ПОДГОТОВКА НАУЧНЫХ КАДРОВ В РОССИИ И ЗА РУБЕЖОМ

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Содержательный аспект конструкта «психообразование» и его использование в практике социально-педагогической реабилитации

Рассматриваются особенности использования понятия «психообразование» в практике зарубежных исследований. Представлены основные задачи психообразования в социально-педагогической реабилитации

Ключевые слова: психообразование, социально-педагогическая реабилитация, педагогические аспекты психотерапии

Для отечественной практики медико-социальной-психологической реабилитации психообразовательная работа с пациентами (страдающими психическими и соматическими заболеваниями) и их семейным окружением является совершенно новым видом деятельности специалистов. С нашей точки зрения, для определения концептуальной базы психообразовательного подхода, его основных методов и технологий, следует особое внимание уделить анализу и систематизации понимания научного конструкта «психообразование», представленного в различных традициях европейских и американских научных школ.

В странах Западной Европы в 80-х гг. психообразование понималось как «…независимое дидактико-психотерапевтическое направление, акцентирующее внимание на взаимосвязи ключевой информации и когнитивно-поведенческим подходом». Данное направление соединяло в себе такие программы, как индивидуальная поведенческая терапия, тренинги уверенности в себе, тренинги решения проблем, тренинги общения и, конечно же, семейная терапия [2]. В работах Authier J., психообразование рассматривалось как определенный терапевтический подход, в котором были представлены не только методы лечения и медикаментозного вмешательства, но и методы обучения пациентов определенным социальным навыкам [1].

Goldman (1988) определяет психообразование как «…обучение или образование пациентов с различными расстройствами в тех предметных областях, которые служат достижению целей лечения или реабилитации, например, принятие человеком его болезни, поддержка сотрудничества со специалистами, развитие социальных навыков и необходимых компетенций, связанных с заболеванием» [3].

Интересное понимание психообразования мы находим в работах Lincoln T.M. и его коллег, которые описывают его как «…систематический психотерапевтический процесс обучения, предназначенный для информирования пациентов и их родственников и поддержки в кризисных ситуациях [4].

Психообразование – это профессионально организованный метод лечения и реабилитации, сочетающий в себе психотерапевтические и обучающие стратегии вмешательства со стороны различных специалистов (прежде всего психологов, специалистов по социальной работе и реабилитологов). В отличие от многих форм психосоциальной помощи, базирующихся на медицинских моделях (патология болезни, лечение и дисфунциональные состояния), психообразование отражает парадигму компетентностного подхода и базируется на моделях обучения, сотрудничества и формирования базовых компетенций людей с различными нарушениями соматического и психического здоровья. Психобразование охватывает несколько взаимодополняющих теорий и концепций, среди которых, компетентностный подход, теория экологических систем, когнитивно-поведенческие модели, теории обучения, модели практики и теории групповой работы, модели стресса, копинга и социальной поддержки и нарративные модели [5].

В работах O'Donohue T.W. и его коллегами психообразование описывается как процесс реабилитации человека с нарушениями в соматическом или психическом здоровье, сочетающий в себе поведенческое консультирование, психотерапию и обучение. Поведенческое консультирование, являясь компонентом психообразования, направлено на работу с эмоционально-волевой сферой человека (чувства и эмоции, ощущения), его копинг-стратегиями и собственными ресурсами. Обучающий компонент психобразования включает передачу человеку знаний об особенностях его психического развития, причинах заболевания и стратегиях взаимодействия с социумом [6].

Таким образом, психообразование можно рассматривать в нескольких аспектах – как метод психотерапии; как специфическая форма обучения; как процесс реабилитации и как компонент лечения. В нашем исследовании психообразование предстает как систематический дидактико-психотерапевтический самостоятельный метод реабилитации и лечения людей, имеющих различные нарушения в психическом и соматическом здоровье. Среди форм психообразования мы выделяем группые, семейные и индивидуальные формы.

В практике социально-педагогической реабилитации основными задачами психообразования, базирующегося на основных теоретико-методологических концептах педагогики, психологии и психотерапии, являются следующие:

1.   Восполнение имеющегося у больного и членов его семьи дефицита информации, включая, наряду с социально-психологическими, специфические медицинские знания.

2.   Формирование у пациентов навыков распознавания симптомов его заболевания и выработка адекватных тактик поведения.

3.   Формирование у больных навыков совладания с болезнью и стрессовыми ситуациями.

4.   Ознакомление с ролью фармакотерапии в процессе лечения и реабилитации.

5.   Формирование партнерских отношений больного с медицинским персоналом и членами семьи.

6.   Формирования социальной компетентности больных.

7.   Снижение вероятности рецидива заболевания.

8.   Снижение у больных и членов его семьи эмоционального напряжения, вызванного фактом болезни и ее проявлений.

9.   Получение эмоциональной поддержки и снижения уровня стигматизации, если психообразование используется в отношении больных психическими расстройствами.

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Региональный отраслевой образовательный комплекс как ядро кластера туриндустрии

Рассматривается современное состояние развития теории кластеров на примере европейских стран. Представлен региональный отраслевой межкорпоративный образовательный комплекс Калининградской области – как платформа роста регионального кластера туриндустрии

Ключевые слова: кластер; методология кластеров; региональный отраслевой образовательный комплекс; индустрия туризма и гостеприимства

Концепция кластеров впервые встречается в 1890 г. в работах Альфреда Маршалла. Наиболее существенное развитие она приобрела в работах М.Портера. По определению М.Портера, кластер – «…географическая близость взаимосвязанных компаний, поставщиков специализированных услуг, фирм смежных отраслей и ассоциативных учреждений (например, университеты, управления по нормам и торговые ассоциации) конкурирующих и в то же время сотрудничающих в определенной сфере» [2].

Методология современных кластеров, как правило, развивается с целью разработки стратегии развития национальных ***платформ*** для формирования знаний, компетенций [1]. Основные применяемые принципы при создании кластеров: территориальный, стратегическое сотрудничество, конкурентное преимущество.

Кластерная инициатива по формированию кластера может исходить как сверху, так и снизу. Интерес для развития территории заключается в инновациях, новых рабочих местах и конкурентоспособности - дающей дополнительную ценность и привлекательность.

Основным условием формирования кластера является тройная спираль, включающая: науку и образование; динамичные и развивающиеся компании;
властные структуры.
Задачи по развитию бизнес среды представляют:

1. Формирование общей платформы;
2. Создание взаимовыгодного сотрудничества;
3. Создание «семьи», работающей по данному направлению.

Рекомендациями по развитию кластеров являются: строительство кластера вокруг успешных компаний; создание сети участников; формирование взаимного доверия; изначальная активность участников; правильно выбранные сотрудники, «знающие в какие двери нужно постучать»; менеджер кластера, являющийся супер - коммуникатором; необходимость выбирать правильных партнеров; необходимость продвижения компаний, а не кластера в целом [1].

Хорошим примером развития кластеров является датский региональный агропромышленный технопарк, созданный в рамках развития региональной отрасли туриндустрии. Его цель – «Стать лучшими в мире». Инновации, бизнес и предпринимательство рассматриваются как система, стремящаяся мотивировать компании к развитию. Менеджмент кластера включает представителей тройной спирали. К инновационным находкам относятся: ассоциация – «Парк и друзья»; столовая – «Пищевая обсерватория»; концерт – «Умная пища в парке»; коридор технологий, контакты с силиконовой долиной (США) и Индией и т.д..

Примерами кластеров в Дании других направлений деятельности могут служить: – «Копенгаген», «Наука о жизни», «Креативный дизайн – как стиль жизни», «Компьютерный бизнес инкубатор» и др.. Стратегический маркетинг данных кластеров предусматривает период развития – 5-10 лет.

Интересующая нас отрасль туриндустрии в Дании играет значительную роль на уровне государственной политики. Задачи стратегии регионального развития отрасли туризма и гостеприимства имеют следующий вид:
1. Повышение производительности труда.
2. Глобализация конкурентоспособности.
3. Формирование инноваций.
4. Развитие трудовых ресурсов.
5. Способы введения инноваций в бизнес.
6. Развитие рамочных концепций по задачам.

Универсальная цепочка создания стоимости кластера в любой отрасли представляет следующую последовательность:

Заложить фундамент будущего доверия - Наладить уровень обмена знаниями - Сформировать небольшие рабочие группы - Обеспечить сотрудничество - Закреплять и пропагандировать историю успеха.

Норвежская модель развития кластеров принципиально отличается от датской - государственной поддержкой в форме Совета по исследованиям Норвегии и созданного - инновационного центра развития кластеров национального бизнеса. На уровне государства обеспечиваются организационные программы по следующим направлениям:
1. работа по развитию незрелых кластерных инициатив (финансируется из фонда поддержки до пяти лет);

2.		работа со зрелыми кластерами – (финансируется из фонда поддержки до 10 лет);

3.		создание платформы знаний – семьи кластеров мирового уровня.

Что касается туриндустрии, то услуги по ее продвижению в Норвегии осуществляет – центр туризма, обеспечивающий   развитие компетенций, развитие сотрудничества и финансовую помощь компаниям.

Кластеры могут создаваться вокруг точки роста - лидера - лучшей или самой инициативной компании. Кластер должен распространять широкое взаимодействие с компаниями в глобальном мире.

Основные фазы создания кластера включают:

1.		предпосылки создания;

2.		 желание работать вместе;

3.		 ресурсы для создания кластера.

Организация кластерной инициативы включает: объявление; заявки на кластерные инициативы; отбор участников.

 Основными критериями отбора являются:

- наличие объектов тройной спирали и связей между ними;

- оценка взаимодействия (формы, документы, частота встреч и т.п.);

- инновационность, подтвержденная документально;

- оценка потенциала роста;

- качество менеджмента;

- наличие фасилитатора (ускорителя);

- финансирование.

Таким образом, осуществляется реализация цепочки:

партнерство- общность целей – организация-руководитель-ресурсы.

Стратегическую платформу кластера представляют следующие направления: укрепление сотрудничества; повышение конкурентоспособности как внутри системы, так и на глобальном уровне; обеспечение доступа к взаимным разработкам; расширение угла восприятия; брендинг; привлечение светлых голов.

Успех кластеров во многом зависит от качества менеджмента, команды и организации коммуникаций. В управлении кластером существует три подхода:

- *инструментальный,* включающий - цели, стратегии, механизмы;

- *институциональный* – «учимся, говорим, маневрируем»;

- *идеологический* – общее видение, общее понимание, общие цели, «Общими усилиями давайте двигаться вперед».

Калининградский		регион		представляет		уникальное		анклавно-эксклавное образование, являющееся островком России в центре Европы. Благодаря своему геополитическому положению он имеет много уникальных точек роста, подходящих для кластерного развития.

Главной уникальностью региона является крупнейшее в мире месторождение янтаря. Грамотное развитие янтарной отрасли с применением кластерной методологии открывает безграничные возможности создания

условий для повышения конкурентоспособности территории и страны в целом.

Этому способствуют открытия и инновационные технологии, полученные учеными Калининградского института янтаря и природных ресурсов, а также методологические разработки: по стратегии развития янтарной отрасли и ее образовательной компоненты, по оценке рыночной стоимости запасов янтаря, проводимые в Калининградском государственном техническом университете.

Особенности дестинации Калининградской области дают возможность развивать отрасль индустрии туризма и гостеприимства, а также в перспективе вывести ее на роль регионообразующей.

Изучение отраслевой и образовательной специфики туриндустрии в целом с учетом региональной составляющей позволили выявить сложившиеся противоречия:

- между высоким мировым стандартом качества услуг сервиса и гостеприимства и не соответствующим им региональным уровнем профессиональной подготовки специалистов туриндустрии;

- между стремительно развивающейся отраслевой внешней средой и отсутствием стратегической составляющей в системе профессионального образования;

- между уровнем востребованности профессиональных образовательных услуг, объектами малого и среднего бизнеса, составляющими основу региональной туриндустрии и невозможностью создания на их базе корпоративных образовательных центров;

- между востребованностью специалистов менеджеров всех уровней на рынке труда и недостаточным вниманием к инновационно-практической технологической составляющей их профессиональной подготовки, индивидуально-творческого развития;

- между органической включенностью квалификационного развития профессионала туриндустрии в структуру его профессиональной деятельности, обусловленной необходимостью оперативно реагировать на непрерывно меняющиеся требования к развитию личностного и интеллектуально-творческого потенциала специалистов, и дискретно-локальным характером сложившейся системы их подготовки и повышения квалификации;

- между потребностями практики и прогрессивно мыслящих руководителей корпораций туриндустрии в реализации идей непрерывного профессионального образования и отсутствием целостной теории, раскрывающей сущностные признаки феномена непрерывности профессионального образования специалиста туриндустрии, пути и условия его реализации;

- между общим концептуальным уровнем современной науки - туристики с ярко выраженными тенденциями к междисциплинарному синтезу, интеграции научного знания, использованию новейших достижений системно-целостного, личностного, деятельностного подходов,

возможностей новых информационных технологий научно-исследовательской и образовательной деятельности и актуальным состоянием теории непрерывного профессионального образования в индустрии туризма и гостеприимства.

Все объективные тенденции мировой туриндустрии, а также проблемы, присущие как общероссийскому, так и региональному уровню развития и конкурентоспособности данной отрасли, обосновывают необходимость ее кластерного развития.

Разрабатываемый нами Региональный отраслевой межкорпоративный образовательный комплекс (РОМОК) туриндустрии Калининградской области является движением в данном направлении и представляет собой ядро кластера туриндустрии. Кластерная инициатива в данном случае исходила от образовательного учреждения – Калининградского института туризма - филиала Российской международной академии туризма – КИТ(РМАТ), представляющего также и отраслевую науку.

В полной мере в структуре системы отображена тройная спираль -

в состав РОМОК входят представители властных структур территорий региона, корпорации индустрии туризма и гостеприимства, а также наука и образование в лице КИТ(РМАТ), являющегося в свою очередь точкой роста регионального кластера туриндустрии.

Компетентностный аспект кластера решен в системе созданием универсальной интегрированной модели профессионала туриндустрии, включающей уровни: «Ученик» - «Студент» - «Профессионал».

Аспект управления знаниями представлен моделью саморазвивающейся системы, общей для всех элементов кластера и РОМОК и включающей следующие методологические составляющие:

Принципы:

1. *Моделирования* - разработка общих интеллектуальных моделей управления знаниями, разделяемых всеми сотрудниками.

2. *Развития* - создание видения будущего - динамика знания должна быть направлена на развитие способности организации к видению будущего.

3. *Деятельности* - знания обеспечивают ключевые процессы принятия решений, поведения, деятельности организации.

Факторы:

1. *Беспрепятственности* - исключение барьеров и препятствий, которые могут мешать процессу самоорганизации знаний.

2. *Стимулирования* - создание условий, стимулирующих процесс самоорганизации знаний.

3. *Интерактивности* - интерактивная доступность знаний для сотрудников.

Правила:

1. *Мотивации* - мотивация обмена знаний между сотрудниками.

2. *Потребителя* - фокусировка на знаниях для потребителя.

3. *Результативности* - превосходные знания должны приводить к превосходной деятельности и результату.

Навыки:

1. *Систематизации* - особыми преимуществами обладают систематизированные знания об организации.

2. *Иерархичности* - разработка четкой иерархической системы от стратегического уровня до исполнительского.

3. *Уникальности* - выделение уникальных особенностей организации.

Для реализации модели управления знаниями в КИТ(РМАТ) мы применяем педагогическое проектирование, позволившее расширить функции жизнедеятельности инновационного образовательного учреждения, ввести в образовательную структуру новые подразделения (Лабораторию стратегического маркетинга и инновационного развития, учебно-исследовательско-технологический комплекс, тренинговый центр, лингвистический центр изучения иностранных языков, факультет дополнительного профессионального образования и в его рамках школьный факультет, центр студенческих инициатив, бизнес инкубатор, клуб «ПРОФИ – сервис» для специалистов туриндустрии).

Базовым процессом, применяемым как на образовательном, так и на производственном уровне системы является активное проектирование, представляющее инновационный катализатор для всех социальных партнеров кластерной системы.

Общий кластерный подход к образованию инновационных процессов в туриндустрии калининградского региона, несомненно, имеет решающее значение для роста конкурентоспособности, как отрасли, так и для региона в целом.

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"Discourse, Power, Resistance":
"Trust and Panic in Education"
"Angst" and trusted being"
«Дискурс, Власть, Сопротивление»:
«Доверие и Паника в образовании»

Предъявляется философия образования, где приоритетными являются понятия "Bildung" and "Bildsamkeit". Рассматривается соотношение власти. сопротивления, доверия и паники, которые дают точную картину доминирующих тенденций в образовательной практике

Ключевые слова: дискурс; власть; сопротивление; доверие; паника; образование; онтологический аспект; эпистемологический аспект; самосовершенствование; личностные трансформации; роль учителя

1. Trust

"Trust" is something we like to take for granted. Trust is usually considered a basic condition in the understanding of humanity, as it has been formulated throughout the history of most traditions, - and here I am especially thinking of existential traditions in different cultures. Here trust is related to the foundational dimensions of human existence, and this manifests as trust in life, in God or truth, in the other(-s) and eventually, as a consequence of alignment within these foundational dimensions, as trust in oneself. As such trust is a prerequisite for the constitution of human subjectivity, which then makes it a basic ontological condition. According to the Danish philosopher K. E. Loegstrup trust is one of the three sovereign expressions of life – the others are: love and openness of speech.

So, it is for good reasons that trust is a pivotal point both in the more solemn sense related to existential and religious philosophy and in the more common use in daily life of our modern time. This makes trust a central vehicle of the most important discourses, which exist in, or perhaps even rule, the world of today.

a. Ontological dimension

Trust in this dimension is an **ontological-existential** matter. It means that trust is *both* a priori - or before and ground - for human subjectivity (consciousness, mind and experience) *and* existence as being-in-the-world. Without such a foundational trust it is not possible to constitute psychological space for the subject to generate and develop an "I" or "Self" in an existential – meaning: common, perhaps even universal - context, and thus as a conditioned being-in-the-world.

It is the kind of trust A. Giddens is indicating in his reflections on ontological security, by which he means *"a sense of reliability of persons and things so central to the notion of trust, is basic to the feelings of ontological security",("Consequences…", p. 147).* Giddens relates this sense of trust to both concrete relations (facework commitments) and in abstract systems (faceless commitments), and as such it is regarded an expression – or consequence – of modernity. However, trust is a universal matter and not only a modern phenomenon, but trust appears in different ways in modern and pre-modern contexts –, although as Giddens emphasizes it is impossible to generalize, especially in case of conditions regarding pre-modern contexts.

Ontologically there is no opposite to this kind of basic trust, as it is regarded an a priori condition before any other feeling or experience. It is, though, a fact that people experience loss of trust, leading to mistrust, which causes fear, panic or angst. Here, mistrust must be understood as the absence of trust, and as such it is an indicator of existential nothingsness.

Trust in this ontological sense is an a priori of any other feeling or experience of human existence, and as such it is a constitutive prerequisite for humanity and, probably, for life.

b.   **Normative dimension**

However, trust is also a **normative** matter, as far as this basic condition of trust makes us appreciate and treasure trust as a quality in our daily life. Thereby trust is gradually changed from the ontologically a priori-level to, firstly, an epistemological affair, in which the signification of trust is brought into focus, and secondly, as socio-political affair: a quality, value, right, good, merchandise, service…

Trust becomes an object for **political power and interest**, and as such it serves as means of manifesting social status, control, restriction, security and – the list can be continued endlessly. The way trust is signified and distributed is a normative matter, depending of power structures and struggles as well as of discourses developed and controlled in given contexts. Instead of being an ontological matter trust is gradually changed into something interpreted ''''and then claimed due to interests or rights –. In our days trust is an item for the consumers' wellbeing.

This development is closely linked to the upcoming and consolidation of the nation state. As trust generally has been recognized as an ontological constituent, it soon became an implicated aspect of the emancipation project since the 17th century. Trust was therefore regarded a human right, and as such it was considered a task for the nation state formally to *constitute* it as concept by appreciation and definition, *structure* it as field through laws and rules, and *organize* it as institutionalized practice. Hence we have the situation, where trust has become a public affair, and it applies to both the relational (facework)- and the abstract system (faceless)- dimensions, as introduced by Giddens.

The entire idea of the nation state is based on the aspiration of protecting, what is regarded the basic existential needs and conditions of the human beings, expressed in the concept of the individual and effectuated through participation in

community. The underlying consensus is the assumption of the state securing the individual's possibilities and rights to realize its potentials, while society benefits from the realized resources of the individual as well as its loyalty through active participation. It is the same line of ideas going from the declaration of independence to the active citizenship of our days. The existential dimension is especially nourished by the notion of "the People", defined through shared history, traditions, experience and habitual living, which together creates the ground for a sense of belonging and, consequently, for community. Thereby is provided contextual dimensions for the "being-in-the-world", which in other words is "existence" - , for both the individual and the group of people: community. These contextual dimensions form existential contexts of normative orientation, drawing on both common experience and defined values. Trust, then, becomes a contextualized normative quality or obligation, which it is the task of the state to meet and protect.

Thus we have the merge of the streams: the idea of the nation state and the existential discourse, which has taken place during the last three centuries, along with the emancipation of the individual and the development of the welfare state. In this development trust has played the role as one of the primary drivers, both as content and goal of development and as an ongoing implementation and outplacement of trust into institutionalized systems and practices.

2. "Bildung" and "Bildsamkeit"

The merging of these two streams has manifested in a kind of ideal, which has made a point of orientation for the development of our modern society. The image of the emancipating individual and the nation state as provider of the opportunity for this project of liberation has functioned as formative matrix. It has, literally, made the image of the emancipating subject the goal for educational practice and for "Bildung" as the conceptual, if not philosophical, ground hereof. If "Bildung" is the image, responding to the goal, then "Bildsamkeit" indicates the flexibility, which enables the individual to adjust to the educational process at the same time, as it allows for an innovative possibility, - corresponding to the independence of the emancipating individual and the progress as drive for cultural development.

Thus, the nation state and the existential discourse merge into the idea of "Bildung", which then is conducted as institutionalized practice in the field of education. It is the perfect union of these aspects into the great narration, actually *the* superior narration, of the modern project, which we have come to feel as real and therefore have taken for granted. Trust has been a key-word, as we have had basic trust in this narration, just as trust has been the primary focus and content of this narration of, how we through education in the light (or enlightenment) of "Bildung", supported and facilitated by the nation state, can realize ontological-existential trust for both individual and community. In this way trust has become an institutionalis-able matter, which, further, exposes it for normative interpretation.

It is a narrative, which has lasted up to now, where the radically increased individualism weakens the dimension of "Bildung", whereas the decline of the

nation state causes radical changes in institutionalized practices such as education. Roughly expressed, the enhanced individualism weakens "Bildung", because individualism deprives it of its common ground, - or, you may say, of the common-ness of its ground. And the replacement of the nation state with new-management ideas and commercializing strategies turn the institutionalized practices, and thus education, into something, which we cannot quite grasp yet, but which seems to be oriented towards competition and hard-core economic results rather than humanity, enlightenment and awareness.

In this situation trust becomes a jeopardized matter. We experience that institutional practices, such as education, are increasingly constrained, confronted and changed into something hardly recognizable compared to the great narration of trust and "Bildung". The consequences hereof are disorientation, resulting in diffused and fragmented strategies and, further, accelerating into panic and distrust in the conditions of human existence. This leads to a severe gap and a crossroad between discourses of the nation state and existential understanding.
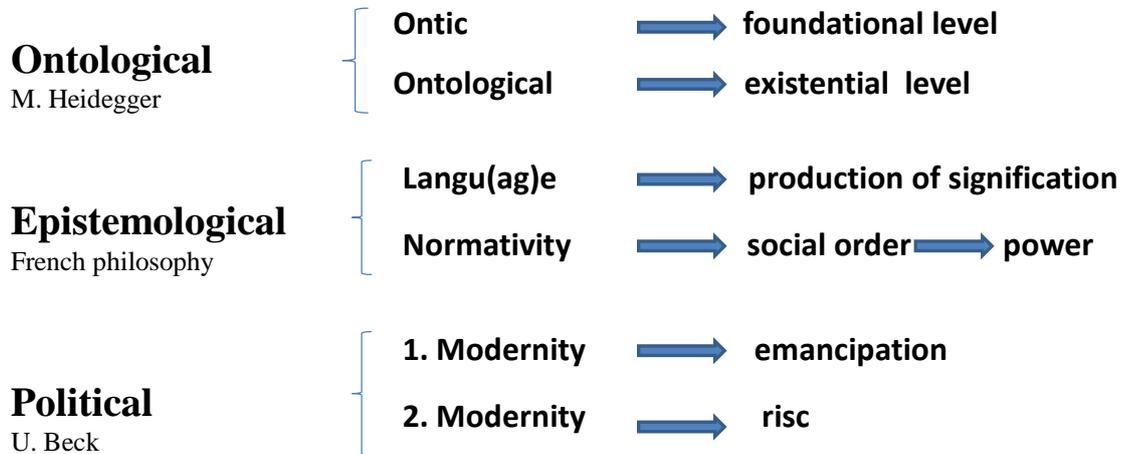
3.   Discourses

The terms "trust and panic" give a precise picture of some of the presently dominant tendencies in the fields of institutionalized practice and public sphere, including education. The two terms in junction with education indicate a certain friction or a "rustle", to paraphrase R. Barthes, and as such they tend to reveal a clash of different discourses. Clashes of discourse happen all the time, but depending of context and conditions clashes may turn out as manifestations of creativity or of chaos. Crises are usually regarded an expression of a prevailing order being challenged by changing conditions or by different and conflicting aspects of interests. Thus crisis may be a term used, when we are confronted with challenges or changes, which we have not yet conceptualized and therefore not yet ordered in adequate structures in our mind and existence.

Crisis is, what we experience at present, and in spite of the painful condition hereof, we have to accept this as the actual situation. The implications of this crisis are not yet conceptualized, although some of the ingredients are defined: enhanced individuality and change from nation state to minimal or management state, manifesting as clashes of discourses between expectations related to nation state structures and existential understandings. This calls for a sharpened awareness of the interpretation and diagnosis of the situation and of the drives and powers of the clashing discourses.

For this purpose I want here to introduce three different approaches, which each in their way can contribute to interpretations and development of perspectives for life and humanity in the future. Trust is still the key notion here, and following the reflections above, it brings us the discourses of a.) ontology and existential being b.) normativity and power, and c.) policy and practice-fields.

Trust and Mistrust

Ontological
M. Heidegger

Ontic ⟶ foundational level
Ontological ⟶ existential level

Epistemological
French philosophy

Langu(ag)e ⟶ production of signification
Normativity ⟶ social order ⟶ power

Political
U. Beck

1. Modernity ⟶ emancipation
2. Modernity ⟶ risc

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structure and signify impulses of our perception. It is, actually, a matter of trust in the correlation of language and reality. It is a relation, which has been given much attention in different theories. In this paper is especially drawn on Heidegger's work on language and being, leading to the radical reformulation of hermeneutics on the one side, and the 3-order dynamic of signification, known in French philosophy, on the other side.

Heidegger's entire work is dedicated this basic trust in our relation between language and truth, or, in a different angle, between perception and reality. Although Heidegger himself is not using the term "trust", there seems to be an obvious connection between trust and the different dimensions of Heidegger's approach to existence. As such trust may be found in the possibility of accessing entities, as they appear in themselves in the dimension of existence. The intention for Heidegger is to focus on this basic trust, the correlation between perception and being, and question its foundation and conditioning of existence. Basic trust, then, can be considered a point of departure for Heidegger's work.

Heidegger's way of employing language in creative reflections of constitutional conceptions provides an opportunity to rethink the foundational conditions of human existence in ontological and existential dimensions. It gives access to a poetic creativity of language and a direct approach, beyond the position of the subject, to the phenomenal world, which again opens to an ontological and existential re-conception, - two dimensions of Heidegger's radical hermeneutic, which has the potential of innovative reflections of foundational conceptions. Here

Heidegger introduces a distinction between an ontic "matter", in which being is determined through existence, and an ontological "matter", aiming at clarification of the constitutive of existence.

This direct and innovative approach provides an opportunity, which also allows different types of opening towards traditions of existential, spiritual and religious philosophy, - an opportunity which is embedded in Heidegger's later attempt to reach beyond Western metaphysics.

Due to his radical hermeneutic Heidegger is able to shift focus from the position of the subject to the phenomenon. From this position Heidegger develops a different use of language, in which the existence and conditions of the phenomenon make the ground for a complex re-conception of ontological dimensions. This interpretative innovation of language leads to the distinction between Being (Sein) and existence or Being-in-the-World (Dasein). Within the dimension of existence Heidegger introduces a distinction between existence in common and existential as experienced phenomenon. Here in is Heidegger's crucial idea of the thrownness (Entwerfen) of the individual into existence, out of which it is the responsibility of the individual to make an Entwurf (draft or throw out). This eventually leads to "fallenness", by which the individual falls into existence and finds "at home" in existence. This idea of existence, thrownness and fallenness covers the idea of responsibility as a matter of responding to our "Being-in-the-World", which is, in principle, a dialogical relation. Responsibility is also closely related to the idea of actualization, by which one transforms from "Man" to "Self" and thereby moves from existence (Existentiel) to "existential" (Existentiale). In this idea of transformation Heidegger is inspired by S. Kierkegaard, and for both of them transformation is a dynamic taking place by confronting existential nothingness and therefore related to Angst and, further, the very constitution of human subjectivity.

b. Epistemology and normativity

In the borderland between ontology and normative-power discourses it may be useful to draw on inspiration from French philosophy, especially represented by names as R. Barthes, J. Lacan, J. Kristeva and J. Derrida, all of whom have their roots in structuralism and semiotics. Here you find the basic distinction between the three orders of the real, the imaginary and the symbolic, which are intertwined

and interacting in a way illustrated by the Moebius Band, see figure.
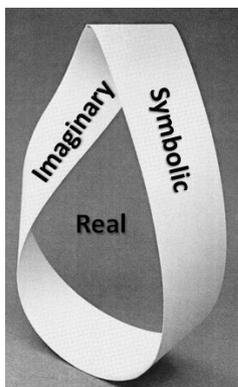
The symbolic indicates the order of language and established conceptualization, including the formal social order of society and culture: law, infrastructure and institutionalized practice etc., whereas the imaginary order is the field of association and not yet signified conceptualization. The imaginary is the order of deviations, rupture, creativity, madness and otherness, literally struggling to come to terms and symbolized signification. Thus there is an ongoing process of struggle between opening and restriction, rupture and control, which is taking place between the imaginary and symbolic order.

Both of them are in this interaction striving to grasp and conceptualize the real, which is here considered in principle empty and therefore inaccessible and beyond conceptualization. Such an understanding of the interaction among these three orders may give a different view of what is usually termed as crisis.

It is the same understanding, elaborated in the work of M. Foucault, who is focusing on the way things are ordered as a matter of the interaction of power and resistance. This interplay is an expression of the same dynamic, here manifesting as a combat of signification. It is a dynamic initiated and driven by power and interests, thereby determining what is included and excluded in the symbolic order, that is: in the social order. As a dynamic working in discourses it is most often turned into something taking place beyond awareness and control, - it is a matter of contingency.

This may urge for an even more careful attention paid to the processes of ongoing crisis - exactly because it is in the interpretation and conceptualization of changes, the potentials of future state of order and existence are embedded. Attention, then, is not called for in order to obtain control, but rather to look for new strategies for navigating in crises and especially the present crisis and the ongoing processes of change in the field of education.

This is of particular importance here in regard to the split between institutionalized practice and existential understanding. The task is here to meet the consequences of the merged discourses and to distinguish the constitutive conditions of existential understanding from institutionalized practice and conventions. Then the question is what kind of signifying interests can be invoked in relation to a re-conception of the existential dimensions of humanity. Furthermore, it may be worth to question, what kind of "images are darkly forming", and which images can be productive in a dimension aiming at a re-interpretation of "Bildung" in an ontological-existential perspective apt to prepare for new world orders, based on co-existence and interculturality as existential ground and condition.

c. Policy and practice-fields

The quest for such perspectives points forward to a cosmopolitical optic, as the one introduced by U. Beck.

Beck uses "risk societies" as a key-term in his perspectives for the future of society. He is operating with cosmopolitism as an ambiguous term, which is able to bring forth a new frame of description and thus a new way of diagnosing central dynamics in the political conflict. In this Beck is drawing on Marx' dialectical method, indicating a theoretically directed description on the one hand, which, on the other hand, enables him to detect the central political dynamic of conflict in society. The purpose of this concept of cosmopolitism is to find an approach to basic existential experience – which brings in the relation between local and global into focus and, further, urge these questions:

"To which extend does the transnational space of experience dissolve the space of national experience ?(…..) To which extend do old and still existing

formal and organizational forms construct and conceal qualitatively new forms?" (Samtaler, s. 174) *(My translation)*

Beck is concerned with the way our understanding at present will determine the future. He is especially occupied with transitional situations, where new structures overlap former ones and existing structures determine upcoming ones. It inspires Beck, further, to the notion of "the tradition of future", which, together with another Beck-term: "the threatening future", defines the sort of awareness, Beck is paying to the perspectives of development in this, "second modernity", - in distinction to the modern project. Therefore, consciousness of the future is crisis-oriented and thus determinant for the development of future societies - and of our understandings of and our Being-in-the world.

In this inertia you may find a parallel concern on a socio-political level, as the one defined by Heidegger in his distinction between the ontic and ontological dimensions related to existence as Being-in-the-world. The totalization of existing structures as given for other and future conceptions is determinant for definition and approach in our thinking. It can be related, further, to discursive thinking, in which determining signifiants are considered signifiants with signifié-status, meaning a significant which has been ascribed ontological status as totalized being, as truth or as absolute.

According to Beck it is of importance to consider the implications of this crisis-oriented consciousness of our shared future, which make us to define it as a crisis for cosmos (nature), a crisis for polis (policy) and a crisis for Western rationality. By introducing the necessity of reflection of this conditioned diagnosis Beck is taking a different position from the one of Giddens, who is differently trusting the given structures and defining them as ontological. In this way Beck may introduce mistrust to the kind of trust, Giddens is expressing. So we have the opposite to trust, - mistrust which is fuelled by fear and is closely related to panic.

4. The field of tension between trust and mistrust

This relationship between trust and mistrust makes a field of tension, in which habitual expectations and emotional wishes create a strong attachment to trust, and this, again, causes protective reactions against the risk of experiencing mistrust. When we feel deprived of trust in conventional or habitual forms, we tend to panic in our attempts to avoid the devastating feeling of mistrust. However, the tricky point is here that mistrust, or fear, is an internal matter and not a quality of the object in the (outer)world. Because of this internal-ness mistrust cannot be escaped by protective acts, which rather have the opposite effect, namely that of creating a clinging to mistrust as the central focus of one's intention and experience. It means, according to Heidegger that fear as an internal aspect of the presence of Being-in-the-world paves the way to see aspects of the surrounding world as frightening and threatening. Due to the attempts to protect from mistrust and fear focus moves away from trust and thus opens to a threatening world, which causes panic.

5. Consciousness of crisis

It is the kind of complexity, to which Beck draws our attention. In a second-order reflection Beck points out how we, due to a crisis-oriented consciousness,

define our situation and the perspectives for the future. In our making of "a tradition of future" we are bound to mistrust and fear, which tend to load the drivers for the future with panic. The consciousness of crisis, which Beck profiles, operates on three dimensions. Let us for a moment contemplate the content and implications of these three dimensions.

I. Cosmos – implying nature

- Nature takes up a unique position in the thinking related to modernity. An immediate association brings forth the special sort of homelessness man gets into with Enlightenment -, and especially Kant's, philosophy. Man is here regarded as being outside and above nature, and thus set in a kind of homelessness in cosmos – left in a superior loneliness.
- Nature is also the dimension we think of in terms of resources for our supply as consumers. Shortage of resources scares us, because it threatens our identity and wellbeing as consumers.
- Nature as something opposite to humanity, and culture forces us to reconsider the naturalness of our own nature, - not the least when regarded in the light of modern technology and the inventive possibilities it opens to.

II. Polis – policy

- Polis is perhaps most immediately related to the idea of community and democracy, and thus it refers to two major challenges of our time. The relation between community and the individual has become a difficult matter, due to the enhanced individuality and the fading sense of communality.
- Democracy, too, becomes ambiguous and difficult to "manage" – even when delegated into the hands of new management-experts – in the midst of plurality and diversity given by extended rights, globalization, and with a fading sense of "the common" as uniting ground.
- This policy-aspect does also relate strongly to the situation of the nation state, which used to be the representative of "the common" and communality, but which is now declining and changing into business-mind and management strategies.

III. Western rationality

The Western rationality has led to the emancipation of the human subject and thus provided it with freedom and independence from most determining structures. It is the emergence of the solipsistic self.
It has brought the human subject into secularized conditions as part of the liberation from religion as a determining structure.

The freedom from determining conditions has enabled Western rationality to treasure progress beyond any limitations or considerations.
These three dimensions are core-issues of the ideal or self-identity of modernity as perceived in a Western optic. It is the kind of image, we hold as "guideline" for our understanding of life, humanity and human potentials. As such it covers both the

first modernity: the modern project of progress, emancipation and enlightenment, and the second modernity: risk societies, tradition of future and consciousness of crisis.

It is basically the same matrix of imagination at work in the field between trust and mistrust. It is the same matrix producing images of both trust and mistrust, and as such it becomes engaged in the mechanism of "govermentality" (Foucault) – the inclusive and exclusive dynamics at play in the development of discourses. Production of images takes place in the imaginary order or imagination, which is here employed by the matrix of this "ideal of modernity". In this way it works as significant with signifé status, - and it comes close to the ontological dimension rather than the ontic one, in Heidegger's distinction.

Beck speaks about the reflexive modernity, meaning that we are in a double-bind situation, where we have to revise our behavior and thinking from the norms and forms generated in the first modernity, but in doing so we are bound to reflect these forms, and therefore we get tied and trapped by the "matrix" of the first modernity, which then determines the second or reflexive modernity.

6. The Matrix of "Bildung"

It is the same matrix and double-bind dynamic we find in "Bildung" and education. The ideal images or "Bilds" of the modern project are the ones inspiring "trust" and meaningfulness in our educational system, whereas the need for reflection and adjustment is driven by mistrust, fear and consciousness of crisis. The images or "Bilds" are fixed in this doubleness of finding new ways by reflecting the given concepts, inherited from the modern project and thus embedded in the dominant discourse. The educational system was originally organized in order to support the Bildung-ideal, represented by the nation state, and based on the ideas and values of the enlightenment project. Basically this is still the ideal, but as the educational system is increasingly oriented towards efficiency, competition and control we find here the source of friction, which generates panic and despair. It is the frustration caused by, on the one side, the intention of fulfilling the ideas of emancipation and existential integration of the learner together with the experience of personal and emotionally engaging relation between learner and teacher.

On the other side are the organizational structures and conditions, which are tightened due to cut-downs and control, at the same time as social technologies are replacing the idea of emancipating "Bildung". It is a frustration working on both the part of the learners, who expect to be met, guided and supported in order to realize their personal resources within the frame of a specific education, and on the part of the teachers, who are striving to meet the existential ideal and expectations at the same time, as they have to work on the conditions of new management-technologies of control. This is the updated version of the pedagogical paradox – which is not aiming at emancipation, but at production for the economic market. As such it is without vision or ideal for the learner, and thus it expresses no idea of humanity or life. Its mission is the increased competencies for competition and economic growth.

It is a paradox which cannot be solved, but it is here, and it has to be accepted as experienced reality. The question is, then, how to act – and not re-act – in this field of "Bildung" and education.

7. From double-bind to dynamic field

The challenge is to resolve the double-bind situation of trust and mistrust and allow different strategies of perception, or conception, to manifest and unfold. To escape the determination of the paradox is easier said than done, and it is certainly not possible to find one or "the" solution. One has to operate in a longsighted perspective, aiming at, not a solution of the problem or crisis, but rather at the development of visionary images of existential and ontological dimensions of the potentials for humanity and life.

Such aspirations for visionary development require a considerable preparation in order to define and open up to fields, positions and structures, which can contribute productively and constructively hereto. In a little twisted formulation you may say, that it requires a certain kind of doubleness to avoid and perhaps even deconstruct the former doubleness, - the determination of the paradox. The required doubleness is that of openness combined with well-defined focal points, which can create a dynamic field for imagination to work in. The productive work of imagination has to be directed by existential and ontological inclinations, which, again, present this kind of required doubleness: open directedness towards new or different forms of conception.

In order to establish such dynamic fields I have introduced three dimensions: the ontological-existential, the epistemological-normative and the socio-political, which each in their way can contribute significantly to a longsighted visionary work. They have a certain capacity for this purpose, because each of them implies a combination of reflective openness, while still structured and directed towards their area of operation. Thus Heidegger is directed towards ontological reflection, but at the same time questions and challenge the very idea of ontology by introducing the distinction between ontic and ontological dimensions.

The French philosophy operates in an epistemological dimension, focusing on the process of signification between the imaginary and the symbolic order, which by the contribution of Foucault is developed into an analysis of power and thereby enabled to deal with aspects of normativity. Furthermore, where the ontological dimension usually is considered the basic and absolute one, the epistemological dimension has the capacity to question the absoluteness of the ontological dimension, - in a way which is not quite same as the one exposed by Heidegger's distinction.

Finally, in the socio-political dimension Beck's approach makes it possible to grasp the paradox of modernity as experienced reality and thus as existential condition of our time. Where both Heidegger's and the French approach in each their ways give background and foundation for the understanding of Beck's analysis, there Beck's approach emphasizes the necessity of the reflections based on fundamental-ontological hermeneutic as well as of discursive analysis. In this way they each respond to the determination of the paradox and at the same time present each their doubleness, thereby creating space for different types of

reflection. Thus, they interact in ways, which construct a complexity of potential dynamics and thus allow the establishment of a dynamic field for generating new and visionary images, "Bilds".

8. Dynamics of transformation

In addition to the establishment of such a field I want to point out some aspects, which have a potential of changing the perspectives, if they are properly employed in processes of transformation

a. Angst

primary of these transformative aspects is Angst. Where fear and panic most often will enhance the subject's attachment to what is considered reality, angst has the capacity to transform fear by confronting the subject with a state of existential nothingness.

As long as the subject is able to recognize itself and its basic rational orientation in life, trust may be shaken and undermined in regards to aspects related to its "being-in the world", but trust in a more profound and ontological meaning is not necessarily affected. In spite of the many different types of crises manifesting in our modern complex and globalizing world, the ones signified in the present discourses are usually considered diagnosed and manageable, - it is, in fact, the task and function of the discourses to order and thus manage outbursts and deviations. In this way fear is easily related to the working of contingency and normative fluctuation. These are forces with severe impact on development of modern societies, and they are strong powers, which are usually difficult to control, but on the other hand, exactly due to their capacity, they are attractive to employ in certain interests. Fear then can be considered a normative dynamic, driven by emotional reactions in order to protect and reestablish order. As such it is the subject's attempt to regain and remain in control of its being-in-the world. It is an act based on the subject's rational conception of the world.

Fear is a shaky experience, and sometimes fear leads to a trembling experience. In existential philosophy and psychology it is commonly recognized that challenges can relate to fear and, further, to tremble, which may serve as vehicle for transcendence and transformation of deeper and even constitutive structures of one's being-in-the-world. The philosophers M. Heidegger, M. Buber and S. Kierkegaard just as the theologian P. Tillich and the anthropologist G. Bateson are among those, who in each their way have worked with the dimensions of fear and the constitutive potentials of tremble.

For Kierkegaard angst is basically, what everything is about. Angst is related to a foundational unknowingness, which is an aspect of innocence. Angst is what takes over in place of unknowingness. Therefore, angst is part of the basic doubleness: unknowingness – angst. As unknowing man is innocent, because angst grasps him and, thus, angst is the guilty one. It is angst, which caused a man to action, not his innocence. Innocence is a state of peace and rest, but there is also something else present there. This something is nothing, which generates angst. It is an existential doubleness, which is constitutive for human subjectivity, but only, according to Kierkegaard, if it is combined with a Third, namely the spirit or spiritual dimension. For Kierkegaard this dimension is related to Christian faith

and therefore the potential of salvation. Here, this third dimension constitutes, after the Fall and the confrontation with angst as an aspect of innocence or nothingness, a pathway of existential integration and accomplishment. As such tremble and angst may lead to a decentred-ness, due to the doubleness of innocence and angst, which opens to a dimension of imagination, or in Kierkegaard's term: "the dreaming spirit". It is a dimension of imagination, which opens to the reality of the spirit, but which is empty or nothing if grasped at. In this dreaming or imagining dimension you find the potential of angst, in opposition to fear, because it is here the reality of freedom is revealed, - that is the freedom of human beings to realize one's inner potentials. Instead of the tying and determining condition, created by fear, angst has the capacity to transform into this imaginary dimension, in which inner potentials, or potentials of freedom, may manifest and even be activated. As such the transformative dimension of angst has the capacity of imagination, related to potentials of freedom, at the same time as it opens to that special kind of presence, which is constituted by the nothingness and thus the dissolution or transcendence of conceptual reality, - in Heidegger's term: the Dasein-dimension.

This transformative aspect of angst can be related to our topic: education, by the interaction of two other transformative dynamics.

b.The Imaginary dimension

The first one is the imaginary dimension, which, due to the aspect of nothingness, has the capacity of dissolving or transcending conceptual reality, and therefore can open to (the experience of) presence. In this empty presence imagination can start invoking inner or new potentials for freedom and realization. This is an extremely important perspective in regard to the approach to "Bildung", I suggested earlier. The imaginary potential can give rise to new ideals and goals for "Bildung", if this imaginary creativity is employed on basis of such kinds of knowledge and awareness, which consider existential-ontological dimensions *as well as* the foundation for a given existential-ontological conception - and thus relating to both the hermeneutic and epistemological approach.

Therefore today's task is to establish dynamic fields, in which imagination can generate transformative processes in order to open new existential-ontological sources, where adequate potentials for humanity and life can appear. "Adequate" is a crucial term here, because it requires special awareness to consider the subtle difference between, what is adequate in relation to conceptualized ontology and considered reality, and what is adequate in regard to epistemologically new approaches to existential potentiality. The challenge is then to define existential dimensions of significance for "Bildung". "Bildung" is here regarded in a double perspective, where one perspective is concerning the ideal ("Bild") and content of education, and the other perspective is concerning the preparation for working in and developing these dynamic fields in accordance with the idea of ontological hermeneutics.

Dynamic fields of existential interreligious and intercultural encounters

This brings us to *the second aspect*, which is the one of encounter between cultural and religious traditions. It is the potentiality of intercultural encounter and

exchange of existential experience and wisdom. The different ways of approaching and conceptualizing ontological and existential dimensions of humanity and life, which are available from many traditions, can serve as inspiration in such development of ontological hermeneutics.

This possibility may inspire to make interculturality a special kind of dynamic field, which allows an ontological hermeneutic quest to engage in the imaginary level of existential experience and wisdom from different traditions in order to develop new conceptions. The importance here is that these are existential sources of wisdom, build upon foundations of philosophical conception and lived experience, which ensure a grounded-ness in both common and individual experience, corresponding to both the ontic and the ontological dimension in Heidegger's distinction.

Let me give a few examples on how such a work can be "imagined" – or applied onto interculturality as dynamic field of ontological hermeneutic. Thereby imagination can be employed in the aspiration of finding new dimensions of "Bildung" and the hermeneutic method may represent an aspect of "Bildsamkeit", by which "Bildung" can develop. These examples are actually quoted from other of my articles on education and interculturality.

9.   Sunyata – Democracy and Interculturality

In his book "Beyond Orientalism" (1996) F. Dallmayr introduces the concept of Sunyata from the Mahayana tradition of Buddhist philosophy in relation to a re-conception of the understandings of democracy. The concept of Sunyata signifies a profound understanding of emptiness, not as problem, but as base of both ontological and existential dimensions of life. Working with Sunyata requires an active process of interpretation and reflection, whereby the concept is emptied out. The concept is here opened and exhausted in ways, which are meant to dissolve the identification and thus the attachment to the concept's significance and the reality it refers to. Sunyata is founded in a profound philosophy with an elaborated understanding of the existential dimension of emptiness. It is not just an act of deconstruction, but an opening to ontological dimensions.

Applied on to the concepts of interculturality the Sunyata-process implies a complex and systematic reflection of the different forms of significance, which are associated with interculturality. Thereby is a detailed understanding of interculturality elaborated, and through this an ontological dimension is introduced, and an existential orientation initiated. It can lead to an emptied understanding, where you are not occupied by identifying and differentiating, as it is usually the case in questions concerning culture. Instead, you can reach a point, not defined by an understanding, but rather founded in the presence of emptiness, -and so empty, too, of understanding. Culture, then, can become a ***concept*** of no-significance, and an ***actualizing treasury*** of sources of ontological experience and wisdom in an open field of intersubjectivity, which can serve and support an existential approach to the challenges of our time. Thus, it opens up to new dimensions of existential and ontological understanding based on interculturality itself as exponent of the generative process constituting the basic subject-object- relation of our being and existence in life.

10. Bildung built upon emptiness

The inspiration of Sunyata sets up a different perspective, which can be related to our idea of education and the need for a reorientation of our understanding of Bildung, left as we are on the background of the World Wars and modern pluralism in a situation, where we prefer to stay back from the thought of formulating ideals or images to follow and imitate. In the Sunyata-perspective the challenges are differently defined, as it is not a matter of defining new ideals, but rather to empty them out in an ontological-existential manner, which constitute the base for being in a, not context-free, but emptied dimension of existential nothingness. By going through the emptying process of negation and transformation in a systematic manner of reflection the subject or learner is taken through a formative path of existential-ontological orientation, which will remain as base also, or even more so, after the conceptual emptying. Thereby the emptying of "Bilds" or ideals for education becomes the foundational base for "Bildung".

11. A dynamic model: Dimensions of man – dimensions of mind

Let me introduce my suggestion for a dynamic model, which may be able to work in *the field of interculturality and education*. By work I am not pretending that a model can explain, define or join the two aspects in full completion. Rather a model may be able to open and transform the ideas of assumed implications in the fields of interculturality and education. Here a model may work by bringing focus on what these fields are not, and thus, following the practice of negation and transformation towards a different type of conception. For this purpose I want to introduce a figure, well known to most of us, namely Leonardo da Vinci's "The Vitruvian Man". It reflects the dimensions of man in a cosmic perspective, but focusing on the dimensions of man.

As an alternative model, and perhaps a suggestion for new thinking on Bildung, I want to introduce a model, inspired by the mandala-form, known in Buddhist philosophy, especially the Indian and Tibetan Tantric traditions.

The mandala is in itself a diagram or expression of the manifestation and working of mind. Implied in the mandala-form is the dynamic of transformation and evolvement, and the structure of the mandala, then, provides thoroughly transformation of all elements. As such it is not only a model for reflection, emphasizing the reflective subject as agent, but a model of transformation of the very setting as a whole, brought about by allowing the constitutive dynamics of mind and being to manifest and unfold. As such I want here to use the mandala-form as inspiration to another way of approaching the field of interculturality and education. I do this by filling in the key terms known in the tradition of Western philosophy or rationality as U. Beck has termed it.

12. Conclusion

By taking you on this rather abstract tour among dimensions and dynamics I wanted to suggest, what I consider crucial and potential anchor points in the establishment of dynamic fields for reflection and development of new ontological and existential visions. They are visions, which may serve as both ground and goal for "Bildung for the future". It is "Bildung", not build on "tradition of future", but on radical hermeneutic intentions to develop new existential-ontological

dimensions in the understanding of the potentials of humanity and life in a longsighted perspective for the not-yet- conceptualized future.

But, the question remains of how to relate this aspiration to the presence of the trust and panic, we experience in education today?

There is no easy or obvious answer, but rather the aspiration of staying with the perspective of the transformative potentials presented here. Aiming at development of new visions by working in dynamic fields of systematic reflection is the ongoing task for people engaged in "Bildung" and "Bildsamkeit". It is, in Heidegger's terms, the thrownness into existence of our days and present conditions, and it is the responsibility of us to take up the quest for a draft, "Entwurf", which can provide a different focus on Being in existence – a draft for a new understanding of humanity and life.

In the midst of the difficult conditions of today it is the significant task of the teachers to point out a potential perspective of "Bildung" for the future and to prepare the students to work in dynamic fields of existential-ontological dimensions. In other words, the task is to make an existential pointing-out into ontic-ontological dimensions, which makes it an initiation into radical hermeneutic.

This perspective situates the teacher in a role far from the conflict between trust and panic in the institutionalized practice of education, we experience today. In this other perspective the teacher has the role as the one approaching and questioning the implications of both trust in being and being in trust. Actually, the teachers then come close to the task appointed by P. Freire - "Teachers as cultural workers", engaged in the development of new existential dimensions of "Bild" and "Bildung" for the future.

This is a rather different approach to "discourse, power and resistance" in regard to education, and it may present a needed alternative to the present "business of education". As such it can help turning focus from panic to trust.

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Lev Vygotsky's learning theory – a historical and theoretical discussion

Теория обучения Льва Выготского – исторические и теоретические аспекты

Статья посвящена великому русскому психологу Л.С. Выготскому и его теории обучения. Цель автора состоит в использовании теории низших и высших психических процессов Л.С. Выготского как ключа к его идеи преподавания и обучения. Другая цель – представить Л. С. Выготского в его социально-культурной среде, как психолога-посредника между традиционным марксизмом и молодой психологической наукой своего времени. Третья цель-сделать критический анализ теории Л.С. Выготского в свете теории русского марксизма и научных дискуссий между Л.С. Выготским и Ж. Пиаже. Статья состоит из двух частей. В первой части предлагается обзор понимания Л. С. Выготским высших психических процессов . Во-второй, которая называется «Преподавание и обучение», автор сосредотачивается на теории обучения, а именно,на «зоне ближайшего развития»

Ключевые слова: Л. С. Выготский; Ж. Пиаже; преподавание обучение; научные дискуссии; теории русского марксизма

Vygotsky in context

Vygotsky created his world famous theory about the child's cognitive development and learning just a few years after the Russian Revolution in 1917. He belonged to a young generation of intellectuals determined to support the revolutionary ideas of communism and to put all their efforts into practical politics in order to develop the new socialist man. Education was central to this project. An educated population was necessary to modernize Russia – but how should teaching and learning be understood and practiced from a Marxist point of view? Vygotsky strongly supported the Russian revolution and the politics of the authorities.

He did not express one single word of criticism towards the authorities, not even in the first phase of Stalin's takeover in the beginning of the 1930s. However, Vygotsky was not only an accomplice, but also a victim of policy in the new Stalinist key. His educational theories with close connections to the pedological movement, which were forbidden in 1936, were under attack from the beginning of the thirties, and one of his favorite Bolshevik leaders was Leo Trotsky, whom he had often quoted, but who was now society enemy number one (Van Veer 2007:28-29). From the middle of the thirties Vygotsky was taboo in the Soviet psychological circles, his books were removed from libraries etc. and it is not until after N. Khrusjtjov's famous speech at the communist congress in 1956 that his writings are published again – and from then on his star rises not only in Russia but also in the rest of the world.

How did Vygotsky understand the connection between historical development and cognitive changes in individuals? What were his hopes for the young Soviet State? And how did it come about that he and his colleague Luria used their cultural historical ideas of the necessity of education to promote Stalinist modernization at the expense of the people?

In search of a materialistic psychology

In 1924, Vygotsky was appointed as researcher at the Psychological Institute at Moscow University. With his advancement into the inner circles of scientific research, he quickly became a leading capacity at the institute. Before Vygotsky's arrival Konstantin Kornilov had become the leader of the institute. He had replaced Grigoriy Chelpanov, who was accused of being idealistic and dualistic. In the spirit of Marx' own ideas of a science that not only explained structures and mechanisms but also contributed to the transformation of the world and the formation of new structures, Vygotsky and his colleagues made an effort to combine theoretical studies in cognition and learning with applied research, thereby contributing to an effective educational system in a country haunted by traditional analphabetism and a large group of homeless children as a result of the First World War and the civil war just after the revolution.

In the intellectual circles around Vygotsky, great expectations to the idea of a psychology based on Historical and Dialectical Materialism existed. Marx had been occupied primarily with sociological and historical questions. The question was how his methodology should be used in relation to cognition and learning? Marx had left some rather vague remarks on the ontological status of consciousness ("It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness"), but all in all materialistic psychologists had to start from scratch. Some inspiration could be found in Ivan Pavlov's behaviorism. Pavlov had already received the Nobel Prize in 1904, and he became an icon of Soviet psychology although he could not be said to be a Marxist. But his scientific approach to behavior and his determinism attracted Marxist psychologists, including Vygotsky. In *Educational Psychology* Vygotsky states:

"The study of conditional reflexes constitutes a foundation on which the new psychology will have to be constructed. The term, *conditional reflex*, is the name given to that mechanism which carries us from biology to sociology and makes it possible to comprehend the very essence and nature of the educational process" (Vygotsky1997a:26).

Vygotsky also criticized Behaviorism and its Russian equivalent Reflexology. Behaviorism only explained lower mental functions, leaving it to idealistic psychologists to deal with higher processes such as scientific learning and problem solving.

Vygotsky's expectations towards a materialistic psychology, combining scientific aspiration and practical policy, were almost quasi-religious. It was a kind of prophecy of a society redeemed from suppression and racism and supported by Marxist science, the only genuine science on earth:

"Marxist psychology is not a school amidst schools, but the only genuine psychology as a science. A psychology other than this cannot exist. And the other way around: everything that was and is genuinely scientific belongs to Marxist psychology. This concept is broader than the concept of school or even current. It coincides with the concept scientific per se, no matter where and by whom it may have been developed" (Vygotsky 1997b: 341).

Vygotsky and his Marxist colleagues believed that they were creating scientific history with their dialectical materialistic approach. They also believed that history was on their side and that they had found the "laws" of history, and thereby making it possible to predict for the future. No doubt, Vygotsky was a child of the *historicism* of Dialectical and Historical Materialism (Popper 1962) in which "laws" of history are revealed and higher and lower forms of civilization and consciousness are analysed. As we shall see, historicism made Vygotsky sensitive towards cognitive differences and qualitative shifts in individuals and cultures. However, it also made him blind to the shadows of a theory stressing "progress" and "the dialectical laws of history".

Psychology and Dialectical materialism

From the very start, it was Vygotsky's ambition to create a Grand Theory of psychology. His first contribution to such an endeavor was *Educational Psychology* from 1926 and the unpublished manuscript *The Historical Meaning of the Crisis in Psychology* from 1927.

Vygotsky distinguished between two kinds of psychology. The first is causal and explanatory psychology. The ambition here is to develop a scientific psychology with inspiration from natural science based on experiments and predictions. The second is descriptive psychology or *Geisteswissenschaft* focusing on man as an intentional being. Here the empathy of the researcher is highlighted at the expense of natural laws. Some descriptive psychologists hold that certain lower psychological processes can be understood in terms of natural science, while theories sticking to the natural science field completely ignore higher psychological processes. Some hold the opinion that such higher processes are too difficult to investigate – others that they simply do not exist. In many respects, this was the position held by behaviorists.

According to Vygotsky the diversion of different psychologies led to an intolerable situation. Psychologists of the natural scientific school only took interest in lower mental processes, which were of very limited value in regard to human learning, while descriptive psychologists stuck to an idealistic and therefore rather un-scientific approach.. Vygotsky wanted to find a way out of this dilemma. His suggestion was that the objective natural scientific psychology should deal with the higher mental processes and develop a much more complex understanding of qualitative shifts in cognitive development. Psychology should study higher psychological processes on natural scientific ground. The following table shows Vygotsky's position towards the two existing theories and points forward to his cultural-historical theory and his later developed approach to teaching and learning.

Natural scientific Psychology (materialism)	Idealistic Psychology	Vygotsky's research program
Causal and explanatory	Descriptive and emphatic	Causal and explanatory
Lower psychological processes (e.g. reflexes)	Higher psychological processes (e.g. problem solving)	Lower and higher psychological processes

Table 1: Three kinds of general psychology

Cultural-historical theory

Vygotsky's theories and research projects took a new turn in 1927. He studied the gestalt psychologist Kohler's research of apes and his reflections on similarities and differences between chimpanzee and human being intensely. His interest in phylogenesis inspired him to create the cultural-historical theory together with his colleagues Luria and Leontjev (Van der Veer & Valsiner 1991:183). In this phase his ideas about lower and higher mental processes became more coherent and original.

Vygotsky admired Charles Darwin as the founder of the historical-genetic approach to life processes. Darwin explained the evolution of mankind before he became cultural man, and he explained the lower psychological processes such as instincts, primitive feelings and reflexes which man still share with animals. However, Darwin was mistaken when he stated that human behavior and psychology can be explained on biological and natural historical ground. According to Darwin man is different from animals only in degree, meaning level of complexity. Vygotsky rejected this position. Qualitative changes take place in the transition from natural to cultural man. Animals are almost completely dependent on inherited genetic features, while man learns to master products of culture and pass them on to the next generation. By the acquisition of cultural knowledge man liberates himself from the power of nature and learns how to use these powers in his own interest. The social interaction with others is crucial in this process. The difference between man and animals is not only a question of degree but also of *kind.*

The biological evolution and the genetic coding play a limited role in human behavior. It is limited to the lower psychological processes. The higher processes are created, maintained and developed through the time span of human history, and every child must as a new member in his community acquire the cultural tools to make higher processes possible in social interaction. Vygotsky's starting point for

his understanding of a cultural psychology was Marx' and Engels' interpretation of man as a tool-using animal:

Just as man's natural increasing domination of nature is founded less on the development of his natural organs than on the enhancement of his technology, so also his control over himself, and the unrelenting development of his behavior is founded mainly on the enhancement of external symbols, devices and techniques elaborated in a particular social environment under the pressure of technical and economic demands (Vygotsky and Luria 1992:52).

Vygotsky supplemented this approach with his idea that we have not only developed tools in order to master nature as land, iron and so forth, but also in order to master our "inner" nature by which we learn to act with cognitive and psychological tools such as language, which becomes central in his theory:

"... cultural development became possible for our apelike ancestors only from the moment when articulate speech developed on the basis of the development of labor" (Vygotsky1987:182).

When for instance, we tie a bow round our finger to remind us to call somebody tomorrow, we create a symbolic mediation which enables us to remember it. Psychological development is connected to the growing mastering of cultural mediated signs such as number systems, techniques of memorizing, algebraic symbols, writing, schemes, diagrams etc. The most important cultural tool is language, which make communication and performance of advanced tasks possible. In this way thinking and feeling is mediated by symbolic tools.

James Wertsch calls Vygotsky's theory of cognitive development in history *the principle of decontextualization of mediational means* (Wertsch 1985). In the course of cultural history, man continually improves his abilities to use signs independently of unique situations. Primitive man is dependent on concrete objects and connections, but the development of civilization makes us use more abstract categories. The growing decontextualization is connected to a system of numbers where quantity can be represented independently of a concrete object of perception. With the process of decontextualization it becomes possible to talk about the number "3" without specifying which kind of "3" it is. The socialization of children into a culture of abstract and scientific signs is a key element in all school education. Vygotsky therefore gives formal learning in school a central place in his cultural historical theory.

Other conclusions can be drawn from Vygotsky's mixture of phylogenetic and cultural-historical ideas. Primitive culture with its lack of formal education and advanced symbolic tools is close to natural history. Primitive man – this seems to be the conclusion – is placed somewhere between the ape with its full dependence of the visual field and modern man's ability for abstract thinking (Van der Veer and Valsiner 1991: 209). This explains why Vygotsky and Luria could publish a book with the title *Ape, Primitive Man and Child* (Vygotsky and Luria 1992). In some respects, primitive man in the past and in the contemporary world is close to apes in the same way as the thinking of young children is. But primitive man is also in the initial phases of development towards higher mental processes. From

these arguments it can be said that it is necessary to distinguish between "lower" higher and higher mental processes (Weltsch 1984:32).

Lower mental functions	Higher mental functions
Natural History	Cultural History
	Rudimentary higher mental functions funktioner
	Higher mental functions

Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory was in fact a theory about "cultural" and modern man's superiority over primitive people. This will become clear in the next chapter where the context of such thinking becomes clear.

The Uzbekistan Expeditions

Until 1930 Vygotsky and Luria were dependent on other researchers' data, but they were determined to find evidence for their thesis about the close relation between cognition and culture. In 1930-31 they decided to create their own empirical research design in order to test their thesis about the connection between cognition and the socio-cultural environment. According to Luria it was Vygotsky who took the initiative to an expedition to Uzbekistan which once and for all could prove the cultural-historical thesis to be right (Van der Veer and Valsiner 1991:240-243). In the summer 1930 and again the following summer, Luria and his research team travelled to Uzbekistan in Central Asia.

Because of his problems with tuberculosis (which finally caused his death) Vygotsky could not participate in the expedition, but Luria reported back to him. Uzbekistan seemed to be a perfect setting for cultural-historical research as both "primitive" people (farmers and nomads) as well as more or less educated individuals in the *colhoses* could be interviewed.

Luria concluded from his research that two diametrically different types of cognitive poles concerning generalization and abstraction could be found among the interviewed persons. One type of cognition was dominated by graphic recognition closely related to the individuals' everyday life. At the other end of the scale, people were able to abstract from the concrete context and to use categorical concepts. Luria distinguished between *familiar* and *taxonomic* thinking:

"The processes of abstraction and generalization are not invariant at all stages of socioeconomic and cultural development. Rather, such processes are themselves products of the cultural environment (Luria 1974: 74).

By using both quantitative and qualitative methods he concluded that the revolution and the improved educational system had contributed to the raising of the cognitive level. Persons from the *Colhoses* had received formal instruction and

were therefore more able to make abstraction and to solve cognitive problems. At the other end of the scale were illiterate people without these cognitive skills. The "progressive" conclusion was clear: Because the primitive individuals did not think in the same way as the cultural individuals, they lacked something which now was brought to them by the revolution.

Luria's results from the two expeditions were not published until 1974. The political authorities did not find his degrading talk about "primitive" people adequate in a situation where national unity was necessary. This does not mean that Luria criticized the authorities – on the contrary, he made his position very clear when he published *Cognitive Development – its Cultural and Social Foundations* more than 40 years after the Uzbekistan Expedition. In the introduction he states that the research took place under the "most radical transformation" in USSR, where analphabetism was abolished, a collective economy was established and life in general was adjusted to new socialist principles. Luria mentions that the population in this era of Uzbekistan had lived in stagnation, and that not least the Islamic religion had caused this situation. For that reason Muslim influence had to be removed.

Historicism and Marxist monoculture – a discussion

The Uzbekistan Expedition took place at a time which historians consider to be a catastrophic one in the history of the young Soviet state which was already opposed by General Secretary Nikita in his famous secret speech about the personality cult during the Stalin years from 1929 until 1953. From 1929 until 1932 the authorities implemented a double operation which was called "the collectivization of agriculture" and "the dissolution of the kulaks as a class". Big as well as small farms were to be replaced by big collective *colhoses* driven by the state and loyal communists.

The property of the Kulaks should be expropriated by the state. Collectivization had always been the goal for the Bolsheviks, although economical problems just after the revolution made the NEP-policy and a kind of capitalistic economy necessary. The Kulaks had been a problem for the Bolsheviks from the beginning. Lenin and the Bolsheviks argued that the upper agrarian classes were exploiting the rural underclass in a terrible way. The Kulaks were rural capitalists and should be removed together with their women and children. When the removal of Kulaks started, the definition of a Kulak was very broad. Everybody who owned just a little property or was against the collectivization was in danger of being accused for being a Kulak. In the collectivization campaigns, which took place at the same time as Luria made his tribute to the "transition" of Russia, an enormous amount of people were deported or died on their way to the Gulag Archipelago. Others were shot at the place or died because of the famine that Stalin effectuated in order to crush the resistance of the peasants.

The result was a tragedy of immense proportions. Estimates tell that at least 14 million people died because of these events. The result was an enormous social decline in the rural districts of USSR. In Central Asia a third of

the horse stock, half of the cattle and two third of the sheep and goats died as a result of the campaign.

On this historical background it seems important to discuss Luria's and Vygotsky's rather naive ideas about transitions to socialism and communism. The highly problematic point in Luria's argumentation is that he – and behind him Vygotsky – links the theory of lower and higher cognitive levels directly to the difference between the Uzbeks and the modern soviet man. But the fact that that some people think in one way and other people in another way because of different contexts, cannot be argued to be the same as the one group representing progress at the expense of the other.

No doubt Luria and Vygotsky had a point that backward regions of USSR needed an educational system, but this is not the same as to accept the rather insensitive way Luria and the Communist Party imagined the "transition" to take place. In reality the Uzbekistan Expeditions were supporting a speculative idea of progress legitimizing a state that was campaigning against its own people. The persons Luria and his research team interviewed were subjects of campaigns, deportation and what is worse, when he interviewed them. In the villages expatriate officials and communist cadres were investigating in order to find out where the enemy was hiding.

Of course you have to ask whether people in such a situation will answer honestly – or whether they will be so afraid that their answers are unusable in every way. Luria does not pose these methodological questions. He states that the researchers were well received. This is probably right – if you understand this as a situation where terrified people fearing for their lives receive envoys of a far placed and mystical government whose intentions are not at all transparent.

It is remarkable that Luria and Vygotsky nowhere consider what happens to people when cultural processes are being pushed, which was exactly what happened after the revolution where the politics of the communists were to bring USSR from a traditional society into the modern world in one single generation. Vygotsky's general point of view is that we are from the very beginning socialized into a certain cultural determined identity in a process of internalization. How should it be possible to change a culture *over night*? Cultural internalized thinking is not like clothes you put on and take off:

"... thus , there may become tension between the optimistic claims about the possibility of rapidly re-educating people belonging to different (sub)cultures and the idea that the appropriation of cultural means has deep consequences for the working of mind" (Van der Veer & Valsiner 1991:188).

This is a serious blind spot in the revolutionary ideas of the Bolsheviks and of Vygotsky and Luria as well. It is not possible to force higher mental processes on people in a simple manner. Culture and cultural thinking develop in an evolutionary way. Unsolved problems seem to pile up in the heart of Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory: Ultimately his theory of cultural internalization is in

conflict with the idea of fast structural changes. Vygotsky *the psychologist* is in conflict with Vygotsky *the ideologist*.

No doubt Vygotsky and his contemporary Bolshevik colleagues believed that they acted in a dramatic moment of history and that they represented progress. History has shown that what they took part in was the formation of a totalitarian state which was dissolved in 1991. For the Bolsheviks the concept of *proletarian dictatorship* was meant to legitimize a process from capitalism to communism where democracy was suspended for a time until the state would wither away.

What happened is that a class of bureaucrats, *apparatznicks* and intellectual spokesmen were formed. They supported a more and more restrictive party line which finally created Stalin and his totalitarian dictatorship. Vygotsky was a member of the group of supporters of this development, and he did not express one single sentence of doubt towards the development, but actively supported the policy of the authorities – also when the beginning of the Stalinist extinctions took off during the collectivization campaigns in the beginning of the thirties Vygotsky considered until his death the Bolshevik revolution as the only possible way for Russia to become a modern society based on rationality and science – and from a critical point of view it seems that this "faith" was so strong that he was willing to close his eyes from the terror, the murders and the new class structures that were taking place just before his eyes.

A reference to Theodor W. Adorno's and Max Horkheimer's critique of some blind spots in the Enlightenment philosophy and its late heirs is in its place here (Adorno & Horkheimer 2002). The Enlightenment did not only create the idea of a rational world and the will to civilize the world and free it from "self-created lack of freedom (Kant). It also created an ideological *fantasy* about the possibility of controlling and subjugating human nature and nature outside our minds. With his passion for Spinoza's rationalism Vygotsky was very close to this position. Enlightenment is in its self-interpretation beyond myth and tradition, but in reality it creates a new myth in its passion for classification, explanation and cognitive order.

The other is seen as something to dominate and not as the radical other. Luria and Vygotsky missed this correction to their idea of progress and fell into the ethnocentric trap, which is not unusual to researchers confusing their own position with rationality and progress and the other with irrationality and backwardness (Nell 1999:51). The Enlightenment myth supports an effective and science-based society, but it also creates alienation towards what is non-identical. With Adorno and Horkheimer's words, this alienation manifests itself as violence against people who are in the way of progress and modernization. This was the case with Goethe's Faust and his tragic will to do the good and realizing the bad – and it is also the case with Vygotsky and his contemporary Russian Marxist-Leninists fighting for the good society but killing (too) many people on their way.

This is not meant to be a critique of Enlightenment as such, but a critique of some ideological and political manifestations of it. Neither does it mean that Vygotsky's cultural historical theory should be rejected all over. It does only mean that the political-ideological historicism that was a part of Vygotsky's

understanding of development has to be rejected together with the idea of a group of intellectuals changing the culture of ordinary people on behalf of a vague idea of communism. Stalin can be seen as a spokesman of a monocultural dream of assimilation of differences to "the same". It is this dream, no matter how beautiful it may be on the paper, that caused the destruction of the collectivization and Kulak campaign and which Vygotsky supported with his eschatological historicism, its "laws" of lower and higher mental processes and it's too linear idea of progress.

Teaching and learning

Vygotsky finished his masterpiece Thinking and Speech in 1934, the same year as he died. Like many other texts from his hand it was not published at the time it was written because of Stalinist suppression. The manuscript had to wait until 1962 before it was published in the USSR and the Western World. Since then the book has been translated to many languages, and today Vygotsky is considered as one of the leading figures in the field of psychology and learning. The concept the zone of proximal development is used in many contexts, as well as Vygotsky's idea that development emerges in the tail of instruction. For sure, these ideas empower the teacher and didactical reflection – perhaps as a reaction to vague ideas within progressive reform pedagogic and student centered ideas of project work and "learning by doing". In this chapter I will continue my critical analysis of the ways Vygotskys ideas of lower and higher mental functions found their way into his educational thinking and the idea of the zone of proximal development. The analysis ends with a discussion of the famous debate between the two cognitive giants Vygotsky and Piaget. The aim here is to highlight strengths and weaknesses in Vygotsky's ideas about teaching and learning by confronting him with a thinker, who in some respects - but not all – is aware of other aspects of the learning process than Vygotsky.

Semiotic mediation

From 1930 Vygotsky argued that language is the main source of the development of higher mental functions. Without man's semiotic competence he would be object of stimuli and environmental determination in a Pavlovian way. Language mediates between the subjective domain of the individual and the objective environment of collective norms and understandings. The meaning, being expressed in the sign, exists *outside* the individual as something to acquire as well as *inside* the individual as a meaning, which is developed in the maturation process – from the imitation of words heard by others to the expression of scientific concepts being used in problem solving. In this way the individual is tightly connected to society's and the species' development.

The primary cause of individual development is language, and the primary cause of language is society. And the primary cause for the development of society is the development of man's specific abilities. With this causal chain, which places the individual as the latest product of causes, Vygotsky is able to connect ontogenetic and polygenetic traits. This causal chain is crucial to his effort to

create a monistic materialistic – and Marxist – psychology where tools and signs have equal meaning.

According to Vygotsky the function of language changes in the child's development. In the beginning of the process language is used for emotional expression and social interaction. Later it is used for communication and intellectual purposes. These changes are connected to change from outer to inner speech. Vygotsky was strongly influenced by Piaget's research into the egocentrism of children. Piaget thought that children until the age of seven lack the ability to decenter. They talk with themselves and to themselves, also when it seems that they talk with other. Vygotsky does not agree with Piaget. He considers egocentric speech to be a transition phase between social speech and inner reflective speech. Speech is always social – but when language goes *underground* a qualitative shift in the social character of speech occurs. It becomes possible to accelerate self reflection and meta-cognitive skills because the child develops abilities to communicate with himself. It is through acquisition of concepts and the transformation of outer speech to inner speech that higher mental functions are stimulated.

Instruction as the road to development

To learn is to acquire the necessary skills grounded in the culture you grow up in. There are ontogenetic and "natural" prerequisites for this process, which can be found in the nervous system, instincts and lower psychological function, but the cultivation of the child is realized when the child learn to use psychological tools, which are handed over from his cultural environment. Higher mental functions are simply the products of teaching and learning.

Learning through instructional processes is not only a supplement to development in everyday life, but a necessary prerequisite for development. It is by learning scientific discourse as it is manifested in school subjects that children develop their higher mental functions. This is the reason why Vygotsky held education in such. high esteem and in many ways seemed to identify progress with improving of education, From here the way to his famous concept *the zone of proximal development* was not far: To learn is to acquire competences that were at first outside and kept by more able learners. In this way rudimentary functions are used to develop proper competencies.

In the twenties IQ-tests were popular in Russia as well as in the rest of the world. It was discussed how teachers could use the standardized tests in order to make their teaching more effective. As is the situation nowadays, tests were popular because they endowed classroom research with (natural) scientific aspirations. Vygotsky studied the discourse of IQ-tests, but the existing tests did not impress him. Tests had potential for improving differentiation in instructional practice, but the existing test systems were too primitive and paid too little attention to a genetic and dynamic approach towards children's cognitive development. Vygotsky was not interested in diagnoses but in tools for improving of teaching and learning. It was while he was working on a better test system that he developed his theory of the zone of proximal development. He noted that intellectual gifted children seemed to lose their motivation after some time of

education. These children seemed to lose IQ, while children with a low IQ improved, and children in the middle kept status quo. Why did gifted children lose motivation? The usual answer was that they were not stimulated enough because the instructional tasks were below their intellectual capability. Vygotsky did not agree. The mission of instruction is not, he said, to give children tasks at their actual level but to give them tasks beyond their actual level. Of course the tasks should not be impossible to solve, but in the reach of the individual learner so that he could solve them with the help of others and then by himself; Vygotsky's own formulation of the theory was:

"What lies in the zone of proximal development at one stage is realized and moves to the level of actual development at a second. In other words, what the child is able to do in collaboration today he will be able to do independently tomorrow (...). The only instruction which is useful in childhood is that which moves ahead of development, that which leads it. However, it is only possible to teach a child when he is able to learn. Instruction is possible only where there is a potential for imitation"" (Vygotsky 1987: 211).

Instruction should not be directed towards the actual level of the learner, but towards the potentials of the learner:

"Instruction is only useful when it moves ahead of development. When it does, it impels or wakens a whole series of functions that are in a stage of maturation lying in the zone of proximal development" (ibid: 212).

Children with the same biological age have different mental ages and accordingly different potentials. According to Vygotsky it is not possible to say anything of significance about the intelligence from an actual test, because you have to consider the individual potential for learning as part of the IQ: The child who profits the most of the help from another has most intellectual potentials.

Vygotsky vs. Piaget – a discussion

In the previous chapters the inspiration from Hegel, Marx and Russian Formalism has been mentioned. Although Vygotsky belonged to a in some ways rather exotic Marxist-Leninist tradition, he was also informed about the latest research within a broader European context. Names such as Koffka, Bühler, Kohler and not least Jean Piaget are discussed by Vygotsky. In *Thinking and Speech* Piaget is probably the most central partner of discussion. Chapter 2 of the book is devoted to Piaget's interpretation of egocentrism in his first two books from the twenties (Piaget 1923/; Piaget 1925/). Vygotsky credits Piaget for having discovered the child's egocentrism and also to have founded research in the development of concepts, both cardinal themes in Vygotsky's own research. At the same time Vygotsky sees his own position to be diametrically opposite of Piaget's.

In many ways, Vygotsky sees Piaget as a symptom of the crisis in psychology. Although Piaget has contributed with interesting material to an experimental psychology, he is trapped in idealism and dualism. One problem is Piaget's exaggeration of the biological aspects of man's cognitive development; another is the influence from Freud and psychoanalysis on Piaget and his idea of inner forces without a genesis in social interaction, and therefore without proper causal explanations of the child's cognitive development. Piaget emphasizes the

influence from social and cultural environment and the causal mechanisms from outer to inner forces too little. The result is a theoretical understanding of data that reduce the child to a desert island of inner thinking and spontaneous construction with no understanding of the mechanism of internalization and mediation:

"The child is not seen as a being who participates in the societal life of the social whole to which he belongs from the outset. The social is viewed as something standing outside the child, foreign force which exerts pressure and ultimately supplants his characteristic modes of thinking" (Vygotsky 1987:83).

Piaget holds that the child's egocentrism is a result of lacking abilities for decentering (considering other people's point of view and perspective and thereby learning from others) before the age of seven. In his theory, egocentrism points back to the solipsism and weak subject-object-understanding of the infant. However, Vygotsky points out, egocentrism is not the end result of earlier phases, but a transition between one social thinking which is interpersonal to another, which is intrapersonal:

... the rapid disappearance of egocentric speech that Piaget observed in school-age children reflects not the atrophy of egocentric speech but its transformation into inner speech, its movement to the inner sphere" (ibid: 72).

Vygotsky also criticizes Piaget's emphasis on spontaneous concepts (developed by the individual in his everyday life according to mental operations and their structural transformations) as the foundation of cognitive development at the expense of concepts developed in school. Piaget considers concepts learned in school as being superficial compared to concepts built by structural transformations and experiences by the individual. With his constructivist theory of cognitive development, Piaget occurs to be too much of an idealist and dualist, reminding Vygotsky of Ernst Mach and what Lenin called his Empirio-criticism filled with subjectivism and pseudo-materialism and to be a philosophical archenemy of Marxism-Leninism. Vygotsky is really frustrated by Piaget's position which does not match his idea of the difference between natural lower processes and cultural higher processes. What Piaget points to is the natural activity of the individual as a much more active component of cognitive development than Vygotsky does, but in this way he perverts a materialistic understanding of the causal chain creating cognitive development.

Piaget did not read Vygotsky's critique until 1962, almost thirty years after it was formulated. In his answer to Vygotsky, Piaget writes that Vygotsky actually has a point in relation to egocentrism, and that he is aware of something which is interesting and which Piaget did not see in his early works. But he also states that Vygotsky is too single minded in his interpretation of egocentrism. A child can be social without having a socialized mind. The socialized mind is capable of decentering and involvement with other person's perspectives. This requires cognitive structures which are constructed by the child within the first seven years.

"... if an individual A mistakenly believes that an individual B thinks the way A does, and if he does not manage to understand the difference between the two points of view, this is, to be sure, social behavior in the sense that there is contact between the two, but I call such behavior un-adapted from the point of

view of intellectual co-operation. This point of view is the only aspect of the problem which has concerned me but which does not seem to have interested Vygotsky (Piaget 1962).

Piaget's answer can be summarized in this way: Maybe I was not very clear on the social and cultural aspects in my first books, but although Vygotsky had eyes for something very interesting, namely the transformation of social language from an interpersonal to an intrapersonal level, his thinking is not sufficiently advanced when it comes to the biological aspects of cognitive development and the slow emergence of logical-mathematical deep structures.

When it comes to Vygotsky's critique of his theory of teaching and learning, Piaget also has some critical remarks to his opponent. Piaget admits that instruction combined with the teacher's understanding of the child's way of understanding can accelerate development. However, Piaget stresses that the child has to be able to assimilate meanings to his own structures. In other words, it is not possible to facilitate a child in his or her development if the child is not able to make sufficient mental operations. There are clear differences between the two positions in respect to their interpretation of learning processes. Vygotsky is a revolutionary arguing for the revolutionary efforts of a good education. Piaget is more pragmatic and stresses the "conservative" part of human mind towards outer influence. Another difference is that Vygotsky stresses the importance of the teacher as a constructer of human minds, while Piaget is more concerned with the construction going on in the individual mind of the learner.

However, it is not fair to make Vygotsky and Piaget antagonists, which is sometimes the case when their respective supporters discuss their theories. They both have their strengths and weaknesses, and from my point of view it is much more constructive to discuss their contributions to cognitive psychology and learning theory in a synthetic way without winners and losers. The strength of Piaget is his highlighting of the emergent constructive formation of cognitive processes and his critique of the idea of the child as an underdeveloped adult. The weakness of his ideas of teaching and learning is his underestimation of the power of culture and internalization of cultural meaning.

The strength of Vygotsky is his highlighting of discourse, language and transference of meaning from one individual to another. His theory of semiotic mediation and cultural tools as a resource for cognitive development and problem solving enables him to discover the *missing link* between teaching and learning, namely internalization processes.

But although Vygotsky stressed the contribution of the subject to this process in his theoretical thinking, the psychologist Vygotsky concentrated on the cultural influence on individuals' learning. The result is that the learning subject disappears together with a more nuanced understanding of how mental operations transform outer impressions to inner meanings. Here, the biologist Piaget still seems to have more to say than Vygotsky. The problem of the subject pursues Vygotsky in his approach to the concept of the zone of proximal development. He never specified the exact forms of social assistance that the teacher should provide the children with. Help from the teacher can both be authoritarian" (I will help you

to learn what I already know") and constructivist ("what do you mean when you say ..."). This problem seems to be a result of his ambivalent position between psychological behaviorism and epistemological constructivism.

Conclusion

Vygotsky is a giant in cognitive psychology. His contributions were multifaceted and original. The context in Russia just after the revolution, Formalism, Behaviorism, Marxism, the search for a new psychology, discussions about means and ends in education - all these different and sometimes also contradictory influences stimulated his genius and made him create a highly original theory which certainly deserves to be studied and learned from. In this article I have tried to present his theory in a coherent way by stressing his ideas of lower and higher mental functions as the main entrance to his theoretical universe. I have also discussed strengths as well as weaknesses in his theoretical and empirical approaches by confronting his historicism and rationalism with the historical events of his time and by comparing his ideas of teaching and learning with Piaget's. Philosophers and scientists are not gods to believe in, but human partners in a never-ending discussion about what learning is and how it can support progress.

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