progressive and less didactic methods when taught to manual workers.

Maritain concluded that

the education of tomorrow must provide the common man with the means of his personal fulfillment, not only with regard to his labor but also with regard to his social and political activities in the civil commonwealth, and to the activity of his leisure hours. (1943, p. 90)
Manual training for workers should be of a similar type enjoyed by intellectuals. That is, manual arts should include pottery, sculpturing, woodwork, painting, and similar leisure pursuits. The goal is to develop manual dexterity and skill and to integrate What Takes Place in The Mind With The Movement of The Fingers, Eye-Hand Coordination. In addition, manual training should be augmented by intellectual and theoretical training through which students learn to master concepts, formulate ideas, and to think in many different ways about a problem at hand. Similarly, learning physical laws and properties of material things enhance a person's ability to create, to understand, and to adapt.

Further, such an education should include knowledge of the physical and the social world. Specifically knowledge and understanding of political change, comparative government and the rights and duties of citizenship are fundamental. Beyond these an appreciation of culture and history and an acquaintance with the story of human beings from their earliest beginnings until the present is essential. How can a person appreciate human nature without being presented with the human story, its gradual historical unfolding replete with achievements and failures, high points and low. Historical study is strengthened by literary study, which artistically expresses human nature and contributes to moral development. Finally, such an education enables a person to utilize free time in leisure that promotes human growth rather than wasting it on frivolous and often physically damaging entertainment that does little if anything to contribute to genuine human development.
The situation in Poland required the creation of new colleges, it also required burdening these institutions with extra political and economic functions. What was essential, however, was that these new colleges be permeated with the teaching of the liberal arts and humanities adjusted to the needs of manual workers and intellectual workers. Fortunately, the type of colleges envisioned by Maritain existed in the United States. Parnell referred to the community college as the “greatest American educational invention of the twentieth century” (1989, p. 81). These colleges provided a wealth of experience and a possible model for educational leaders in Poland to emulate.

The Idea of a Community College

Wattenbarger, Bender, and Harris (1971), in their comprehensive plan for community college education in West Virginia, suggested that a community college should include
(a) Programs of occupational education for both youth and adults and for full-time students and part-time students consisting of associate degree, collegiate technical programs leading to jobs at para-professional, technical, and highly skilled levels; one year certificate programs for trade and craft occupations; and short term, job up-grading programs to meet immediate and critical manpower training needs.
(b) Quality Two-Year programs of college parallel or transfer education in the arts and sciences for later transfer to the university.
(c) Programs of developmental (remedial or basic skills) education should be provided in all of the comprehensive community colleges.
(d) All community colleges should provide a balanced offering of general education courses for youth and adults. There should be an active continuing education program at all the
institutions, providing evening college opportunities for cultural development, job upgrading, and general educational development.

These consultants included the typical academic classifications of community colleges: collegiate transfer, technical or vocational education, and compensatory or remedial education. The community college provides a "balanced offering of general education" and "job" training. These colleges "will serve a group of students new to higher education." It must be remembered that while these colleges will "enroll many very able, even superior, students who will 'transfer' to another institution to complete the baccalaureate degree, the central thrust of these institutions will focus upon the education of thousands of average youth who may not have been able to take full advantage of continued education in the past" (Wattenbarger, Bender, & Harris, 1971, p.2, italics added).

In the past there were no opportunities for manual workers in postsecondary education with the exception of night courses for vocational and compensatory training at vocational and technical institutes. The infusion of the liberal arts and humanities, however, distinguished the community college from area vocational or technical schools, as did the offering of university transfer work, and the total commitment to serve youth and adults beyond high school. Community colleges differ from traditional colleges because they offer postsecondary occupational and technical education (Wattenbarger, Bender, & Harris, 1971).

These unique postsecondary institutions had their first prototype in Benjamin Franklin's Academy at Philadelphia (Wattenbarger, 1950 p. 49). Franklin, designed an Academy and provided it with a curriculum to prepare the poor youth of Philadelphia for work in various trades or professions (Hardin, 1962, p.13). He placed vocational subjects at the center of the
curriculum but integrated them with basic studies of the liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, logic, literature, poetry, geography, and piety. The Academy also prepared students for entrance into college and, like the community college, offered general education for trades and the professions (Hardin, 1962, p.13).

The rise of public high schools in the nineteenth century eclipsed Franklin’s Academy. The new public high schools functioned as People’s Colleges, providing higher education for the American populace. High schools could function as colleges because, “in the early days, (19th century) the land grant colleges required only an eighth grade certificate for admission, but this was ultimately raised to a high school diploma” (McConnell, 1962, p. 95). The academies that survived the rise of public high schools shifted focus and “all but dropped any curriculum that [was] not preparatory to college” (Wattenbarger, p. 51). The public high schools also shifted from People’s Colleges offering higher education for local people to preparatory institutions for university education (Herbst, 1992, p. 276). Consequently, by the beginning of the twentieth century there were great demands from graduates of both the academies and high schools for entrance into the universities, which could not meet these demands (Deegan & Tillery, 1988, p. 6).

The community colleges evolved in this era of expanding educational opportunity. They accommodated the increased demands for higher education made by secondary school graduates. They also acted as a filter for processing and preparing qualified students for the university and provided general studies and vocational and technical training for students preparing for manual work (Deegan & Tillery, 1988, pp. 6-7).
These colleges had their inception either as (a) university extension centers, or (b) weak four year colleges that severed their upper division and became strong two-year junior colleges offering the first half of collegiate education instead of the full four. (c) More frequently, they began as upward extension of secondary schools (Wattenbarger, Bender & Harris, 1971, p. 1).

At first, the new community or "junior colleges" focused almost exclusively on collegiate parallel education. The expense of elaborate technical and vocational facilities resulted in a limited occupational curriculum consisting mainly of courses in home economics, business, and secretarial science (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 286).

The rise of technical and occupational education followed the two war efforts and the large influx of federal dollars in the sixties (Cohen & Brawer, pp. 203-204). During this time the community colleges underwent a fundamental change. For fifty years they had developed in the incubator of collegiate education, offering a predominately liberal course of studies that associated them with private colleges and universities (Cohen & Brawer, p. 286). The early dominance of the collegiate function was surpassed in the seventies and eighties by the rise and new dominance of occupational and technical or middle man power training offered to terminal students not seeking the baccalaureate degree.¹

As a result of their diverse course offerings, the community colleges developed a unique and acceptable differentiation between students in higher education. The development of curricula, which offered opportunities to both vocational and academic students, helped to safeguard the integrity of the university by providing broad access to higher education at the community college level. McConnell pointed out that

¹ The education of people not progressing on to further university study is referred to as "terminal education" (Wattenbarger, Bender, & Harris. 1971, p. 3).
the existence of the community college makes it possible for the public four year institutions [colleges and universities] to reject a student without denying him an opportunity for higher education. This is a cardinal factor in maintaining a selective state college and university system in the face of widespread public demand for access to higher education. (1962, p.11)

This differentiation between community colleges and universities is implicit in a democratic system of higher education which “need not accord all students the same privilege of attending the same kind of institutions, any more than it need permit all to pursue the same curricula” (McConnell, 1962, p. 83). The United States developed a two tier system offering broad general education at the lower level and specialization at the upper levels. The lower level community college had a policy of “open access.” That is, all applicants were guaranteed admission, even though remediation may have been necessary. However, after matriculation a process of selection into different programs took place. “No matter how much access to the entire system was opened up, there were some highly selective fields and some relatively open fields. Medicine generally managed to be selective as did the natural sciences, while the social sciences and the humanities were much less so (Clark, 1977, p. 41).

European models of higher education, by contrast, generally had only one tier. Students entered directly into professional school after completing secondary school. In a one tier system lateral movement was extremely difficult. This was the case in European universities (and at the graduate level in American universities), which required students to specialize from the very first year. According to Clark, when single tier systems move to increase access, they are strongly inclined to ‘innovate’ by turning the first two years of study into a screening device. . . . We can predict that single tier systems will tend to become multi-tier systems in one way or another, in order to couple open
access with limited access. They will move into multiple degree levels, including a short-term arrangement that gives a degree below what historically has been the first professional degree. (1977, p. 44)

The introduction of the three-year lycencjat in Poland’s local teacher colleges and the discussion regarding the introduction of a bachelor’s degree to the nations' universities was evidence of this phenomenon (see, Duda, 1992). An “increased degree of differentiation is a fundamental response to the problem of coupling open and limited access” (Clark, 1977 p. 45). If a nation plans to expand access and maintains only a single tier, existing institutions must accommodate the increased student load. As Kwiatowski (1990) indicated, Poland’s universities could not handle the load. Other European countries “find so many of their central universities plagued with overload [that], the universities are whipsawed with contradictory functions” (Clark, 1977, p. 46). The basic choice is an open, full access system of higher education, or a selective limited access system.

Systems adopting a greater access strategy have found that the problem is not the selection of students at the door, but the distribution of students once they are admitted (Boyer, 1977, p. 57). Educational leaders involved with community colleges innovated unique curricula that provided solutions to the problems posed by questions of open access and limited access in a democratic society.

The Community College Curricula

Please do not tell me that the general education I propose should not be adopted because the great majority of those who pass through it will not go on to the university . . . General education is education for everybody, whether he goes on to the university or not; it will be equally useful if he never goes there.

Robert M. Hutchins
Community colleges offered curricula designed to meet the needs of a diverse student body. Community college curricula offered democratic liberal education for all students, those in the intellectual training centers as well as those in the manual training centers envisioned by Maritain (1962). The college transfer or parallel program provided traditional collegiate liberal arts education intended for students planning further university studies. Career or technical programs provided a unique education in the liberal arts known as general education for manual work students planning technical or vocational careers. The other components of the curricula included adult continuing education including community education, and remedial or compensatory education. All of these curricula existed in community colleges from their conception (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 15). They are explored in more detail below.

**College Transfer**

As discussed previously, the collegiate function of transfer courses in the liberal arts dominated the first community colleges. The collegiate course work was meant to “parallel the university’s first two years in such a manner that courses taken in the [community] college had direct transfer value to the university” (Wattenbarger, 1950, p.71). Students successfully completing this program earned an Associate of Arts degree (AA) which qualified them to apply for admission with advanced standing to four year colleges or universities.

Koos (1924) studied both private and public junior colleges. He found that three fourths of all course offerings at that time were in the liberal arts. The
vocational and technical courses, included agriculture, commerce, education, engineering, and home economics; they totaled less than one fourth of the entire curricula.

The emphasis on the liberal arts continued well into the 1960s; everyone knowledgeable of the community college knows this. (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 286). According to Eells (1931), in 1929 the collegiate curriculum in California community colleges attracted 80 percent of the student body. In Texas, 77 percent of the students were enrolled in a similar transfer tract.

Part of the reason for the large enrollments in the collegiate curriculum was the small size of the community colleges in the early days. Most community colleges before 1950 had average enrollments below 1,000 (Cohen & Brawer, 1982). Because of the low enrollments, it was difficult to offer expensive occupational courses. Eells (1941) discovered a positive correlation between total enrollments and occupational enrollments. That is, higher total enrollemnts correlated with higher occupational enrollments. Small colleges (99 or less), had 10 percent of their students in terminal curricula; medium colleges (100-499), had 32 percent of their students in terminal curricula; large colleges (500-999), had 34 percent of their students in terminal curricula; and very large colleges (1,000 and over), had 38 percent of their students in terminal curricula.

High costs associated with technical education prohibited expansion in this area; there was simply not enough revenue generated by the small enrollments to cover the expenses. Many career programs required costly facilities such as clinics,
machine tools, automotive repair shops, welding equipment and the like. In comparison, collegiate studies were inexpensive (Cohen & Brawer, p. 1982).

Expense was not the only factor keeping occupational and technical enrollments low. The “prestige” factor was also important. According to Cohen and Brawer,

citizens and educators alike wanted theirs to be a ‘real college.’ In the eyes of the public a college was not a manual training shop. Well into the 1960s, college presidents reported with pride the percentage of their faculty holding doctorate degrees. (1982, p. 198)

Cohen and Brawer (1982) indicated that the early dominance of the collegiate transfer function was challenged in the fifties and sixties by the rise of vocational and occupational programs heavily funded by the federal government. Between 1960 and 1965 total community college enrollments doubled. As enrollments increased, so did the occupational programs (Cohen & Brawer, 1982).

Consequently, the number of traditional baccalaureate-bound transfer students shrunk as a percentage of the whole. Cohen and Brawer explained that even allowing for “vagaries” in the data pertaining to transfer rates, “it seems that fewer than 5 percent of students enrolled in all types of community college programs complete two years at those institutions and transfer to the university” (1982, p. 349). Kissler reported that “the decline in the number of community college transfers has been so dramatic that we [the University of California] are now sending more students to the community college than they are sending to us” (1980, p. 8).

In spite of the sharp decline in the collegiate transfer, Thornton wrote that the transfer function was “still the function on which junior colleges expend most effort
and in which most of their students [expressed] interest" (1966, p.234). Even though emphasis shifted in the 1970s to career and technical education (Cohen & Brawer, 1982), Cosand reported that "community colleges were, are, and will be evaluated to a major degree upon the success of their transfer students to four year colleges and universities" (1979, p.6).

**Success of Transfer Students in Four Year Colleges and Universities**

Observers of the community college often evaluated them by the success of their transfer students. Many studies revealed that the majority of AA transfer students to upper division colleges and universities did very well. The state of Florida, placed great emphasis on the role of community colleges in preparing students to transfer to state universities. In fact, Florida ranked among the top in the percentage of community college transfers to state universities (Cohen & Brawer, 1982).

In Florida an unusually large number of community college students transferred to the state’s universities (Cohen and Brawer, 1982). Articulation reports published by Florida’s State Board of Community Colleges (SBCC. 1988-1991) indicated that approximately 60% of all upper division students enrolled in the university system were community college transfer students. These students represented approximately 12-15 percent of all community college students enrolled in Florida’s community colleges.

The great emphasis placed on the community college transfer function in Florida made it an important state when discussing the success of transfer students at universities. This SBCC articulation reports provided information about the academic
performance of upper division university majors in two categories: community college “transfer” students and university “native” students within Florida’s university system.

The SBCC information indicated that community college transfers did as well as university native students. In many subject areas community college transfer students did better than university native students. These subjects included architecture, education, foreign languages, health science, law, letters, library studies, parks management, philosophy and religion, public affairs, natural resources preservation, social science and the visual and performing arts.

The positive performance of community college transfers in the state of Florida supported the collegiate function of community colleges. It seemed as though community colleges in Florida prepared their students well for upper division university studies.

However, the researcher discovered a discrepancy in the SBCC 1989-91 records between the large number of community college students, who performed exceedingly well at the state’s universities (39.5% in 1990-91) and the large number who performed poorly, (12.2% in 1990-91). The large group of community college transfer students who performed poorly at the university was verified by research findings in other states. The discrepancy was so wide in California, that community college leaders there labeled the two types of students.

According to Clark (1960), students who could not be accepted into a California college or university upon completion of high school, but who later become eligible for the

\[\text{performance of upper division university majors in two categories: community college “transfer” students and university “native” students within Florida’s university system.}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{The SBCC information indicated that community college transfers did as well as university native students. In many subject areas community college transfer students did better than university native students. These subjects included architecture, education, foreign languages, health science, law, letters, library studies, parks management, philosophy and religion, public affairs, natural resources preservation, social science and the visual and performing arts.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{The positive performance of community college transfers in the state of Florida supported the collegiate function of community colleges. It seemed as though community colleges in Florida prepared their students well for upper division university studies.}
\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{However, the researcher discovered a discrepancy in the SBCC 1989-91 records between the large number of community college students, who performed exceedingly well at the state’s universities (39.5% in 1990-91) and the large number who performed poorly, (12.2% in 1990-91). The large group of community college transfer students who performed poorly at the university was verified by research findings in other states. The discrepancy was so wide in California, that community college leaders there labeled the two types of students.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{According to Clark (1960), students who could not be accepted into a California college or university upon completion of high school, but who later become eligible for the}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{2 A native student is one who begins study at the university after the completion of high school; transfer students, however, enter the community college instead and later enroll at the university for their junior year.}\]
After attending a community college, students have serious problems at the university. These students are classified as "ineligibles" because they were ineligible for university studies at the time of high school graduation. These students were distinct from "eligibles." Eligibles were students who qualified for university matriculation at the time of high school graduation but instead went to a community college and later transferred to a university (Clark, 1960, pp. 71-73). Having learned that ineligible students do less well, on the average, at the university, the University of California exacted a higher admission requirement at the time of transfer (Clark, 1960, p. 70).

According to Cohen and Brawer (1982), it was the eligibles who achieved high GPAs at the California universities. The ineligibles on the other hand, were the ones who experienced academic problems. Although some ineligibles were able to transfer, and do well, "most will not be successful in what they are trying to do" (Clark, 1960, p. 70).

Students who would have been eligible for admission at the time of high school graduation perform about as well as native students in grade point average and persistence. Students who would not have been eligible for admission at the time of high school graduation, but who become eligible by attending a [community] college, are less successful than native students. (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p.115)

Nevertheless, these students were "not prevented from attempting a transfer program, despite poor high school performance, the student who wants to try transfer work is given a chance" (Clark 1960, p.70). This policy was consistent with the belief that "there are students with ability who may do poorly in high school and yet be salvaged by the Junior College" (Clark, 1960, p. 71). This policy permitted students with hidden academic ability, "late bloomers," to develop their latent academic talent at the community college and to later transfer the university. Without the community college, these precious students, members of
the "natural aristocracy," would not have been able to attain a higher education. When all other doors to higher education were closed to ineligibles, the community college opened its doors to them. It offered them a second chance to develop the intellectual skills and abilities that qualified them for acceptance to a university.

However, it appeared that the number of ineligible natural aristocrats "salvaged" by the community colleges was in reality, very few.

There has been a sharp decline in the academic performance of those who transfer: compared to [native] freshman who eventually become juniors, community college transfers get lower grades, are more likely to be on probation, and are less likely to graduate. (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 54)

Heads (1971) observed that English majors who transferred to the University of Mississippi did poorly when compared to native students. Russell and Perez (1980) determined that the primary reason for attrition experienced by community college students at UCLA was academic difficulty. They noted that attrition was especially severe, (as it was in the Florida system), in physical science, mathematics, and engineering. Studies conducted by Menke (1980) at UCLA and Anderson (1977), (quoted in Cohen and Brawer, 1982, p. 54) at the University of Illinois, found that the average GPA of community college transfers was lower than students who had started as freshman at the universities. Further, students who transferred into science, math, and engineering had the most difficulty; they often changed their majors. Kissler (1980), (quoted in Cohen and Brawer, 1982, p. 54) recorded that the failure rate of transfer students to the University of California had, by 1980, reached 30 percent. This compares with a 31% failure rate reported for Arizona transfers (Richardson and Doucette, 1980, quoted in Cohen and Brawer, 1982, p. 54). Finally,
the first publication of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, "Follow-Ups of the Junior College Transfer Students," condensed over twenty studies of transfer student success.

The consensus was that the transfers' grades were lower than those earned by the upper-division students who had entered the university as freshman, the transfers were less likely to graduate, and those who did obtain the baccalaureate degrees took longer to get them. (Roueche, 1967 quoted in Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 349)

Nevertheless, it is necessary for "several perfectly credible reasons" that community colleges continue the transfer function. First, it permits latent members of the natural aristocracy to receive the education necessary to continue at the university. If the community colleges abandoned this function they would "be denying access to higher education to those of their students who go on" (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p.361). In addition, Cohen and Brawer (1982) argued that abandoning the transfer function would mean that the community colleges could not fulfill their important democratic function of providing access and filtering qualified students for transfer to a university. If this happened the universities would have to offer extensive remediation programs to accommodate all the new students demanding access.

To preserve the transfer function, community college leaders developed safeguards to protect not only the integrity of the university, but the very integrity of the community college itself. These colleges were "discredited" when their transfer students did poorly or when significant numbers of them failed at the universities to which they had transferred (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 63). It was necessary to admit that even in a democratic society individuals differ, that Jefferson's understanding of a
“natural aristocracy” was valid. That is, admission to a university was a privilege based on merit; it was not a right. Everyone had a right to try, but not a right to be accepted. High motivation and diligent intellectual labor enabled those who are less intellectually endowed to enter the university. The community college provided a place for them to prove their maturity and their commitment to the academic pursuits which were necessary for them to excel at a university. Higher education, according to Ben-David could make a real contribution to democratic society by “educating properly prepared, able, and motivated individuals from all classes and groups” (1977, pp. 158-159). People who made a concerted effort and were able to manifest the fruits of their labor by satisfying certain reasonable requirements could rightfully expect to continue higher education at a university.

The community college can provide equal opportunity, but it cannot guarantee every person success. People hindered by former life circumstances or deprived environments that result in decreased mental ability can make up for the deficiencies by the proper amount of motivation. Without either mental ability or motivation it is not possible to pass students on to the universities and expect them to do well.

Because many unqualified students were passed on to the universities when they open their doors in the sixties, by 1980 the community colleges began to assess students. It became necessary to mandate certain courses, and to place certain students on academic probation, others were suspended because they failed to make satisfactory progress toward completing a degree program (Middleton, 1981).
In Florida, Miami Dade Community college initiated a comprehensive effort to screen students in certain courses and to monitor their progress throughout their tenure at college. The new plan included stringent monitoring of student progress and academic probation. Counselors advised students of all the requirements necessary for graduation from the college and for transfer to various upper division programs in Florida’s universities. When the “strict probation and suspension standards were adopted, Miami Dade dropped from its rolls several thousand students who were not making satisfactory progress” (McCabe, 1981, in Cohen and Brawer, 1982, p. 188).

Furthermore, in Florida, educational leaders developed an exit test for students desiring to transfer to the university. This test, known as the College Level Academic Skills Test (CLAST) was an integral part of the Educational Accountability Movement that swept across Florida and most of the country in the eighties.

According to the SBCC: (State Board of Community Colleges),

students admitted to upper division status in the state universities must possess a minimum level of competence in communication and computation. Therefore, to measure the degree of competency, students are tested before . . . being admitted to upper division status in the state universities.(1989, p.1)

The CLAST was an achievement test with four subtests: language skills, writing, reading, and mathematics. Students were not eligible for higher-level academic study at the university until they passed this test.

The Florida Legislature originally mandated guaranteed acceptance into the university system for all community college graduates earning the AA and passing the CLAST. However, legislators amended this policy several times. Because of the competitive nature of most programs, the legislature approved proposals to "limit
access”, to certain upper division programs on the basis of grade point average (GPA) and test scores. The 1992-1993 University of Florida Catalog states that, “ADMISSION TO THE UNIVERSITY IS SELECTIVE AND SATISFACTION OF THESE GENERAL REQUIREMENTS [EARNING THE ASSOCIATE DEGREE AND PASSING THE CLAST] DOES NOT GUARANTEE ACCEPTANCE” (p. 6).

In California, students who were ineligible to attend a university on the basis of high school grade performance had to complete a minimum of thirty hours of course work at a community college with a grade point average of 2.8 on a 4.0 scale before applying to a university (Clark, 1960, p. 76). In addition, community college leaders in California implemented a program of academic probation, similar to the one initiated at Miami-Dade. As a result, 30 percent of all students in California community colleges were on academic probation. Of these thirty percent, seventy percent were in the collegiate transfer program (Clark, 1960, p. 76).

Many of these probationary students were ineligibles destined to fail at the university. The community college has a responsibility to guide and to teach these students unprepared for traditional college level studies. Unfortunately, up to 40 percent of all community college students were enrolled in curricula not planned to best satisfy their needs (McConnell, 1962, p. 59). According to Clark, “The student who cannot or will not perform at the college level . . . needs to be convinced that he is not capable of undertaking a more extended education” (1960, p. 69). This is the “thorniest single problem for community colleges” (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 231).
Proper academic counseling, stringent academic policies, and probationary programs were responses to the problems presented by ineligible students desiring transfer but whose academic record indicated they were incapable of the higher academic work required at the university. More important, community college leaders designed an academic program for these students, a program very much like the one which Maritain envisioned. The community college leaders developed a center of "manual training" which met all the requirements of liberal democratic education, while protecting the integrity of the university, and making a significant contribution to the development of democratic society by providing the higher education needed by both "intellectual" and "manual" workers.

The Liberal Education of Manual Workers

The community college sorted out the students who had a good chance of doing successful work in four-year institutions and offered alternatives for those who were either uninterested in advanced education or deficient in ability. It provided the terminal student the first level of training in general and technical education which was the requisite of a democratic industrialized social order (McConnell, 1962).

In Poland, community colleges could have provided the necessary general education needed by the mass of Polish citizens seeking higher education suited to their needs and abilities. According to Wattenbarger (1950) the existence of a local college perceptibly increases the number of students who pursue further education. Manual workers are in need of vocational, technical, and occupational training
coupled with good general education to help them develop as human beings, make good use of their leisure time, and contribute more to the improvement of society.

Hutchins recognized that "we must have a curriculum that will do as well for those who are going on (to the university) as those who are not" (1936, p. 81).

In a social order fitted to the common dignity of man, college education should be given to all so as to complete the preparation of youth before he enters the sphere of manhood. . . . Youth has a right to education in the liberal arts, in order to prepare for human work and human leisure. But such education is killed by premature specialization. (Maritain, 1943, p. 90)

According to Wattenbarger, Bender, and Harris,

much of the education of middle manpower workers can be accomplished in programs with a 'cluster concept,' [italics added] meaning that the educational program is broad enough and contains enough theoretical and cognitive content that the graduate can be successful (at entry levels) in any of the several related jobs in a "cluster" or field. Thus, for example, the engineering technician can successfully adapt to a wide range of jobs in industry, and the graphic arts technician can move into any one of several occupations in the printing trades. (1971, p. 3)

Harris and Grede predicted a breakdown in the rigid dichotomy between liberal arts and vocational curricula or between transfer and non-transfer curricula in community colleges." They "foresaw a time when teachers of the liberal arts would recognize the importance of career education, and teachers of vocations the importance of liberal learning. (1977, p. 227)

The community colleges reduced this rigid dichotomy. They offered an Associate of Science (AS) and an Associate of Applied Science (AAS) degree. The curriculum leading to the AS or AAS degree provided theoretical training that was both essential and necessary for breaking the mode of over specialization, "excessive information storage", and "inadequate skills of information processing" complained about by the Polish National Ministry of Education (1991, p. 3). Instead of providing mere job skills, the goal was to provide the
theoretical skills and understanding as well as the manual training necessary to help a person adjust to any of the broad categories within a certain specialty area. The goal was the development of thinking minds with the functional intellectual and manual coordination necessary to successfully adjust to manpower needs and changes.

The AS and AAS programs also provided the liberal arts in a “manner that [fit] less well-prepared student’s ways of knowing” (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 310). Advocates of this alternative approach to teaching the liberal arts refereed to this alternative study as: “general education.” General education has been interpreted in many ways including the classical Trivium and Quadrivium or the holistic integration of all possible knowledge available (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 316).

This study adopted and applied Maritain’s definition. General education is not the liberal education offered to people in the college or university transfer track. Liberal Arts education is more intellectually demanding; it prepares students for specific studies at the university. General education, on the other hand, is akin to the liberal arts studied by transfer students; it is a type of liberal arts education adjusted to the needs and abilities of manual workers. It provides knowledge and understanding of the liberal arts and humanities applicable in the modern world and contributes to the human growth of manual workers. It also provides a common core of knowledge that facilitates communication between workers and intellectuals. General education is theoretical but not as theoretical as the liberal arts; it is more practical and thus appropriately termed applied science or applied art.

General education is as old as the community college itself. It was supported by the earliest pioneers of the community college, including Koos and Eells. President Eisenhower
also supported this unique combination of liberal and technical studies, which he believed was the unique responsibility of the community colleges (Cohen & Brawer, 1982).

The Florida Junior College Conference on General Education repeatedly emphasized the function of cultural communication or social commonality. Communication is promoted by general education that provides those "learning's that should be possessed by all persons" (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 317). This type of education promotes solidarity and can help to avoid the conflict in society which President Walesa and others like Twardecki were committed to avoiding.

Miami-Dade Community College developed a general education program that demonstrated the concept very well. General education at Miami-Dade had a core of five multidisciplinary courses: "Communications," "The Social Environment," "The Natural Environment," "Humanities," and "The Individual." These core courses were each integrated in their general domain. (Cohen & Brawer, 1982). This was unlike course offerings in the conventional AA track. In that track students could study chemistry, mathematics, biology and sociology as separate subjects. Studying them that way permitted a more in-depth analysis and a more rigorous intellectual approach which was preparatory to higher intellectual work at the university. The AA degree was in short an intellectual training degree. The AS, on the other hand, was preparatory for manual training. It included a general education component similar to the Miami-Dade general education program. Miami-Dade’s program emphasized a core of general and applied topics. Natural Environment was an integrated course that included chemistry, biology, and earth science. Social Environment was another
integrated course; it included sociology, economics, and history. These two taken together encompassed the classical quadrivium, adjusted to the demands of the modern world and the academic needs of manual workers. The domains of communication and the humanities contained the classical trivium in the same way. Studies in these domains provided an integrated and unified body of knowledge shared by all students in both the AA and AS tracts. Both groups studied the same body of knowledge though in different manners adjusted to their needs and ability as Maritain (1962) advocated.

Students at Miami-Dade supplemented the General Education Core courses with 12 credits selected from three distribution groups. These courses, combined with six elective credits, provided room for preparatory work necessary for entrance into an advanced program following the general studies as suggested by Hutchins (1976). Cohen and Brawer commented on the general divisions in the core curriculum. They argued that the courses be “organized around themes not academic disciplines” (1982, p.337). Further, they believed that such courses should focus on how divergent people and cultures have dealt with universal problems such as communications, use of energy, construction of social institutions, and the quest for truth, beauty, and justice. They also believed that a special general education staff should prepare these courses to enable common people to understand themselves and the world in which they live, and to make a contribution to society (Cohen and Brawer, 1982).

Polish educational authorities were not unfamiliar with the idea of general studies. The community university programs at Warsaw, Poznan, and Krakow had
developed similar curricula. Wulff described a program at Warsaw University (1992, p. 64). Faculty tired of "working with unmotivated students", wanted to "work with more motivated non-traditional adult students, not part of the regular student body, who wanted to "discover and experience the joy of learning." Innovative educators designed four courses: myth and mythical thinking, man and environment, beauty, and fear and courage. Student needs provided a base for several lectures. Psychology and ethics were "extremely popular with these open study students." Other courses offered were: medicine and alternative medicine, health and disease, man and woman, Polish history and literature, human rights, and ethnic minorities. Students reported liking the classes and the opportunity to study at the university, which was "once only a dream" (Wulff, 1992, p. 65).

This dream was capable of fuller realization. Developing a curriculum similar to one planned by Cohen and Brawer (1982) and to the one offered to manual workers in American community colleges like Miami-Dade would better meet the needs of the Polish people. The offering of this curriculum is not the function and primary purpose of a university; it is not its mission. It is, however, the center, the soul, and the heart of the community college. It was the general education program that grew in prominence with the increased enrollment of manual workers. The transfer function, once dominant, was limited to a few by quality controls. On the other hand, expanded occupational and career programs grew to meet the needs and demands of an ever growing student body (Cohen & Brawer, 1982).
Even though occupational and career programs proliferated, community college leaders insisted that students receive a general or liberal education. Students coming to the community college with utilitarian motives can receive an education that prepares them for work. However since few students seek humane development and rarely ask “What sort of self am I in the process of making” (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 307)?

The institution has the responsibility of creating that question in the minds of its matriculants, eschewing the facile rejoinder that for community college students, individual freedom begins with economic security. The greater service to students may well be to insist on the study of the liberal arts. (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 307)

In summary, the community college offered traditional educational opportunities to people seeking transfer to the university and innovative educational opportunities to the more broad populace seeking manual training. These colleges also provided increased access to higher education while at the same time safeguarding academic excellence at the universities by acting as filters through which certain members of the natural aristocracy could pass; they also promoted social solidarity and contributed to building democratic societies by emphasizing human resource development and the dignity of the human person as well as the provision of vocational and technical job skills needed for life in the modern world. Two other components of the community college curricula required brief analysis: adult education and remedial or compensatory education.
Adult Education

Calling for reforms in the system of adult education, the Polish National Ministry of Education announced that this system should “enable adults to acquire or develop qualifications which correspond with the needs of the economy and the job market. It should also make it possible to gain knowledge and qualifications for individual purposes” (1991, p. 17).

Because education involving job market training was expensive it was logical to use all community resources, especially technical and vocational shops and machinery, and to hold classes at a variety of places throughout the community. Wattenbarger suggested that the community college could “act as a coordinating agency” along with other agencies in the community such as “museums, libraries, and churches” (1950, pp. 75-76) vocational and technical schools, union shops, and various business establishments.

Educators in Poland seemed most concerned about providing adults with the necessary job skills needed to survive the acute economic transition:

At the time when Poland is undergoing social and economic transformations, and the world is experiencing rapid technological progress, initial in-service training as well as retraining of adults becomes a particularly important issue, both in the economic and social respect. The role of the system of adult education is to enable its recipients to adapt their qualifications and skills to the needs of reformed economy. Consequently, the system should address the problems of unemployment and the regional needs. (National Ministry of Education, 1991, p. 17)

Since adults involved in the daily duty of earning a living have little time to leisurely pursue liberal education, it seems almost impossible to provide them with the type of schooling discussed in chapter three. Adults have non-educational
responsibilities and interests prior to their continuing education. "While formal
learning is the center of childhood and adolescent life, it is secondary to adulthood" (Adler, 1958, p. 50). Nevertheless, the adult population in Poland probably was the segment of the citizenry most in need of general liberal education. Most of them, according to Grootings (1991), had received only a limited secondary vocational education. Marxist-Leninist Materialism and Soviet Realism, manifested in the glorification of industrial labor for the benefit of the state, corrupted what little general education they did receive.

When it was realized that these same people were the ones being called upon to help rebuild a democratic country, and that at the local level over 50,000 manual workers had been elected to government office (Stepien 1989), it was readily seen why they needed much more than basic vocational skills. Another, often overlooked, reason for Adult Education in Poland was the affect it could have on the education of Polish school children. "The reform of adult education might remove one considerable source of inequality among children and affect the whole question of differentiation based upon inequality"(Adler, 1958, p. 133). Well educated parents were able to help their children receive a good education. Manual workers desiring the "best for their children" had to first attain the "best" for themselves so that they could "accompany" their children on their "great intellectual adventure" (Adler, 1958, p. 131). Educated parents have the ability to give their children the interests that will help them because they first cultivated these interests within themselves.(Adler, 1958, p. 131). In short, Adler concluded
children can be gravely handicapped by their parents lack of education, or worse, by their lack of interest in the children’s education. The continuing education of parents is even urged as a necessity in view of the present and projected shortage of school facilities. (p. 131)

A further reason adults need liberal education is that the mind, like the body, becomes flabby without exercise and becomes susceptible to various diseases: partisanship, prejudice, and dogmatism in non-dogmatic matters. Unexercised it is reduced to solitude or to the deadly company of similarly unexercised minds, dependent on strong external stimulation and increasingly difficult to stimulate except by increasing the strength and dosage of the stimulant. (Adler, 1958, p. 120)

According to Adler (1958, p. 29), adult education should build upon what adults learned in youth rather than repeating it. However, in Poland, Communist ideology dominated the education of the new generation of adults. This mentality was no longer applicable in democratic Poland. Adult education was essential there for the resocialization of adults. It was essential for democratic living as well as for the attainment of new job skills. Thus adults in Poland needed compensatory education to make up for the deprivations of the deficient childhood education they received. The old Communist night school did not, “in fact, offer adult education but, rather, adolescent education given to adults who had missed it” (Adler, 1958, p. 46).

This type of education was not truly adult education. It was “compensatory,” designed to make up for the inadequacies of childhood education. True adult education is “Continuing” education. It builds upon rudiments started in childhood. “The manual worker has not begun to study the arts, the “bachelor of arts has not yet mastered any, and the Ph.D. is qualified to practice only one branch of continuing learning” (Adler, 1958, p. 126). Consequently, all adults are in need of adult education.
The history of the “Flying University”\(^2\) and other such institutions in recent Polish history attested to the ability of the Polish people to acquire adult education through self study. Nonetheless, the number of students that attended these classes was small, and for the most part, (see footnote) attendees were already university students and not manual workers.

Polish people already having the foundation of a liberal education might be expected to continue studies on their own. However, the bulk of the working population were in need of a system of adult education capable of supplying both vocational and liberal components. The success of the community university program and other past self education initiatives like the Flying University, attested to the interest of Polish people in more humane and general educational topics. However, university programs such as these failed to attract any significant number of manual workers. Because enrollments were low and because the university did not offer any vocational courses, other solutions to adult education were necessary. Poland needed an educational institution that could offer and or coordinate both forms of education, liberal and vocational.

The Polish Ministry of National Education (1991) proclaimed that it was necessary to establish one continuous Education Center for adults in each province.

\(^2\) The Flying University grew in Poland as a self education response to the monopolization and politicization of education in the nation’s schools and universities by occupying powers. According to Burzynska-Burzynska-Garewicz (1985) “In an effort to remedy this situation, societies have been creating institutions and forms of education and self education outside the official education system. In this respect, the history of Polish learning and education has a splendid tradition of numerous educational associations: The Flying University, the guidance for independent study, [and] ... the Polish Free University.” These groups emphasized self study in selected problem areas in history, sociology, economics, literature, philosophy, and pedagogy. The campuses are called flying universities because they have “no campuses, land, or buildings, and in order to avoid persecution, each class meeting was held in a different private apartment.” The main goal of the flying university was to “explore the unexplored domains of the social sciences, and the humanities, teach what was restricted or banished from the official university, and to provide some new publications. . . . Its purpose was to teach what was prohibited and to correct what was falsified.” Burzynska-Garewicz, H. (1985). The Flying University in Poland, The Harvard Educational Review Vol. 55, No. 1 February. Cambridge: Fellows of Harvard College.
Further, the Ministry believed that it was, “necessary to create an Interdepartmental Committee for Vocational Training and Continuous Education, which [would] initiate and coordinate steps taken by different ministries and organizations and [would] help relate educational and economic processes” (p. 17).

In the United States, the community college did much to help coordinate and assist local programs of adult education (Wattenbarger, 1950). More significantly, community colleges in the United States involved themselves in adult education by offering non-credit courses in vocational, leisure, and liberal studies. Community colleges offered continuing education credits (CEUs) to students completing weekend or evening courses. These courses were for adults and focused on leisure topics or vocational skills. They were part of the community education program. According to the Santa Fe Community College Catalog, in Florida CEUs are

Not computed for any program carrying academic credit. They are a standard unit of measurement, based on the number of class hours, enabling organizations and professions to grant proper recognition for participation in community education activities. The college . . . [maintains] a record of each individual’s CEUs and a transcript is available on request. (1991, p. 20)

Other types of adult education offered by the community colleges were the Vocational Certification Programs. These programs were similar to the AS degree programs, because they helped to meet the vocational needs of the community. Certification programs were unique, however, because they usually “required only one year of study” and they enabled the student to qualify for immediate employment in such fields as data processing, computer programming, office management, medical transcription, and sales (Santa Fe Catalog, pp. 64 -73). These courses, unlike the AS
courses, did not require general or liberal education; all course work was in the field of concentration.

In summary, the community college offered several adult education programs including, community leisure education and vocational certification. Community education was often continuing education and offered a broad scope of skill and hobby courses as well as academic courses similar to those offered by the community universities in Poland. The certification courses were strictly vocational and were intended to enhance employment opportunities within the community. The community college thus offered both liberal and vocational adult education and served as a focal point or hub for community wide education. Besides adult continuing education, community colleges also offered adult remedial or compensatory education.

Remedial Education

Remedial education, was also known as compensatory education; it grew in the United States as the poorly prepared secondary schools students entered community colleges in large numbers. The growth of remedial education in the United States was correlated with poor performance by the secondary schools in preparing students for college level work (Cohen and Brawer, 1988). Problems with secondary education in the “1970s, coupled with the expanded percentage of people entering college, brought compensatory education to the fore” (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 17).

According to Deegan & Tillery,

it wasn’t until the 1970s . . . that [compensatory] education assumed an identifiable form. Fortified by the moral fervor of the civil rights movement, pushed by the activists of the 1960s, and convinced that ‘success’ in high school had been too narrowly and rigidly defined, frustrated students and faculty forced colleges to open their doors wider, thereby expanding access for
minority students who had been ill served by the secondary system. (1988, p. 104)

A nationwide survey (Remedial Education in College, 1983) of four-year colleges and universities disclosed that remedial mathematics courses increased 40 percent from 1970-1975 and 72 percent from 1975-1980 (Deegan & Tillery, 1988, p. 107). Providing remedial education for so many students who should have acquired these skills in high school was an expensive proposition. In a real sense, the state paid twice for giving students the same education.

It is important to note that remedial education is not preparatory education. High school and community college students received preparatory education for the university only one time. Remedial students received the same education twice, once in high school and once again at the community college. It is not remedial education when a student is given basic skills in communication and computation if he or she never received those skills in secondary school. Vocational school students who come to the community college seeking enrollment in the college transfer track need preparatory education because they may have never had the appropriate education in the secondary vocational school. This same education, however, is remedial for students who have had it before and need to take it again.

Regardless of what it is called, this education was so expensive that the Florida Postsecondary Planning Commission “called for the phasing out of remedial education at the college level by 1988” (Deegan and Tillery, 1988, p. 123). Although the state of Florida did not phase out remedial education as planned, the threat that it would was constant.
Wattenbarger, the “architect of Florida’s community college system” (Elliot, 1992, pp.) used his dissertation (1950) as the blue-print for developing community colleges within that state. Wattenbarger assigned only six short lines in his entire dissertation to the role community colleges played in providing remedial education. It is as if the idea of remediation was almost nonexistent at the time he wrote. He did not even use the word “remedial” or “compensatory.” Instead he referred to this type of education as the “Removal of Matriculation Deficiencies.” In defining this terminology he quoted a California committee charged with surveying the needs of the state in higher education: “Junior colleges should provide opportunities for students who failed to meet entrance requirements to some university, to remove such deficiencies and thus to qualify for admission in the higher institution of their choice” (1950, p. 59). Wattenbarger did not include remedial education in his “Summary of Community College Functions”, nor in his “Guides for Community College Education” (1950, pp. 76-83). It was as if the function was then unimportant.

Consequently, the arguments and evidence presented above, which traced the growth in remedial education to problems experienced by secondary schools in the seventies, seemed more plausible. Remedial programs need not be extensive if the secondary schools are educating their pupils adequately. Increasing the number of these secondary school graduates in higher education was a goal of the Polish Ministry of National Education. Articulation and cooperation can help to avoid some of the problems with unprepared high school students coming to the community
college. Some form of remedial program, however, was necessary if increased access was a goal.

Summary

A concise summation of major chapter details follows.

- Post-Socialist Poland was expanding post-secondary access. Enrollments significantly increased between 1989-93. However, it was unwise to consider emulating Western access figures. There are no magic access numbers although the 15 percent indicated by Trow and Bowles are sufficient indicators of minimum enrollments necessary for democratic higher education. However, this number need not be reached in the universities per se; the community colleges should be the institutions handling the bulk of the increased access in democratic societies.

- Enrollment at the university should be limited to a nation's natural aristocracy. Higher university education is a privilege not a right. In a democracy, everyone has a right to an equal opportunity, to attempt to qualify for entrance into a university. This type of education is best provided at post-secondary institutions such as community colleges, which combine general education with needed technical or occupational training.

- Poland had reached a point in its history when it was time to replace the traditional unipolar conception of higher education that nurtures an aristocracy to a new bipolar conception that included the higher education for working people as well. Community college curricula combined manual and intellectual components; these component could no longer be considered opposed to each other. Both were
worthy of respect. As Maritain suggested, "Popular education must become liberal and liberal education must become popular."

- If liberal education is not made available to every person, democracy is only an illusion. To educate only a few and to train the mass is promote an aristocracy, not a democracy.

- Community colleges offered both general and liberal education thereby contributing to the building up of all human resources in a community not just the aristocratic element. General education was an alternative method of providing liberal arts education to workers.

- Community colleges provided several curricula designed to meet the varying needs of workers: two year university parallel degrees for workers who were by nature meant for leadership, two to three year courses in vocational and technical subjects including general studies, one year certification programs, remedial programs, adult and community education.

- Although the collegiate transfer courses required careful development and rigorous standards, the heart of the community college was its terminal programs; over 95 percent of the student body enrolled in these various courses following World War II.

- The future education of workers must include theoretical, general, and manual learning if it is to be truly humane. In a truly democratic society, students could no longer be treated as apprentices or as adjuncts to machines.
• Choosing a vocation is a difficult process that should not be expected from students at an immature age. Extending general and liberal education not only provides the intellectual and emotional maturity necessary to make such a decision, it also extends the time period before such a decision must be made. It is important to provide as much horizontal movement as possible between different courses of study and institutions without loosing time already invested. This is made possible by extending general and liberal education, which being more theoretical than practical enables students to explore while also developing their intellectual talents.

• This choice and these types of education can take place on one large campus or on a variety of different campuses, colleges, vocational institutions, or advanced schools specializing in certain areas.

• In a democratic society requiring increased higher education access, community colleges act as filters for universities. The community college permitted educational systems to expand access while at the same time guaranteeing continued excellence and academic rigor at the universities.

• Community colleges provided a two tiered system of higher education. Without the two tiers in a democracy, universities usually attempted to meet projected enrollment increases. As a result, universities found dealing with student differentiation difficult and tended towards overloading.

• Community colleges were open access institutions which guaranteed admission to everyone that asked. Selection took place after admission. Many community
college programs were highly selective and required certain specific requirements before matriculation was possible. Thus although all students were accepted not all were permitted entrance into any program they desired; they had to qualify first.

- It was a mistake to permit entering students into the transfer track who failed to qualify for technical programs. This track should have been more rigorous than the technical programs because it led to university matriculation. The college transfer track should have been the most rigorous on the community college campus.

Students who did not qualify for technical programs or the parallel track could earn a vocational degree or certification as a skilled worker. Certification programs should have also included a general education component.

- Most transfer students did exceedingly well at the university. However, a large group did not perform well. California research indicated that students not performing well after transfer were usually ineligibles.

- It was therefore important to maintain a screening system to identify such students thereby avoiding the problem of reverse transfer and latent terminal students. Such a system included academic probation, stringent course requirements, semester review of academic progress of all students in the transfer track, or a minimum grade point average necessary to remain in the program.

- It was not undemocratic to maintain high admission standards and to ask more of ineligible students. Their past poor performance made them suspect. The community college gave them a chance to prove themselves. California demanded
higher grade point averages from ineligible students than it did of eligible students; this research favored the California approach.

- Community college transfers that performed poorly at the university clustered in the physical sciences, math, and engineering. It was essential that these departments maintain high standards for transfer admittance.

- It is ideal to maintain high standards in the college of liberal arts as well. If high standards are not kept, there is a real danger of poorly prepared students entering the liberal arts college because they were unable to find acceptance in other upper division colleges at the university.

- Higher education leaders should have realized that they were NOT doing ineligible transfer students any favors by accepting them into the college of liberal arts. A college degree was not a panacea or a guarantee of success. The liberal arts degree was the least powerful in terms of employment possibilities. The degree is preparatory to advanced studies of law, medicine, business, and education. All these programs required stringent admission standards. Poorly prepared students ultimately faced frustration when they were unable to procure admittance into advanced graduate programs. They were better served in excellent technical and vocational programs at the community college. These students were wasting their time, and the state’s money by attending the university.

- Florida introduced the CLAST to help alleviate this problem. This state also initiated many limited access programs. For example, the College of Liberal Arts
and Science was a limited access program requiring a minimum GPA of 3.0 for community college transfer students.

- Academic counseling was essential. Studies indicated that 40 percent of community college students were in programs not designed to meet their needs. Again, this was a significant waste of time and of resources.

- Colleges have a responsibility to offer students academic counseling. Academic counseling is not psychological counseling. Academic counseling is affordably handled by faculty members rather than by a paid group of professional counselors.

- In the United States community colleges emphasized the collegiate or university parallel program for the first fifty years of their development. It was not until the infusion of vast amounts of state and federal vocational aid and student financial aid after World War II that the colleges underwent a metamorphosis into "comprehensive schools" offering both collegiate and terminal curricula.

- The first community colleges were able to acquire a collegiate face or association, which, although difficult to assess, contributed to their social acceptance.

- Adult education was often accomplished by coordinating it through the community college. Poland's National Ministry of Education planned to develop Provisional Adult Education Centers to coordinate adult education in each region of the country.

- Adult education is either continuing or compensatory. It is necessary for the continued development of the mind, quality use of leisure time, better
understanding of what was learned in youth and the, subsequent, contribution this understanding renders to the intellectual growth of children who have educated parents.

- Poland's Community University was a good example of continuing adult liberal education, but it failed to attract large number of students and very few working people.

- Remedial education was a twentieth century phenomena. Early colleges and universities in the United States performed preparatory (not remedial) education because many students did not receive the appropriate preparatory education. By 1960 they were receiving the appropriate preparatory education in secondary school, but many performed poorly. This poor performance by the secondary schools forced the colleges to perform remedial education. In a system where quality is demanded at the secondary level remedial education can be limited at the tertiary level; it can be continuing rather than remedial.
CHAPTER 5

COMMUNITY COLLEGE ACCESS AND ORGANIZATION

The Effect of Proximity and Cost on Community College Access

According to Parnell "A key word in the community college philosophy was access. There was strong evidence that geographical access to classes and the cost of education to students made considerable difference in the rates of college attendance (1989, pp. 89-90). Although access included other components, these two were most applicable for this research.

Cohen and Brawer (1982, pointed out that "more than any other factor, access depends on proximity" (pp. 10-11). They also pointed out that above 75 percent of the University of California’s most prestigious schools drew their freshman class from areas enclosed in a fifty mile radius around the schools. They claimed that the existence of a local college or university does more to expand access than open admission standards.

According to (McConnell, 1962, p. 123), the local proximity of community colleges attracted

many capable students who would be unable to go to college if it meant leaving home; spending two years locally may make four years possible for a student who would otherwise have been unable to finance a full undergraduate course.

Wattenbarger (1950) stressed the relationship between proximity and access in his recommendation for the locations of Florida’s 28 community colleges. He
based his recommendation on the widely accepted belief among community college planners that 98 percent of the population should be within 30 minutes commuting distance from a college. Studies conducted by Koos (1924) and many other researchers, indicated that attendance falls off appreciably beyond the half hour commuting zone. The State of Florida’s Community College Council, (1957) when planning the placement of community colleges within the state, noted that many studies have indicated that attendance drops off as one goes farther away from an institution of higher learning. Community colleges are local institutions and should not expect their student body to come from farther than commuting distances. Joyal, for instance, found in California that from 85 to 95 percent of the students of a junior college will be drawn from an area with a radius of 20 miles of the school. . . . Martorana reported that attendance in junior colleges begins to fall off at a radius of fifteen miles. This study showed further that 90 percent of the enrollment lived within thirty-five miles of the institution. (pp. 30-31)

Cohen (1972) found that community colleges were usually located in an area that permitted 90-95 percent of a state’s population to live within a commuting distance of approximately 25 miles.

The bulk of the population growth in the public junior colleges occurred during their golden age of expansion between 1940 and 1980 (Cohen and Brawer, 1982, pp. 10-11). Because of their local orientation, while the number of new colleges doubled in number enrollments grew eightfold during this period. By 1980 “the median [sized] private junior college had fewer than 500 students; only three had more than 5,000. By contrast, the median public junior college enrolled more than 2,000 students, forty-four had more than 15,000” (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 11).
The increases in community college enrollments during this time were not due solely to their availability. Other factors affected enrollment: First, the shift towards occupational and technical training at the public community colleges occurred during this period. Furthermore, the federal and state governments also began to heavily subsidize these types of education (Cohen & Brawer, pp. 108 and 113). In the smaller private community colleges, which emphasized the college transfer function (Cohen & Brawer, p. 112), enrollments decreased at the same time that the public community colleges were becoming more comprehensive and benefiting from an infusion of federal and state dollars into the vocational and technical programs.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 and its amendments in 1968 and 1972, "vastly augmented the federal dollars available to community colleges. And for every federal dollar appropriated, state governments and local districts provided more than $3 in 1968, almost $5 in 1972, and more than $6 in 1974" (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 204). The increase in dollars affected enrollments and the increased enrollments resulted in the reception of more dollars. The two were symbiotic and financially beneficial to the community colleges (Cohen & Brawer p. 205).

In addition to the vast influx of government dollars into vocational and technical programs, financial aid given directly to the students in the forms of grants and loans proliferated in the 1970s. During this time, funds became available through many programs: Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, Educational Opportunity Grants, Guaranteed Student Loans, and College Work Study Programs (Cohen & Brawer, p. 179).
In short, increasing access was not as simple as placing a community college in a local district and expecting growth. The doors to higher education had to be opened, a comprehensive curriculum including manual training and liberal arts had to be provided, and additional (governmental) assistance in the form of financial aid was made available as well.

In addition, costs had to be kept low. Koos (1924) presented extensive evidence suggesting that besides proximity, “cost” was another major factor “influential in per capita determining the proportions of the population who avail themselves of higher educational opportunity” (p. 19). Although the price per student at community colleges was lower than the price per student at four year colleges and universities community, college occupational and career programs, special remedial programs for the disadvantaged, and counseling services pushed up the expense of community college education.

The administrative practice of hiring part-time instructors, who received a small stipend for their teaching services and usually no medical or insurance benefits, helped offset the problem of high costs.

Often paid an hourly rate or at a fixed fee on a per-course basis, these instructors generated high numbers of credit hours at costs as little as one-third the cost of similar courses taught by full-time faculty. By the end of the 1970s, there were as many part-time as full-time instructors. (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 137)

Other means utilized for reducing costs included more effective use of facilities, year round, day and night scheduling of courses, and the use of community facilities on a rental or non-rental basis. Additional practices included the innovative use of the mass
media and extension courses and larger course loads for community college instructors; although these loads were larger than those of university professors, they were usually significantly smaller than those of secondary school teacher (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 140).

Community college analysts, such as Lombardi (1973) and Wattenbarger (1972), advocated cost control through better planning; increasing enrollments in small classes; employing more part time faculty; utilizing community facilities; using reproducible media; encouraging early retirement; reducing [and restructuring] student support services, such as counseling, tutoring, and athletics; more austere use of supplies and equipment, and restricting staff leaves and travel. Lombardi (1973, p. 14) had the foresight to see and to understand that contracts achieved through collective bargaining would build in salary increases, and new functions and services occasioned by federal moneys would add to the fiscal burden when financing the service that a grant has started with seed money becomes the full responsibility of the college.

Community college administrators would have benefited by more discretionary use of these and similar funds and better utilization of the resources of the local community, rather than by reliance on short-term state funds which often resulted in commitments that could not be continued when the money ran out.

Containing costs was essential if tuition was to be kept at a minimum. Tuition rates charged by community colleges were traditionally lower that tuition rates charged by universities and four year colleges. Wattenbarger (1972) advocated a policy of zero tuition, reasoning that community colleges were the cap-stone of secondary education. Consequently, local governments, supported by state
equalization funding, should have provided community college education without charge. More recently (personal correspondence, May 1994) Wattenbarger accepted a revised policy of "low tuition" with the proviso that costs "remain low." Lombardi (1976) came to the same conclusion. After studying the problem of community college tuition, he concluded that there was no longer a question of charging tuition. The new question was rather, how much tuition to charge.

Traditionally, community college tuition averaged around 60 percent of the tuition charged in four-year colleges. However, the greater savings to community college students resulted from living at home and working part-time (Cohen & Brawer, 1982). State policy, said Cohen and Brawer, almost invariably fixed community college tuition at a lower rate than that charged for the other public sector institutions because legislators usually wanted the community colleges to serve as a low-cost alternative for beginning college students. To attract these students, community colleges had to keep their own costs low. Along with costs, the organization of community colleges influenced public perception and thus had a significant impact on enrollment.

**Community College Organization**

The organization of community colleges took many forms, each having its own peculiar effect on their expansion and development. Community colleges were organized as local branches of university campuses, as parts of four year colleges, or as local organizations in either a high school or unified school district. Another
possibility was the establishment of a separate community college district under local auspices (Clark, 1960, p. 9).

Although most community colleges began as upward extensions of local high schools, nearly all of them separated from the lower school districts (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 14). Community colleges in California and Texas had limited enrollments when organized as parts of high school districts. Placing a community college in a high school district puts it under the control of a board charged primarily with high school education. Placing a community college in a unified district renders it "an administratively dependent organization. In key matters its administrators are subordinate to central authorities in the district" (Clark, 1960, p. 136).

Placing a community college in a unified district is further complicated because the college is placed under the control of a board responsible for the [entire] gamut of public school education. The jurisdiction of the unified district in California extended from kindergarten through grade 14 (Clark, 1960, p. 119). Both these alternatives, secondary and unified school districting, seemed problematic for several reasons:

(a) The community college lacked the autonomy it needed for operational efficiency and organizational innovation.

(b) These alternatives engendered possible organizational confusion and conflicting goals, for community college leaders.

(c) Community colleges had difficulty establishing an identity as institutions of higher education when they were organized in this manner.

(d) In California’s unified districts, all income was district income. In practice, there
was no such thing as "junior college income"... The district was reluctant to break down the local tax rate into elementary, high school, and junior college components, preferring to think in terms of one total district rate... Earmarked funds clearly reduced flexibility. (Clark, p. 25)

(e) Community colleges perceived as upward extensions of high schools and organized as parts of local unified school systems were likely to have less status than community colleges which were "set off from high schools in an autonomous district with a separate administration" (Cohen & Brawer, 1982, p. 78).

Community college administrators preferred an autonomous form of control that promoted a distinct positive identity for the colleges as institutions of higher education (Clark, 1960, p. 119). Organizing a community college as a separate part of an autonomous district generally speaking improves its 'image' and 'status'... In a study of the attitudes of junior [community] college administrators and instructors in unified school districts, two thirds of both groups declared that a junior college should be autonomous. (McConnell, 1962, p. 121)

The greatest growth in junior colleges in the state of California occurred after the legislature authorized the creation of separate community college districts (McConnell, 1962, p. 112). Community colleges organized in this way contained "no public schools other than the junior [community] college. Junior college personnel answered only to their governing board. The board of a junior college district, "need not concern itself with the managing of other types of schools" (Clark, 1960, p. 119).

Wattenbarger, Bender, and Harris (1971) indicated that high school graduates have an understandable reluctance about returning to a secondary level vocational school for occupational education, as demonstrated by the characteristically low enrollments in postsecondary courses operated by
AVTS’s (Area Vocational and Technical Schools) in many states. High school graduates interested in further education and training prefer to take the training in a college. (p. 5)

Concerned about the organization of community colleges, Clark (1960) concluded in all control systems that represent local authority, there is likely to be a strong tendency toward a secondary school orientation. In contrast, junior colleges directly administered by state educational systems will probably be relatively autonomous from local influences, with less secondary school orientation. Furthest removed from public school influence, of course, is the junior college administered as part of a university or state college, where formal dependency will tend to result in a traditional college orientation. (p. 145)

The Community College as Part of a University

Organizing the community college on an university campus or as a local branch of a university is usually a poor choice. The previous discussion pertaining to access and excellence in higher education provided some reasons for understanding why community colleges should not be organized within or as parts of universities. This section explores other reasons to keep the two apart. Even though many states including Pennsylvania, Alaska, Hawaii, Kentucky, and West Virginia began their community colleges as university branch campuses this was not the norm (McConnell, 1962, p. 14). Although branch campuses did not face such problems as accreditation, it can be “asked whether branches are likely to serve the people’s needs as fully as would two-year, locally oriented community colleges” (McConnell, 1962, p. 128).

According to McConnell, (1962) the curricula at branch campuses was much less diversified than curricula offered at community colleges. “With a limited number of exceptions, the extension centers . . . offered only transfer curricula” (McConnell, 1962, p. 132, italics added). Furthermore, “In a zealous and commendable effort to
make academic standards in the branches comparable to those on the main campus, the supervision of the central university left little opportunity for the extension centers to develop personalities of their own” (McConnell, 1962, p. 132).

Not only did extension centers usually lack vocational and technical facilities, the universities, as indicated above, had a unique mission of their own that was different from the mission of the community colleges. Because of the universities’ academic mission, university satellite centers were prone to stress the collegiate transfer function, which did little to expand access for the general citizenry requiring it. Not only do good citizens require education, they require innovative general education coordinated with technical skills not offered by the university. The university did not seem to be the place to organize a community college.

It is true that Wattenbarger, Bender, and Harris (1971) recommended placing several of the community colleges in West Virginia under the auspices of the universities in that state by either placing them on the university campus or by converting university satellites into community colleges. They did this, however, reluctantly. According to Wattenbarger (personal correspondence, May, 1994) there was “not much other choice in West Virginia for reasons of time, economy, and money” (see also p. 31, Wattenbarger et al., 1971). However, if it is necessary to follow this route several “safeguards [should be] built in” (Wattenbarger, Bender & Harris, p. 31).

If the community college is left as an appendage of existing baccalaureate programs, it will not meet with success. . . . Baccalaureate and graduate level institutions have their own missions and their own responsibilities and therefore, should not be assigned other responsibilities which divert energies and resources away from their goals. (Wattenbarger, Bender & Harris, p. 27)
Organizing a community college as part of a university requires that the community college have a completely separate administrative authority. A separate administrative structure also requires a separate budget, “It is essential that the Board of Regents establish a separate administrative structure with a special budget for supporting this level of education” (Wattenbarger, Bender, & Harris, p. 27).

Furthermore, Wattenbarger, Bender, and Harris (1971) recommended that all postsecondary programs in operation in area vocational and technical schools (in West Virginia) be assigned to the community college education system.

While such programs can continue to operate within existing facilities of the vocational schools, administrative and budgetary responsibility for their planning, programming, and evaluation should be assigned to the community college education system. (Wattenbarger et al., p. 23)

These consultants further recommend that the State Plan for the Administration of Vocational Education include an entirely separate section on postsecondary occupational education. The “Plan” should provide for the contracting of services and programs between area vocational technical centers and comprehensive community colleges [organized as branch campuses or as separate administrative agencies], as a means of preventing the duplication of facilities and equipment. (p. 23)

The consultants suggested that the community colleges cooperate with area vocational schools to develop the unique academic or articulation agreements essential to avoid unnecessary and profligate expenditure of public funds. “A costly, competitive, and duplicative system of postsecondary occupational education will [result in] federal monies being frittered away” (Wattenbarger, et al, 1971, p.24). If community colleges and area technical schools failed to enter into a cooperative relationship, the community colleges would not be able to “develop quality programs
of technical-vocational education, but would concentrate on college-parallel courses of general education, thus making [as pointed out above] only minimal contribution to economic development in West Virginia” (Wattenbarger, et al., 1971, p. 24).

Wattenbarger and his associates strongly recommended the “clarification of state level responsibility for all education beyond high school.” They referred to this as the “immediate and crucial problem confronting West Virginia [if] wasteful duplication and competition [were] to be avoided” (1971, p. 25). The lack of public resources for independent community colleges in West Virginia led, by necessity, to the adoption of a plan that utilized existing resources in a new and innovative way. A similar situation occurred in California with the development of the San Jose Community College (SJJC) studied by Clark (1960).

The Community College as Part of a College

The history and development of San Jose Community college were both interesting and relevant to the objectives of community college planning in Poland. Local educational authorities inaugurated the SJJC in 1921. It began as the “junior college department of San Jose High School.” Although legally an extension of the local secondary school system, students at SJJC attended all their classes at the San Jose State Teachers College (Clark, 1960, p. 10) which later became San Jose State College. Under this contractual arrangement between the San Jose Unified School District, and the San Jose State College, (The local unified district paid the state $50 per student attending the State College, p. 18, Clark, 1960.) SJJC became in practice virtually indistinguishable from San Jose State College (Clark, 1960, p. 11). The
president of the state college was also the chief administrator of the community
college. The place of the community college was “approximately that of a submerged
extension division” (Clark, 1960, p. 12). This was a mistake (not the union with the
state college, but union without separate administrative authority and budgetary
power) which Wattenbarger cautioned against in the West Virginia study.

The association between the two colleges was so great that teachers assigned
to the community college were both de facto and de jure referred to as “instructor,”
“assistant professor,” “associate professor,” and “professor.” They “always thought of
themselves as part of the state college staff” (Clark, 1960, p. 11). Administrators
classified students planning to conclude their education in two years as “junior
college” students. The SJJC, however, did not offer a comprehensive curriculum
including the AS degree and certification programs; all students studied the same
courses. In this sense, the SJJC, although it increased educational opportunity, did not
really implement the complete community college mission. Like other early
community colleges, the SJJC focused on the collegiate transfer curriculum.

Because it concentrated on this curriculum, the cost of running the community
college was minimal. School officials reluctantly relocated the community college in
1952, because of the “financial attractiveness of the arrangement with the state
college” (Clark, 1960, p. 12). Both colleges utilized the same facilities, faculty, and
staff. The junior college was “thus chiefly a bookkeeping and financial transaction”
(Clark, 1960, p. 12). In fact, organizing the community college this way was a boon
for the district. State aid and income from other districts sending their residents to
SJCC covered almost the entire bill. Additional revenues included a local junior college property tax and federal funds (Clark, 1960, p.12). The community college required a mere 11 percent of total revenues to cover operating costs, the other 90 percent was used as discretionary funds by district leaders, “This way of running a community college was both inexpensive and rewarding to other school personnel, virtues that did not escape the eye of tax groups, administrators, and teachers in the schools” (Clark, 1960, p.13, italics added). In spite of the financial benefit to the local school district, this relationship was altered after a 1948 California state study recommended that the SJJC be divorced from the state college.

Combining Secondary Technical Schools and Community Colleges

Almost four decades after the marriage of the State College and the SJJC, district officials reluctantly agreed to relocate SJJC (Clark, pp. 16-17). They did so because of increased pressure from the state, which threatened to change the terms of the contract to $100 per student, thereby doubling the amount the district previously paid (Clark, 1960, p. 18). It was decided to place the SJJC on a joint campus with the new San Jose Technical High School.

The relocation of SJJC was not without its stern critics. Local elementary and secondary school teachers and union leaders of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) exacerbated the situation. Lacking correct information about the new community college, they reasoned that the additional local burden of supporting the college at its new location would interfere with their endeavor to increase their standard of living. In fact, the AFT was against continuing the SJJC at any location if
it interfered with their pecuniary interests. Paradoxically, the SJJC, in fact, subsidized the unified school district budget.

The SJJC’s first administrative director at the new location marveled at the cost efficiency of running a community college in conjunction with the technical high school facility. The existing state of affairs was one, according to him, that produced the, “lowest junior college instructional cost per unit of ADA (average daily attendance) we have ever seen reported anywhere, for any Junior College in California” (Clark, 1960, p. 26). According to Clark,

the director compared his own unit expenditure ($309 in 1953-54) with that of several other junior colleges, ranging from $435 to $625, and suggested that the California average was near $500. He also made a comparison with the high schools of the district whose unit costs that year was $468 or approximately 50 percent higher than the college. The expense figure for the college was considerably below that set in the state’s foundation program for junior college education ($380), which the state considers a minimum acceptable level of support. (p.26)

The organizational arrangement of SJJC resulted in a situation wherein it was the only segment of the unified district with operating expenses less than the seemingly conservative state minimum foundation projections. The extra revenues were shifted wherever the unified district wanted to shift them (Clark, 1960, p. 25).

Nevertheless, the junior college was accused of obtaining funds needed by other educational institutions in the district (Clark, 1960, pp. 27-28). Local administrators were not anxious to advertise the increased revenues coming into the district through the community college. These included State ADA funds, funding from other districts, tuition, revenues generated through a local junior college tax, and federal vocational funds. In addition to these funds, during this time, financial aid and
other federal and state aid packages became available.

It behooved the local board to relocate the SJJC at the technical school in order to take advantage of federal dollars in addition to the state dollars they were receiving when organized on the San Jose College campus. Since the San Jose College lacked vocational and technical facilities it was not possible to receive federal funding by remaining there. Because the cost of running the SJJC at the state college was equivalent to the costs of running it at the technical school, the prudent decision was made to relocate.

With the college financed "largely from outside sources" in its fourth year at the new site

revenue was approximately 170 percent of costs, with income from outside sources alone equal to 95 percent of operating expenditures. Locally derived income hardly needed to be touched, although normally in California [at that time] local revenue assumes one-half to two-thirds of the burden of school expenditures. (Clark, 1960, p. 23)

In actuality, the AFT had no valid complaint. The cost of running a community college as an organizational part of either a four year college or a technical school is significantly below building and maintaining a separate campus and providing for an entirely new administrative and teaching staff. In San Jose, the technical school approach was more lucrative because of the influx of federal dollars. Without federal support, the costs of operation at the two different sites was approximately equal. Important as financing is, it is unwise to make an organizational decision based on financial reasoning alone; other factors such as curricula are also important.
The Relationship Between Curricula and Community College Organization

In addition to SJJC’s relocation to the area technical high school, administrators attempted to reduce the collegiate curriculum developed through the SJJC’s long association with the teachers’ college. Instead, they attempted to give precedence to the terminal curriculum in the hopes of emphasizing the technical and vocational nature of the new school (Clark, pp. 16-17).

However, things did not work out as planned. The technical school quickly found itself dominated by SJJC’s collegiate curriculum (Clark, 1960, p. 28). The majority of students opted to undertake traditional collegiate course studies. Within the first four years of the schools operation the transfer enrollment grew from 60 to 75 percent, while the terminal enrollment dropped from 40 to 25 percent (Clark, 1960, p. 47).

Because the San Jose district did not have another vocational school. It depended on the technical high school to maintain a working class orientation (Clark, 1960, p.29). This was a fair expectation, given the labor and employment profile in the San Jose district (see Clark, 1960 pp., 55-58). SJJC was a “working class” junior college. “Fewer than a fourth of its students from San Jose were from business and professional families while two-thirds of them had fathers in ‘blue collar’ occupations” (McConnell, 1962, p. 120).

Approximately two thirds of SJJC’s students were from families of manual workers. To determine this, two indicators of socioeconomic background were used: the occupation of the student’s father, and the economic level of the section of the
city in which the student’s family resided (Clark, 1960, p. 53). The SJJC had a student base “virtually identical with the city-wide-occupational structure” (Clark, 1960, p. 55). The junior college exceeded the city distribution only in the category of skilled and semiskilled workers, which accounted for 45 percent of its student body.

Apparently disregarding the demographic characteristics of the student cohort at SJJC, the administrators of the school made the mistake of permitting anyone to enroll in the collegiate transfer tract. The college thus did not “become an upgraded technical high school as originally planned, and it was not to accentuate terminal curricula... The college was to become a place where unselected students engaged in college tryout” (Clark, 1960, p. 48).

Instead, the administrators “should have steered the junior college down the terminal road from the beginning, guiding the students in such a way that the college would be at least two-thirds terminal” (Clark, 1960, p. 29). The implementation of this policy might have enabled the school to evolve into a comprehensive community college responsible for vocational and technical education as well as offering college transfer and general studies for manual workers.

In order to implement such a scheme for a comprehensive community college, the organizational system in which it is placed must be carefully scrutinized. When community colleges are planned in districts offering general secondary education and vocational education as was the case in San Jose, some organizational displacement should be expected. Ordinarily, the programs of the votech school are divided between a comprehensive high school (and a regional vocational school if it exists)
and a community college. The high school generally offers the industrial arts curriculum and the community college offers the technical programs. "This happened in San Jose when the rise of the college was related to the decline of the technical school" (Clark, 1960, pp. 29-30).

The fact that the majority of SJJC students chose collegiate studies over technical--vocational training is worth iterating. SJJC established this function as a result of its long history and association with San Jose State College. In addition, the technical high school was entirely new. It did not have a history that associated it with either the secondary schools or with vocational education. From the start, SJJC emphasized the collegiate function that became dominant. These three factors were important because they gave the SJJC a collegiate face even though the curricula included technical and vocational courses. It is necessary for a community college to emphasize technical education, but not at the cost of jeopardizing the collegiate face that the schools have endeavored to attain. These colleges benefited from their association with higher education which assisted in their development.

Clark placed considerable emphasis on the need to counsel students into the AS and related non-transfer tracts. Counseling students into the appropriate programs helps to avoid considerable waste of public dollars, avoids the stigma of failure at the university, and leads to the promotion of a liberal curriculum suitable to the needs of manual workers, while enabling the most intellectually able to transfer to the university. If they do well, they earn a reputable status for the community college. In
general, Clark was critical of the over-emphasis placed on transfer at SJJC. Many students were in this tract who should not have been.

Consequently, "Tech High remained small while the Junior College grew rapidly and came to dominate the campus" (Clark, 1960, p 31). As a result, a "recommendation was made by the superintendent of schools . . . to close the technical school" (p. 31). The district "fell back on a plan where high school students who wanted vocational work could attend a regular high school and be transported to the technical school facilities for part-time training" (Clark, 1960, p. 34).

**Organizational Benefits of a College Campus**

A college like San Jose State College specialized in teaching the liberal arts and offering basic instruction in courses such as education, engineering, and business which led to the baccalaureate degree for students hoping to find employment or to continue more advanced studies as graduate students at a university.

The baccalaureate degree historically signified the completion of a course of studies in the arts and humanities. There was not any specialization in the classical curriculum; every student receiving the baccalaureate degree underwent the same course of studies. The BA conferred the status of academic "apprentice" on its recipients; that is, they were qualified for further study. Reception of the baccalaureate also qualified students to become clerks or teachers in the lower schools (Dr. A. White, personal correspondence, April 1994) or to finish the Trivium and Quadrivium and receive the MA degree, which qualified them to act as master
teachers in the higher schools or to pursue specialized vocations in law, medicine, or theology at the university.

In 1994 liberal arts colleges still specialized in teaching the liberal arts and humanities; this was still their forte. Although, according to Adler, (1962, p. 149) liberal arts colleges were “desperately trying to be the antechamber of graduate schools--the beginning of specialized study”, they have not historically offered specialized programs. Instead, they prepared students for specialized study somewhere else. Thus it should not be contrary to the mission of a liberal arts college to offer general liberal arts education for community college students matriculating on a college campus; there should not be conflict of interest in this case as there is in organizing a community college as part of a university. The colleges being the experts in liberal education are the logical choice for developing several types of liberal arts curricula for the various students coming to them. According to Maritain (1962, p. 59), “universal education is precisely the job for high school and college years; namely, basic liberal education.” The bachelor of arts degree should signify that a person has acquired the “liberal skills prerequisite to specialized study” (Adler, 1962, p. 149). The bachelor, according to Adler, (1958) is simply an initiate in the liberal arts still in need of specialized study at the university, as Maritain suggested.

Hutchins (1936) (and Harper, the first president at the University of Chicago), understood that research oriented universities were not experts at offering general liberal education. The “complexities of operating the first two years of general education in the university are ‘very serious.” Few universities are “interested or
influential in the problems of public education” (Hutchins, 1936, p. 9). Consequently, Hutchins advocated the completion of general liberal education in the colleges and community colleges: “It is highly important that we should . . . encourage the community colleges to develop an intelligible scheme of general education under which the student may either terminate his formal education at the end of the sophomore year or go on to university work” (1936, p. 18). Perennial educational philosophers have consistently advocated the completion of liberal education at a college rather than at a university.

Colleges occupy a unique place in higher education between the high schools and the universities. Koos (1947) understood their preparatory function. Speaking of the early high schools and academies, he said,

on the whole the academies and high schools . . . were much like the colleges and may be thought of as competitors of the colleges rather than as preparatory to them. As with the colleges, their curricula were a composite of what we now regard as high school and college work. (p. 141)

This issue has a somewhat complex history that is beyond the scope of the current study. However, evidently colleges and community colleges shared a similar mission in the liberal arts and humanities. These are preparatory institutions; they prepare students for graduate work at the universities by offering them universal liberal arts and humanities education at the college. Thus organizing a community college as part of a four year college, as was done at San Jose, is more acceptable than organizing a community college as part of a university, which has a divergent mission altogether. Universities are not preparatory institutions. The colleges and community colleges are both preparatory institutions specializing in the liberal arts;
everyone in these colleges is preparing for something. In addition, both community colleges and four year colleges emphasize teaching rather than research.

Placing community colleges within four year colleges reduced costs and helped them to establish a beneficial collegiate identity. This collegiate identity promoted adult continuing education (Wattenbarger, Bender, & Harris, 1971). If community colleges are truly “colleges,” they require a college identity, not the identity of a subordinate school. Organizing community colleges as adjuncts to secondary schools did little to enhance their collegiate identity as Wattenbarger and others have shown.

The main difference between comprehensive community colleges and liberal arts colleges was the offering of “terminal” curricula. These curricula included a general studies curriculum for students desiring vocational and technical education, which was unavailable at liberal arts colleges (Clark, 1960, p. 43). These colleges had the potential of developing a general studies curriculum for manual workers, but they did not have the necessary vocational and technical facilities. One possible solution to this problem was developing a contractual relationship between technical schools and community colleges under statewide coordination plans, as suggested in the West Virginia study (Wattenbarger, et al, 1971). Another alternative, the one adopted at SJJC, was to place the community college within a technical school.

In conclusion, it was generally true that organizing a community college as part of a unified or secondary school district was confining. Administrators operating within such districts usually experienced limitations in their finances or in their autonomy, which was necessary to lead a college. Historically, however, it did not
prove economically feasible to open community colleges with their own administrative staff and organizational autonomy. Although some wealthier districts have accomplished this difficult feat, the more common practice was to place them within secondary schools, colleges, or universities.

Colleges and community colleges shared a common mission that universities had difficulty implementing. Organizing community colleges within local colleges was superior to organizing them as parts of a university. This type of integration augmented postsecondary identity and also utilized the expertise of college faculty who specialized in teaching the liberal arts and humanities. Administering a community college as part of an existing college is financially promising and likely to succeed if college officials provide the community college with an autonomous administrative staff having its own budgetary power and discretional use of resources.

Major problems included probable overcrowding, possible lack of autonomy, and the absence of a comprehensive curriculum due to the lack of vocational and technical resources. This last problem could be overcome, as Wattenbarger pointed out, by an articulation agreement with area vocational and technical schools overseen and mandated by competent governmental authority.

Although this chapter provided certain viable solutions to organizational problems, there is no one absolutely correct organizational model. The appropriate choice of a model depends on the various goals established by community college leaders. Each location such as a local school district, college, or university has certain strengths and weaknesses as well as certain cultural affects which will influence both
the growth and perception of the community college. "The logical place for junior colleges, therefore, depends on the values that one wishes to implement" (Clark, 1960, p. 145).

The placement and organization of community colleges also depend on what is available in a particular environment. With this in mind, it is possible to explore the Polish academic environment after briefly summarizing the main points contained in this chapter.

Summary

- Community colleges were local institutions. The possibility of studying locally may enable later study at a university for certain meritorious students who could not continue higher education otherwise.
- Geographical location and costs significantly affected attendance rates.
- Studies indicated that community college attendance fell off sharply beyond commuter distance of campus, that is, 20-30 miles.
- The explosive growth of community colleges in the United States after 1950 was associated with diverse curricula including technical and vocational studies in addition to the traditional collegiate offerings. It was also due to an immense infusion of public dollars unavailable to educational leaders in Poland.
- There were many ways to control community college costs and maximize revenues. The most popular included the following: maintaining a large part-time teaching staff that was improved by in-service training; offering daytime, evening, and week-end courses; using various mass media to reach a larger audience;
increased teaching loads; utilizing faculty members as academic counselors and making academic counseling a necessary part of the education of a community college instructor; use of community facilities; reduction of student services such as athletic programs, wise us of seed money; and the charging of tuition.

- Community college tuition was kept low, approximately 60 percent of university tuition.
- Students living at home and attending a community college experienced significant economic savings and the ability to work part-time while attending school full-time or conversely working full time and attending school part-time. Research by Koos reminded educational leaders that many tertiary students were still adolescents; many of them benefited by continued residence in the home and neighborhood environment. Two more years at home could be a significant strengthening factor necessary for immature students unaccustomed to living alone.

- Community colleges were significantly affected by organizational place.
  Community college organizers constructed several different organizational models including local branches of a university campus, integrated units of local colleges or universities, secondary school extensions, or separate community college districts.

- Historically, community colleges organized as upper division units of secondary schools had low enrollments and a negative social image.
• When organized as units of a unified school district, community college administrators usually lose their autonomy, had difficulty establishing an identity, and often lose the discretionary use of resources; when organized as high school extensions, they also suffered from low status.

• High school graduates were reluctant to return to high school for higher education. They preferred to continue their studies at a college.

• Ideally, community colleges operated best when they had their own facilities, administrative staff, and community college district. Unfortunately, this option was unrealistic for Poland. In fact, even the United States with its great resources, did not develop such separate institutions until 50 years after their conception.

• Some community colleges were organized as parts of a university. However, this option was usually too much of a strain on the university. The university’s mission was academic excellence not higher mass education. In addition, community colleges organized this way tended to have limited course offerings. They stressed the academic transfer curricula which accounted for only 5-20 percent of the students desiring community college education. The other 80-95 percent were, in effect, closed out of this type of system. Furthermore, these type of community colleges had extreme difficulty establishing an identity, they were usually tightly controlled and given second consideration in funding. Nevertheless, this was the only viable option for some communities and the preferred option for those desiring the prestige of being associated with a university. The prestige
usually came at the price of limited access, which was exactly the opposite of what Poland was trying to accomplish.

- Community colleges organized as units of a university needed safeguards, such as completely separate administrative authority and a separate budget.

- To develop comprehensive university community colleges required articulation agreements with area vocational and technical schools (which should have been subordinated to the community college to avoid duplication of services), to assure maximum efficiency and administrative integration. Furthermore, the state authority should have facilitated coordination and planning for the administration of vocational education by the community colleges; state level coordination was necessary to promote cooperation and for the contracting of services between the community colleges and the regional technical schools. When this was not done, the community colleges risked failing to develop vocational courses and entering into an unhealthy competition with the technical schools Worst, access to the community colleges, was limited to those few students desiring collegiate coursework.

- Resource starved states such as West Virginia were forced to *USE EXISTING RESOURCES IN NEW AND INNOVATIVE WAYS.*

- Community colleges organized as parts of colleges had much to commend them. The San Jose study demonstrated their cost-effectiveness. Similar to university community college campuses, college community college campuses also needed separate administrative staffs.
• The major advantage of organizing a community college as part of a college was cost and congruity of mission. Both schools specialized in teaching not research and in general liberal education. In addition, the problem of status and association with higher education was solved.

• Colleges were in a unique place between secondary education and higher tertiary schools such as the university. They were ideally located to play the Isthmian function described by Koos; they formed a bridge between the two systems. Liberal education was natural for them. They were preparatory institutions, whereas, universities were not.

• Because the emphasis was on liberal education, costs were minimized since liberal education was among the least expensive types of education that could be provided.

• The reduced cost of running SJJC this way made San Jose taxpayers reluctant to alter the situation.

• The major problem with organizing community colleges this way was the lack of vocational and technical education.

• Combining community colleges with technical schools was another viable organizational alternative. Administrators in San Jose marveled at the low cost of running a community college this way. In fact, costs were below the minimum level set by the state.

• A community college organized as part of a college needed its own administrative staff and discretionary use of resources. In San Jose, because the community
college lacked its own administrative staff, resources generated by the community college were essentially shifted everywhere else but to the community college, which survived on a fraction of what it could claim as its own.

- Technical schools lacked a higher educational identity and might, therefore, hinder the development of a community college that had not previously acquired such an identity as SJJC had.

- According to the California examples, the cost of running a community college at a college was roughly equivalent to organizing it at a technical school.

- Community colleges will probably dominate at a combined technical school unless students are directed through a terminal tract and enrollment is limited in the collegiate tract by quality controls discussed previously.

- SJJC was chosen for study by the researcher because of its unique historical organizational development and because it was a working class community college that was probably more generalizable to a nation of working people such as Poland. SJJC mistakenly opened the transfer track to everyone desiring a university education and, subsequently, became a victim of reverse transfer.

- When a community college is placed in a district having a technical school, organizational displacement should be expected. Usually a district adapts by limiting secondary education to vocational studies and shifting the technical school up to a tertiary level equal to or as part of the community college.

- There is a problem of giving a technical school long associated with secondary education a tertiary face. Many qualified students may shy away from such an
institution if it receives the stigma of a "worker's school." This problem, however, is not insurmountable.
CHAPTER 6

THE POLISH SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Early Origins

Poland's first Prince, Mieszko I (922-992) (King of the Polonians) placed the primitive Polish Kingdom under the influence of the Catholic Church in 966 AD. The Polonians first teachers were monks and priests of various religious orders including Benedictines, Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans. Mieszko permitted the creation of the ecclesiastical province at Gniezno. He also asked that his realm be placed under the direct protection of the pope. Five years later, Mieszko's successor received a religious mission from the south headed by the missionary, Vojtech or Adalbert (Poland's first patron saint). Vojtech's missionary work complemented the efforts of the Bishopric in Gniezno and that of other missionaries sent from the West. The Church, once established, continued its educational work undisturbed throughout the Middle Ages until the Enlightenment, when occupying foreign powers attempted to destroy all vestiges of Polish history and culture (Davies, 1982, pp. 61-67).

Poland educational growth reflected the educational growth experienced by the nations of Western Europe—the first schools in Poland were monastic schools and cathedral schools. By 1110, the Cathedral school at Krakow offered a preparatory
liberal arts curriculum and studies in theology and Canon law to both clergy and laity (Drobka, 1927, p. 3). During the reign of King Casimir the Great (1330-1370), further educational expansion occurred in the Polish capitol, Krakow. On 12 May 1364, Pope Urban granted Casimir a charter to open a university consisting of three faculties: law, medicine, and liberal arts (Davies, 1982, p. 98). Like the German cathedral schools of the time, the Polish Academy at Krakow conferred the Bachelor's degree on its graduates.

Casimir bequeathed his kingdom to his sister Elizabeth's son Louis of Anjoju I Prince of Hungary. Fourteen years after Louis' ascension, the Polish nobility chose his younger daughter Jadwiga to become Queen of Poland. The Poles, interested in cementing an alliance with Lithuania, helped arranged a marriage between Jadwiga and Jagiello of Lithuania. Jadwiga dreamed of expanding the faculties and the glory of the Krakow Academy. She left her entire personal fortune to the Krakow Academy (Davies, 1982, p. 118). After her death, (1399) Jadwiga's husband, King Jagiello, fulfilled her dream of adding a faculty of theology to the Academy. Rome recognized the reorganized institution, which was known after that time as the Jagiellonian University.

By virtue of the Royal grant "Jus exclusionis," this school exerted a powerful influence on the other schools of the country. No school could be established unless granted a charter by the Jagiellonian University. The high standards maintained by the Jagiellonian University influenced the quality of instruction in the lower schools. Practically every community (by 1475) could boast of a well conducted school over which presided a competent instructor who received his training at the university (Drobka, p. 9). Poland flourished during its Golden Age of the 15th and 16th centuries. During this period, the Jagiellonian University continued to govern the nation's educational system.
The reluctance to absorb ideas of the Renaissance and Reformation in Poland led many students to migrate to the West to receive instruction in the humanities. This exodus led to a decline of the secondary schools and affected the University of Krakow, which continued to stress Scholasticism rather than the humanities (Drobka, pp. 11-13). In response to the educational decline Simon Maricius (1551) wrote the De Academia (Concerning Schools or Academies). He “pointed out that the deplorable condition of the elementary and secondary schools would finally react upon the University, which still continued to be the only and supreme seat of learning domineering the whole educational system of Poland” (Drobka, 1927, p. 14).

One of the reasons for the failure of the Reformation in Poland was the educational work of the Jesuits (Society of Jesus) under the leadership of Peter Sklarga. In 1565 the Jesuits established their first schools in Poland. The Jesuits erected 47 colleges by 1642 (Davies, 1982, p. 168) and a secondary school system, (built around the Ratio Studiorum) on a par with any other school system in Europe (Drobka, 1927, p. 19).

King Stephen Bathory (1576-86) established the University of Vilna at this time and entrusted its organization and administration to Sklarga (Drobka, p. 19). Like the Jesuit secondary schools, the University of Vilna, concentrated heavily on the humanistic and literary studies which attracted the children of the nobility. The Jesuits helped bring Polish secondary schools to a “high standard.” The schools were very numerous: no part of the country was neglected. Side by side with the schools belonging to the University of Krakow were the flourishing establishments under the direction of the religious orders, chiefly the Jesuits and later the Piarists. (Drobka, 1927, p. 20)

However,
there is another side to be considered. While the secondary schools were rated highly, the primary [schools] . . . were in a deplorable state. The elementary schools were almost deserted and for several reasons: first, the poor peasants were, in our modern conception, oppressed by the rich landowners; second, the towns and boroughs no longer were flourishing; and third, custom obtained among the nobility of letting the children learn the rudiments of reading and writing at home rather than at school. Thus it is apparent that the desertion of the primary schools contributed greatly to the widening of the gulf between the privileged classes and the rest of the community. (Drobka, 1927, p. 20)

The decline of the Jesuit secondary and higher schools followed the decline of the Polish primary schools (Rostworowski, 1990, p. 75 and Drobka, pp. 25-26). This educational decline followed a more general decline marking the end of the Polish Golden Age. Sustained 17th century onslaughts of Muscovites, Swedes, Tartars, and Turks further weakened the country, already divided by the democratic craze manifest in the liberum veto and pacta conventa (see chapter 2). In response to declining conditions in the secondary schools and the deplorable state of the primary schools, a Piarist priest, Hieronim Stanislas Konarski, initiated further significant reform.

Konarski carried out a great reform of Piarist schools between 1740 and 1750. Konarski’s practical implementation of educational ideas inspired Polish missionaries to raise the level of education in their seminaries. The Piarists, Jesuits, and missionaries “brought forth a large host of learned people, established wide contacts abroad, developed the publishing movement, and yielded many outstanding writers. Undoubtedly, Father Stanislaw Konarski was the leading man of the early Enlightenment in Poland. . . .” (Rostworowski, 1990, p. 75). Konarski was “the first one to state that the citizens are no better than the schools, and the government is no better than the citizens. Therefore, the underlying motive for the reform of the government was the reform of the schools” (Drobka, 1927, p. 26). Konarski began his reform with the Jeffersonian ideal of educating
the natural aristocracy. He thus established the Collegium Nobilium which was devoted solely to the training of young Noblemen.

The reforms initiated at the Collegium Nobilium extended to other Piarist schools. The Piarists governed their schools with a unified code that stressed broadening the curriculum to include natural science and mathematics and improving teaching methods at all levels of instruction. Writing Latin poetry was no longer required and the vernacular was gradually introduced. Literary communication was to be succinct. It was to revolve around national themes, themes of wisdom and virtue rather than panegyric writing. In short, Konarski stressed mental development, moral instruction, and training for citizenship. Furthermore, Konarski emphasized the importance of sports and recreation, fine arts and etiquette (Drobka, 1927, pp. 27-28). His ideal suited the times, which required a more pragmatic approach.

The success of Konarski and the Piarists led the Jesuits to initiate similar progressive reforms (Rostworowski, 1990, p. 75). They opened new schools in Warsaw, Vilna, Poznan, Lwow, Ostroga, and Witebsk. The combined efforts of the “learned orders contributed materially to the rebirth of the nation in the field of political and intellectual activity” (Drobka, p. 1927, 29).

Finally, Konarski realizing the fate of the nation entered into the political arena and engaged in the most stupendous task ever attempted by anyone. He assailed the pride of the Nobleman’s Liberty—the Liberum Veto. . . . He pointed out all misery and misfortune which the nation suffered could be attributed to that cause. . . . He showed [in his Volumina Legum] that if Poland wished to live and enjoy liberty, she must abolish the Liberum Veto [and adopt] a new concept of democracy. (Drobka, 1927, p. 29)
Konarski helped prepare the nation for the modern world by advocating and implementing a practical and progressive educational reform. His reform underwent more extensive implementation with the formation of the National Commission of Education.

The Commission of National Education

The birth of the Commission of National Education corresponded with other equally historical events including the drafting of the 3 May 1791 Constitution, the First Partition of Poland, and the election of the last Polish King, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (Rostworowski pp. 80-83). The Enlightenment culture of the West imbued Poniatowski. Consequently he established a Military College (Szkola Rycerska) in 1766. This was the first “strictly lay school in Poland . . . in which only lay teachers were given teaching positions” (Drobka, 1927, p. 33). This was a significant event, since the church had dominated education in Poland to this point. In fact, during the 18th century the number of priests and monks was twice as great as the number of soldiers in the country . . . . It remains a fact that the ‘intelligentsia’ of the time - scientists, teachers, literati - were in large part people in cassocks and frocks. (Rostworowski, 1990, p. 74)

King Poniatowski’s initiative came at the apex of Piarist and Jesuit reform and marked a direction in Polish education that was to remain throughout the Partitioning period. Under the leadership of Czarina Catherine II, Russia, Prussia, and Austria cooperated in the First Partition of Poland in 1772 (Davies, 1982, p. 581). In 1773 the “Commission of National Education was created by the exact Sejm which had just passed the Partition” (Davies, p. 528). Yet,

even in this dark moment Poland did not lose courage; for this very same Parliament was confronted on May 11, 1772, by deputy Felix Oraczewski with a resolution demanding that a Commission of Education be established in accordance to the views expressed by Konarski. (Drobka, 1927, p. 34)
Polish legislators, dominated by Russian agents, hesitated before ratifying the bill to establish the new National Commission of Education. Those who attended this historical session of the Sejm turned a deaf ear to the fervent pleas; but an accidental event finally compelled the deputies to act on the resolution. The suppression of the Jesuit Order by the papal Bull Dominusque Redemptor Noster issued by Clement XIV on July 21, 1773, released the vast wealth and holdings of the Jesuits; and their schools became state property. Accordingly, a Commission of National Education, the first Ministry of Instruction of its kind in the history of modern education, was created. The government now became responsible for the training of youth, and private interests no longer monopolized education. (Drobka, p. 35)

Nevertheless, because the First Partition was less severe than the later two, “the religious and clergy still had a predominant influence on Polish education” (Kloczkowski, 1990, p. 247). The Commission, under the protection of the king, included the Bishop of Plock and the Bishop of Vilna. The Commission was given control over all existing educational institutions. The government “assumed charge of the financial aspects and specifically became the administrators of the vast wealth of the Jesuits” (Drobka, p. 35). The National Ministry “was funded from confiscated Jesuit property” (Davies, 1982, p. 228).

This new Ministry of Education was without precedent; nothing like it had ever existed. Members of the Commission realized that the entire system of education needed reconstruction, including curriculum and textbooks in physics, mathematics, logic, history, language, poetry, Polish and ethics (Drobka, p. 37). Under the influence of a Polish priest, Hugo Kollataj, the University of Krakow, with the blessing of the National Ministry of Education, once again became the center, of pedagogical activity. The reform of secondary schools and universities was carried out at the same time. Secondary schools and universities were linked in “the so-called school-hierarchy system” which later
“became a model to be followed in France by Napoleon” (Rostworowski, 1990, p. 81).
Kollataj reorganized the University’s major preparatory school, the “Gimnazjum Nadworskie” and “this school became the model for secondary instruction” (Rostworowski, 1990, p. 81).

In these schools, Polish was the language of instruction, replacing the Latin that Konarski had earlier struggled to change. Medieval disputations were also discontinued and lecture-laboratory courses in astronomy, botany, chemistry, physics, and anatomy were introduced. The Commission was “so impressed with these innovations that it expressed absolute confidence in the future of this school and entrusted to it the training of secondary instructors (Drobka, pp. 37-38).

The Commission also reorganized and assumed control of the University of Vilna and more than ninety secondary schools. It endeavored to initiate an articulated plan of organization from elementary school through the university level (Drobka, p. 38). In this system, all teachers were trained at the university. “Elementary schools were placed under direct supervision of the departmental heads of the secondary schools.” Eventually more than 300 elementary schools were included in this system. The gentry were finally convinced that the peasants also needed education and consequently began to show interest in the elementary schools (Drobka pp. 41-42).

In spite of these developments, the National Commission of Education reforms were trampled down following the Third Partition in 1795. It was during this Partition that the Catholic Church’s participation in education was seemingly annihilated.

The third partition . . . had a profound effect on the life of the country and on the Christian churches in Poland, which faced hostile and powerful state organizations of a clearly absolutistic nature in regard to religion: Orthodox in Russia, Protestant
in Prussia, and Catholic in Austria. In each, the government’s policy was to quickly subordinate the Churches in Poland. Russia, for example, liquidated the Greek-Catholic Church in her territories in a period of several years; the majority of Uniates converted or were forced to convert to the Orthodox faith. The occupiers almost completely liquidated the entire framework of convents in Poland. The consequences of such a policy were catastrophic for the nation, Church, education, and religious life. (Kloczowski, 1990, p. 247)

After the final partition of 1795, Poland no longer existed on the political map. Its territory was ruled by Prussia, Austria, and Russia.

The Third Partition

Prussia

The Prussian government made many changes to education in Poland. Foremost among their goals was the elimination of general liberal education by the closing of most of the secondary gymnasiums and the establishing of new elementary schools compatible with the Prussian ethos (Drobka, 1927, p. 46). After 1871, united Germany initiated the era of Kulturkampf (Culture Struggle) during which all racial minorities that were Catholic were persecuted. By 1901, the Poles were forced to read German only. Great emphasis was placed on vocational education for the masses (Davies, 1982, p. 123). The few Poles that received secondary or higher education had instruction that was thoroughly Germanized and regulated by an efficient Prussian pedagogical methodology. This methodology conflicted with “... the ideals of a liberty loving people, who in the past showed tolerance toward different races and creeds” (Drobka, p. 48).

Austria

In Austrian Poland, the province of Galicia was the “haven of Polish culture.” The two universities, Krakow and Lwow, were permitted to “develop and to continue the work of research in various fields including Polish history and literature” (Drobka, p. 49).
Schools continued to be conducted by Polish teachers, unlike the situation in the other two provinces. Nonetheless, if the cultural war was less intense here, the natural effects of physical warfare were most felt. Galicia saw more war (World War I) than either Flanders or Belgium (Davies, 1882).

The majority (81 percent) of Poles living in Galicia were peasants (Davies, p. 143). This was by far the poorest province, not only in Poland, but in all of Europe (Davies, 1982, p. 155). More than two million people left this province in the twenty-five years preceding World War I. Nevertheless, in later years during the German occupation of World War II,

Polish commentators tended to look back on Galicia with indulgence and even affection. For them Galicia was the one place where Polish ideals and culture had been kept alive, whilst the other partitions languished under the hammers of Germanization and Russification. It was the "Piedmont" of the resurgent nation. (Davies, 1982, p. 159)

Russia

In the Russian sector, the University of Vilna was permitted to rise in splendor. It became a center for science, humanities, and educational activity (Drobka, pp. 51-52). All the high schools in Lithuania and Byelorussia were subordinated to it (Wulff, 1992). In southwestern Ukraine, education remained under the control of Polish authorities, but only the children of the nobility were educated. Vocational schools were established at this time for peasant children. However, the more amenable rule of Alexander I gave way to ruthless totalitarian rule with the accession of Czar Nicholas I in 1825.

In the Russian sector the Uniate Church, tied to the West through spiritual alliance and loyalty to Rome, was continually attacked. Four times, in the 1770s and 1790s, as well as the 1830s (under Nicholas I) and 1860s (under Nicholas' son, Alexander II), the
soldiery was called in to effect mass conversions. Books were burned; churches destroyed; priests murdered; services conducted according to the Orthodox rite under the show of bayonets. In 1839 [at the behest of Nicholas I] all contact between the Uniate Church in Russia and the Vatican was severed. In 1875, the Union of Brest\(^1\) was itself officially annulled. By 1905, when a decree of religious toleration was finally exacted, no more than 200,000 Uniates were left to practice their faith. . . . Needless to say [the Russian policy] contradicted the Polish traditions of plurality, individual conscience, and toleration. (Davies, 1982, pp. 86-87)

The intensified period of Russification decimated the educational system. The prestigious University of Vilna fell, according to Janowski because it “was truly Polish, therefore, it was destroyed” (Drobka, p. 52). The Russian emperor also attacked the University of Warsaw. The emperor believed it was his duty to destroy both universities because they were instrumental in keeping the Polish spirit and culture alive. Consequently the universities were closed; their cherished collections and library were confiscated and sent abroad to St. Petersburg and Kiev. (Drobka, 1927, p. 53).

According to Polish Educationists (1945) the czarist curriculum not only forbade the use of Polish language but did not even allow it to be taught as an additional subject as Latin or French were taught. Pupils were severely punished if caught talking Polish among themselves, even out of school hours. (p. 4)

By 1850 the Slavophile and pan-Slavic movements emerged. Pogodin voiced the Slavophile position

---

\(^1\) The Union of Brest was a formal reunion of that part of the Orthodox Church which desired reunion with Rome after eight centuries of schism. The reunion took place at Brest on the Polish-Russian border. On October 8, 1596 the centuries old mutual excommunication was lifted and an act of union was consummated. Thus the Orthodox experienced division. That part of the Orthodox clergy desiring union with Rome kept the Slavonic rite, their separate hierarchy, and the right to married priests, but they admitted the Roman doctrine of the Eucharist, the supremacy of the Pope, and the discipline of the Vatican’s Curia. In the eyes of Constantinople they were schismatics, and of Moscow, traitors. Davies, (1982). God’s Playground: A History of Poland. New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 173-176.
we have a different climate from the West, a different landscape, a different temperament and character, a different blood, a different physiognomy, a different way of thinking, different beliefs, hopes, pleasures, different relations, different conditions, different history, everything different. . . . (Davies, p. 90)

According to this belief, “the Russians [are] the natural rulers of the Slav [hence Polish] world, the bearers of a sacred mission to regenerate decadent European civilization, and to civilize Asia” (Davies, 1982, p. 90). This attitude is most manifest in the writings of Dostoevsky, who, according to Davies (1982, p. 90) had a “pathological hatred for everything Polish.” He admitted that “He would never be happy until all nations [had] fallen under Russian rule. . . . According to him, the Russian nation alone is predestined for its magnificent mission in the world” (Davies, 1982, p. 93). “Because the imperialistic policy of the Czars [backed by Pan-Slavic sentiment] never allowed the educational institutions to develop . . . the world found Russia (at the beginning of the 20th century) one of the most ignorant and uneducated countries in the civilized world” (Drobka, p. 54).

Consequently, the majority of Poles migrated to the Austrian sector, where education was more humane and general conditions “more liberal.” It was in the Polish schools of Galicia, known as ‘Little Poland’, in the “Universities of Krakow and Lwow that the Polish intellectual class was educated. “When persecutions raged in the Russian and German dominated parts of the country, ‘Little Poland’ became the cradle of Polish cultural and political thought” (Polish Educationists, 1945, p. 4).

Although harsh measures enacted in the German and Russian sectors had their effect, they were unable to break the Polish spirit. Educational efforts continued though hampered. The severe nature of the partitions was alleviated somewhat in the Austrian
sector, where Polish education and culture continued to survive in the poorest and least educated section of the country. It was the First World War that eventually broke the hold of the partitioning powers on Poland and inaugurated a momentous wave of new educational activity.

**Polish Education after World War I**

Poland reemerged as an independent state in 1918, after 123 years of national extinction. The condition of the educational system at that time was highly fragmented and sectorial. The task of developing a uniform system out of three separate systems was daunting. In particular, “The schools of the Prussian annexate had to be Polonized, while in the Russian annexate, new schools had to be introduced, and in the former Austrian annexate the ravages of the war had to be repaired” (Drobka, p. 58).

Not only were facilities and faculty lacking, financial scarcity exacerbated an already difficult situation. In 1919 only 47 percent of the children required to attend school actually did so. Many teachers had only an elementary education; fewer than a third attended a teacher’s college (Wulff, 1992, p. 11).

Reconstruction of the Polish educational system began in 1920, two years after the armistice which ended World War I. “Despite limited assistance from abroad (credits extended to Poland amounted to only 2.5 percent of those given to Germany), most remarkable progress was made (Polish Educationists, 1945, p. 7). According to the Educationists, in 1921 only 68 percent of school age children attended school. Within ten years, the percentage rose to 89.5 percent. Before the outbreak of World War II attendance had reached 90.6 percent, equal to that of the United States at that time. During the first five years of independence, the number of school rooms increased 15
percent. In the previously neglected Russian sector, the increase reached an amazing 105.2 percent. Within the short span of 25 years, 23,604 new primary schools were opened (Polish Educationists, 1945, p. 7).

The people of Poland reestablished the 800 year role of the church in education suppressed by the partitioning powers. Article 120 of the new constitution stipulated that in all educational establishments, supported or subsidized by the State, whose curriculum embraces the education of youth under 18 years of age, the teaching of religion shall be compulsory for all pupils. The conduct and control of such teaching shall rest with the respective religious associations, with the reservation of a supreme right of control by the educational authorities of the state.

Private schools were both permitted and encouraged. Only 5 percent of the elementary schools were private. However, half of all the secondary schools were in private hands (Polish Educationists, 1945, p.9). That church and state worked together in education was manifest in the cycle of holidays during the public school year. The year consisted of 234 school days attended six days per week. The state permitted all religious denominations freedom to integrate their faith with their education. Holidays included the Jewish and Christian Sabbaths, All Saint's Day, the Immaculate Conception, Corpus Christi, and May 3, in honor of the 1791 Constitution. The new constitution empowered ministers of the various creeds to teach the precepts of their own faith to children in state schools. The “school authorities compensated the clergymen for their services” (Drobka, p. 73).

Furthermore, within three short years, a unified school system was created for the entire nation. It took final form after the promulgation of the National Education Act in 1932 (Drobka, p. 9). The reform resulted in the creation of four types of schools:

1. Elementary
2. Secondary or gymnasium (either general education or vocational training).
3. Lyceum
4. Academic (universities, technological institutes, etc.).

The elementary schools were nationwide and compulsory (Polish Educationists, p. 10). Their curricula were undifferentiated and included general topics appropriate for primary school.

Upon completion of elementary school, the student entered either the general or technical gymnasium. These two gymnasia were considered lower secondary preparatory schools. The gymnasium lasted four years and prepared students for the lyceum or technical, vocational, and occupational schools. The general gymnasium was uniform and included Latin; the vocational gymnasium had various curricula that provided a certain amount of general knowledge and divergent course work based upon the technical or commercial field being prepared for.

The two year lyceum constituted a third level of the Polish school system. It was designed to facilitate direct admittance to the university or technological institutes. There were three different curricula offered: Mathematical-Scientific; Humanities, stressing Latin and history; and Philology, which emphasized modern languages with a minimum study of math and science (Drobka, p. 89).

The different types of schools prepared students for higher education. After completing the appropriate curriculum and passing an exam known as the “matura,” a student could enroll in one of the universities or polytechnics, also called academies. Poland had 35 academies consisting of 6 classical universities with faculties of humanities, mathematics, natural science, jurisprudence, medicine, and theology; 2 free universities; 4 technical institutes; 4 schools of business administration; 4 schools of fine arts, music, and
drama; 4 schools of military science; 3 special teacher training institutes; 2 schools of political science; 2 schools of orientology; 1 academy of veterinary medicine; 1 school of agriculture; 1 school of journalism; and 1 stomatological academy (Polish Educationists, p. 10).

Students unable to enter the gymnasium or lycea had other options in handicraft, industrial arts, commercial, and technical schools. Handicraft schools required completion of five elementary grades. They ran two year programs open to students over 14. The technical schools prepared technologists in various fields. Candidates for these schools first completed the fourth grade of the gymnasium or the handicraft school. Instruction in these schools lasted three to four years. The industrial arts schools trained workers for the artistic industries; they lasted four to five years and required completion of the gymnasium. Finally, the commercial schools trained people for commerce, industry, and the banks. Completion of the lyceum was required for admission. Classes lasted two years (Drobka, 1927, p. 83). Interestingly, the Polish Educationalists reported that Poland, at that time had 599 so-called popular universities that held evening and Sunday classes and about 10 People’s Colleges of the Danish type for the education of adults (Drobka, 1927, p. 13).

In addition to these schools, normal schools, also called teachers seminaries, also existed. These schools prepared elementary teachers and were on a par with the education offered at the gymnasium, with additional courses in psychology and pedagogy. Normal schools with a five year curriculum were established throughout Poland (Drobka, p. 83).

This extensive educational reform, implemented within two short decades, was unable to continue. Two days before the 1939-40 school year began, the first German
bombs fell on Polish towns and villages, killing men, women, and children. A new phase in the history of Polish education was beginning. Before the new year of 1940 began, Polish schools were seized and placed under the control of German Nazis.

The German Occupation

The German occupation of Poland was swift; Polish schools were under the control of Nazi racists within six weeks of the first bombing. On November 6, 1939 in the aula of the old Jagiellonian University of Krakow... Polish scholars met to hear an address on 'The Attitude of German Authorities towards Polish Learning.' The attendance was in fact compulsory for all the professors and lecturers. The lecture was short and to the point: almost all the scholars present were seized by the Germans and sent to concentration camp at Oranienburg near Berlin... In five years of foreign occupation at least 263 Polish university professors and scientists [had] met their death, most of them as hostages or in German concentration camps, or in man-hunts conducted by the Gestapo in the streets of Polish cities. (Polish Educationists, p. 1945, 18)

The Nazis initiated a new kulturkampf in an attempt to annihilate Polish culture. The Nazi Governor General, Hans Frank, revealed the German attitude towards Polish education: "The Poles do not need universities or secondary schools; the Polish lands are to be changed into an intellectual desert" (Polish Educationists, p. 18). Frank wrote in his diary,

one should leave to the Poles only such educational opportunities as will show them the hopelessness of their national situation. ... No Pole should rise above the rank of foreman. ... Every Pole must feel that we are not building for him a state of law and order and that nothing for him, but one obligation: to work and obey. (Wulff, 1992, p. 11)

During this period Poles were not permitted to attend secondary schools or institutions of higher learning. Moreover, elementary education was limited to two hours of daily operation. Absolutely no courses in Polish history or geography were permitted. The lower technical schools remained open only to "provide the German industry with skilled
workers and forced labor” (Wulf, 1992, p. 11).

German soldiers also attacked the church to bring an end to her educational role.

In the western territories of Poland annexed to Germany . . . outright physical extermination of the Polish priests assumed overwhelming proportions. In Wartheland, nearly all churches were shut down with only one church left to function in every district. On the scale of the whole country, over 1800 diocesan priests (18 per cent of all Polish priests), 500 religious (270 of which were priests, i.e. 16 per cent of all Polish religious) and about 250 nuns were murdered. Thousands of priests died in Nazi concentration camps and in prisons; many others were displaced from their parishes. (Kloczkowski, 1990, p. 252)

When the Gestapo established its head quarters in the Polish Ministry of Education, “when all the schools of higher education had been looted and closed, . . . when Polish children were driven to the mines and to peddling in the streets, the Polish School [as usual] went underground” (Polish Educationists, p. 21).

The Polish tenacity in the face of adversity manifested itself in the educational underground which developed the Organizacja Tajnego Nauczania (OTN) or Teachers’ Secret Organization. The OTN established both elementary and secondary schools throughout Poland to keep the national culture and conscience alive. The organization included higher education as well. By 1940, the OTN had established the Department of Education and Culture. Still, higher education had ceased in Poland in 1939. By 1940, however, underground studies began at Warsaw University and elsewhere. These underground schools and universities attest to the Polish love of their culture, their historical identity, and their recognition of the importance of education for the preservation of the nation. The underground university benefited some 10,000 students. In addition, 100,000 students studied in underground secondary schools, which included studies of Polish language, history, and geography. At the elementary level, more than one
million Polish children received an education (Wulff, 1992, p. 14). The Polish educational underground was to continue and grow during the ensuing Russian occupation.

**The Russian Occupation**

The atrocities committed by the Nazis were continued by the Russian Communists; they need not be repeated here. For the purpose of this dissertation, the Russian influence on Polish education was the most significant because the Soviet system was inherited by educational leaders in post-Socialist Poland.

Although Polish culture was still attacked, the new overlords attempted to increase educational attendance and initiated a type of educational “crusade” which extended into the rural areas. The 1952 Constitution guaranteed every citizen of the Polish People’s Republic the right to an education. Unfortunately, the major motivation behind the Soviet largesse was a desire to spread Communist propaganda and to train workers to slave away in industrial factories for the glory of socialism.

Attendance became obligatory in schools that functioned “solely” to serve the state and that were “secular” in nature. Under Communist rule, the present day system took definitive shape; education was spread throughout society and unified under a system of central control. In this sense, the Communists provided the Poles with an administrative boon as well as a wide and diverse infrastructure which might not have been provided otherwise. The Russian legacy bequeathed an extensive (as well as expensive) and unified educational system that Poles should not have dismissed too quickly. Although the Communist-controlled National Ministry oversaw all aspects of education with totalitarian fervor, the fact remains that no such system existed at any time in Polish history.
This system included local educational agencies known as kuratoria or school superintendents. Kuratoria officials carried out laws and orders of the National Ministry which extended education throughout the countryside; officials had achieved new levels of attendance surpassing the high rates of the Second Republic.) After 1989, attendance rates in secondary education continued to climb. Consequently over 97% of primary school graduates continued their secondary education (Grootings, 1991). This was unheard of in the age of Szlachta democracy and came about in America at great expense. Poland’s system included extensive vocational and technical facilities. While the Poles rightfully rejected Soviet domination and its attendant materialistic philosophy, they should have benefited from the infrastructure left behind by the Soviets.

This infrastructure was perhaps inadequate by Western standards. Nevertheless, it provided an adequate starting point for an educational rebirth in Poland. This system in 1994 included colleges and universities, secondary technical and vocational schools, general secondary schools, and primary schools throughout the entire nation. Figure 1 provides an overview of that educational system.

Following eight years of compulsory school students entered upon one of 4 different tracks. The majority, 55 percent entered basic vocational schools, 25 percent entered teknikums, while 26 percent chose general secondary schools or lyceums, and only 4 percent attended secondary vocational schools. After graduation from secondary school, very few students attended post-secondary schools and only 10 - 15 percent entered higher schools including universities, polytechnical schools, and specialized academies (Grootings, et al. 1993).
Elementary Schools

In Poland, compulsory primary schools had eight grades and began when a child reached seven years of age (Grootings, 1991, p. 31). Education during these years included a general core curriculum which all students studied. Following primary school, however, a system of differentiation began; students had the choice of attending either a secondary general school, a technical school, or two types of vocational schools.

Secondary Schools

Poland had four types of secondary schools divided into two main categories, general and vocational; each of these four schools, except the Basic Vocational School, required an entrance exam. The General Lyceum was the most desired (Kozakiewicz, 1987, p. 54) but also the most difficult to enter. Enrollments increased in these schools by approximately 5 percent between 1989 and 1993. In 1993 25 percent of primary school leavers were able to pass the entrance exam for secondary study at the lyceum (Grootings, et al. 1993, pp. 66-67). After four years of general studies including the social sciences, humanities, mathematics, and natural science, lyceum graduates were permitted to sit for the higher education exam. Approximately 54 percent successfully passed the exam and continued higher education (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 69).

Post-Matriculate School

Students who failed the exam but desired to continue higher education were permitted to study at a “post-matriculate school.” One year of education at this school conferred the status of skilled worker. To achieve the level of technician required three years of additional education (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 70). However,
most students use this school as a kind of waiting room for entrance into the university. Most of the students are, in fact, those who have failed university entrance examinations and would leave as soon as they have successfully passed. (Grootings, 1993, p. 70)

The most widespread and important sector of education for this study was the vocational and technical secondary schools. An examination of these schools follows a description of higher education.

Higher Education

Polish higher education during the Soviet era was "dominated by state universities ruled by a special ministry of education. Members of the ministry were appointed by the government and approved by the Polish Communist Party" (Burzynska-Garewicz, 1985). The system of higher education included polytechnical universities, which provided education in specialized fields such as engineering polytechnics, construction polytechnics, electronic polytechnics and civil engineering. Also included were 6 medical academies, academies of fine arts, economics, agriculture, sports, and military academies. The educational system left behind by the Soviets included approximately 150 technical high schools and 30 universities, including 10 major universities and 1 private university. Before the war, there were 5 private universities and 13 major state universities (the two not mentioned above were Wilno and Lwow) (Burzynska-Garewicz, 1985). Owing to the ideological and totalitarian character of the state, the Polish universities were "severely hampered and [their] freedom seriously endangered." Since Poland was "clearly an ideological state, that openly [promulgated]
Soviet Marxist ideology, all public educational institutions, by definition became instruments of the State’s ideology and politics; education [was] identified with ideological indoctrination” (Burzynska-Garewicz, 1985)

Furthermore, the Polish universities were financially dependent upon the state for their existence. The state intervened in everyday academic life and decided most academic questions. “The most crucial aspect of this intervention involved state control over university personnel. All professors and teachers were government employees . . . all new appointments were decided by the state, and all university authorities, such as rector, dean, and chairmen, [were] appointed by the state” (Burzynska-Garewicz, 1985). This form of control extended even to the student body. Young people could not be admitted to the
university if "their records [were] politically suspect." Other "restrictions of academic freedom [included] the state control of all teaching programs and curricula and the censoring and limiting of scholarly research and writing" (Burzynska-Garewicz, 1985). Higher education was expected to engineer social change through the formation of a so-called socialist or people's intelligentsia (Sadlak, 1991).

The institutions of higher education were controlled by the various Ministries of Higher Education, Health, Culture Art, Foreign Affairs, and National Defense, and a Central Committee for Physical Culture (Parnowski, 1958, p. 70). The Soviets concentrated on establishing higher educational institutions in industrial centers especially in the heavily industrialized Western region. Before the Second World War, under German rule, there were three universities and three pedagogical institutes in the Western region; in 1956-57, after only a decade of Russian occupation, there were 21 of these schools (Parnowski, 1958, p. 70). Overall university enrollment increased rapidly over 3 years (1990-93) growing by 10%. This led to expanded class size and faculty workload. In addition to the academies, polytechnics, and universities, Polish higher education also included a large number of colleges. (Duda, 1992).

The Role of the College in Polish Higher Education

Poland has a long history of offering higher collegiate education. Prior to the Partitions, the Jesuit Order established colleges throughout Poland in 47 different locations. Their collegiate work was supplemented by the work of Piarist priests, who established a network of schools in the 17th century to educate the sons of indigent nobility (Davies, 1982, p. 168). During the First Partition of 1773, the Sejm created the first National Education Commission. Its main aim was to "replace the ... fragmented Catholic schools by a coherent state system
inspired by secular and national ideals” (Davies, 1982, p. 168). This commission established a new system of state teachers’ colleges, which prepared a new class of educators capable of spreading the ideals of the Enlightenment. Except for the brief twenty year interlude of the “Second Republic” between the wars, foreign oppressors controlled Poland’s educational system from the Third Partition until 1989. They intended to destroy Polish culture through the educational system. As such, the teacher’s colleges, long used by the occupying powers to mold educators, had an important role to perform in post-Socialist Poland.

In post-Socialist Poland there was a resurgence of new teacher colleges necessary for the training of a new cadre of teachers capable of leading the nation towards democracy. Consequently, the Poles engendered a new three year degree, the “lycencjat.” This degree was comparable to the American BA. The first people to receive lycencjat degrees from the teacher colleges were elementary and secondary school teachers. These colleges offered short-term, post-secondary education as an alternative to the longer five-to-six year university programs that led to the magister degree (Duda, 1993). In fact, many of Poland’s weaker tertiary institutions deprived themselves of the right to offer the magister degree in many subjects. Instead they agreed to offer the three year lycencjat. Rather than being weak universities, such institutions focused on becoming strong colleges (Duda, 1992).

Following the demise of the Soviet Union, Polish teachers were trained at universities, at polytechnics, at two-year teacher training schools (SN), at colleges of education (16 existed by 1993), at foreign language teacher colleges, and at pedagogical technical colleges (Putkiewicz, 1993). There were 98 SNs that were being phased out in favor of the new teacher’s colleges (Kolegia Nauczycielskie). There were also 49 new local teacher training centers (WOMs, Wojewodski Osrodek Metodyczny) in locations all over Poland, where
teachers could upgrade their qualifications (Putkiewicz, 1993). The WOMs maintained one central institution in Warsaw, the Center for In-Service Training (Centralny Osrodek Doskinalenia Nauczycieli). A new system of teacher colleges was being formed. It included only the

(a) New three year teacher colleges offering the Lycencjat which could be followed by two years of university study to earn the magister degree.
(b) University departments of education (5 years).
(c) Post-graduate studies.
(d) higher schools of education (for research).

This intricate process of teacher education and retraining was only a beginning. In the new system, the teacher's college should have played a significant role. These colleges were completely new institutions; they did not result from a simple restructuring of the existing SN’s (Putkiewicz, 1993). These new colleges were made possible by cooperative efforts between teacher training institutes and higher schools. These efforts included articulation agreements which made it possible for graduates of teacher colleges to continue studying for a magister degree at a university if desired (Putkiewicz, 1993).

The new colleges were established by local school superintendents but required the approval of the National Ministry of Education. They had to meet certain requirements, which included the following:

(a) Ensuring the support and help of a Higher School in particular subjects (a written agreement [was] needed, guaranteeing the participation of academic staff in the training process, entrance and diploma examinations, the approval of detailed plans and curricula, etc.); should the higher school withdraw its support, the relevant specialization in the college would be deactivated [italics added].
(b) Formulating a “core” curriculum [italics added] to prepare students to work as teachers (Putkiewicz, 1993).

Teacher colleges were intended to be regional institutions. There were 49 of them, one in each Vovoid. Since they were replacing the 98 SNs the cost of teacher training outside of the higher
schools of education was not expected to increase (Putkiewicz, 1993). The number of students was expected to rise sharply between 1990-2000 (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 42). The expected increase of students was related to both the necessity of training a new cadre of teachers and to the restructuring and demographic trends that were affecting Polish secondary vocational education. The system of vocational and technical education is explored below.

Vocational and Technical Education in Poland

The Higher Education Act of 1991

The Education Act of September 1991 brought a number of changes in the management of the Vocational Education System. In Poland, the vocational schools were "organized along the principles of sectorial branches with the respective technical ministry or other central administration responsible for elaborating the vocational curricula" (Grootings, et al. 1993). However, since 1991 the various ministries have relinquished much of their authority over vocational education.

The National Ministry of Education received much of the authority previously held by other ministries over vocational education. However, The Ministry of Agricultural and Food Economy continued to govern the agriculture vocational schools while the Ministries of Culture and Arts continued to govern the art academies and the Ministry of Health and Science remained responsible for medical schools and their affiliates. Other ministries however, relinquished their governing and financial authority to the National Ministry of Education (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 85).

According to the Education Act, the Ministry of National Education was responsible for the formulation of the general curricula for all the different schools. The curricula for vocational subjects was still administered by the various sectorial ministries. They defined the
technical curricula for different professions and trades subject to the final approval of the National Ministry (Grootings, et al. 1993).

Due to economic difficulty and the need to decentralize, there was a "tendency to make vocational schools self-governing with free choice of curricula (with a minimum curriculum coming from the National Ministry) and the establishing of local school rules and regulations (Pszczolkowski, 1992). In spite of all the developments in vocational administration and organization, a well defined and general pattern continued to exist in the Vocational and Technical Education System (VET). The basic infra-structure was inherited from the previous socialist system. The infrastructure included the three types of schools diagrammed in figure one: the basic vocational schools, the secondary vocational schools, and the technicums.

Basic Vocational School (BVS)

The BVS was the only secondary school not requiring an entrance examination. It had, however, the largest student population; 43 percent of all primary school graduates attended the BVS. Under Soviet domination, this number exceeded 50 percent (see figure 1). The BVS enabled the other secondary schools to be more selective; it provided a type of control over the number of students entering secondary schools (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 66).

The large number of students in the BVS was also indicative of the socialist over-emphasis on heavy industry and their need for a large servile labor force. In the 10 years between 1956 and 1966, socialist leaders built over 1,000 schools to celebrate 1,000 years of Polish History. The bulk of these schools were vocational schools. They were needed to accommodate increased student enrollments, which grew 300 percent during this decade (Liberska, 1979, p. 15). The enrollment of so many students in the BVS
resulted in its “receiving a stigma of educating those who failed to enter other schools” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 66).

Although graduates of the BVS were ineligible to sit for the higher education entrance examinations; they could continue their studies to achieve full secondary education at a technical or vocational secondary school. The number of BVS graduates who entered these 2-4 years courses, however, remained low (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 67). Graduates of the BVS were classified as “skilled workers.” If they attended the other technical or higher vocational schools, they were able to upgrade their status to technician (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 142). The Polish educational system “urgently needed a decrease in the number of pupils attending basic vocational schools” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 71). According to Grootings (1991), the BVS ran the risk of truly becoming a ‘dustbin’ for those who did not succeed in the general schools. One of the results of this perceived low status was a fairly high drop-out rate (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 67). Almost 50 percent of school leavers had only a basic vocational education diploma. 13 percent had only an elementary certificate, because they dropped out from the BVS (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 66). Under these conditions, it was “even more important to improve the quality of vocational schools” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p.72).

Secondary Vocational Schools (SVS)

Students at the SVS had to matriculate. That is, they had to receive a full general secondary education, which permitted them to sit for university entrance examinations and qualified them as skilled workers (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 142). This school, however, never not found wide social acceptance. Only 4 percent of all primary school graduates
entered the SVS per year. They preferred to go to the BVS for short term training, which
gave them the same practical skills and qualifications for work after completing school.

This school was a negative choice for those desiring a full secondary education.
Generally, students first choice for secondary education was the lyceum. “Those who
wanted to achieve a secondary level education, but failed to enter a secondary general
school [lyceum], preferred to go to secondary technical schools [technicums], which at
least offered them the qualification of a technician” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 69).
Technicums also offered the possibility of continuing higher studies at the nation’s
selective polytechnical universities for students who had successfully passed the relevant
entrance exam. Thus, students not interested in higher education choose the BVS because
it was shorter, and students interested in higher education choose the technicum because it
qualified them to sit for the higher education entrance exam and conferred technician
status and not simply that of a skilled worker, as offered by the SVS or BVS.
Consequently, the enrollment figures for secondary vocational schools remained very low.
Furthermore, SVS students who took the higher education exam tended to be less
successful than technicum students who were, in turn, less successful than lyceum students
(Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 69).

Technicums

The technicums offered high-level technical training and full secondary general
education comparable to that offered at the lyceum. Graduates were permitted, therefore,
to sit for the university entrance examination. BVS, SVS, and lyceum graduates were
permitted to study at the technicums. These schools had a good reputation and always
attracted a number of students equivalent to the number who studied at the lyceums. In
general, the course of study was long, lasting 4-6 years. The time was reduced to 2.5-3 years for BVS graduates and 2-3 years for graduates of the lyceum (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 142).

In addition to the technicums, SVS, and BVS, the Polish vocational system also included proprietary vocational and technical schools. This training was part of an adult system of vocational education.

**Vocational Proprietary Education (ZZDZ)**

Because the new education act overruled an obligation for schools to apply to the National Ministry of Education for licenses to operate vocational schools, there were many new private vocational schools springing up throughout Poland. Most of these institutions, 75 percent, were involved in teaching foreign languages. Other subjects included computer techniques, programming, and business management. Licenses to operate these courses were newly obtained from the local Kuratoria. (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 174). The largest organization, though not the newest, was the Association of Vocational Upgrading Institutions (ZZDZ). The ZZDZ provided adult vocational education for over half the adults seeking it. Major courses included computer skills, business management, secretarial skills, and foreign languages (especially English). A total of 700,000 students attended the courses in 1993. During this period 21,000 courses were offered in all towns throughout Poland with populations exceeding 10,000 (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 164).

Adult training and upgrading were traditionally handled by monopolistic state-run schools financed by enterprises. In post-Socialist Poland the privatization of business enterprises and industries resulted in severe financial problems; the financial crisis limited
the ability of industries to support the vocational and technical schools (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 65). Consequently, most enterprise-based schools or workshops closed down. The increasing number of schools managed by Kuratoria also ran into problems with respect to the financing of practical workshops (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 68).

The ZZDZ and other private vocational education organizations were manifestations of the state’s growing inability or lack of desire to continue funding adult education. Adults not attending a ZZDZ usually attended a technicum; most of them completed a BVS education as youth and viewed attendance at a Technicum as a step up (Grootings, 1991 p. 32).

Publicly Supported Adult Education

The growing problem of unemployment was a new phenomenon for socialist countries. After the Solidarity Revolution in 1989, there was a sharp rise in unemployment between 1990 and 1991. Unemployment soared from 8.3% in December of 1990 to 17% by December of 1991 (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 93). Although the shift to a free market economy exacerbated existing economic problems, the economic policies of the past regime and certain demographic factors also contributed significantly to the economic crisis. Perhaps the most important demographic development during the 1970s and 1980s was the decreasing number of new workers.

The intake of the [new workers] has constantly been falling from 9% in the period 1971-75, to 6% in the years 1976-80, and 3% from 1986-90. The population census also indicates that for the decade 1977-88 the number of those deriving their main income from work has decreased by 2%, whereas the number of income holders dependent either on social assistance or private capital, or else on part-time work increased by almost 68%. (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 37).
As a consequence of high unemployment, a new system of unemployment training was initiated. The Ministry of Labor and Social Policy was responsible for this system. However, the necessary funds were lacking; what little was available was first used to develop “protective systems for registration and payment of unemployment benefits. Less than 0.5% of the labor fund was used for retraining measures in 1990 and no more than 0.6% was used from that source in 1991” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 65).

Nevertheless, In 1990 the number of adult persons requalifying or upgrading their skills exceeded one million. This number was in actuality much higher, because it did not include ZZDZ figures (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 165). Adult courses varied but usually required 250-400 hours of course work. Three years of on the job experience were required before a person was permitted to begin upgrading to the status of skilled worker and three more years were required for junior craftsman status. These courses concluded with an examination administered by local boards appointed by local Chambers of Handicrafts or by Kuratorium officials (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 166). Attendees and enterprises funded these courses through the payment of user fees. Given the above parameters “everything points to a dynamic development of non-school based courses, as a system that offers extensive opportunity for gaining new qualifications” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 168). There was increased cognizance that the existing secondary systems of vocational training, and the systems of adult vocational and technical training and retraining, should be integrated into one unified educational system (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 103).
Vocational Education Unemployment and Population Growth

Demographic forecasts indicated that out of 19 million able-bodied people expected to form the stock of the labor force by the end of the century, there were an additional three million young labor market entrants leaving the educational system in the 1990s, about six million people were over 45 (who, because of their age, were less likely to pursue retraining) and, ten million people aged 25-44 who were in the position of needing extensive further education and training or retraining during that decade (Jozefowicz, 1991). This was a poignant factor. Poland’s young adults were in need of extensive higher education at the tertiary level. But at the same time, “The real enrollment victim of decreased educational spending [was] the sector of extramural [adult tertiary] education, in the case of which absolute numbers of participants [had] fallen sharply, almost 60 percent” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 44).

Furthermore, during the 1980s the decreased absorbing capacity of the employment and educational systems was partially offset by a simultaneous decrease in pertinent population cohorts making demands on these systems. That demographic factor was no longer true in post-Socialist Poland. Instead, the number of young people that belonged to the age cohort that formed the potential pool of secondary school graduates would increase until the year 2000. Those looking for employment or further tertiary education would grow until the year 2005. Demographic pressures on the employment and educational systems in Poland would not abate until the year 2010 (Kotowska, 1991).

This was occurring at a time when the economic and financial system of the country were under extreme, even urgent stress. The situation was characterized by “a dramatic lack of financial resources to even keep the existing [educational] system in-tact”
(Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 18). Although Polish authorities realized that educational expenses were investments for the future, the "financing of the VET system and of education in general became a major obstacle due to the dramatic situation of the state budget" (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 14). While the financial obligations of the National Ministry considerably increased (due to the withdrawal of other ministries that once supported vocational education and to demographic pressures on post-primary schools), its budget was "repeatedly cut in an attempt by the Government to solve its budget deficits" (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 92).

Social change was being hampered in Poland by a number of factors: (a) limited employment demand; (b) privatization and shortage of capital which resulted in decline of most of the state industrial sector; (c) fiscally prohibitive conditions which stifled needed modernization of the agricultural sector (Ksiezopolski, 1991).

Although all economic sectors were feeling the increased effects of unemployment, the vocational sectors educating recent vocational school graduates were the hardest hit. Vocational students had the least promising job prospects, the situation was almost revolutionary. The average unemployment rate for all leavers and graduates of Polish schools was an alarming 45.37% (Grootings, et al. 1993) The majority of unemployed people in Poland were young, 65 percent were under 35 years of age, most of these--over 80 percent--were vocational school graduates and attendees (Grootings, et al. 1993).

Polish workers were especially overstaffed in the vocational sector. Overstaffing was a result of the Communist commitment to full employment. This guarantee led to continued proliferation of vocational enrollments inflated graduation rates and an over supply of workers, which was financed through borrowing of Western and Russian dollars
in a strange type of communist Keynesian economic policy initiated by the Gierek\textsuperscript{2} regime (Grootings, et al. 1993).

The high unemployment figures continued to climb as the Polish economy struggled to stabilize and to find new markets in the restricted European Community, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and South Africa to compensate for the drastic decline in trade with previous members of COMECON, especially the Soviet Union\textsuperscript{3} and East Germany, which were Poland's two major trading partners now devastated by their own economic problems.

Within such a dismal environment, educational planners in Poland planned a significant restructuring of the VET system.

\textsuperscript{2} Gierek established a policy of stimulating the economy, giving it a "quick burst of material prosperity." His regime radiated confidence and optimism, the economy expanded and the nation had a breath of prosperity. Unfortunately, the growth was illusory; it was funded on borrowed dollars, which were infused into the economy by government spending in business enterprises and the construction industry. Debts totaling more than 6 billion dollars were quickly accumulated. (Further debts with the Soviets totaled billions of dollars. Poland could not continue to borrow without expanding GNP and maintaining a certain debt ratio. Consequently, before the end of the decade, the Polish economy began to unravel resulting in civil unrest and the birth of Solidarity. Davies (1982) God's Playground: A history of Poland. New York: Columbia University Press, Pp. 625-628

\textsuperscript{3} Before the downfall of Communism, the USSR supplied 42% of Poland's raw materials -- 80 percent of her oil, 80 percent of her iron ore, and 60 percent of her cotton. The USSR also received over half of Poland's industrial output, and was Poland's largest trading partner. In fact, in economic terms, Poland was a liability to the USSR. The imbalance in trade stood in Poland's favor since 1956. In 1990, however, trade with COMECON amounted to only 25% of total Polish foreign trade. The two main markets in Europe are Germany and the Czech and Slovak Republics. Of traditional Arab partners only Libya remains. Trade with Iraq was interrupted by the Gulf War. Other markets include Ethiopia, China, Iran, and Thailand. In South America, trade includes the sale of processing equipment for agricultural and consumer goods. Davies, (1982, pp. 596-597).
See also Meclewski (February, 1992).
Recent Proposals for Changing the Polish VET System

The 1973 Szczpanski Committee

As early as 1973, the National Education Committee presented a report to the government at the beginning of the Gierek administration. “The critical part of the report could well have been written in 1989, since the drawbacks of the Polish education system have remained relatively stable throughout the years (Grootings, et al. 1993, pp. 150-151).

The Committee headed by Professor Jan Szczepanski presented four versions of a proposed education system. According to the Committee, the most appropriate version incorporated the following elements:

(a) An 11 year general school no longer requiring matriculation. The Committee proposed replacing the higher education test with an ordinary school termination certificate and abolishing early differentiation by postponing it until completion of the 11th year of general secondary school.

(b) The Committee proposed differentiated secondary lyceums as they were during the Second Republic (Grootings, et al 1993 p. 17) and as was the norm in Western Europe. The lyceums would be of four types: mathematics, physics, and technical sciences; chemistry, biology, and agriculture; socio-economic sciences; and the arts.

(c) Vocational education for students unable to complete secondary school. This training included either on the job training or short-term training for skilled workers for who had finished primary school.

(d) Tertiary Technical training of 1/2 to 2 years within the subsystem of higher vocational schools (former post-matriculate lyceums) for people not attending university but seeking higher education (Grootings, et al. 1993).
Although these recommendations were "largely accepted in academic circles and by most teachers, [they] underwent several concessions and on the way to their practical implementation they met almost total failure. The most ambitious plan included reducing the percentage of student enrollment in the BVS by 38 percent; instead, enrollments increased only by 3 percent. Likewise, general secondary education was to increase 50 percent; instead, it increased a mere 2 percent. This was partially accounted for by the Communist ideological and practical commitment to vocational education and heavy industry, which no longer existed in post-Socialist Poland (Grootings, et al. 1993). After 1989, the National Ministry of Education commissioned several studies that offered alternative proposals for the restructuring of education in Poland.

The 1990 National Ministry of Education Work Group

In September, 1990, the Ministry of National Education asked a special working group to prepare proposals for a reform of the Vocational Education System (Grootings et al 1993, p. 68). This work group, like the Szczepanski group, proposed a significant reduction in the number of students attending the BVS and a radical improvement in the level of teaching in these schools. More democratic methodologies were advocated. The curriculum was to become more general and theoretical.

The most problematic feature of the present VET system is generally seen to be the too dominant role of the Basic Vocational Schools. . . . They attract more than 50% of primary school leavers, educate for a large number of quite narrow occupational profiles, give relatively little general education, and are, in fact, the poorest educational institutions in terms of equipment, teaching materials, and quality of teachers. Their general status is low and most of the students and their parents consider this type of school to be the result of a negative selection. Dropout rates, accordingly, are high. (Grootings, 1991, p. 35)
However, many “industrial enterprises still [favored] these schools, since they provided them with a large number of semi-skilled workers” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p.69).

Furthermore, the Work Group proposed the elimination of the secondary technical school or technicum. It was criticized, like the BVS, for lasting too long and “being narrowly adopted to the labor market while offering [too many and] too narrow profiles” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 69). However, if the National Ministry had followed this advice and eliminated the Secondary Technical Schools, graduates from the BVS would have lost one of their few chances for obtaining higher education (Grootings, et al. 1993, p.69).

In addition to eliminating the technicum, the work group advocated the elimination of the secondary vocational school as well. It was regarded as not having found sufficient social acceptance. However, the work group failed to recognize that their proposed elimination of the technicum would have resulted in increasing the importance of the secondary vocational school, because it would have been the only viable route left to higher education. Eliminating the technicum would have reduced the options of secondary vocational school students to one. Thus the proposed elimination of the technicum actually seemed to strengthen the SVS’s appeal. It could have become the school of choice for those students who previously chose the technicum, unless, of course, these students were permitted into the lyceum instead.

If both the technicum and secondary vocational school were closed, BVS students would have lost their only chances to matriculate; there were no other avenues to higher education for BVS students. Thus the BVS would have, in essence, become a “dead end” and acquired more of a negative stigma than it already had.
The work group proposed two alternative models which partially solved this problem.

**Model 1.**

The first model contained eight years of compulsory primary school followed by a choice of two types of secondary schools: (a) general Lycea and (b) secondary vocational schools. Each type of school lasted four years, with the first year curriculum being approximately the same (Grootings, et al. 1993). *Of major importance was the articulation of the first year in each school, which permitted students to change institutions after the first year, following an additional period of maturing and the chance to experiment with different academic tracks.*

The work group divided the secondary vocational schools into two types, technical and nontechnical, each lasting four years. “They provided education for a skilled-worker’s qualification equal to that of lower technical occupations in the BVS, plus a secondary general education certificate” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 71). This plan permitted vocational school students to sit for the higher education exam.

Finally, model 1 maintained the post matriculate schools. They enabled students from both the technical and non-technical secondary vocational schools to qualify as “technicians.” Grootings referred to these schools as “post-lyceum technical” schools. These schools were to have a duration of 2 to 2.5 years (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 71).

In this model, the BVS still existed as a type of sub secondary school. They were for those who wished to [or had to] learn an occupation immediately after elementary school. The BVS was to last from two to three years. Even in these schools general education was to be introduced and practical specialization was planned to take place after
completing the BVS for students over 18 years of age. The school diploma qualified the graduate as a skilled worker. The diploma and the additional practical training, however, qualified a person as an independent craftsman. BVS students were also given the option of passing to the secondary vocational school (SVS) for a three year period instead of the four-year program required of students that begin at the SVS (native students) (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 70).

Model 2.

The second model proposed by the 1990 Work Group reduced primary school to seven grades, but added an additional two year general and obligatory gymnasium. The gymnasium had a long history in Poland; it dated back to the Partitions and earlier. During the Second Republic it had a significant role. The aim of the gymnasium was to complete general education and to provide preparatory elementary vocational education. The vocational schools in model two were similar to those proposed in model one. However, the model two schools were one year less because of the two year gymnasium, which permitted students to postpone, by one year a decision that affected them for the rest of their lives (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 71).

The Radziwill Committee

In August 1990, The Ministry of National Education commissioned the Radziwill Committee (named after Anna Radziwill, then Vice Minister of National Education) to elaborate a plan for reforming the educational and training system. The Committee proposed 2 models for this purpose.

Model 1.
The first model proposed eight years of basic compulsory education to be followed by three types of post compulsory education:

a. 2-3 years BVS  
b. 4 years Secondary General  
c. 4 years Secondary Vocational

According to this plan, secondary education was followed by 2-3 year tertiary schools, which granted the degree of technician (Grootings et al., 1993, p. 152). The tertiary schools in this model had some attributes of community colleges. This version resembled the Soviet organizational structure. It differed only in the reduction of post-primary schools to 3 types rather than 4 types and the shifting of technical training from secondary to tertiary level (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 153).

Model 2.

The second model of the Radziwill proposals included a seven year compulsory basic school followed by a two year grammar school, which was followed by four different types of secondary schools (Grootings, et al. 1993).

1. 1 or 2 yr. BVS  
2. 4 yr. Secondary Vocational  
3. 3 yr. Vocational Lyceum [Technicum]  
4. 3 yr. General Lyceum

This plan increased general education and thereby postponed differentiation through the inclusion of a two year grammar school. The difference between this type of system and a community college system was the two years of general education, which in this system were wedged in between the differentiated secondary schools and common primary education. That is, general education was finished before entering the secondary schools. In community colleges general education was finished after the secondary school.
Moving the additional two years of general education after secondary school was more efficacious than having them at a pre-secondary level. The reasons for this are explored in chapter 7. The majority expressed favor for the second plan. However, “the Ministry of National Education rejected the idea, mainly because of shortage of funds required for its implementation (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 153).

Several factors, especially chronic and acute financial problems, prevented the implementation of these proposals. Nonetheless, “the Polish educational system urgently needed a re-balancing of its streams and, in particular, a decrease in the high number of pupils channeled towards Basic Vocational Schools” (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 71). The European Center for the Development of Vocational Training, under the coordination of Peter Grootings, provided some insights into the question of “re-balancing Poland’s educational streams.”

The European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

In 1993 the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) conducted an analysis under the direction of Tadeusz Kozek and the coordination of Peter Grootings. CEDEFOP offered a set of proposals for the modernization of vocational education and training in Poland. Among their most significant conclusions were the necessity of altering the vocational curricula by limiting the number of specific job skills and offering more general and theoretical education thereby helping people to adapt more easily to changes in the economy and in technology. The major aspects of their proposal are presented below.

First, it was thought necessary to alter the narrow job profiles guiding vocational education. CEDEFOP proposed discontinuing the BVS and providing a system of
horizontal integration between the various types of schools. They also advocated
broadening the curricula to include general categories rather than specific ones which
limited a graduates chances for employment in a changing economy (Grootings, et al.

The economic situation and the advance of technology rendered vocational
training for very specific occupations obsolete. Subsequently, it was very difficult to define
vocational education in the traditional manner, which prepared students for distinct
occupational roles.

*Education and training will, rather, have to prepare for uncertainty, making it possible for individuals to be flexible, mobile, and active. The tendency [for] . . . educational decision makers, at all levels, to wait for guidelines from . . . economic decision makers, therefore, is not realistic and may become dangerous over time. (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 43 italics added)*

Wattenbarger and the team of consultants that did the West Virginia community college
feasibility study reached the same conclusion and named it the "cluster concept." 4

Vocational Schools like the BVS offered limited and specific job profiles, which
needed to be replaced by new types of secondary curricula which trained and educated
students for the modern economy.

We would assume that the traditional big role of the VET system, and especially
that of the Basic Vocational Schools, would decrease in favor of the secondary
general and the secondary vocational schools. There will simply be no place on the
labor market for high numbers of young people with very narrow forms of initial
short-term vocational education. A much broader vocational profile will be asked

---

4 According to Wattenbarger, much of the education and middle manpower training for jobs can be accomplished in programs with a cluster concept. This means that the educational program is broad enough and contains enough theoretical and cognitive content that the graduate can be successful (at entry levels) in any of several related jobs in a "cluster" or field. Thus, for example, the engineering technician can successfully adapt to a wide range of jobs in industry, and the graphic arts technician can move into any one of several occupations in the printing trades. Wattenbarger, Bender & Harris (1971).
from a considerable higher number of young labor market entrants. (Grootings, et al. 1993, p.49)

Grootings, favored a dual concept of education where general and theoretical or academic education were received in the schools and the actual practical training was received on the job. In this we were reminded of the Perennialists (Maritain, Adler, and Hutchins) who advocated separating intellectual education and job skills. Like Grootings, the Perennialists advocated learning intellectual and manual arts in secondary and tertiary schools while reserving specific job training to the industries and firms themselves. CEDEFOP favored a dual vocational model as developed in Germany, which shared responsibility for training students between schools and businesses through a "well integrated division of theoretical learning in schools and practical learning in enterprises" (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 63).

The dual approach was favorable because it reduced the cost to the state for vocational training and, more importantly, because it added value to the worker, both humane value and intellectual value. Each person so educated should have been more adaptable and better able to contribute to the various needs of a particular enterprise. Basically, the schools were unable to keep up with every specific change in industry; they could, though, teach theory and concepts as well as provide manual training, which permitted students to understand the changes and adroitly adapt to them with minimum retraining. Training could take place on site with minimum difficulty by the firms.

However, neither the schools nor the firms could be expected to undertake vocational education successfully without cooperation and sharing of the task. Leaving education to business firms is risky; are they willing and able to assume the many
responsibilities of training employees? Will the training be sufficiently broad-based and forward-looking, or will it be limited to the specific and short-term needs of the employer (Grootings, et al. 1993)? On the other hand, school based training is also criticized for overemphasizing academic endeavors far removed from practical economic needs. Thus CEDEFOP recommended that Poland follow

the trends and experiences from Western countries. The long-term aim should be to achieve an “integrated dualism” where vocational schools function as the site of general and technical theoretical training, and enterprises [function] as the site of practical vocational training, and where theoretical and practical exercises are well integrated. (Grootings, et al. 1993, p. 11)

Unfortunately, in Poland little “systematic involvement of social partners [schools, industry, local and national government, and labor unions] was taking. One of the reasons, was that employers and trade unions were still facing organizational problems themselves, especially at the national level” (Grootings, 1993, p. 87). Grootings concluded with a dire warning: A “Vocational Training system without the involvement of employers and unions will not survive” (1993, p.6).

Summary

The history of education in Poland relevant to this research contains the following highlights:

- The history of Polish education began with the baptism of Mieszko. Mieszko supported the establishment of a bishopric at Gniezno and the work of Benedictine and Cistercian missionaries who established monastic and cathedral schools throughout Polonia.

- In Poland’s second phase of education the College of Krakow was established, with Papal approval, by King Casimir the Great. All schools in Poland were subordinate to
the new Academy, which was given the authority jus exclusionis. Principles and teachers in the lower schools were trained at Kracow. This domination continued until the 16th century.

- The arrival of the Jesuits and Piarists in the 16th century marks another era in Polish educational history. The Jesuits established 47 colleges by 1642. The University of Vilna was established by King Stephen Bathory (1576-86). Bathory placed the Jesuit Peter Sklarga at the head of the new university.

- The Piarists complemented the work of the Jesuits. Hieronim Konarski the leading educational spokesman of the Enlightenment era proclaimed that "citizens are no better than the schools, and the government is no better than the citizens." This Piarist thus advocated the philosophical principle of democratic education for democratic society examined in chapter three. To reform the government, Konarski said, it is first necessary to reform the schools.

- The Piarist schools, unlike the Jesuit schools, stressed practical science and administrative skill in their curriculum. They introduced the vernacular and stressed mental, moral, and citizenship development.

- Poland's third phase of educational development began during the First Partition with the establishment of the Koisja Edukacjna in 1773. It coincided with the European Enlightenment and brought about a new phase of secularization of Polish schools.

- By the Third Partition the total decline of education ensued, especially in the Prussian and Russian sectors. The partitioning powers, especially Prussia, introduced mass
vocational training. Only in the Austrian sector of Galicia were Polish educational institutions, permitted to exist.

- By 1919 Western powers liberated Poland in a period of Polish history known as the Second Republic. During this fifth phase of educational development, their was an immense flurry of educational work throughout the country. During this period, the church once again received the right to cooperate with the state in the field of education. This time the right came via constitutional mandate.

- The German occupation began a new phase of annihilation of Polish schools and the expansion of vocational education necessary to drive the German industrial machine.

- Soviet occupation followed the Nazi expulsion. The Soviets built a mammoth vocational and technical educational structure to support their high demand for heavy industry. General education became Marxist indoctrination.

- Poland inherited from the Soviets an extensive and well integrated system of education.

- Since Poland’s rebirth in 1989 university enrollment increased 10 percent. The universities were then at a critical point; they could not continue to handle the rising numbers of people desiring higher education.

- New teacher colleges were established during the post-Socialist period. A system of articulation between the colleges and higher schools was an important facet in the development of the colleges which offered a new lycencjat degree that enabled its recipients, to transfer to a university with advanced standing much as community college students transferred to a university.
Since the 49 teachers' colleges replaced 98 older Soviet teachers' colleges, costs were expected to be minimal.

Demographic data indicated that Poland's secondary school cohort would continue to increase until the year 2005. Research in the United States indicated that increasing secondary enrollments were a significant force on increasing tertiary enrollments. Unfortunately, this was occurring at a time when Poland lacked the resources necessary to keep the existing system intact.

With a national debt over 20 billion dollars and an ailing economy, Poland was in an unenviable position. Unemployment was at 17 percent and an average of 43 percent of school graduates at all levels could not find work. 65 percent of all unemployed people were under age 35. Ten million workers (25 percent of the entire population) were under 45 years of age and in need of continuing general and manual education.

Vocational education was changed from a sectorial design in which various ministries oversaw the administration of the schools to a more unified approach coordinated by the National Ministry of Education. The National Ministry of Education was responsible for the general core curriculum, but the appropriate sectorial ministry was still responsible for design of the technical and vocational curricula subject to the approval of the National Ministry.

The VET system also included proprietary schools dominated by the ZZDZ which educated approximately half of all continuing adults.

Many other non-school based learning institutes were developed due to the shortage of resources at the National Ministry. By 1993, local Kuratoria, industries, enterprises,
handicraft guilds, private individuals, and labor unions were all involved in the emerging VET system. It was essential, said Grootings, that the regular schools and the adult VET system form one integrated unit. “A vocational training unit without the involvement of employers and unions will not survive.”

- Several national studies of education indicated possible organizational restructuring models to help alleviate some of the country’s problems.

- Proposals for restructuring Poland’s educational system are summarized below.

- The 1973 Szczpanski Committee recommended eleven years of general education and discontinuing the entrance exam to the lyceum thereby expanding general secondary education to the 70 percent level and decreasing the stranglehold of the BVS. This committee recommended introducing four types of lyceums. Significantly, it also endorsed a plan for tertiary education. The plans were never implemented.

- The 1990 Working Group also recommended reducing the BVS and increasing general education, democratizing the schools and making vocational education more theoretical and less narrow. They recommend eliminating the Technicum (it was too long) and the SVS. The Working Group proposed two alternative models.

⇒ MODEL ONE: This model planned an eight year primary school followed by a lyceum and a secondary vocational school divided into technical and vocational components each lasting four years and offering a cross articulation duplicate first year. The BVS was to be maintained at a sub-secondary level. This plan proposed the continuation of post-matriculation schools.
MODEL TWO: This model proposed seven years of primary school followed by a two year general gymnasium, which increased the time needed to contemplate the choice of future occupation. A three year lyceum followed the gymnasium. Both models provided university and polytechnical education.

- The 1990 Radziwill Commission advocated two different restructuring plans.

MODEL ONE: This model advocated eight years of basic compulsory schooling followed by either a two to three year BVS, a four year general lyceum, or a four year vocational school. This plan also advocated a two to three year tertiary technicians degree similar to the level offered at a community college.

MODEL TWO: This model envisioned seven years of compulsory schooling followed by two years in a grammar school, or gymnasium. Graduates of the gymnasium could chose from four types of secondary schools including a two year BVS, a four year secondary vocational school, a three year technicum, and a three year lyceum. Each of these four schools was a quasi-tertiary school because it followed a secondary gymnasium. Offering tertiary schooling at this level is inferior to the community college plan articulated in the following chapter.

- The CEDEFOP proposals were the last studied in this chapter.

These proposals argued for much more theoretical and general education in Poland’s vocational schools. The concepts were similar to Wattenbarger’s “cluster approach” and the type of manual training envisioned by Maritain although Maritain’s approach was more deeply steeped in the humanities and the Perennial philosophy of humanity.

CEDEFOP argued that the BVS was a “dead-end street.” That Poland could no longer train its students for specific job skills. There was “simply no place on the labor market
for students with very narrow profiles of education. Furthermore, this group favored a theoretically based vocational/technical education and a cooperative effort with industry which was to be responsible for practical skills.

Finally, like the first model proposed by the 1990 Working Group, CEDEFOP proposed increased horizontal integration that would have permitted student movement between the schools. This was to be made possible by wider curricula profiles.

Given the historical analysis presented in chapter two the philosophical and sociological foundations explored in chapter three, pertinent community college studies examined in chapters four and five, and the Polish educational context explored in this sixth chapter, it is now possible to present a new and unique community college model for Poland’s future. Because this model is designed to optimize Poland’s existing educational resources, it enables educational authorities in Poland to build an advanced community college system with minimal cost.
CHAPTER 7

A COMMUNITY COLLEGE MODEL FOR POLAND’S FUTURE

Various working groups and commissions have made proposals and designed models for restructuring the Polish educational system. Although all of the proposals contain positive elements, the most important element for Poland’s democratic future has yet to be incorporated--the community college.

This chapter provides a proposal and an organizational model for a community college based upon an analysis and synthesis of the educational philosophy, community college planning criteria, and Polish educational milieu articulated in the previous chapters. The proposal is given in the form of recommendations arranged into appropriate subtopics.

Organization

The researcher first presents an organizational model which can be used by educational authorities in Poland to construct a strong and well advanced community college. In the United States, community colleges were at first called junior colleges because of their limited curricula, which usually included only the collegiate transfer program and few vocational and occupational programs. The junior colleges grew into comprehensive community colleges following the infusion of public dollars and the subsequent expansion of a vast network of vocational and technical training centers on the campus of the community colleges themselves.
Although Poland can not invest the capital invested by the United States in building an advanced comprehensive community college system, it does not have to. The Soviets left behind a mammoth vocational and technical infra-structure, which the Poles can use to their advantage in building a community college. The Poles must devise new general and liberal arts curricula, restructure learning in the VET schools, and develop an efficient organizational model and cost effective means of running a community college. The models that follow provide low cost solutions to all of these questions. In short, Poland has the ability and the resources to construct an advanced comprehensive community college that can meet the demand for increased access and all the other demands placed upon democratic educational institutions.

At present, there are only four possible locations for a community college in Poland. These four places include the general secondary and vocational schools, the Technicums, the newly formed colleges, and the universities. The community college should not be located at either a university or at a secondary school; both of these organizational approaches will limit access. A university program will serve only 5 to 10 percent of the population needing further education, and a high school orientation will not be attractive, especially in Poland, where the vocational schools already have a poor reputation. The only two viable and cost-effective alternatives are the merging with the newly formed colleges or with the technicums shifted to tertiary status, as advocated by the Radziwill Commission.
Discussion of the Model

A comprehensive community college provides both technical training and general education. The proposed model provides both of these component parts. Student horizontal and vertical flow are maximized in this system. There are no dead ends for anyone. This model takes advantage of Poland’s existing educational resources.

Research indicates that community colleges are most successful when they acquire a collegiate face. Thus it is appropriate to offer the general and liberal studies at a preexisting college. The new teachers’ colleges offer a new short-term post-secondary degree known as the lycencjat. Educational leaders have articulated lycencjat programs with higher tertiary school programs. The lycencjat provides a basis for upper division transfer; it is thus equivalent to the associate transfer degrees offered by American community colleges. Furthermore, the lycencjat strengthens the colleges’ ties with higher education and helps remove any suspicion that they are secondary schools offering adult education. Poland’s community colleges should be placed within these existing colleges.

Furthermore, community colleges offer technical education. In Poland, the community college should take advantage of the existing technicums. The technicums should become integral parts of the new community colleges. The proposed model envisions an administrative union (discussed below) between the existing colleges and technicums. If organized and administered properly, such a union can provide a unique, fully developed comprehensive community college for Poland as demonstrated in figure 2.
Figure 2: Comprehensive Community College Model 1

* College access: GPA minimum and CLAST
The Figure 2 community college flow chart provides an understanding of both the proposed organization of Poland's educational system and the flow of students through it. First, compulsory general education for eight years continues. Following elementary school, students have a choice of entering either a four year general lyceum or a four year secondary vocational school as also advocated by the Radziwill Commission. Educators in Poland must decide how much they want to expand access to the general lyceum. If it is decided to limit enrollment, an entrance exam must be required. Without an entrance exam, students from the SVS will most likely exercise their option to attend the general lyceum instead.

Although increasing access at the lyceum may be the best and most idealistic option, it will require the development of ability grouping in the general high schools and the limited use of basic vocational schools to service the small population in the general high schools requiring vocational education along with their general education. The problem of providing a comprehensive high school at the lyceum is beyond the scope of the present research. It is doubtful that the National Ministry will move in this direction. Even if it does, the proposed organization of the community college will not be affected. See Figure 3, Model 2.

Educational leaders need to be aware that if they decide to limit enrollment at the general lyceum, they will have to necessarily shunt students away from the lyceum by an entrance exam. However, in this likely eventuality, students at the SVS should not lose the opportunity for increased general education or the opportunity to attend the lyceum. Both these problems are handled in Model 1.
College access: GPA minimum and CLAST

Figure 3: Comprehensive Community College Model 2
Notice the dotted horizontal line between the lyceum and the SVS. This line indicates horizontal movement between the two school as advocated by CEDEFOP.

Providing two years of duplicate course work in each secondary school enables motivated and high scoring students in the SVS to transfer to the lyceum. Instead of developing an entirely separate system of gymnasiums to provide for two years of additional general education as both Radziwill and the 1990 Working Group proposed, the problem is more easily solved by offering one to two more years of additional general articulated education. A highly motivated SVS student should be given the option of changing tracks if his or her grade point average indicates an ability to succeed in the upper division of the lyceum. Notice that such an SVS student could enter the lyceum without losing any time and continue normally towards completion of the CS degree.

On the other hand, a student performing poorly at the lyceum may shift direction and continue the final two or three years at the SVS; this type of student will, therefore, not waste time at the lyceum pursuing a degree that is unnecessary for his or her purposes. Furthermore, a successful lyceum student is also given the opportunity to change tracks if so desired.

Lyceum graduates successfully completing the matura have several options. They can either attend the university or a specialized higher academy. They also have the option of attending the polytechnic or the community college to study for a lycencjat degree. Upon receiving the lycencjat, they are able to move on as upper division students to the universities and other higher tertiary schools. Furthermore, lyceum students who fail to pass the matura can attend the community colleges for
remediation, in which case they would repeat the courses in which they are deficient. After completing these courses, they can retake the matura and, if successful, continue on at the upper schools. Otherwise they can remain at the community college and pursue the lycencjat or AA. Such students can also enter immediately into the post-matriculate occupation programs to attain semi-professional skills for the labor market.

SVS graduates have several options that once again permit them to change tracks or to continue on to higher technical studies at the technicum. Students desiring further technical studies must first receive the two year AA degree, which qualifies them for the technicum if they meet other entrance requirements. SVS students also have the opportunity to attempt studies leading to the lycencjat. In this case, they must first complete the upper two years of the lyceum (CS), which they did not receive at the SVS. Successful completion of this degree qualifies such a student for lycencjat studies, it also qualifies the student to take the matura for higher tertiary studies (explained below).

Students who dropped out of high school programs for personal or academic reasons and received apprenticeship training can also be admitted to the community college. Union or enterprise workers with three years experience qualify for either the CEU or the AA program (both described below). In this way they too are able to continue higher studies necessary for them to make a more significant contribution to Polish society.

Lycencjat graduates represent the highest academic achievers at the community college. These students, who come to the community college from either the lyceum
or the SVS and continue at the university, represent the natural aristocracy. Students earning the CS degree at the community college can continue studies toward the lycencjat if they satisfy entrance requirements which should be based on CS grade point average. In this respect, lycencjat programs are treated as limited access programs. The lycencjat is discussed more fully below.

Finally, the AA students, who should be by far the most numerous at the community college, continue their studies at the technicums after earning the AA. The technicums offer two to three years of technical training at the tertiary level. Establishing the technicums as tertiary schools permits students to receive additional general and theoretical education at the community college before continuing at the technicum. It also permits students to mature and reach a much higher age than now possible before choosing their future vocation.

The following is a list of concise recommendations, which if adhered to, should result in a successful implementation of this model and the successful construction of a community college for Poland’s future.

**Recommendations to the Polish National Ministry of Educational Access**

1. The community college provides a two-tier system of higher education, permitting the higher schools to be selective while democratizing higher education for those people desiring it. Polish authorities should set the community college as the point of entrance for the mass of people desiring further higher education. The university should continue seeking academic excellence while the community college engages in the necessary and exciting task of democratic mass education.
2. Entrance to the universities should continue to be by exam only. Departments should not be permitted to reduce entrance criteria in order to increase enrollments.

3. Community colleges should provide branch campuses offering CS and AA studies. The college must endeavor to reach the people. The main campus should be centrally located to serve the largest number of people possible. Branch campuses should serve people in the rural areas. Every citizen of Poland should have educational opportunities within commuting distance of his or her residency.

4. To increase access, the community college should be an “open door” institution. That is, no one desiring an education should be rejected. Everyone who applies to a community college should be accepted. Selection takes place after admission through the administration of a placement exam.

Curricula

The community college curricula should be organized around the bi-polar concept enunciated by Maritain. That is, both an intellectual training center (the Lycencjat) and a manual training center (the AA) need to be established.

Remedial and Preparatory Education: The CS Curriculum

1. Every student entering the community college must take a “placement exam.” This is not an entrance exam. Its sole purpose is to determine the level of academic ability of a student. After taking this exam, students are placed in the appropriate curriculum including the Associate of Arts (AA), college studies (CS), and lycencjat programs.

2. The CS curriculum is part of the remedial-preparatory program These courses
do not result in college credit.

3. Acceptance into other curricula should not permitted before successful completion of the identified deficiencies or the preparatory courses.

4. The CS curriculum should be preparatory for SVS students and remedial for lyceum students. That is, SVS students must complete the entire two years and lyceum students complete only those areas in which they show deficiencies.

**AA Curriculum**

The AA curriculum should service the bulk of students in the community college. This curriculum should be designed along the lines indicated by Maritain (1962), general education adjusted to the level and needs of working people.

1. The AA should be a two year program. The first year should offer general education in all fields of knowledge including social science, natural science, mathematics, humanities, communication, and physical education.

2. The second year should complete the general education of manual work students and also offer specific preparatory education for the desired field of technical study at the technicum.

**Role of the Technicum**

1. The technicums and the colleges must work together to establish an articulation agreement, similar to SOLAR, that permits students to know exactly what courses are required at each technicum, so that they may take the appropriate classes at the college and be fully prepared for study at the technicum. SOLAR also provides a common course numbering, course titling, and course description system which
assures that all students taking the same course at different community colleges are in fact studying the same content.

2. Education at the technicums should be modified along the lines articulated by Grootings, Maritain, and Wattenbarger. A cluster concept emphasizing theoretical and general technical education must be developed by technical experts in Poland. It is suggested that CEDEFOP work with Polish technical and liberal education experts, appropriate Ministry personnel, local Kuratoria officials, union leaders, and enterprise personnel in developing this needed new curriculum.

3. Manual training should be included in the curricula of both the lycencjat and the AA students.

4. AA students not accepted into a technicum must be given guaranteed acceptance into a one year vocational certification program, that qualifies them as skilled workers.

5. No one should be permitted into the certification programs without completing the general education component of the AA degree.

The One Year Certificate

1. The one year certificate is a vocational training program offering skilled worker status similar to that offered by the BVS. Students may voluntarily enter this program after finishing the one year general studies portion of the AA.

2. AA technical students may also be admitted into the certificate programs.

3. The certificate training should take place at the technicum if possible. If this is not possible, a small number of BVS schools should remain functioning for this purpose.
**CEU Paired Courses**

These courses are for adult workers who may not have the capacity, the time, or the felt need for AA or certification studies. The CEU are short term job enhancement courses for people already employed or seeking immediate job upgrading skills.

1. To partially meet the philosophical demands of general democratic education discussed in chapter three, no one should be permitted into a CEU course unless they also enroll for a single paired general studies course similar to those offered during the first year of the AA.

2. This is not a degree or a certificate program. However, community college certification may be awarded after the student completes the five general studies courses offered in the AA curriculum.

**Adult Life Long Education**

1. The community college should offer adult life long education for everyone. These courses do not have entrance requirements and do not provide grades, nor do they confer any type of credit. They exist for the sheer joy of learning and helping adults continue to grow by quality use of their leisure time. These courses are attended by working people and professionals. In fact, for some working people these courses are the only type of continuing education they will ever receive.

**The Lycencjat**

The lycencjat is the short-term postsecondary degree requested by the National Ministry of Education in Poland. This degree is similar to the American AA degree,
because it is a university parallel degree. It permits its recipients to transfer as upper division university students after meeting entrance requirements, including passing appropriate exams. It is also similar to the American BA, because it is more advanced than the CS degree but less advanced than the magister degree. A transfer student possessing a lycencjat can be accepted into a graduate program like the American with a BA degree.

1. The lycencjat should be an open admission track. The only requirement for matriculation should be the CS degree from the lyceum or earned at the community college. Students in the community college CS track should be monitored each semester for academic success. Students falling below a 2.8 average should be counseled into an appropriate AA program; they will probably not experience success in a lycencjat program.

2. Recipients of the lycencjat should be required to pass the matura exam before transferring to the university, unless they already passed this exam after completing the lyceum. Students who performed well at the lyceum and passed the matura may enter directly into lycencjat studies at the community college. Other lyceum graduates are placed in the CS track because they failed the matura and had deficiencies to remedy at the community college. These students must pass the matura before moving on to a university.

3. Students qualifying for the lycencjat program by completing the CS remedial or preparatory programs must pass a test (similar to the CLAST) that measures academic skills before they can be awarded the lycencjat degree. The parameters for this test need to be developed by educational leaders in Poland.
4. Repeated failure of the academic skills test necessitates specific preparatory courses for study at a technicum and passing the relevant entrance exam. A student in this situation need not undertake the first year of the AA degree. The CS curriculum is sufficient to meet the demands of the general studies curriculum. A student engaged in this process is in essence a "reverse transfer" student. It is necessary to avoid this potential problem by monitoring academic success as suggested above (Lycencjat, point 1).

5. The lycencjat should be expanded to include more than just the teacher’s degree. There is need for many types of lycencjat degrees to qualify people for mid level semi-professional and occupational positions.

6. It is necessary that the new lycencjat degrees be created by a process similar to the process by which the teacher’s lycencjat was established. That is, close cooperation between the college and the appropriate upper school must be maintained. Administrators at the teachers colleges who were involved in establishing the lycencjat should be consulted.

Quality Control

1. The matura exam (similar to the American GRE) should be continued.

2. Continuing the matura exam poses a problem for preparatory and remedial ineligible students admitted to lycencjat studies. The problem is solved simply by monitoring the progress of students in the lycencjat program.
3. Ineligible students in the lycencjat track from the CS remedial and preparatory programs should be required to maintain a high grade point average, perhaps 3.0 on a 4.0 scale. This is necessary because they must pass the matura if they plan to continue studies for a magister degree. Students must understand that they will not be permitted to continue studies at the university unless they pass the matura. Grade point requirements may be relaxed for students seeking the lycencjat without plans to transfer to a university. These students must, however, pass a college level academic skills test before receiving the lycencjat.

4. Eligible students from the lyceum should not have to retake the matura.

5. Ineligible students who fail the matura or who do not take the matura must still pass a test similar to the College Level Academic Skills Test, CLAST, to receive the lycencjat. This test may be passed at either the beginning or the end of lycencjat studies; it must however, be passed before the lycencjat degree may be conferred.

6. A system of academic counseling and probation must be established in order to avoid the costly problem of reverse transfer.

6A. Students performing poorly in either the preparatory, remedial, or lycencjat tracks should be counseled into the AA track to avoid the problem of reverse transfer experienced by SJJC. SJJC had approximately 70 percent of their students enrolled in the transfer track (in Poland, the transfer track will contain two components: CS students desiring a lycencjat degree will be intra-institutional transfers and lycencjat students desiring the magister degree will be inter-institutional transfers.) when in reality less than half of these students should have been in this track.
Administration

The administration of the community college is perhaps the most difficult topic to discuss and implement. Every school and college in Poland has administrators who might be interested in keeping the status quo. Unfortunately, Poland is not in a position to maintain the status quo. Tough decisions have to be made. Some administrators have to be retrained, others relocated; some may not qualify for new positions made available by the community college. In the end, this might be the most difficult problem, Poland cannot wait for them to retire.

1. The community college should have its own separate administrative staff with its own budget and rules of procedure.

2. All area technical schools should be placed under the administration of the community college.

3. Administration should be centralized on the college campus.

4. The current administrative staff at the technicums will need training in the concept and philosophy of Poland’s community college system. In-service training must be provided for them.

5. Administrators and faculty at the teachers’ college also need similar education about the community college.

6. Most importantly, it necessary to expand the number of lycencjat programs offered at the new colleges, converting them from teachers’ colleges to more general liberal arts colleges.

7. In fact, the community college should be permitted to become the dominant program on campus. Economic necessity and efficiency dictate that maintaining a
college for only one program is not sound. The staff, faculty, and infrastructure need to be fully utilized. Administrative personnel must understand the enormity of the task faced by Poland; they must rise to the occasion or risk being replaced by young and energetic Polish citizens who are willing to contribute to their country's educational development.

8. Teacher colleges might better serve Poland by becoming community colleges. They can function as separate departments among a host of similar departments, each offering a lycencjat fully articulated with upper schools. In this way, the teachers' colleges can make a more significant contribution to the democratization of Poland.

9. In such a scenario, teachers' college administrators would either become community college administrators or administrative heads of the various departments of education at the community college.

Counseling Services

Academic counseling is an absolute necessity in community colleges. With such a diversity of young students seeking to find an identity and to make a difficult career choice, the counselor becomes a very important person.

1. Academic counseling is not psychological counseling. The role of the community college is to provide intellectual and manual education and the arts and skills associated with these types of education.

2. In Poland, faculty members should function as academic counselors. Faculty are the closest to the students; they observe how students are performing on a daily basis.
3. Faculty must be trained thoroughly in all aspects of the community college, including its philosophy, its missions and curricula, the degrees offered, the articulation agreements with the technicums and higher schools, and personality inventory type testing, if necessary. Academic counseling should be part of the education of community college instructors. Ideally this education should be part of a fully developed department at the teachers’ training college.

4. At a minimum, community college administrators and department heads must master all aspects of academic life and every program offered at the community college, so that they can be in a position to give students adequate academic counseling; this is a natural part of teaching and should be expected of all faculty.

5. Psychological counseling is not part of the community college mission. However, some students have psychological and spiritual problems that interfere with their academic development. Nonetheless, it is not the job of community college faculty to treat these maladies. Instead, community college administrators should cooperate with area clergy in establishing a counseling center on campus or close by, where students can receive nonacademic counseling.

Reducing Costs

It will not be possible to build a community college in Poland unless it is cost effective. Everyone involved with the Polish community college needs to be fully aware of the severe budget deficit and the plight of the economy. Poland will build a community college under extreme economic hardship. A community college can be built despite all these hardships. A community college must be built if Poland is to
handle the need for higher education in a democracy and if it is to assist its own people to develop fully and to participate in the democratic reform underway.

This proposed model provides perhaps the best means by which the country can establish a very strong system of community colleges.

1. All utilizable educational and community resources must be available for the educational efforts underway in Poland.

2. Full use should be made of the technicums. These schools can service community college AA students.

3. Faculty and administrators at the nation’s colleges must assist in the construction of a general studies curriculum for the bulk of working people who will enter through community college doors.

4. The expense of counselors can be reduced by the training of faculty with academic counseling skills—a necessity. Only one or very few professional counselors should be on staff at the Polish community college to coordinate counseling efforts and to provide continual in-service training for faculty.

5. The community college requires centralized administration. Wattenbarger’s concern for a separate and costly community college administrative staff (Wattenbarger, et al. 1971) can be eliminated if the teachers’ colleges are converted into community colleges capable of serving a much broader population. This population includes the workers who have so far been neglected in the reeducation process. This is a highly recommended procedure. This type of restructuring will result in only one administrative staff responsible for the entire
community college, of which the teachers’ college would form a dynamic and
important part.

6. The old Soviet model of sectorial administration is costly and must be replaced. The American propensity to centralize educational administration is an efficient model that should be studied carefully. Large district systems in the United States and elsewhere, should be studied for administrative models combining many diverse elements under one administrative roof.

7. The Polish community college should continue the practice of hiring part-time faculty.

8. Third year teacher education students should participate in the AA program. These students should be required to spend part of their final year instructing AA students as part of a practicum necessary for certification.

9. In communities with universities, graduate students in their final years should be offered stipends and teaching assistantships at the community colleges.

10. The use of media courses initiated by the Soviets should be exploited and continually developed.

11. The Polish tradition of self-education should be encouraged by home studies organized and administered by the community colleges. Successful home schooling should result in a degree offered by the community college.

12. Furthermore, teacher tenure should be studied. This study proposes doing away with costly tenure programs and replacing them with “Progressive Performance Contracts.” These contracts begin as a three year promise of employment. Their renewal is contingent upon performance. The offer of renewal extends the time of
the contract to four years, the third time it is renewed for five years. Every contract after that point is for an additional five years. Each offer of renewal should be accompanied by a salary increase. This recommendation is made only for non-publishing faculty at the community college. It does not relate to publishing university faculty who need to be protected by tenure.

13. The current problem of politicization of the administrative staff might be solved by democratizing the initial selection of community college administrators. The problem is probably better solved by re-education and motivation. In extreme cases uncooperative administrative personnel should retire.

14. Community college administrators should promote the historical cooperative relationship between the church and the state in education. In fact, recent primary and secondary school legislation mandates religious education in public schools. This precedent should be seized by community college administrators who can prudently develop a cost effective relationship with clergy capable of teaching liberal arts and humanities courses in the CS, AA, and lycencjat tracks.

Criteria in Law

The legal criteria involved in the implementation of this model are perhaps the most significant. Based upon the findings of this research and the first principles on which it is based the following recommendations are made.

1. The community college should be a local college under the control of a local board of trustees. Equalization funding and necessary coordination powers should be exercised by the state. To assure that local communities maintain control over
their institutions a provision for community colleges explicitly uniting them to local governmental units should be *written into the new constitution.*

2. It is necessary to assign *by statute* all postsecondary education including vocational and technical education, but excluding the higher schools, to a community college board, which has delegated power to coordinate the programs in the community college and the area vocational and technical schools.

3. Technical school operations should continue within the technicums. However, administrative and budgetary planning, programming, and evaluation should be assigned to the community colleges.

4. Legislative statutes must clearly define the relationship between the technical schools and the community colleges and between the community colleges and the teachers' colleges. This legislation should provide for the eventual merger and subsequent relations between them.

5. The state, regional, and local plans for vocational and technical education should include the changes recommended in this study. The new plans should include an entirely separate section on community college education. The plans should provide for contracting services and programs between the community colleges and the technical and occupational schools.

6. The National Ministry of Education and local political and educational authorities should establish a separate administrative structure for community colleges that recognizes the unique role, mission, and philosophy of these colleges.

7. Each community in which a community college is established should organize and enable a voluntary community college advisory board appointed by the
president with the advice of regional education leaders. This board is to be responsible for advising the community college director on matters relating to the programs offered at the community college and their relationship to the region in which the college is located.

8. It is essential to secure enabling legislation which authorizes local governments and the community college board to establish community colleges on existing college campuses. This is not meant to be legislation for the existence of community colleges, that is a constitutional issue; this is a legislative issue permitting community colleges to exist on current college campuses.

9. It is necessary to repeat the importance of seeking separate constitutional recognition for the community college. This recognition should include the role of the state in funding and coordinating these institutions. Control should be clearly delegated to local units of government and include the power to levy a local tax if necessary.

**Conclusion**

Democratic education in Poland requires the development of community colleges. This study provides educational leaders in Poland with a viable community college model that can be developed in Poland with low-cost.

The proposed model provides a system of education previously unknown to Poland but now required because of the country's historical democratic development that culminated recently in the Solidarity revolution. This research provides a new system of education capable of meeting the educational demands of the Polish working people.
The proposed model also meets all the requirements of democratic education discussed in chapter three. It provides an avenue for workers to receive an education that enables them to participate in the building of a democratic nation. The model implements the philosophical and sociological principles of democratic education within the Polish milieu while taking advantage of community college research done in the United States as it set out to do.

Suggestions for Further Study

This research encompasses a broad domain and requires additional future research necessary for successful implementation of the proposed model. The most important research areas seem to be.

1. A study to determine the feasibility of extending the lycencjat degree to other subject areas and forming an articulation agreement program with higher tertiary programs.

2. A further analysis of the adult education system necessary to form a unified model integrated with the community college.

3. An investigation of VET reform including changes in the curricula and organization relevant to community colleges.

4. A study to determine a location in which to implement a pilot project based on the recommendations articulated in this study.

5. A community analysis including a detailed demographic study, survey of high school graduates, adult workers, and employers to determine the level of local support and interest for a community college pilot project in the chosen locale.
6. An investigation of the teacher training programs to determine the possibility and nature of a new program of teacher training for community college instructors.

7. An intensive investigation of the community university programs including their major strengths and weaknesses, access models, administrative, faculty, and community support, organization, curricula, and financial status.

8. An analysis of community colleges that have implemented faculty counseling programs in the United States.

9. A legal study to determine the extent and possibility of church and state cooperative relations in higher education.

10. An extensive curricula study to determine the parameters, content, and ordering of a general studies curriculum tailored to the needs of working people in Poland. In addition to the AA program, the study should include the one year certification programs and the CEU paired programs.

11. It is important to establish a quantitative evaluation format for judging the success of the community college. An evaluative tool should be developed based upon the philosophy, mission, goals, and objectives of the community college established in this study and by other factors developed by community college leaders in Poland.

12. A detailed study of the administration, organization, and curricula offered at the new teachers' colleges. The study should include an examination of the factors involved in expanding the role of these colleges, faculty, and administrative view points, and community support.
REFERENCES


Anderson, E. F. (1977). *Three year comparison of transfer and native student progress at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*. Office of School and College Relations, University of Illinois. (ED 019 946)


Community Colleges for International Development and Center on Education and Training for Employment the Ohio State University. (1992). Enhancing the teaching & learning environment in the USSR (Special Publication Number 65). Columbus: Ohio State University.


Drobka, F. J. (1927). *Education in Poland, past and present.* Washington, DC


Polish Legislature. (1990a). The local self-government law. Dziennik Ustaw [Journal of Law], No. 16, item 95, No. 34, item 199, No. 89, item 518.


State Board of Community Colleges. (1989). *Entry/exit student testing in Florida’s community colleges.* Tallahassee: SBCC.

State Board of Community Colleges. (1989-91). *SUS student data course files.* Tallahassee: SBCC.


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

David John Marzak was born 20 July 1956, at Newton, New Jersey. He attended schools in Randolph, New Jersey, through the fourteenth grade graduating with highest honors from Morris County College in 1977. His Bachelor of Arts degree in sociology was awarded by the University of Notre Dame, where he was President of the Sociology Club, in 1979.

Following graduation from Notre Dame, Mr. Marzak served for three years as a missionary in the diocese of Gallup, New Mexico. During this time he taught English and social studies at a Catholic high school. Subsequently, David relocated to St. Augustine, Florida, where he continued to teach English and social studies at the Cathedral Parish School until resuming studies at the University of Florida.

He received the Master of Arts in Teaching degree in political science in December 1989 and began doctoral studies in the Institute of Higher Education at the University of Florida under the tutelage of Dr. James Wattenbarger. During the summer of 1991 he studied at the Catholic University in Lublin, Poland, and visited educational leaders in that country. In the spring of 1994 he again returned to Poland to finish his research. His research was supported by the Kosciuszko Foundation in New York City. In 1978 Mr. Marzak married Miss Lisa Hunt. They have three sons and two daughters.
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Education.

James L. Wattenbarger, Chair
Distinguished Service Professor of Educational Leadership

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Education.

David S. Honeymann Jr.
Associate Professor of Educational Leadership

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Education.

Arthur O. White
Professor Foundations of Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Education.

William Sullivan III
Associate Professor of Germanic and Slavic Languages

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Education.

John V. Lombardi
Professor of History
This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

August 1994

[Signature]
Dean, College of Education

Dean, Graduate School