

You have downloaded a document from RE-BUŚ repository of the University of Silesia in Katowice

Title: The Theory-cognitive Significance of Janusz Reykowski's Concept of the Development of Evaluative Standards in Intercultural Studies

Author: Ewa Ogrodzka-Mazur

Citation style: Ogrodzka-Mazur Ewa. (2017). The Theory-cognitive Significance of Janusz Reykowski's Concept of the Development of Evaluative Standards in Intercultural Studies. "Kultura i Edukacja" (2017, nr 4, s. 95-105), doi 10.15804/kie.2017.04.07



Uznanie autorstwa - Użycie niekomercyjne - Bez utworów zależnych Polska - Licencja ta zezwala na rozpowszechnianie, przedstawianie i wykonywanie utworu jedynie w celach niekomercyjnych oraz pod warunkiem zachowania go w oryginalnej postaci (nie tworzenia utworów zależnych).









No. 4 (118), pp. 95–105 DOI: 10.15804/kie.2017.04.07 www.kultura-i-edukacja.pl

EWA OGRODZKA-MAZUR¹

The Theory-cognitive Significance of Janusz Reykowski's Concept of the Development of Evaluative Standards in Intercultural Studies

ABSTRACT

In the presented work, an attempt is made to specify the theory-cognitive significance of J. Reykowski's concept of multidimensional moral development for intercultural studies. This proposal seems to be particularly useful in pedagogical analyses dealing with moral reasoning of children. The presented research results and their interpretation confirm the presence of intercultural differentiation in the development of evaluation standards of learners in late childhood. Therefore, this concept may have broader application in intercultural studies in education.

Keywords:

moral development, borderland, multi- and intercultural education, intercultural studies

INTRODUCTION

Expressing evaluating judgments by individuals is a significant constituent of the way their world of values is pictured. It also helps to analyze the process of valuing certain phenomena (stimuli, objects, events) which function in the observed socio-cultural reality. One of the most important features of such processes is the individual's constant and methodical ordering of phenomena, mostly from the point of view of their positive or negative character. This means the ordering is

¹ Institute of Education, Faculty of Ethnology and Educational Science in Cieszyn, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland, E-MAIL: eom1@wp.pl.

done in regard to the **valence** of phenomena, which occurs in two basic forms – as the **affective reaction** or **evaluative judgment**; the latter appears when the individual is equipped with appropriate cognitive standards (Reykowski, 1990, p. 36; Czapiński, 1988, pp. 101–112). In the analysis of the individual's moral development, Janusz Reykowski's concept takes into consideration a broader, multidimensional perspective of the development of the individual's general evaluation activity and its principles. Therefore, referring to this concept allows to distinguish three qualitatively different processes (developmental levels) of attributing valency to cognitive schemes due to three different sources of standards:

- level (development) of **hedonistic** standards (the organismal source) the organism's ability to respond affectively to various stimuli (experiences) which differ in modality, intensity, frequency and timing. Owing to affective reactions, resulting from different activities, appropriate cognitive schemes become filled with affective contents and are transformed into hedonistic evaluation standards:
- level (development) of **normative** standards (the social source) originating in the course of social interaction through main forms of social influence on the individual (modelling – providing model patterns and using obligation), which bring about normative evaluation standards of two kinds: authoritarian standards, where authority (for instance: an important person to the child) is the source of the standard, and conformist ones, where the group of equals (peers) becomes this source. As a result of the individual's developmental processes, normative standards (controlled by the experience of approval/ disapproval) undergo transformation, which leads to weakened sensitivity of evaluation judgments to outer influence, and, in turn, to the birth of the individual's (more or less intense) inner control;
- level (development) of **cognitive** standards (the cognitive source) which make cognitive schemes (representing the phenomena that facilitate or hindrance the function of stabilized cognitive structures) acquire valence – in this way becoming cognitive standards of evaluation. Thus, the individual can make conscious choices resulting from the multitude of experience (information) which constitutes the following kinds of standards dependent on the individual's system of values: ipsocentric (representations of one's own person, or the I structure), allocentric (representations of other people as particular individuals), sociocentric (representations of bigger social entities – groups, organizations and institutions) and <u>task-based</u> ones (representations of particular tasks) (Reykowski, 1990, pp. 37–50).

The development of each type of evaluation standards (judgments) described above occurs in a different way and, according to Reykowski, may lead to divergence and/or conflicts in the field of their activity. One of more advanced ways of handling such conflicts is the coordination of standards, manifested in the development of certain metarules specifying the ways in which the individual makes choices and taking into regard the requirements of various evaluation criteria. The applied metarules are linked with the individual's personal system of values and they become superior – axiological – evaluation standards (Revkowski, 1990, p. 51; Jarymowicz, 1999, pp. 67–75). In the course of personal life, they enable the acquisition of the ability to evaluate and express evaluations, which constitutes a complex intellectual cognitive process.

POSSIBLE APPLICATIONS OF REYKOWSKI'S CONCEPT OF MULTIDIMENSIONAL MORAL DEVELOPMENT IN INTERCULTURAL STUDIES - AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE AUTHOR'S OWN **RESEARCH RESULT**

In the author's research² the assumption was made that learners living in culturally differentiated environments (borderland or its lack, type of borderland – transient or contact one) differ in their evaluation orientations (Gołąb & Reykowski, 1985, p. 40; Gołąb, 2001, pp. 59–72). A detailed analysis was made of evaluation activity of class I–III children, which enabled learning their inner standards of evaluation. In order to do this, the pupils' responses were used – free open responses on six moral values: *good*, *loving*, *helpful*, *truthful*, *honest*, *kind* – presented in the form of a conflict in picture stories. The stories constructed for the research were prepared in such a way that they referred to everyday, well-known (to children) experiences of typical events in family and school life. At the same time, they were to present a description of a moral dilemma in the category of behaviours in such a way that it could also be interpreted in the category of motivation for this kind of activity, that is, in the category of value.

The author's research was carried out in 2002-2005 in: the Polish-Belarussian borderland (Białystok – Grodno), the Polish-Czech (Cieszyn – Czech Cieszyn) and the Polish-German (Gubin – Guben) ones. The research was also conducted in environments which are homogeneous as regards cultural differentiation (Kielce - Trzebinia). The second research was carried out in 2008-2011 in the Polish-Czech borderland and the Polish-German one. The third research was carried out in 2015-2016 in the Polish-Czech borderland. The studies comprised 795 children from I–III classes, 713 parents and 98 teachers of integrated primary education. Broader discussion of the analyzed issues can be found in the works of E. Ogrodzka-Mazur (2007, 2011, 2016a, 2016b).

The situations presented in the stories formed the foundation for both the ordering of phenomena from the point of view of their positiveness or negativeness, and for forming particular types of evaluation standards which represent various evaluation orientations:

- hedonistic (organismal) orientation: such standards were chosen owing to which the evaluated behaviours could seem "physically pleasant" or "physically unpleasant" for the child,
- normative-authoritarian orientation: such standards were chosen owing to which the evaluated behaviours may be treated as appropriate because they were concordant with the opinions and expectations of people who are significant for the child (e.g., parents, teachers),
- normative-conformist orientation: such standards were chosen owing to which the evaluated behaviours may be treated as appropriate because they were concordant with the opinions and expectations of the peers,
- pragmatic-ipsocentric orientation: such standards were chosen owing to which the evaluated behaviours could seem favourable or unfavourable for the child,
- pragmatic-allocentric orientation: such standards were chosen owing to which the evaluated behaviours could seem favourable or unfavourable for another person who is important for the child,
- pragmatic-sociocentric orientation: such standards were chosen owing to which the evaluated behaviours could seem favourable or unfavourable for the group which is close to the child (family, peer group, school class),
- pragmatic-task orientation: such standards were chosen owing to which the evaluated behaviours could be viewed not in the context of one's own and the others' interests, but could be seized in a broader context as a task system undertaken by anyone who can contribute to solving the task,
- axiological orientation: such standards (metastandards) were chosen owing to which the evaluated behaviours could be treated as appropriate because they were concordant with the recognized (by the child) system of higher values – at the same time (due to the respondents' age) the lack or incidental occurrence of the differentiation in axiological criteria was assumed3.

Individual responses of children were conditioned by four initial questions: (a) describe in your own words what you can see in the picture, (b) evaluate the

In constructing the theoretical assumptions of learners' evaluation activity in late childhood and in preparing picture stories, the suggestions included in the following works were used: Czerniawska, 1995, pp. 63-64; Gołąb & Reykowski, 1985, pp. 12-49; Smoleńska & Wieczorkowska, 1993, pp. 105–137; Skarżyńska, 1990, pp. 101–112; 2003, pp. 5–24).

behaviour of the heroes, (c) justify why the heroes behave this way, (d) describe and justify your behaviour in a similar situation. In the applied classification of pupils' declarations concerning the choice of reasons for behaviour in certain socio-moral situations, what was mainly taken into account was the criterion of the frequency of the pupils' using the values as inner standards. Outer socialization determinants, associated with the differentiation due to children's sex and age, as well as with cultural differentiation (borderland type, socio-economic status of their educational environments), were also focused on.

The analysis of the empirical data, performed in regard to the ways of behaviour justification (attributing values), indicated that I–III class learners present different, simultaneously occurring, evaluation orientations, which (due to the examined environments) formed the following systems:

- in the Polish-Belarussian borderland: hedonistic pragmatic-allocentric - normative-authoritarian,
- in the Polish-Czech borderland: hedonistic pragmatic-ipsocentric/allocentric – normative-conformist/authoritarian,
- in the Polish-German borderland: *hedonistic normative-conformist prag*matic-ipsocentric,
- in culturally homogeneous environments: hedonistic normative-authoritarian – pragmatic-sociocentric/task.

What is a characteristic feature of all examined children is exhibiting two basic forms of evaluation activity - emotional and notional - which, as important developmental markers of late childhood, determine the process of evaluation. Evaluation preferences of children are based on a double system which is associated with organismal standards (the source of children's expression of affective experience) and which also refers to social influences and cognitive functioning.

The categories of moral values – good, loving, helpful, truthful, honest, kind – applied in the research are considered by younger children mostly on the level of behaviours; whereas, the situation interpretations of class III pupils are more frequently connected with the motivation to this kind of activities (with autonomic values). Inner standards, as the criteria used by older children, most frequently function while referring to the following values:

- *good* in the Polish-Belarussian borderland,
- *loving* in the Polish-Czech borderland,
- *truthful* in the Polish-German borderland,
- *helpful* in culturally homogeneous environments.

At the same time, the values of good, love and truth are – due to axiological preferences of borderland learners – most appreciated by them as inner determi-

nants of their ethical conduct towards other people. The implementation of the other values – *helpful*, *honest*, *kind* – which received lower preferences in spite of their declared (by children of both sexes) importance, does not find confirmation in concrete socio-moral behaviours. The evaluation criteria used in this case depend on outer factors, and are formed in the context of gaining immediate benefits (pleasures) from being helpful, honest and kind. This kind of orientation, called hedonistic-pragmatic (egocentric) by N. Eisenberg, reflects considerable impact of hedonistic standards on younger children. Affective experiences (marked by valency features) expressed by these children refer mostly to direct, individual observations of different facts and phenomena and their ordering (notional coding or associating with notions) with a view to achieving personal satisfaction. According to J. Reykowski, the development of all evaluation standards occurs in two layers. Firstly, hedonistic (organismal) standards appear as the earliest ones because children seem to identify what is good with what is pleasant. Secondly, in the process of development, the range of hedonistic standards broadens, which results in their gradual stabilization, expressed by more or less stable hedonistic preferences of children (Gołąb & Reykowski, 1985, pp. 40–41).

Culturally determined differences appear in reference to normative and cognitive standards. In the declarations of learners living in transient borderlands (Białystok – Grodno and Czech Cieszyn), the authority of parents and teachers as the source of normative standards is marked as statistically significant (on the level 0.05). A clear tendency among children to harmonize these two sources of authoritarian influences can be indicated. Although authority implies hierarchical relations, requires subordination and one-sided respect (Gołąb & Reykowski, 1985, p. 20), learners' free responses reflect a positive emotional attitude to parents and teachers, shaped through the direct observation, imitation and identification with them. Close, warm relation with parents (especially mothers) is confirmed by all examined children, and it is the authority of mother that determines their evaluations. The results of many studies on the transformations taking place in contemporary families confirm that "regardless their type, the significance of material bonds decreased significantly [...]. However, the significance of subject-oriented bonds, based on emotional relations, love, friendship, kindness and respect, increased. A kind of evolution of mutual relations in family has taken place" (Jacher, 1987, p. 63; Adamski, 2002; Brzozowski, 1988; Nowak-Dziemianowicz, 2002; Ogrodzka-Mazur, 2011, 2016; Rostowska, 1991). Analyzing the group of parents and mixed families (of various nationalities and/or religions) living in transient borderlands, a lot of attention is paid to the parents' personal example, which in their opinion determines the level and quality of the values represented by the child. Good, love and tolerance (not only religious) are not only values declared by parents, but they are also present in their everyday behaviours. This can be confirmed by the results of the observation of participants, as well as the results of earlier studies in this field (Lewowicki & Suchodolska, 2000; Nikitorowicz, 1992; Nikitorowicz, 1997; Rusek, 1997). In these families, a specific cross-generation transmission takes place and its determinant is passing cultural contents and goods (experiences), referred to as cultural heritage of the family commonwealth, which indicates the way in which this family's tradition comes into being.

To the same or greater extent (in Grodno and Czech Cieszyn, Kendall's tau rank correlation coefficient is respectively: 0.86 and 0.73) than parental influences, the authority of the teacher as a significant person becomes the source of normative standards for learners. In culturally homogeneous environments, children are mostly guided by the standards of the teacher's authority (in Kielce and Trzebinia, Kendall's rank correlation coefficient tau is 0.73); however, their parents' opinions have much less influence on their evaluations. Such high rank of teachers and parents' authority, in both transient borderlands (except for Cieszyn) and in culturally homogeneous environments, has various determinants. On the basis of the conducted observations, interviews and the research among the respondents, the following can be recognized as most significant:

- preserving cultural continuity in family and school as developmental contexts of the child in spite of current transformation processes and cultural changes,
- personal (emotional-intimate) character of mutual relations: parent child – teacher, which have a high level of stability and permanence,
- successful (undisturbed) fulfillment of the developmental tasks of late childhood concerning family and school, which enables - according to E.H. Erikson's concept – a synthesis of experience and, at the same time, building a well-balanced sense of identity,
 - no phenomenon of "socialization shift".

A different type of normative orientation, of conformist nature, occurs in case of learners from Polish-German contact borderland and children from Cieszyn. The source of their evaluation activity is mostly the reference group which implies the relation of equality and the demands which often have the character of "collective will" (Gołąb & Reykowski, 1985, p. 44; Reykowski, Skarżyńska, & Ziółkowski, 1990). The significance of peer group remains in sharp contact with the influence of parents and teachers' authority, despite statistically significant similarity between the two agents in the field of axiological preferences (Kendall's tau rank correlation coefficient is 0.86 for Gubin and Guben, and 0.73 for Cieszyn). In their responses, the examined pupils attribute their peers a significant role in the process of evaluation. Close friends' opinions and the demands of the group (most often an informal one) determine the criteria according to which their evaluation activity occurs. The tendency of children from Gubin, Guben and Cieszyn to follow the preferences of the peer group (more than in the remaining environments) may be associated with cultural and socialization changes which take place in the investigated borderlands. Among other features, these changes are characterized by:

- gradual transformation of the contact Polish-German borderland into an immigration-economic borderland and of the transient Polish-Czech borderland into a borderland related to a contact one,
- pupils' forming of a new behaviour style, based on indirect interactions with adults, or direct ones, most often necessitated by particular family or school situation,
- the occurrence of "socialization shift", which means evidently limited significance of parents and teachers' authority,
- the lack of coherence in the perception and fulfillment of late childhood developmental tasks, which are more oriented towards achieving personal independence.

In the situation of multicultural transient borderlands, learners – contrary to their peers living in the Polish-German borderland or in culturally homogeneous environments – declare stronger influence of pragmatic-allocentric standards (used mainly by girls – Białystok, Grodno, Czech Cieszyn) and ipsocentric ones (used more frequently by boys from Cieszyn) on their evaluations. In many situations, the girls' evaluation of behaviours, as favourable or unfavourable for another important for them person, has features of autoreflexive empathic orientation, which N. Eisenberg attributes to some school children and to many adolescents. Thus, it can be assumed that in the examined transient borderland environments more mature moral reasoning of pupils occurs, the reasoning which focuses on the human nature of the Other, and which triggers off positive emotions connected with the effects of learners' own acts (Eisenberg, 1990, pp. 104–109). The moral values preferred in these groups (*good* and *loving*) get the nature of internalized metaprinciples (axiological criteria) which justify undertaking actions for the good and/or protection of other people. However, as other studies seem to confirm, the frequently expressed by boys orientation towards their own interests, growing especially in class III, seems to be a developmental property concordant with the stereotype of the male role. It also agrees with the general tendency highlighting the permanence of our cultural tradition in the aspect of socialization in the field of sex (Smoleńska & Wieczorkowska, 1993, pp. 133–134; Mandal, 2004, pp. 17–27).

Pragmatic-ipsocentric modality is used as the domineering evaluation standard by most of the pupils from the Polish-German borderland, who indicate in their declarations an important role of their own Self in behaviour control. Individualistic character of children's evaluations is expressed firstly in reference to behaviours which bring about I benefit (pleasure); and secondly, as a way of rationalization which justifies the lack of such behaviours which might be unfavourable for I. The double – motivational and rationalization – meaning of egocentric orientation exhibited by pupils is strictly connected with their high evaluation of the value *truthful*, which is also a basic criterion (principle) of their own conduct and of the valuation of other people's deeds.

In culturally homogeneous environments, the domination of pragmatic task/ sociocentric standards is quite distinct — according to them, children evaluate behaviours not in regard to their own and/or other people's interests, but are guided by the good of a particular situation (a task) which is to be fulfilled. In case of most children, the task orientation determines the sociocentric attitude in relation to positively evaluated school peer group. Their evident preferring of the value *helpful* may be associated with particular cultural and socialization patterns, shaped in integrated classes (such classes also function in Białystok and Cieszyn); and may also be connected with the stronger (than in other examined environments) authority of teachers and the educational values promoted by them.

CONCLUSIONS

Concluding the undertaken discussion, an attempt to specify the theory-cognitive significance of Reykowski's concept of multidimensional moral development for intercultural studies draws attention to the occurrence of:

- double (emotional and notional) character of evaluation preferences of class
 I–III learners from culturally differentiated environments,
- simultaneous different evaluation orientations, the arrangement of which is determined by cultural and socialization character of basic educational environments,
- inner standards as evaluation criteria applied by III class pupils, functioning in regard to the value *good* (in Polish-Belarussian borderland), *loving* (in Polish-Czech borderland), *truthful* (in Polish-German borderland), and *helpful* (in culturally homogeneous environments);

more mature moral reasoning in the situation of transient borderlands, which is characterized by autoreflexive empathic orientation, attributed to some school children and many adolescents.

The presented research results and their interpretation confirm, in regard to Revkowski's concept of multidimensional moral development, the presence of intercultural differentiation in the development of evaluation standards of learners in late childhood. Thus, this concept may have broader application in intercultural studies in education.

References

- Adamski, F. (2002). Rodzina. Wymiar społeczno-kulturowy. Kraków: UJ.
- Brzozowski, P. (1988). Przekazywanie wartości w rodzinie. Psychologia Wychowawcza, 31(2), pp. 190–199.
- Czapiński, J. (1988). Wartościowanie. Efekt negatywności. (O naturze realizmu). Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Czerniawska, M. (1995). Inteligencja a system wartości. Studium psychologiczne. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie Trans Humana.
- Eisenberg, N. (1990). Rozwój wartości prospołecznych. In: J. Reykowski, N. Eisenberg, & E. Staub (Eds.), *Indywidualne i społeczne wyznaczniki wartościowania* (pp. 99–116). Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Gołąb, A. (2001). Metafora "formowania się doświadczeń wokół emocji" jako klucz do rozumienia osobowości wielorakiej. *Studia Psychologiczne*, 39(1), pp. 59–72.
- Gołab, A., Revkowski, J. (1985), Studia nad rozwojem standardów ewaluatywnych, Zmiany w motywacji zachowań prospołecznych. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Jacher, W. (1987). Więź społeczna w teorii i praktyce. Katowice: UŚ.
- Jarymowicz, M. (1999). O jednym z tropów w myśleniu Janusza Reykowskiego: reakcje afektywne i sądy ewaluatywne jako formy wartościowania, Studia Psychologiczne, 37(2), pp. 67–75.
- Lewowicki, T., & Suchodolska, J. (Eds.). (2000). Rodzina Wychowanie Wielokulturowość. Cieszyn: UŚ – Filia w Cieszynie, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna ZNP w Warszawie.
- Mandal, E. (2004). Podmiotowe i interpersonalne konsekwencje stereotypów związanych z płcią. Katowice: UŚ.
- Nikitorowicz, J. (1992). Socjalizacja i wychowanie w zróżnicowanych wyznaniowo i etnicznie rodzinach Białostocczyzny. Białystok: UW – Filia w Białymstoku.
- Nikitorowicz, J. (Ed.). (1997). Rodzina wobec wyzwań edukacji międzykulturowej. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie Trans Humana.
- Nowak-Dziemianowicz, M. (2002). Doświadczenia rodzinne w narracjach. Interpretacje sensów i znaczeń. Wrocław: UW.
- Ogrodzka-Mazur, E. (2007). Kompetencja aksjologiczna dzieci w młodszym wieku szkolnym. Studium porównawcze środowisk zróżnicowanych kulturowo. Katowice: UŚ.
- Ogrodzka-Mazur, E. (2011). Rodzina i dziecko w otoczeniu wielokulturowym. Relacje międzypokoleniowe i ich rola w przekazie wartości. In: T. Lewowicki, E. Ogrodzka-Mazur,

- & A. Szczurek-Boruta (Eds.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa dokonania, problemy, perspektywy* (pp. 15–71). Cieszyn–Warszawa–Toruń: Wydział Etnologii i Nauk o Edukacji Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna ZNP w Warszawie, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Ogrodzka-Mazur, E. (2016a). Wartości cenione przez uczniów z pogranicza polsko-czeskiego. In: T. Lewowicki, E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, A. Minczanowska, & G. Piechaczek-Ogierman, *Sfery życia duchowego dzieci i młodzieży. Studium z pogranicza polsko-czeskiego.* T. 1. *Przemiany wartości i aspiracji życiowych* (pp. 23–98). Cieszyn–Toruń: Wydział Etnologii i Nauk o Edukacji Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Ogrodzka-Mazur, E. (2016b). The Specificity of Educating Young Learners in the Culturally Diversified Environment. In: E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, B. Grabowska, A. Szafrańska-Gajdzica, & Ł. Kwadrans, *Education of Children and Youth in Culturally Diverse Environments: Experiences Problems Prospects* (pp. 54–86). Munich: LINCOM Academic Publishers.
- Reykowski, J. (1990). Rozwój moralny jako zjawisko wielowymiarowe. In: J. Reykowski, N. Eisenberg, & E. Staub (Eds.), *Indywidualne i społeczne wyznaczniki wartościowania* (pp. 33–58). Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Reykowski, J., Skarżyńska, K., & Ziółkowski, M. (Eds.). (1990). Orientacje społeczne jako element mentalności. Poznań: "Nakom", UAM.
- Rostowska, T. (1991). Rozwojowe aspekty transmisji międzypokoleniowej w rodzinie. In: Z. Tyszka (Ed.), *Stan i przeobrażenia współczesnych rodzin polskich* (pp. 252–255). Poznań: UAM.
- Rusek, H. (1997). Kulturowe wzory życia polskich rodzin na Zaolziu a asymilacja. Studium socjologiczne. Katowice: UŚ.
- Skarżyńska, K. (1990). Międzysytuacyjna stałość standardów ewaluacji, *Przegląd Psychologiczny*, 1, pp. 101–112.
- Skarżyńska, K. (2003). Moralnościowe vs sprawnościowe spostrzeganie rzeczywistości a postawy i zachowania społeczne, *Studia Psychologiczne*, 41(3), pp. 5–24.
- Smoleńska, Z., & Wieczorkowska, G. (1993). Rozwój standardów ewaluacji w okresie dorastania. In: Z. Smoleńska (Ed.), *Badania nad rozwojem w okresie dorastania* (pp. 105–137). Warszawa: IP PAN.