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Media jugglers about the reform of lower secondary schools

ABSTRACT: The paper contains media discourse analysis from a socio-pedagogical perspective. The paper reveals the theoretical and methodological dilemmas of discourse. The analysis concerns the discourse on reforms of lower secondary schools, published in well-established journals and daily press in Poland. It focuses on the question of how the reform of lower secondary schools was presented by the conservative press ("Gazeta Polska", "Gość Niedzielny", "W Sieci", "Tygodnik Niedziela") and compares it with the more liberal newspapers and magazines (Gazeta Wyborcza, Polityka, Newsweek). The research utilised elements of press studies, an investigation of the manipulation of public information and techniques of social engineering, connecting communication with power (M. Castells).

KEYWORDS: Discourse analysis, press discourse, communication and authority, reform of lower secondary schools in Poland.

On 27 June 2016, at the Cultural and Congress Center in Toruń, Anna Zalewska, the Minister of Education, announced the decision to remove lower secondary schools from the Polish educational system. She presented an initial framework for this change. Half a year later – on 9 January 2017 – Andrzej Duda, President of the Republic of Poland, signed laws introducing the education reform.

The six months between these two dates were filled with various disputes, polemics and protests that appeared in the public sphere. Modern electronic media, as well as traditional newspapers and magazines, boldly joined in. On the one hand, they reflected the discussion that took place in various social, professional and religious groups. On the other hand, they cre-

ated an image of the announced change, publicized their arguments, giving a voice to opponents or supporters of the reform. As the so-called Fourth Estate, not only did they try to inform, but also to convince and win the readers over to their arguments.

Analysis of discourse – in search of a pedagogical perspective

To what extent can such current problem, full of interests and emotions, contradictions and misrepresentations, become the subject of academic research? Traditionally, ongoing ‘pulsating’ social problems attract the attention of journalists, above all. The journalistic view is not subject to theoretical or methodological rigors. It usually presents facts available in a given place and time, uses its own interpretation, eagerly juxtaposes various contradictory, sometimes extreme, stances.

Research is of a different nature. According to the classical Enlightenment tradition, science uses the criterion of truth. As Karl Popper would have said, it discovers laws and rules and provides scientific knowledge. Such belief in science has now been undermined. The twilight of the positivist paradigm defined differently the ontological and epistemological foundations of especially social sciences. It introduced them into a new theoretical and methodological framework. It also sowed uncertainty about the social, cultural and ideological entanglements of science. As Michał Heller argues, today’s science is not so much a search for the Truth, as a great game of various forces, beliefs and interests (Heller 2009, p. 77). Michał Andreski goes even further. He speaks of sorcery in social sciences. A representative of these disciplines “resembles a sorcerer who chooses words, not because of their cognitive usefulness, but because of the intended effect, and then invents fairy tales to prove the truth of these words and justify his position in society” (Andreski 2002, p. 39). Andreski shows not only myths, fads or misrepresentations of social sciences. He tracks, exposes and ridicules scientific authorities. He provokes, accuses social research of mystification, phantasmagories, hiding behind pseudo-terms. He is fond of ridiculing the abuse of the term ‘socialization’ by sociologists, psychologists and educators. Paradoxically, this total criticism of social sciences is often based on simplifications or misrepresentations of the author himself. In many places, his interpretation of theories and stances is unjustified or even erroneous. However, today it is difficult to argue with the view that science, by defining and diagnosing social problems, to some extent creates and strengthens these problems itself.

What makes one want to reach for Andreski's books today is the presentation of social sciences in the service of evil and deception. This evil is connected with access to money and various means that induce researchers, or whole institutions, to undertake research aimed at learning the mechanisms of behavior of individuals and entire social groups. Their purpose is control and power, a kind of behavioral engineering or technology for controlling human behavior. Science has long gone beyond the traditional framework of Skinner's behaviorism and known studies on exerting impact on people (Cialdini 2016). It has now become a tool of manipulation. It has taken over interpersonal communication, transmission and language which, traditionally, are linked to education and pedagogy.

This way, the message, word and language have lost and are losing their educational, didactic feature and becoming more and more of a tool and means of power exercised by the teacher, journalist, or politician. In today's science, relations between power and language are most often presented in analyses of discourse, which are supposed to show attempts to seize discourse or the power of authority hidden in the discourse (power over discourse, discourse of power, power in discourse).

This motif of analyses once initiated by Tomasz Szkudlarek and Zbyszko Melosik within the framework of the old critical pedagogy is now returning to pedagogical considerations. It shows how power, ideology and politics enter pedagogy. This is a stance, clearly assumed today in social sciences, showing the politicization of pedagogy, which has been exposed by both old and present critical pedagogy, as well as by today's research on hidden educational programs. Pedagogical research (Potulicka 2014; Śliwerski 2013, 2017) is increasingly revealing not only educational ideologies, but also relationships, political influences and various interests consisting in attempts to seize control of education and subjugate not only school, but also broad social communication, to political party, market and corporate interests of pressure groups.

In analyses of this phenomenon, authors refer to different stances and theories. Discourse and analysis of discourse as a communicative activity, which is supposed to provide the participants with educational material for understanding social reality, becomes a clear and even dominant analytical perspective in this research. This perspective is very close to social pedagogy. It combines social messages with educational activities. It uses language, narration, evidence and argumentation. Discourse has a linguistic and communicative nature.

A pedagogue is interested not so much in the linguistic dimension of discourse, as, above all, in its communicative and social dimension. It is quite

commonly accepted that discourse is a communicative event. It is an interaction in which there are cultural pressures, maps imposing certain ways of seeing the world, understanding senses and meanings and forcing appropriate social practices (Lisowska-Magdziarz 2006). Pierre Bourdieu associated this phenomenon with *habitus*, Michel Foucault refers it to power and knowledge. According to Foucault, power has a universal, cultural and social nature. Elsewhere, Foucault associates it with ideology. Such a classic socio-cultural model of interpretation of discourse is most often adopted by the educational community. This can be seen in studies (among others: Bałachowicz, Witkowska-Tomaszewska 2015; Dobrołowicz 2013; Dudzikowa 2013; Kwaśnica 2014; Kędzierska 2012; Nowak-Dziemianowicz 2012; Mendel 2015; Sereżyńska 2013; Śliwerski 2015, 2017).

What is a discourse for a social pedagogue, what is its heuristic value, what research opportunities does it offer? In the broadest sense, discourse is a specific way of defining and viewing reality. It shows social reality in a discursive perspective. Discourse refers to a certain communication field, in which different games are played, actions are taken, new discourses created and developed. They are generated, maintained and controlled in various ways. Research on discourse does not so much concern the linguistic message, as it is aimed primarily at discovering and tracking various mechanisms of creating, limiting, producing and distributing discourses. In such a sense, discourse is an intellectual and practical formation that imposes the rules of functioning of various changing discourses. This is clearly expressed by Alexander Synowiec who emphasizes that studying discourses refers not so much to the language as to the socio-cultural context (Synowiec 2013, p. 384). Therefore, what is important is not the content but rather the mechanisms for generating discourses.

In Foucault's classic approach, discourse is, as indicated above, associated with knowledge and power. He believed every form of knowledge to be interpretation, an image as if woven from the imposed rules of controlling discourses – writes Marek Czyżewski (2013). On the one hand, discourse is a linguistic reading of the world, a specific social practice and a specific relationship between what happens in the context (in reality) and what is expressed through language. On the other, discourse is an attempt to seize the communicative reality, it is an imposition of the definition of truth and falsehood, good and evil, it monopolizes memory, legitimizes certain regimes of thinking and acting. For Foucault, it was a combination of governance-management with thinking, a particular relationship of knowledge and power (cf. "Governmentality"). Therefore, discourse is a specific order of expression, a text, a communicative event and, in reality, it becomes the subject of analysis.

In this order, there are mechanisms of control, exclusion, internal restrictions and selection of speaking entities (Foucault 2002, pp. 7–12). Communicative practice admits only appropriate content, gives voice to the right broadcasters, articulates desired images, overlooks others or rejects them.

At this point, it is difficult to develop detailed discussions on the definition of discourse (researchers talk about the 22 meanings of discourse in Foucault's understanding alone, not to mention other proposals). Thanks to the publications by Marek Czyżewski, Magdalena Nowicka and Anna Duszak, fundamental differences between the discourse according to Jurgen Habermas and Foucault are known.

In today's social sciences, discourse has become a highly exposed, not to say fashionable, field of search and analysis. There are voices that it is a kind of a cover for many questionable academic quests. Without going into detailed ontological or epistemological deliberations, into numerous theoretical or methodological analyses, it can be seen that today's publications put questions in the foreground not so much about what a discourse is, as about how to conduct analysis of discourse. In the epistemological sense, this means "learning social phenomena and processes by studying the rules, mechanisms and productions of communication" (Horolets, p. 16). So how to translate these philosophical, linguistic, socio-cultural and ideological frameworks of discourse into research practice?

A significant contribution in this respect turned out to be the proposals of Teun Adrianus van Dijk, who speaks of the analysis of discourse as a specific sub-discipline of sciences. This author focused his attention on socio-cognitive and interactive activities as well as communicative strategies. He extended the linguistic categories of language and text to all spoken and written signs articulated and expressed in various ways. He described discourse as a text in a context. Most importantly, however, he pointed out the basic planes that allow critical analysis of discourse. Among them, he mentioned language, its structure, lexical analysis, linguistic modalities in text, analysis of coherence as well as coherence in text. On the second plane of discourse analysis, van Dijk placed ideas. They are both an axionormative message and one associated with beliefs, a regulated and controlled transfer of information. On the third plane, according to van Dijk, analysis of discourse concerns interactions in social situations, clashes between different positions, opinions, fights for domination over public opinion being waged in historical, cultural, political and economic contexts. This context is not only a background; it gives the analysis of discourse a certain framework, reveals specific mechanisms, legitimizes ideas and messages.

Analysis of discourse gives rise to hope, but also fears among the representatives of social sciences. It can become a tool of control and manipulation. According to Aulin Kutner, “by means of technologization of discourse, one wants to bring about a social and cultural change” (Kutner 2014, p. 194). Consequently, discourse analysis may serve not so much scientific research as social engineering at the service of power.

The press discourse on the removal of lower secondary schools – building of the research corpus

Discussions on various attempts to define discourse, on the strengths and weaknesses of its analysis, became the starting point for research that was undertaken by doctoral students of the Maria Grzegorzewska University within the framework of research workshops devoted to qualitative studies in pedagogy¹. They focused on the press discourse regarding the currently-implemented reform of lower secondary schools. A basic question was raised at the outset: whether and to what extent a study of the press discourse by means of a discourse analysis is valid. In this case, how to look for the boundary between the test subject and the method. However, the most important question for us was the pedagogical dimension of the analysis of discourse. The linguistic and political perspectives of discourse cannot be abandoned. However, a pedagogue is interested not so much in the political, as, above all, in the educational context of the message. A pedagogue asks what the content of the message is and what purpose it is to serve, what social resonance it has, how it translates into social practice?

Without losing sight of the constitutive relationship between knowledge and power, respecting the basic framework of critical analysis, we focused our attention on the second level of analysis of discourse mentioned by van Dijk. We focused on questions about the ideas of discourse and its socio-educational context. This way, we tried to emphasize the educational or pseudo-educational dimension of discourse. Our attention, as stated above, was focused primarily on exposed content, on the transmission, and, to a lesser extent, on the hidden mechanisms of communication. We were interested in the more

¹ The group of doctoral students included: Anna Boćkowska, Dominik Chojecki, Magdalena Cieslikowska, Ewa Duda, Oksana Kotomus, Marcin Lerka, Małgorzata Minchberg, Karolina Miłosz, Jakub Niwiński, Monika Radomska, Aleksandra Skibińska, Anna Skwarka, Karolina Szczerbakowska-Biniszewska, Ewelina Zalewska, Małgorzata Zambrowska, Edyta Żebrowska.

or less articulated messages contained in influential traditional printed media i.e. selected newspapers and magazines.

For a pedagogue, the media are not only the so-called 'Fourth Estate', but also a strong, significant source of education. The media build images of reality, transmit and sometimes impose certain behavioral norms. On the one hand, they create reality themselves, on the other – provide content that allows readers to construct various individual and group social worlds.

The media occupy an unquestionable position in the education of contemporary mankind. Electronic media are particularly expansive in this respect. The role of traditional media has undoubtedly declined, but not perished. They have lost their former functions. They are ceasing to be a source of objective knowledge of the world. More and more often, they are seen as relays of selected content and a social tool for specific interest groups. As Melosik argues, modern media are gradually and continuously detaching themselves from reality. The boundary that they show "between what is reality and what is its representation is blurred to a point of being unrecognizable". Melosik calls this phenomenon a culture of feigning, from which there is no escape. (Melosik 1995, pp. 152–157). This phenomenon is common, it concerns all media. It seems, however, that traditional, nationwide printed media, which have gained a significant position on the Polish market and have become mass-printed, to some extent retain a traditional opinion-forming character. They are addressed to readers who keep relatively constant contact with the press and magazines. They generally contain broader statements and polemics. To a certain extent, they play a pattern-creating role addressed to a specific reader.

What became the subject of the analysis was the media message in selected newspapers and weekly magazines which, according to the public opinion, are considered opinion-forming, and which are nationwide and mass-printed. In the field of media discourse, we have placed two groups of magazines representing different or opposing positions reflecting the popular socio-political awareness of school reform issues. On this basis, we singled out magazines which, in our opinion, can be classified as conservative and liberal magazines. This is by no means a clear political criterion. This rough, general division refers to popular social distinctions. It shows how such a magazine is perceived and called in the social communication. In many cases, media experts, and especially editors-in-chief, may have reservations to classification of a magazine into a given group. This qualification is not always clear-cut. The socio-political distinctiveness of magazines varies. Often, they themselves try to avoid such designation.

For the analysis, we selected daily and weekly newspapers, which we classified into two groups. The conservative group (K) included: two daily newspapers “Gazeta Polska” and “Nasz Dziennik” and three weekly newspapers “Niedziela”, “Gość Niedzielny” and “W sieci”. The group of liberal magazines consisted of “Gazeta Wyborcza” as well as the “Polityka” and “Newsweek” weekly magazines. In these magazines, we conducted a detailed search for articles, expert opinions, interviews, polemic statements, feature articles and even various thematic polemic notes on the removal of lower secondary schools. The analysis covered the period from 1 June to 31 December 2016. It is basically the period from the official announcement of the educational reform to its signing by the President of the Republic of Poland.

This task for the group of PhD students from the Maria Grzegorzewska University proved to be burdensome. We were surprised that some of the magazines did not have electronic archives available, even for a fee. We decided to use traditional browsing through magazines and copying of found articles, as well as an electronic search where possible. As a result, we collected 154 press releases, which became the subject of this analysis. In the joint methodological workshops, we wanted to learn both about the media discourse as a method of pedagogical research and, in this way, to reveal the content and mechanisms of press discourse on the reform of lower secondary schools in the most important, ‘hot’ period when public opinion about their removal was being formed.

Education reform – exposed and concealed social problem

We started our analysis of discourse by asking to what extent the reform of education in the social message is presented and created as a social problem. The framework of this research became the constructivist theories founded in social sciences, which define social problems from the perspective of different definitions and meanings given and received by various social groups. We associated the concept of social problem not so much with difficult, pressing phenomena, e.g. poverty or violence, as primarily with the social definition of the problem. We focused not only on the problem of educational changes, but also on the shaping of opinions, on social and media communication. We tried to see, more and less clearly, the hidden attempts to identify with the actions taken by the legislator and publicized by various media in the area of changes in the educational system. It was a question about not so much what the planned reform contributes or what it consists in, as about the

extent to which the education reform concerns a wide range of people and is a problem that gives rise to controversy and disputes.

Assuming the classic definitions of Robert K. Merton and Herbert G. Blumer, a social problem is not, but rather becomes a problem in the process of social articulation and definition. As Lucjan Miś proves (2007), this definition develops through various activities and experiences. It is also shaped by media messages. Moreover, the role of the media is not limited to simple information. The media authenticate the social problem. Here, credibility is an indispensable condition. It is granted and confirmed by various recognized social actors: Church, universities, political parties. The result of this is, as Blumer called it, a collective social definition. It strengthens the message, gives it a special value and authenticates also the sender, who strengthens his/her power to unite and attract readers and supporters of certain ideas and actions. Collective definitions are also the basis of collective identity.

Social problems – in this process of articulation and authentication – become an object of a social game. It can develop, as Jadwiga Królikowska shows, in the field of political interests or values (Królikowska 2006, p. 9). In this game, there are authors and actors, specific content, as well as ad-hoc alliances, transitory relationships. Van Dijk would say that these are attempts to put certain texts in clear contexts. In this communicative theater, a play is performed that is not accidental. Specific actions, social situations are exaggerated, publicized, muted, dimmed. They gain a specific rank, meaning, label of social importance or normalization. They can acquire the status of the so-called burning social problem or become a solution that is self-evident, does not provoke opposition or controversy. What is more, in the social game they are often given features of documented rights, empirically proven conclusions, they are inscribed in axiological contexts, connected with the ethos of social service. As a result of this, in the space of communication there is a socio-political game aimed at appropriating the media message and introducing certain meanings into the social discourse.

For a social pedagogue, this is also resorting to activities traditionally attributed to education. Anna Wróbel calls them manipulative procedures and strategies, which a teacher has at his/her disposal in relation to a student (Wróbel 2006, pp. 66–68). Among these, she lists: strategies of great lies, exaggerated ego strategies, strategies of helplessness, strategies of a friendly enemy. Andrzej Lepa combines manipulations with stereotypes, myth, gossip, camouflage, which make up specific techniques of manipulating the social image of reality (Lepa 1997, pp. 63–70). It can be reduced to selected fragments, trivialized down to the most recent, superficial news. Manipulation also reach-

es for psychosocial determinants of learning processes. It uses simplifications and schemes, activates emotions, disinforms, and sometimes it works subliminally, it creates an enemy. As Lepa says, it sows chaos in the field of ideas, concepts and values.

To what extent these statements and interpretations refer to the image of education reform promoted in the most important national written media. What image of the removal of lower secondary schools is created by: “Gazeta Polska”, “Gazeta Wyborcza”, “Niedziela”, “Gość Niedzielny”, “W sieci”, “Polityka” and “Newsweek”? Already the simplest quantitative data we have collected show basic differences in the definition and articulation of this problem in the public space. A different social rank of the removal of lower secondary schools is assigned by the press which we classified as the conservative group, and a different one by the so-called liberal press. This is clearly illustrated and confirmed by the chart below, which shows the number of articles and other statements concerning the removal of lower secondary schools, published from 1 June to 31 December 2016 on the pages of particular press titles.

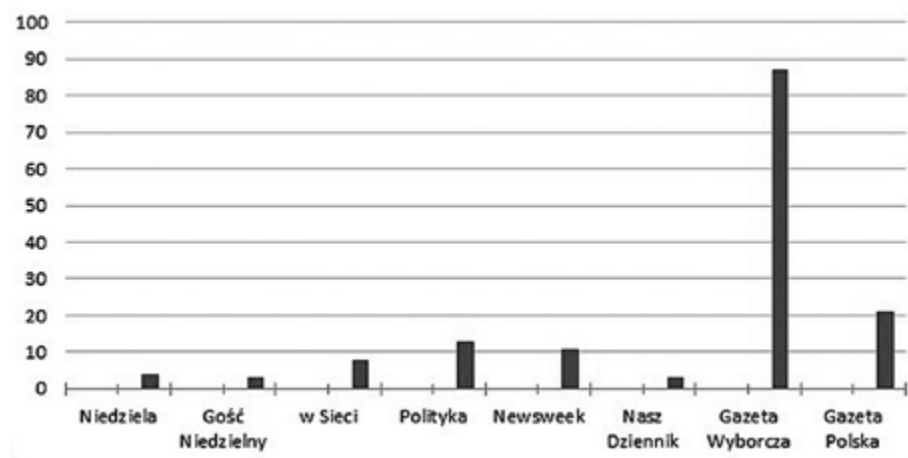


Chart 1. Number of press releases on the removal of lower secondary schools in dailies and weeklies

In the light of the above mentioned data, it is easy to see that the media discourse on the subject of the reform of lower secondary schools was built and supported, above all, by “Gazeta Wyborcza”. For six months, it published 87 press materials, 57 of which were signed with the same name. In the same period of time, the “Gazeta Polska” daily published 21 statements on the reform of lower secondary schools. The authorship of these materials is quite varied.

It is difficult to compare the social resonance of Polish dailies. Their circulations are not known. A comparison of weeklies may cause fewer problems. In general, the “Polityka” and “Newsweek” weekly magazines have been occupying a long-established place on the Polish publishing market. The younger conservative weeklies are less visible: „W sieci”, „Uważam rze”, „Niedziela”. Weeklies less frequently touch on school problems, nor do they have such clearly established specialist journalists dealing with the education reform. On their pages, various people speak on this subject, among them even a professor of pedagogy and well-known publicists.

The comparison of the number of press materials published in conservative and liberal dailies and weeklies leaves no doubt. This is shown in the chart below. In the conservative group there were 40 materials, and in the liberal group – 114.

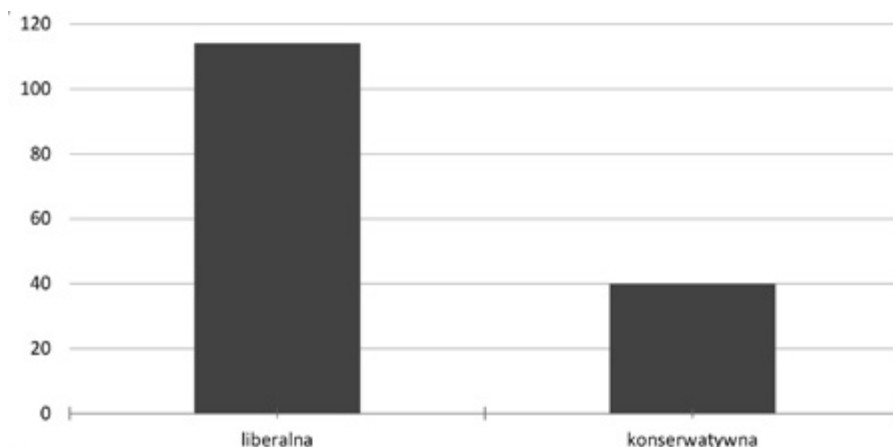


Chart 2. Number of press materials on the removal of lower secondary schools, which appeared in weeklies and dailies classified, in the social communication, as conservative and liberal magazines

These simplest quantitative data show the media creators of the education reform and two opposing positions on the social importance of this problem and its social resonance. The magazines which we classified into the liberal group, sound an alarm and define the education reform as an urgent social problem. You may say that they plague the reader with constant information on this subject. They talk about the removal of lower secondary schools frequently and extensively. The information about this subject is visible, appears on the first pages and in centerfolds, often accompanied by expressive pictures.

A completely different message and different definitions of the education reform are conveyed by newspapers and magazines that we included in

the conservative group. In this case, this issue does not attract social interest. This is not an important, visible problem. The education reform does not pose a problem, let alone give rise to controversies or disputes. At most, it is misrepresented by various incompetent or hostile actors. Conservative press does not publicize or define removal of lower secondary schools as a social problem. One gets the impression that it avoids such social articulation, silences and pushes the problem away.

The media image of the education reform in the press discourse is not a new issue. Barbara Dobrołowicz, whose doctoral dissertation was treated as a theoretical and methodological point of reference by the doctoral students, showed this successfully and thoroughly. Pedagogical media discourse can also be seen in the works of Eugenia Potulicka, Dominika Jagielska and partially Kazimierz Przyszczypkowski.

The research we have undertaken, on the one hand, refers to these works, but, on the other, indicates, at the outset, that the current media discourse on the education reform is of a different nature. It fits into the sharp socio-political controversies and disputes. It awakens the hopes of some and it liberates fears or even anger of others. It intensifies by using not only media, but also educational and pseudo-educational mechanisms consisting in appropriation or manipulation of social messages and the social definition. Moreover, it reaches for new, scientifically developed principles and means of manipulating knowledge and power. Manuel Castells calls these 'networking power'. It is based on old (cf. Lepa, Winn, Siek) and new, rapidly developing research on the network of the mind, more specifically on the brain, undertaken for the purposes of election campaigns.

The mind is a process that takes place in the brain in interaction with one's own body – argues Castells (Castells, p. 145). Our brain does not reflect reality and, what is more, it processes various messages according to its own matrices. From his individual experiences, it builds an image of the world, creates special time and space, which become the organizational principle of 'self' that provides a sense of well-being. It is a kind of brain's mental manipulation in which our feelings and emotions are incorporated. Feelings and emotions, as Castells claims, are the basis for communicating and predicting of events. "For the brain to connect maps with external events, the communication process must occur". (Castells 2013, p. 149). This is achieved through spoken language, body language, narration, metaphors. In this process, the most important is decision-making, in which the so-called mirror neurons, which reflect empathy, participate. Generally, new research on the brain and on learning shows the fundamental role of emotions, more precisely the indispensable

combination of cognitive and emotional processes in constructing the image of the world. These psychological learning mechanisms are increasingly being used in a variety of activities related to manipulation, exploitation, domination over human mind and action.

Manuel Castells analyses the media network of mind and power. He shows how the media determine the hierarchy of subjects. This is the so-called positioning of topics, exaggerating some issues and pushing away or marginalizing others. He shows the process of framing, i.e. selecting specific events and issues and establishing links between them in order to promote a specific interpretation and evaluation of the solutions supported. He calls this indexation of information, which indicates not only the content but also the source of communication, strengthens or weakens its credibility.

As a consequence of research – on conquest of the human mind – supported today by various research agendas, the mechanism of management (manipulation) of human cognitive processes is more and more clearly learned and used. Castells talks directly about guiding the process of perceiving a social problem (Castells 2013, p. 192). He points to the role of enthusiasm, fear, anxiety, anger. To the importance of various alternative sources of information, trust in social institutions, in the elite and experts and, finally, to media manipulations: framing, indexing, exaggerating information. He describes his research from the perspective of a crisis in democracy and politics of scandal. His research can also be read as a social and scientific proof of an important tool for communication, education, manipulation and generally influence on the minds and actions of others.

Media jugglers in the conquest of the human mind

This scientifically engineered conquest of the human mind misleads, beguiles and deceives. It transforms the cognitive process into an attempt to delude. It shows the world through the prism of juggling tricks which are a sign of the efficiency and power of the prestidigitator. The juggling takes place in a special media scenery. It is a spectacle for crowds full of admiration and appreciation for simple tricks resembling pulling a rabbit out of a sleeve. Juggling sometimes raises questions, but it is far from thought or consideration. It uses a simple statement, a simplification of the situation, blurs the boundaries between truth and fiction.

As shown by G. Mautner, analysis of press discourse, based on a filled research corpus, is dominated by simple bipolar assessments, labels and metaphors of topics, phenomena and actors (Mautner 2011, pp. 62–65). This

can already be seen clearly in the preliminary analysis of the titles of particular press releases. On the conservative side, there appear basic keywords, codes built around the metaphor of: *change, good change, renewal*. It is the main idea of many statements. It stands out in the titles of some of the materials (cf. inter alia: *Co nowego w edukacji*, „Niedziela”, 22.06.2016, *Zmiany w szkole*, „Niedziela”, 05.07.2016, *Szkoła na nowo*, „Niedziela”, 24.08.2016, *Dobra zmiana w oświacie*, „Gazeta Polska”, 28.06. 2016, *W oczekiwaniu na zmiany*, „Gazeta Polska”, 29.06.2016). It is a narrative built on the vision of restoring law and order. In the so-called textual cohesion, there is a plan of action, winning the reader over and calming him/her down. A short-time perspective is visible, which is supposed to evoke peace and hope. The presented materials are addressed to ‘our’ readers, with whom the narrator is already in contact. This recipient is already *own, ours*. Unlike the reader, the narrator is not clearly defined. It is often an unknown figure – an unknown collective author hidden behind the stylistic figure ‘we’. An anonymous expert, parent or teacher also appear.

On the liberal side, you can see a dominant strong counterpoint, built around such conceptual categories as: *destruction, disintegration, fear, anger*. The dominant language codes are: *counter-revolution, counter-reform, de-form, chaos, collapse* (cf. inter alia: *Oświatowa kontrrewolucja*, „Polityka”, 29.06.2016, *Deforma edukacji*, „Newsweek”, 17.10.2016, *Szkolne rewolucje*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 02.07.2016, *Centralizacja i chaos w szkole*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 30.08 2016, *Dzieci szkolnego gniewu*, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 07.10.2016). These statements are strongly marked by negative opinions and emotions. They indicate destruction, chaos, disintegration, ruin. Milder instances speak of a reform that is not thought through, unsuccessful, unnecessary. Argumentation is reinforced by opinions of selected persons, anonymous experts, teachers. On the one hand, they are specific individuals, on the other, there is a generalized collective form of general opposition, ready for tireless struggle. Characteristically, this is a bipolar clash of opponents and supporters of the reform, who point out errors and accuse each other. They use supposedly rational, seemingly unquestionable reasons. They are happy to talk about scientific research (without mentioning sources) and experts (without naming them). They refer to higher ethical reasons: the teacher’s responsibility, responsibility for children, responsibility for future generations. You can say that they draw different sentences, arguments and counter-arguments from the sleeve, juggle them, enchant, try to outclass the opponent.

To a small, marginal extent, in the collected material there are informative statements that try to determine what this reform is about, what it is to be

based on, what specific solutions there will be. Even the seemingly most toned down, substantive information presented on the pages of “Gość Niedzielny” is full of invective, irony and reciprocal attacks. The discourse on the education reform is primarily concerned with strikes and protests of teachers and parents. There are very few discussion voices in which one considers the consequences of the reform for the children, families and local governments.

The dominant form of narration is pointing out mistakes, irony, mockery and attack. As Castells shows, the attack is personalized. On one side there is the Association of Polish Teachers and its chairperson. Attacked on the other side is minister Zalewska and the president of the PiS party.

Both sides use offensive language and even insults. In the article published in “Gazeta Polska” (10.10.2016) headlined *Sowieciarze szkolni* [The school Soviets], you can read about the Association of Polish Teachers being “a hoard appointed by the Soviets that feels terrible when it hears that it is supposed to teach about the ‘cursed soldiers’ [...] It is not the teachers who are fighting against the removal of lower secondary schools, but rather the post-communist formations that are now removed from the power of influence and money. It is the ones who turned Poland into a great feeding ground for themselves over the years”. Statements on the liberal side are not this aggressive, but here too, Minister Zalewska is said to belong to the “group of tapirs”, her personal traits are laughed at, statements of people who present the minister in an unfavorable light are quoted.

Even a statement of a person with an academic title is full of judgments, highest admiration and praise, lacking not only arguments but also rational foundations. The author describes the Minister’s speech of 27 June 2016 at the Cultural and Congress Center in Toruń. It was a meeting with a “charismatic state officer, who in every sentence outclasses her predecessors [...]”. As befits a pragmatic visionary, she has everything well thought through, including the smallest details. She knows when, how and where to start changes, she knows their hierarchies and the laws that govern education. She gets applauded all the time, but not like a tribune of the people, but rather a leader of a fine brigade. Anna Zalewska is an aristocrat in this government. Have we not had enough of peasants in this position, random people light years away from educational competence? – asks the author. Characteristically enough, the above statement lacks elementary information about the education reform being publicly announced for the first time. It was not the reform itself that aroused the author’s interest, but the character of the minister. The press discourse on lower secondary schools was reduced to a panegyric in honor of the minister. Castells calls this the launch of cascade activation, framing of information, i.e. en-

tering it into a special context (in this case personal) when there is a doubt about the acceptance of the announced content.

Teun A. van Dijk, as already pointed out above, speaks of discourse as a text in a context. It is the mixing of different contexts, the change of texts and meanings that shows the media juggling, the pulling of the rabbit out of the sleeve, the surprising, enchanting, deluding, showing tricks that make possible what seems impossible before our eyes. In this hidden, purposeful process, known to the jugglers, the boundaries of text, image and reflection about them are blurred. As Lepa, Winn, Siek, Castells and Nilson demonstrate, the manipulated mind is increasingly excluded; bad and good emotions are voiced. The image of the world is distorted and reduced. In the public space, masters and teachers are occupying less and less space, while sorcerers and jugglers are becoming more and more visible.

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