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Mirosława Nowak-Dziemianowicz
WSB University
m.nowakdziemianowicz@wsb.edu.pl; ORCID: 0000-0003-1148-1340

(Un)Safe School. Recognition Deficit as an Experience of Early School Socialization

Abstract: The article is an attempt to answer the question of whether school is, or perhaps can be, a space of recognition. Does the institution of school or its educational concept provide a real chance for recognition, and does it emerge in the mutual relationships of all participants in the educational processes? The search for answers to the question about relationships of recognition in Polish education and school will be based on the narratives of mothers of children starting school

Key words: recognition, refusal to recognize, contempt, ontological security, identity.

Introduction

The need for security is the foundation on which we build our lives, ourselves and our relationships with the world. Deprivation of this need leads to very serious consequences at both the individual, social, and institutional levels. Ontological security is the conviction that somewhere among other people I am at home, in my place, that I can settle there, that I can trust my surroundings (both in the material dimension as a place and in the social dimension as other people). Ontological security is a generalized trust in other people, places, and events. It is a sense that we can pursue our own plans, our own needs and expectations without dangerous risks. It is also the repeated, memorized rituals and conventions. The

question I am trying to answer in this area is what prevents or hinders us today from achieving this ontological security?

The condition for achieving ontological security, without which it is impossible to build our identity, is recognition (Honneth, 2012). It ensures positive self-reference, a sense of moral autonomy, and solidarity with others. Its denial becomes the beginning of conflict, struggle, carrying immense potential for rebellion. The denial of recognition, its deficit and the struggle for recognition is always relational, intersubjective in nature. Recognition is what we all need today. Recognition is a prerequisite for our social functioning, it is essential for us to feel like full, valuable members of the community. I am also convinced that pedagogy as a scientific discipline and social practice has a duty to address this very issue. Recognizing the position of all those who are in some way disadvantaged, marginalized, excluded, those who, for various reasons (systemic, structural, individual, psychological, cultural), cannot fully realize their biographical plans or are particularly constrained in this process is, in my opinion, a duty of our discipline. It is simultaneously an expression of its commitment, a manifestation of its interventionist nature. I believe that it is our duty as educators to reflect on those processes of social life that become a source of oppression, discomfort, and blocks in working on one's own identity for those participating in it, both at the individual and community levels. The denial of recognition is one such oppression or block. It prevents the construction of positive self-reference in our interactions with others and the world around us.

The question I will try to answer will be related to whether the school is, or perhaps can be, a space of recognition. Does the institution of the school, or its educational concept provide real opportunities for recognition, and does it appear in the mutual relations of all participants in educational processes? Is recognition, as a condition for constructive, independent work on one's own identity, present in the conditions of the Polish school? The search for answers to the question of recognition relations in Polish education and school will be based on narratives of mothers whose children are starting their school education.

The interpretations presented in the article are the result of critical narrative research conducted by me, the author's model of which I described and published in the book Walka o uznanie w narracjach [Struggle for Recognition in Narratives] (Nowak-Dziemianowicz 2016), Szkoła jako przestrzeń uznania [School as a space of recognition] (Nowak-Dziemianowicz 2020) as well as in numerous articles, for example, in the Przegląd Badań Edukacyjnych [Educational Research Review]. In this article, they serve an illustrative purpose, contributing to the presented theses and interpretations. They are a subjective, critical way of interpreting meanings, and as such, they cannot and do not adhere to the rigor of traditional empirical research (Nowak-Dziemianowicz 2016).

Emancipation, empowerment and recognition in education

The epistemological background for the presented descriptions and interpretations is critical theory. Developed by educational sciences, it is oriented towards emancipation and empowerment. It demonstrates that the emancipatory function of education enables development, meaning-making, justifying one's own actions, facilitating communication with oneself and others. It allows for an understanding of the reality in which the individual functions, the relationships it enters into, as well as all participants in social practice, and an understanding of oneself, one's own possibilities, barriers, and limitations. Emancipation is free, unbridled (though determined) individual activity; it is the possibility of creating and constructing one's own life, one's own biography. Emancipation is the pursuit of one's own needs, one's own dreams, one's own expectations. It involves drawing from one's own capabilities, the ability to recognize them.

Critical education, associated with emancipation and empowerment (being their condition), enables the interpretation of reality, relationships with the world, and one's own experience, an interpretation manifested in asking questions about the meaning and essence of one's own actions and the actions of others, about the legitimacy of these actions, about the sources of all empowerment. It allows for the recognition of hidden, implicit mechanisms underlying individual, group, institutional behaviors, and actions. It allows for the recognition of oppression, symbolic violence, all inequalities, and the rules and social practices that justify them Competencies based on it allow for an understanding of the surrounding reality, one's own actions and their consequences, and making choices in line with one's own needs, justifications, values, with an awareness of the consequences associated with these choices. Critical competencies, on the other hand, enable the perception of all justifications legitimizing one's own actions and social practice, the discourse of power, the game of interests, domination, exclusion, and symbolic violence. They allow for the recognition (diagnosis) of manifestations of oppression, suffering, inequality, exclusion, as well as understanding their causes and the practices of power behind them. They make it possible not only to see unjust, oppressive practices against oneself, other people and the community as a whole. They let one oppose them.

Empowerment is another liberating process. According to Freire, authentic emancipation is only possible as the transcendence of the dialectical structure of oppression—a transcendence that can only be achieved by the oppressed themselves As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, pointing out the distinctiveness of the conceptualization of emancipation as empowerment from its modern interpretations, authentic liberation does not come from the outside, it is

not a 'gift' from those in power but must be an act of the oppressed themselves. Freire sees any attempt to supposedly 'offer' freedom to the oppressed as a manifestation of false generosity, perpetuating an unjust system of domination and subordination: "Every attempt to 'tame' the power of the oppressor, out of a sense of respect for the weakness of the oppressed, almost always expresses itself in the form of false generosity; indeed, such an attempt never goes beyond that generosity. To ensure their continued ability to express their 'generosity,' oppressors must also perpetuate injustice. The unjust social order is the lasting source of this 'generosity', which feeds on death, despair and poverty." Thus, only the oppressed are capable of transcending and enduring the dialectic of relationships governed by the structure of oppression and subordination. However, they are hindered by their internalization of an ideology that presents the oppressed-oppressor relationship as an inherently binding one. As a result of this internalization, they experience a situation of apparent choice between two options, neither of which offers freedom. Freire states that "the oppressed suffer from the duality of their own being. They discover that without freedom, they cannot authentically exist. However, while they desire authentic existence, they simultaneously fear it. They are simultaneously themselves and the oppressors whose consciousness they have internalized. The conflict lies in the necessity to choose between being fully oneself and remaining in a state of disunity; between displacing and not displacing the oppressor within oneself; between human solidarity and alienation; between following orders and being able to choose; between the role of spectator and the role of actor; between acting and the illusion of action mediated by the actions of the oppressor; between speaking up and remaining in the silent impotence to create, recreate and transform the world. Here is the tragic dilemma of the oppressed, which must be taken into account in their education." (Dziemianowicz-Bąk, 2017)

How can education and school become an opportunity for empowerment? What stands in their way today? Is the social value of education, its consistently declared significance, somehow linked to a shift towards empowerment? Empowerment, which is an opportunity for each of us to build a relationship of recognition? I believe that the answer to these questions may lie in a proposal related to building relationships of recognition through and in education.

Recognition is regarded today in the social sciences as a condition for the individual's identity, as intersubjectivity, and as a moral norm. Axel Honneth's concept of recognition clearly refers to Hegel's philosophy. It attempts to answer the question of the sources of social conflicts, which, in the view of social theory, are the catalysts for change. In contrast to sociologists, social philosophers, and political scientists, Axel Honneth believes that deficits in economics, technology, or the lack of natural resources are not the cause of violent social changes or revolutions today. He argues that the cause is a deficit of recognition. "Recognition represents an ideal interpersonal relationship based on reciprocity between subjects, in which each of them treats the other as an equal and at the same

time separate. This relationship is constitutive of subjectivity, for we become individual subjects only when we recognize the sovereignty of another subject and are ourselves recognized by others" (Honneth A. 2012). Thanks to the recognition bestowed upon us by another person, we can build a positive relationship with them. However, this must also be accompanied by our own recognition. Hence, the discussion of the intersubjectivity of recognition relationships.

Extremely important in Axel Honneth's theory of recognition is the notion that within a social system, three equivalent areas of recognition coexist: family, law, and the economy. These three areas constitute the institutional framework of recognition, three important social subsystems. In each of these areas, individuals operate based on generally accepted values in a manner that allows them to fulfill their assigned tasks while maintaining the possibility of obtaining a form of recognition specific to each sphere of activity. It is precisely the recognition associated with each of these areas of action that ensures the development of positive forms of self-relating, identification, and self-awareness in today's era of rapid change.

In the first area of recognition—the realm of love—it is about a kind of relationship between individuals based on strong emotional bonds and where economic and status-related compulsion is absent.

"On this first level of mutual recognition, the individual—experiencing care, commitment, and emotional closeness from people around them—should learn to perceive oneself as an individual with specific, elemental needs, an individual that is, however, reliant—when it comes to the possibility of forming an undisturbed relationship with oneself—on others and their attention" (Fraser N., Honneth A. 2005)

Recognition is formed here through self-confidence, through an elementary understanding of one's own needs. Only when we experience this first form of recognition, rooted in the family realm, will we be able to see the importance of someone else's perspective as well. With the ability to see another's perspective, we become capable of participation, gain social, civic competence.

At the foundation of each of the three spheres of recognition described by Honneth (the realm of intimacy, the realm of law, the realm of the economy), there lies a specific principle of recognition, which allows people to find: in the first realm, care and attention are shown to the inviolable, corporeal identity of every human being; in the second realm, respect is demonstrated for the rationality of a person endowed with moral competence, personal autonomy, and justified claims regarding the validity, legitimacy, and legality of their own actions and aspirations; in the third realm (the sphere of market activity), socially recognized valuable qualities and skills are acknowledged

Recognition, understood in this way, can be regarded as a condition of one's own identity, an indispensable trait necessary to answer the question of who I am. It can then be described as attention and care, forming the basis

for mature love or any mature relationship with another person, as respect for one's moral competence, enabling the formulation of moral judgments and distinguishing between good and evil, and as respecting all abilities, possibilities, and commitments in our community that it deems valuable.

Recognition can also be treated as a need. The need for recognition in its first domain (family, relationships with others, partnership, intimacy), the satisfaction of which forms the basis of our ontological security and fundamental trust. The need for recognition, which in its second area is based on our belief in our willingness, ability and skill to make moral judgments, evaluations of our own and others' behavior. The fulfillment of this need forms the basis of our autonomous judgment capability, our moral competence, associated with understanding and establishing the law. Human rights, the rights of nature, children's rights, rights as a universal ethical system to which we are all equal. And finally, in the third realm, the need for recognition is based on social solidarity and a sense of community, the conviction of our own contribution to what we collectively create with others. It is the belief that we are needed, that others see and understand the way we participate in the collective effort of the entire community.

Such an understanding of the category of recognition, treating it as a need for each of us, a need without which there is no ontological security and fundamental trust, self-respect based on the conviction of one's ability to make moral judgments and assessments, and based on the recognition of one's own capabilities, a sense of belonging and usefulness, points to the phenomenon of deprivation. An unmet need is said to be in a state of deprivation. Deprivation of our important needs causes very serious negative consequences for us. These can be illustrated on a scale: from apathy to aggression, with all the intermediate states between these poles or extremes. Deprivation of the need for recognition leads to a struggle for recognition. The struggle for recognition can take place in each of the mentioned and described areas of recognition. In the realm of ties with others, in the realm of laws and moral judgments, in the realm of economic and financial matters, or in relationships with others based on work. In each of these areas, deprivation of the need for recognition triggers a different kind, scope, and content of the struggle for recognition.

Recognition deficit in early school education

The question about the educational possibilities of building recognition-based relationships is based on the presentation, analysis, and interpretation of recognition relationships present in the elementary school environment. I do this using the example of early school education, which is most associated with the safety of students, as it is tasked with building new, initial educational experiences for the child that crosses the threshold of school education. In the first sphere of reco-

gnition, our sense of security is shaped based on the care shown to us. Care, empathy, and recognition of our needs are obvious conditions for this. Does a child, who in a symbolic sense crosses the threshold of their own experience to become a student and, in a literal sense, crosses the threshold of the school institution, experience closeness, support, and care?

The answer to this question is provided by narratives I have heard from mothers of children starting school. The basis for interpretation in this regard will be the two narratives I listened to. The participants were two mothers. The narrators are Staś's non-working mother raising three children and Jola's working mother. Both of them are residents of a small town located 50 km away from the provincial capital. Staś and Jola attend the second grade of elementary school in a small town in Lower Silesia.

This is what the mother of an 8-year-old, today a second-grade student, says about her child's initiation into school education; "Don't think that the first grade, the beginning of school is some fun, some slack. It is nothing of this sort. It is school from the first day onwards. From the very first day when the children are supposed to bring their backpacks. They already know that they are supposed to sit neatly and quietly in class, they already know their home assignments." (Staś's mother, a school in a small town). Another mother adds: "Intense learning starts from the beginning. Even before the school year started, there was a meeting where the teacher warned us that we must take it seriously, work is the only thing that matters. This is the only way for children to manage" (Jola's mother, a school in a small town).

Both of these statements dispel any illusions the reader might have about the quality of this first educational threshold experience. It has little to do with care, support, or empathy. The frames of the school institution's functioning are set in a very factual and decisively firm manner. The orientation towards work, effort, the seriousness of the situation, and emphasizing the importance of the institutional dimension of the experience are characteristic features of these narratives. The concept that allows for a deeper interpretation of such an approach to educational initiation is the notion of a ritual. The category of 'ritual' is embedded in the school reality. P. McLaren (1994, p. 6) states that the school serves as a rich repository of ritual systems: rituals play a fundamental and indelible role in the entire student existence, and various dimensions of the process are pertinent to events and affairs of institutional life, as well as the themes and fabric of school culture. On one hand, the ritual serves as a tool for maintaining social order, while on the other hand, it is a fundamental factor in changing the prevailing order. The dualism of ritual has received particular attention in the work by Turner, P. (2005, 2006) McLaren (1999, 2015).

The very first meetings with parents and students indicate the presence in school reality of a ritual that sustains the social order. Here is a child who has turned seven entering a social institution that has its order, its social function,

its place in the system. Imagining goals of this institution other than external, subordinated to the prevailing type of social order, and legitimizing its rules and norms is a misunderstanding or our dream. It is no coincidence that school starts seriously. It is no coincidence that the first communications directed to both parents and children concern their duties—the obligations of parents and children. Duties, monitoring their performance, criteria for this control, the overriding role of the institution, its order, its principles, its organizational structures over parents and children are the first and most important meanings that the school institution has to convey to those who will henceforth participate in its social practices.

Based on conducted research, P. McLaren (1999) identified five groups of rituals functioning in the school space: micro-rituals, macro-rituals, rituals of revitalization and intensification, and rituals of resistance. The first occur within a lesson unit. Macro-rituals, on the other hand, consist of micro-rituals occurring throughout the school day. The purpose of these rituals is to maintain and recreate school order. Revitalization rituals are also a tool to ensure the status quo. They are designed to strengthen the commitment of both teachers and students to uphold the existing order. Intensification rituals, on the other hand, are designed to strengthen participants in the educational process emotionally. Both revitalization and intensification rituals are tools for the reproduction of school order. Rituals of resistance, on the other hand, challenge this order. They are an expression of rebellion against prevailing rules, norms, and preconceived codes of behavior set by teachers.

Both of the initiatory experiences described by me are examples of micro-rituals designed to maintain the social order in which the school holds a dominant position. As an emissary of state power, this institution must show, from the very beginning, at the threshold of a child's educational experience, and to the parent, who holds the power.

Can relationships of recognition be built based on such a school micro-ritual? Does anyone feel safe in this narrative described in the two passages quoted? Do they feel like a subject or an object of educational measures? This is what the two Narrators say about it: "At that first meeting, everything was clear. The teacher precisely outlined her system. Grading will be point-based, and later at the half-year, she will provide us with findings based on these grades. But it depends on us – the parents – how well the children adapt to work, whether they will be systematic, whether they will learn at home" (Staś's mother). "At the meetings during the school year, the teacher warned us that if we don't work with the children at home, they won't cope. Spelling, multiplication tables, reading, telling stories from the readings – all of this needs to be practiced at home, with the child. Even now, during winter holidays, she told us to spend at least 10 minutes working with the child every day." (Jola's mom)

These two children, attending the second grade of elementary school, are preparing, through the proposed school activities based on tasks assigned

at home, for challenging, laborious work. Work based on obedience, effort and subordination. Are these conditions conducive to building relationships of recognition? Does the first sphere of recognition, which is supposed to equip us with a sense of ontological security based on fundamental trust, become an opportunity for us to build our peace, our certainty that nothing bad threatens us in this institution, nothing bad will happen to us there? Will we be treated with empathy and care there at the outset, at the threshold of our experience? Of course not. Instead, we enter an institution where we will not only spend the next 12 years, but also one that persuades us that everything it does is done for our good. Power, domination, oppression, the announcement of permanent control, and the involvement of parents in its responsibilities are the micro-rituals that both children and parents learn at the moment of initiation, the moment they pass the threshold of educational experience. Based on ethnographic research, P. McLaren concluded that students function in two worlds: school (student state) and out-of-school (streetcorner state). "These worlds remain in opposition to each other, resulting in the incompatibility of the order prevailing in one with the order that organizes life in the other." V. Turner (2005), whose research Peter McLaren referred to, in his works on the analysis of ritual and symbolic dimensions of community functioning, pointed out the intermingling of structure and anti-structure in them. Structure is all that sustains divisions between people. It is first and irreducible. Through its stability, it provides a sense of security, but also causes subjugation (Mendel 2007). Communitas, on the other hand, is the anti-structure because it blurs these divisions and creates a community. It is an egalitarian entity that mediates the transition between one (old) and another (new) structure. Communitas does not blur the differences between people, but it liberates them from conforming to prevailing norms by reversing their meaning or showing their arbitrariness. Anti-structure therefore violates the legitimacy of social norms (Turner 2005). It shows that they are a creation of the system and can change. In turn, their change brings with it the emergence of a new order. It means going beyond socially imposed roles, and allows the creation of any form, action and meaning. Therefore, it can be said that the existence of structure and communitas is necessary for progression. Variability considered through the prism of these categories has a spiral character, because through communitas a new structure is constantly being created.". (A. Babicka-Wirkus, 2016, p.77).

Based on the narratives heard, I propose expanding P. McLaren's understanding of parallel worlds in which students function to include the world of the family home. For younger early school children, to whom my interpretations apply, it seems reasonable to assume that the family home space is for them what streetcorner state is for teenagers. And it is into this space that school reality and the school's practices of power, domination and accompanying resistance suddenly enter.

This observation describes the reaction to the power-embedded manner of school initiation. Both children and their parents experience a deficit of recognition.

The emotion they feel while learning their new roles is fear. They express it in the following way: "I am terrified. I have three children; I work a lot with Staś at home but he does not always want to do homework all afternoon. He is very tired. Me, too, by the way. I have to take care of the other two. I don't know what will happen when they all be of the school age" (Staś's mother). "I check the electronic class register – homework assignments – before Jola comes back home. And already at the bus stop, when I pick her up from the school bus, I ask how much she has assigned, when she will do her homework. There are days when we can't go anywhere because of those assignments" (Jola's mother). The safety that is a condition in this sphere of recognition is replaced by fear of unrealistic, excessive duties. This fear paralyzes, and instead of building relationships of recognition, it disrupts everyday life, and builds relationships of power between the school, the parent, and the child.

How do they deal with this fear? This is what Staś's mother says about it: "My son was sick. He had chickenpox. He was absent from school for a long time. And a backlog has built up. Now we have to catch up. We have current homework and this backlog. And the teacher says that Staś is not focused during lessons, that he has changed a lot." This narrative fragment shows the extent and nature of the school's power over the student and the parent. It simultaneously reveals a deficit of recognition. Where there should be concern, understanding and support (the conditions for building a relationship of recognition in the first, security-based realm) there are accusations, demands and a transfer of responsibilities from the school to other actors (parents and child). The problem that the teacher should solve – the backlog and learning difficulties caused by the boy's illness – is shifted to the family, to the home. It is in this out-of-school, non-institutional space that the deficit, the shortage in the scope of the school's assumed educational goals, is to be reduced. Deficiencies in knowledge and understanding resulting from the prolonged illness, instead of being a reason for concern, become another task for the child and family. A school that builds a relationship of recognition would see this situation as a problem for itself, a task for the teacher. It would not turn away from the student – from the child, who, weakened by illness, is exposed to additional discomfort associated with school learning backlogs. Critical listening to narratives, as I mentioned earlier when describing the proposed methodological approach to research on the school as a space of recognition (research procedure sequence: Criticism – Narrative – Understanding – Change), allowed for recognizing in Staś's mother's statement a signal of the emergence of anti-structure in the boy's behavior, as described by P. McLaren. This anti-structure, which is a response to school micro-rules that block the satisfaction of the need for recognition, constitutes a specific defense mechanism against harm, against oppression. It reverses the meaning of social norms, showing their arbitrariness. The signal I perceived in the mother's narrative "Staś has changed" made me ask what specifically happened. It turned out that this second-grade elementary

school student, who previously liked school, actively participated in lessons now, after an illness, copes with the problem of backlogs by mentally escaping from what happens at school. This is what Staś's mother says about it: "The teacher says that Staś is not focused during lessons, he is drifting off somewhere, he is not participating in what other children are doing. She gave me an example: they had a friendship contest, all the children participated actively, and only Staś sat as if he were absent. She asked him what was going on and he replied that he was assembling a pen. And, apparently, the situation happens repeatedly. Staś is constantly occupied with a pencil, pen, tinkering, dismantling. The teacher even stated that Staś's behavior indicates neurosis."

It seems to me that what we observe here, in this little child who is just beginning his educational activity, a deprivation of the need for recognition. Right after the illness, Staś complained to his mom that the teacher no longer praises him. Such deprivation of the need for recognition in a young child, for whom the school area, the space of education, is a new realm, with which the child is being familiarized, an area where new safe rules of the game, new safe relationships based on care, support, mutual respect must emerge, leads to compensatory behaviors, defensive behaviors. P. McLaren calls these behaviors rituals. I think this young child is already developing his own rituals of resistance. Resistance, which is a response to the deprivation of the need for recognition and is directed against the order (macro-rituals) of the school. Such behaviors, which teachers often complain about, are very common among the youngest students. Deprivation of the need for recognition leads to an escape from order, from the power of the school, its educational practices, principles and rules on which it is based. Children escape into a world of substitute activities that give them a chance to feel positive emotions that are not associated with unpleasantness and fear. It is interesting to observe the behavior of teachers towards such children's ritual of resistance. It is usually a pre-critical (based on common knowledge, lacking reflection) anger and intervention directed towards a child and its parent. A child's long illness is not a signal to the teacher that she should take some non-standard measures to solve the related problem. The teacher sees nothing to do on her side. The problem, in her opinion, is with the child and his parents.

The experiences described above and present in the narratives cited are based on the deprivation of the need for recognition. Both the described students and their mothers feel a deficit of recognition related to the school, to the educational everyday life that takes place in this institution. Deprived of care, empathy, attention, students escape into rituals of resistance. Staś defensively focuses his attention on dismantling a pen, playing with a pencil, Jurek, as a more expressive child, unable to sit still, runs around the classroom, tries to establish relationships with other students. He does it during lessons because that is when he feels a dysfunctional recognition deficit. He cannot find recognition in his interaction with his teacher – he seeks it in his interaction with his colleagues. Seeking

a safe space beyond the daily micro-ritual of the classroom is a characteristic reaction associated with a deficit of recognition. Staś does not fit into the school's ritualistic daily routine. In this case it is caused by the backlog caused by illness, which the teacher does not treat as her own problem, but treats it as a disruption, as a deviation from the school routine, from the norm that organizes this space.

She takes actions falling within the description of revitalizing rituals. According to P. McLaren, their task is to restore the disrupted order and to guard the school's order. These revitalizing rituals of the teacher with respect to Staś include constant tests, unexpected reading comprehension checks, extra assignments, homework also on days off and winter holidays. Listening to this narrative, I had the impression that Staś's teacher was trying to extend her authority, along with the accompanying tools of power, beyond the school institution and the time spent there. Parents understood this very well. This is how Staś's mother talks about it: "The teacher told us to practice spelling at home. And we, even going somewhere by car, we all play such a game, such a competition, helping to learn the spelling rules. We do it on a who's first basis, we practice with Staś wherever we can." Not only did the school in this case broaden the scope, area, and influence of its power, but also the deficit of recognition, the deprivation of the need for recognition originating in the school, was transferred to the home. The ritual of revitalization, aimed at strengthening the operation of school rules and norms, also became a ritual of the family home. It took place during Staś's free time and the entire family's free time. In this way, the school's power, the dominance of its administrative, organizational, and axiological order, passed beyond the scope of the institution and entered the realm of private life. Therefore, we deal here not only with revitalization rituals, but also with intensification rituals. They involve enhancing the emotional impact of the school. Certainly, the described behaviors intensify the emotional experiences of both Staś and his parents. It seems that this entire family lives with and through the school. Two of the siblings are younger children, and the father works all day – he is the sole provider for this five-person family. My narrator – Staś's mother – is already worried about what she will do, how she will cope when all three of her children reach school age.

The problem of the deficit of recognition is clearly evident in the narrations. Even at the early school stage, children's need for recognition is not fulfilled. It turns out that they cope with this deficit through rituals of resistance. These are rather micro rituals of micro resistance at this stage, however, their occurrence signals something very important. First of all, these children react immediately to the deficit of recognition. They find substitute forms of activity (tinkering, running around the classroom). Secondly, they transfer this reaction to their homes – the deficit of recognition does not dissipate when they finish lessons. Somehow, the experience of lack of recognition begins to organize the home life of these children as well. But this is not the end of the consequences of the deficit of recognition with a school, educational origin. It also becomes an experience

for the parents of these children. It appears in family everyday life, begins to organize it, and influences its course. Parents dedicate their time, family activities to attempts to satisfy the recognition needs of their child experiencing deprivation. This is indicated by Staś's mother when she says: "Sometimes we can't even go for a walk or to the backyard. I also don't go out with the younger children then – we spend the whole afternoon doing homework". School revitalization rituals also include an excess of homework. They make the life of a family with a school-age child begin to be based on the rules on which this institution is based, its mechanisms of power and domination. The rituals of intensification (the announcement of a test, emphasizing the significance of grades – be it descriptive or numerical, incessantly demonizing the impact of school performance on one's entire life, on all successes or failures) do not allow the family of a learning child to forget about school and liberate themselves from its control even for a moment.

Both described situations show that there is a biographical memory associated with the deficit or refusal of recognition. The deficit or refusal of recognition has a biographical rather than individual, episodic character. Remembered experiences influence how we build our social relationships in completely different times, under different conditions, and in different power relations. The power and domination embedded in the deficit or refusal of recognition are transferred by us to other spheres of our lives. This makes it all the more important to recount, describe and understand such experiences. Understand in order to change – the school, the teachers, the domination, and the power that, as evident, affects our entire lives.

Conclusion

The question of how the need for recognition is satisfied in the Polish school leads us to explore how parents cope with the deprivation of this need. The two narratives cited here illustrate two distinct parental reactions to the recognition deficit. Staś's mother, through rituals of revitalization and intensification, allowed the school to enter her family life. The school's authority, rules, and norms, on which this institution is based, gained access to the private, intimate sphere of the woman's life. Emotions, related to the deprivation of the need for recognition, the strategies used by the teacher in this situation, her escape from the problem that arose after a prolonged absence from the student – all this became part of the boy's no longer only school functioning, no longer only the occasional parents dealing with the issue. The school's authority and the rituals of its maintenance, restoration, and continuous reinforcement of school-related emotions became part of the daily life of this family. Staś's mother has also developed her own revitalizing and intensifying rituals in this situation. She described them as follows: "I didn't know what to do anymore to make my son do his homework, learn in the afternoons. And I found a way. Staś has this little motorcycle – his father rides

with him, but we call it Staś's little motorcycle. And every free moment, he runs to the garage to tinker with it. So, I made up a story about how if the motorcycle doesn't have gas it won't go, it won't start. I asked my son if he understood it. And when he said he did, I compared the knowledge he gains in school to that gas. I told him that without school, he 'won't go.' That he needs to learn, catch up on everything because he won't cope later in school or in life. He'll be stuck like that motorcycle." The favorite-vehicle metaphor used by the mother for the ritual of revitalization and intensification (i.e., upholding the rules, norms on which the school is based, and the inscribed emotions that ensure its permanence) proved to be very effective. This measure illustrates how, in an oppressive institution that does not provide recognition, referencing something meaningful to us from a completely different, non-school-related, and therefore safe world becomes functional. 8-year-old Staś does not want his motorcycle to break down. The symbol of adulthood, masculinity, the exceptional object shared by the little boy and his father. Based on this, incorporating this experience (owning the motorcycle together with the father) into the area of the school deprivation of the boy, including its meaning, importance, and significant value, has sustained the importance, meaning, and value of school and school learning. A very interesting and different revitalization ritual was used by the mother of Jola – a second-grade student from a school located in a small town. Here is an excerpt from that narrative: "The teacher in our class is very demanding. But that's good. Children need to learn hard work, effort to achieve to something. That's why I check the electronic class register every day before Jola comes home from school. And I closely monitor additional assignments. Once a month, the teacher does some project with the kids – about friendship, nature, animals. These projects are more directed towards us – parents. But we have to support the child. It's very important how Jola stands out in the class. School comes first." In this narrative, revitalizing and intensifying rituals are also present, aimed at securing the school beyond the realm of its operation. They are directly internalized by the narrator. She fully identifies with the school institution, embracing its rules. The neoliberal values that become the justification for educational practices are also her values. Hard work, responsibility, and shifting the responsibility for the quality of homework to parents to build the position of one's own child are fully accepted by this mother. In this case, there is no resistance, disagreement, or rebellion. There is complete acceptance, and attention is focused on the technical, embedded in the logic of instrumental reason, conditions of goal-oriented operation, which is the school success of one's own child. Recognition in this case is equated with some undefined future, the vision of which is in line with the neoliberal myth. At no time does this mother focus on her child's well-being at school, on her child's sense of security. The internalized task of school success organizes her thinking. Despite this difference, in this case too, the school's authority, its organizing, sustaining rituals that ensure continuity and existence, are transferred to family life

and the household. The necessity of subordinating oneself in one's private space to the goals formulated by the school does not evoke any rebellion or resistance here. It is treated as an inconvenience that needs to be resolved. However, regardless of the differences in the narratives presented, they all show how much early school education is focused on the mechanisms of power and dominance of the institution that is the school, rather than on ontological safety and fundamental trust, which are part of recognition relationships.

In my opinion, this is a surprising and important result of research on school as a space of recognition. It shows that the deficit of recognition:

1. has a lifelong character.
2. It becomes part of our biographical experience, updating itself through our memory.
3. It comes to fore at various moments in our lives, influencing our actions and relationships with others.
4. It introduces revitalizing and intensifying rituals, mechanisms of power, and dominance into various areas of our lives not directly related to its origin.
5. It leads to the maintenance of rituals responsible for its emergence.
6. From an early age, it leads to the emergence of micro-resistance and resistance that is not through the institution responsible for the deficit of recognition.
7. It generates resistance, which is not recognized as a signal of the existence of a recognition deficit problem but only as a disturbance in the functioning of the school.
8. It not only extends to our entire life but also to other areas of our functioning – professional, personal, intimate – unrelated to its origin.
9. It is subject to generalization, significantly impacting the way we build our self-perception.

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