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## SCHOOL AS A CHILDHOOD PLACE. EXPERIENCE OF 3<sup>RD</sup>-GRADE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS\*

**Introduction:** Childhood is a very important stage in life, during which a child defines itself and its life undertaking numerous activities, initially in the family environment and later in school. School is one area of children's existence in which everyday life concentrates for many years. The article presents images of childhood spent in school, referring to occupied places and undertaken activities.

**Research Aim:** The study's aim was to learn about the experience of 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students connected to school as a childhood place.

**Method:** The research was carried out in the paradigm of qualitative research, constructed on narrative interviews. Researchers used friendly methods of collecting data when examining children. The respondents created artworks which became reference introductions to the interview. The 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students described their school's reality and experience.

**Results:** Coded empirical data enabled to identify categories depicting school as a childhood place. Taking into account security, attractiveness, activity and identity, they were named as follows: school as a place for children's games, school as a place to learn with others, school as a place of building identity and school as an untamed place.

**Conclusions:** Research shows that school is a place where the personal treatment of a child is not always dominant in terms of an active self-regulatory person. For some children this is an area related to experiencing their own lonely individuality.

**Keywords:** child, childhood, childhood places, school.

### INTRODUCTION

Subject areas of the child and childhood are framed in various perspectives: anthropological-philosophical, historical, psychological-developmental, sociologi-

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\* Suggested citation: Lulek, B. (2023). School as a Childhood Place. Experience of 3<sup>rd</sup>-Grade Elementary School Students. *Lubelski Rocznik Pedagogiczny*, 42(2), 63–76. <http://dx.doi.org/10.17951/lrp.2023.42.2.63-76>

cal, humane and pedagogical (Matyjas, 2022). In the 1990s, childhood research began to be treated as a separate subject of research, with a clear epistemological and methodological profile and terminology. It was noticed that childhood – its nature, course and pace of development, are largely conditioned by the context in which the child lives. Different variations of childhood were pointed out, childhood was treated as a period constructed by the cultural and social context, the importance of interdisciplinary research on the child was emphasised and the significance of subjectivity in relations with the child and children's rights were clearly accentuated (Jarosz, 2017). Children were treated as part of society and culture, active constructors of their own lives.

In pedagogical literature, we can find references to many contexts of childhood, including the child's everyday life, the child's living space (Smolińska-Theiss, 1993), duties imposed on the child (Schaffer, 2006), the child's free time (Izdebska, 1996), environmental conditions of its activity (family, school, peer or institutional, along with social changes and their impact on childhood) (Łaciak, 2013), as well as images of (lonely) childhood (Izdebska, 2008), appropriated childhood (Waloszek, 2009), sad childhood – expressionless (Kazubowska, 2009), child in crisis (Matyjas, 2008), media childhood (Łaciak, 2003), reflective childhood (Danilewicz, 2009), as well as happy or community-family childhood (Izdebska, 2015). Childhood is presented from the perspective of both correct and incorrect conditions of development, upbringing and education, in the context of family culture and environment (Smolińska-Theiss, 2014).

Pedagogical research on childhood carried out in many contexts focuses on three levels – subordination, equivalence or relative independence and autonomy (Śliwerski, 2007). The first of them refers to describing childhood in terms of objectively understood relations of an adult – parent, teacher and society member with a child who plays an inactive socio-cultural role. The child lacks the opportunity to communicate his world, because he and his world are incomplete. It has a relatively low social rank and a subordinate place in the value system (Roter, 2010). Adults' world and the world of the child are clearly distinguished. The second is characterised by recognising the child's subjective participation in social life and emphasising his cognitive and decision-making competences. Adults create a space that enables the child to participate in society, in compliance with internal resources and aspirations. Adult-child relationships are based on mutual learning from each other (Cuprjak, 2020). The third level highlights the autonomous relationship between adults and children. The child's activity, his participation in social activities is described with an emphasis on the competences of the child, who presents his own perspective on things. In this children's world, the child gets to know, understands, experiences and creates (Cudowska, 2009). The child's world is ambiguous, vital and open (Smolińska-Theiss, 1995). The child is the subject and creator of its own development, active in constructing and understanding its own world.

The distinct types of childhood illustrate a qualitative change, involving the transition from the category of child as a care object towards the child's welfare and its well-being. The direction of change is determined on a qualitative scale by the discourse of needs, rights and a child's life quality. The first regards identifying the child's needs and activities aimed at meeting them. The second refers to forming children's rights and implementing them. The third concerns the category of a child's well-being, ways of understanding the child and conditioning (Jarosz, 2017). The direction of change defined in this way illustrates striving for a holistic approach to the child and childhood, in the orientation "for the child" and "towards the child" (Matyjas, 2020, pp. 20–22). The child is at the centre of social and family values.

Childhood is understood in both a narrow and a broad sense. The first refers to children's individual world of experiences, meanings and values that are associated with the family, peer groups, or the system of social institutions. Broader understanding of childhood illustrates the perception of childhood in a historical, socio-cultural category, which describes the position and situation of the child in various types of environments (Matyjas, 2021).

Childhood is a transient, first stage of human development (internally diverse), in which age limits are determined by adulthood. In this phase, the child acquires basic competences to meet the personal and social needs of finding his or her own place in society. It is a period that determines the possibilities of future choices, familiarises with the tools of cognition and prepares for the transition to the next stage of life (Segiet, 2010). Curiosity, imagination and emotions leading to increasingly complex functions of life are childhood's strengths. The child is fascinated by novelties, curiosity about the world stimulates action, including learning new things. Therefore, as Waloszek (2009) writes, it is important to allow child independence, self-determination in the presence of constant and correct patterns of behaviour. A manifestation of care for childhood is education understood as encouraging and supporting the child in searching for answers to important existential, ethical and cognitive questions. It is about building an image of yourself, the world and your relationship with the world. About moving away from child management, in favour of the freedom to ask questions, create your own image, active and reflective life. Childhood is a time of experimenting with roles and building various relationships through social participation. This is the time that determines the quality and value of a mature person's life (Matyjas, 2022).

## SCHOOL – THE PLACE OF CHILDHOOD

Childhood is inseparably connected with educational activities and learning about the specifics of subsequent educational institutions – initially kindergarten and then school. The child learns in these educational bodies the model of par-

ticipation in social life and determines his or her own place in educational structure and society (Meighan, 1993). A child's everyday school life is determined by moving in the space of long corridors, numerous classrooms, cloakrooms as well as reading and taming new points of space – a common room, the headmaster's office, pedagogue, hygienist, gymnasium or library. When carrying out the process of education, the student enters new spaces, often unknown, untamed and subjective to his stay, without clear points of reference (Cobel-Tokarska, 2011). The passage of time and the accumulation of experience allows individuals to develop space in different ways depending on the situation and organisation culture (Porębski, 2012). Students read the eccentricity of some spaces as well as the integrity of others (Simmel, 2008). Excessive distance in the school space is conducive to the disclosure of anonymous places, devoid of specificity and emotional colouring. These features mean that such places often function outside the student's time and space, leaving no mark behind due to the lack of identity. Institution space referring to proximity is beneficial to classifying the school as a stable reference point for the student's social relations and dynamic interpersonal interactions.

Central category of space is a place that is not filled in the initial stage of the educational path (Buczyńska-Garewicz, 2006), a system of ordered meaning is not yet formed. Its reality is determined over time by the experience of staying in a place and active and reflective thinking about it (Tuan, 1987). The childhood place – the school, thus, takes an individual and subjective form for each student who gives it a meaning. Thanks to them, the place loses its anonymity. It also sets a real background for interpersonal relationships and events, including interactions, experiences, identity, creation and intensification.

In some cases, school becomes a space for experiencing lonely individuality, a sense of alienation and isolation (Ćwierzyńska, 2012). This state is conditioned in the education process by referring only to implementation of didactic goals and their effectiveness. It is perceiving the child through the prism of adult participants in the education process and taking action for the child benefit. In other systems, the school is read in the subjective perspective through the prism of the student's knowledge and experiences, determining the emotional relationship to the place, which enables rooting. It is a subjective world of meanings interpreted by the participants of the education process, allowing to build a sense of identity with the place.

The child-student develops internally at school, attempts to create its own personality and shapes self-reflection (Karmolińska-Jagodzik, 2014). The student becomes aware of his own individuality, noticing differences in comparison with peers and notices similarities to some people (Chyła, 2017). Everyday school experiences, observations of peers and teachers' behaviour, belonging to the classroom community become important areas of childhood (Burdzik, 2012).

## PROBLEM AND PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

Recognizing the importance of the child and childhood, deeply embedded in the realities of social life, in its everyday school life in the years 2022–2023 research was undertaken to determine the participation and experiences of 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students in primary school, related to school as a childhood place. The research goal defined in this way was executed in the paradigm of qualitative research (Creswell, 2013). It has been assumed that learning about children's experiences requires equality between the researcher and the subject, interacting with the child (Palka, 2020), focusing on participation, actions and experiences of the child who formulates himself and his life. The focus was on describing, understanding and interpreting the reality in which the student is immersed in the process of education, and which seems to him closest (Palka, 2006). They were asked about children's experiences at school and strived to show the everyday life of 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students in primary school, in terms of their own activity in contact with others – teachers and peers. The focus was on emphasising the perspective of surveyed students, seeking to answer research questions: How do 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students experience primary school as a place? The aim was to get to know the children's perception of school as a childhood place, activities undertaken by students, relationships with peers and teacher, games and accompanying emotions. The research issues outlined in this way seem to be important due to the intense dynamics of changes concerning childhood, revealing new issues, fields and research topics. Due to the framework of this study, it is limited to presenting the experience related with a child's stay at school as a place.

## METHOD AND SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Surveyed students presented their own experiences related to school in the course of narration (Jarosz, 2017). By directing the research to the child, natural ways of acting were used for children. The students were asked to create an artistic work, which became an introduction to the narrative interview. The drawing, as Szuścik (2020) writes, gives the researcher a chance to establish deeper contact with the child, get to know its fears, questions, and curiosity about the world. Students made drawings themed “My Place at School”, and then talked about it, referring to specific thematic focus: my day at school, undertaken activities (tasks, duties, games), relationships with colleagues and teacher, experienced emotions. As mentioned above, a narrative interview was used, which consisted of the initial phase, main story phase, internal and external questions phase (Urbaniak-Hare and Kos, 2013). The aim was to launch the narration process to the examined students, starting with the main question, which became an incentive to tell stories. Getting to know the everyday life of 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students at school required formulating

questions addressed to the respondents as follows: How did it happen?, What happened?, What caused your behaviour?

The study covered 43 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students from Primary School No. 8 in Rzeszów located in the Baranówka district, selected in a deliberate way. There were 24 girls and 19 boys in this group. The students were 9 years old – 21 people and 10 years old – 22 students.

Children's activity at school is a source of diverse activities related to subjects and social relations, with experiences gained in the process of education. Collected statements of third grade students were presented not only according to the temporal order, but also emotional and narrative, allowing the exposure of reconstructed experiences taking place at school. The data collected through narrative interviews, revealing the child's everyday school life, was given factual and theoretical coding (Konecki, 2000), which allowed to isolate four images of school as respondents' childhood place (Kawecki, 2018):

- school as a place for children's games,
- school as a place to learn with others,
- school as a place of identity building,
- school as an untamed place.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### **Images of school as a childhood place**

The child's daily presence at school, actions taken and functioning in specific social roles allow the student to gain experience which enables him to tame the space and get to know the central category of place. In the course of everyday social practices, the school space is constantly developed through the occupation and use of specific areas by students who give it a meaning, in terms of safety, attractiveness, activity or identity.

The image of childhood spent at school is, in the perspective of third grade students, a place of children's play, a time of carefree freedom and experimentation with roles. Among the 43 surveyed students of grade 3, as many as 16 place themselves among their peers in the course of play, in their narratives. The boy described his place at school as follows: "First of all, I have fun with colleagues I like. Most often we play games like tomato, puns, rat's tail and two fires. And also dodgeball. It's super fun" (boy, interview 21). Third-grade students define their place in school in the space of social, playful relationships with others. Here are exemplar excerpts from speeches, emphasising the importance of play, of different types (sports and role-playing) undertaken in peer groups:

"At school, I like to play tag, dodgeball and family with my friends. And that's great. Together we run around the yard or corridor – although it is not allowed.

But when we sit on the bench for so long, we want to run. And when we play in the family, Ola separates the roles. I am usually a mother because I am tall (...). We also like to play factory and then we produce various objects” (girl, interview 33).

Another respondent adds: “At school, I really like playing family and dog games with my friends. I also like to play different board games with them. We always share roles and it’s very cool. We laugh a lot, although sometimes we also argue” (girl, interview 7).

“At school, it feels best when there is a sports competition. I really like to play football and basketball with my friends. Then we play and laugh, and sometimes we shout at the colleague who did not score. But overall it’s very cool. And this is my place in school with my friends” (boy, interview 40).

From the statements of 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students, it appears that play groups have their own structure. They distinguish an organiser who initiates games, distributes roles, and in the case of sports games is team captain. In their narratives, children describe games typical of early school age. These are both games and movement games, board games as well as those related to role-playing. Girls often refer to thematic games related to family and professional roles: “My school is cool and feels best when we play tag, hide-and-seek, rat tail and in the yard we throw a ball and play two fires (dodgeball). I also like to play the family or the vet (...). I really like my friends because they are nice and cool” (girl, interview 4). And the boys emphasise the importance of movement team games: “School is fun with friends. What I like the most is playing rat tail, tag, hide and seek basketball and football. And of course two fires (...)” (boy, interview 14).

The activities of the examined children are connected with their experiences, sensations and reading the emotions and feelings of their playmates. “I feel best at school with my friends when we play board games such as »Dublo«, »Uno« or »Piotruś«. We have a great time in Pop It. It’s great then and we compete and laugh” (boy, interview 2). Another respondent also talks about joy and contentment: “I like to play tag, hide and seek and bricklayers at school, especially during breaks. But our teacher often plays bricklayers with us also in class. And then we build a wall and you have to catch everybody to build a wall. It’s a very fun time and we laugh with our friends, and sometimes we push or shout” (girl, interview 26). In their narratives, the studied students highlight their strong belonging to a play group and emotional involvement in its activities in a familiar and tamed place (cf. Nyczaj-Drag, 2005).

Another separate category concerns the image of childhood at school as a space-time of learning with others in the school classroom, a place of fulfilling duties and acquiring skills. This group included statements of 13 people out of 43 respondents. In the course of planned activities in the institution, the child broadens its knowledge and skills and expands the scope of social competences. Describing their place in school, respondents combined it with a universal value – learning process, in-

dicating its didactic, educational and ethical dimensions (cf. Dymara, 1998). The significance of individual areas such as language, mathematics, natural and health education was noticed. Here are examples of statements from 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students:

“I learn with my friends many useful things in mathematics, Polish language, and nature. I learn how to eat and take care of my shape (...) We do many things together in a group” (girl, interview 2).

“My place is in class with others. You shouldn’t be late. I learn how to solve tasks, how to take care of my physical condition and eat healthily, and how to be a prefect” (boy, interview 23).

“I’m in the classroom at school and I’ve learned to read, do homework, pay attention and listen to the teacher. I learn how not to make spelling and mathematical mistakes, how to be punctual and dutiful, and how to organise my time. And also to be a prefect” (girl, interview 35).

“At school, I come on time, I do tasks in the exercise book, I behave properly” (boy, interview 6).

Being at school is connected with taking up a number of duties resulting from the role of a student and a prefect. The surveyed third-graders experience the need to take specific actions: related to preparing for classes, doing homework, participating in educational activities (cf. Ratajek, 2009). This is how they describe this situation:

“I’m in school and I’m in class. I have responsibilities related to my homework and studying. We have a lot of tasks during the lesson, we draw and talk with our teacher and our friends” (girl, interview 42).

“I like to learn at school. I come on time, I am on duty as a prefect, I do my homework, I solve tasks and tests. I really like art tasks, especially in a group when we paint on large cardboard boxes” (girl, interview 10).

“At school I learn good behaviour, drawing, being a prefect and working in class. You have to be very focused to do everything” (boy, interview 37).

Statements of the study participants refer to the quality of activities performed, underlining the importance of punctuality, dutifulness, independence and diligence at school. “I’m a student at school and I do it most carefully. I like to write essays, solve maths and crossword puzzles. I am independent. I can be a prefect and clean the room, pack my backpack and work diligently in class” (boy, interview 19). Interestingly, the surveyed students also see universal values in the upbringing process, referring to the good. This is what the surveyed student says about the essence of education process:

“But above all, I learn how to be a good person” (girl, interview 2).

In the subjective assessment of grade 3 students, school is also a place to build identity. This aspect is indicated by only 8 students out of 43 included in the study. Actively involved in activities at school, students are able to build attachment to the place, perceived as your own, familiar and safe. Belonging to the peer group



of the surveyed third graders, playing together is conducive to self-reflection, self-awareness, appreciating the surrounding world and life in a group. On the one hand, school as a childhood place allows one to see one's own individuality, and on the other, distinctness and similarities with others. Belonging to a school class, observing one's own and colleagues' behaviour, comparing these behaviours and their consequences, enabled the students to see similarities resulting from co-presence in space-time, which they describe as follows:

"My colleagues are just like me, friendly and nice" (boy, interview 8).

"Colleagues are cool, funny, amusing and inventive" (girl, interview 11).

"Polite, friendly, talkative and active, and sometimes crazy. Just like me" (girl, interview 39).

"I can always count on my colleagues. I'm like that too" (boy, interview 22).

Third-graders also spot their own differences, resulting from the school experience as a place and its culture and the juxtaposition of positive and negative values:

"Sometimes mischievous, even though I'm not like that. Still, I like to play with them" (boy, interview 17).

"Not cool and weird. They are different from me" (girl, interview 15).

"Scary and not smart, but I play with them" (girl, interview 39).

"My friends are a bit fake, they don't always keep their word. I don't do that" (girl, interview 11).

In the respondents' narratives, the term strange often appeared, in sense of peculiar, different, misunderstood, sometimes accepted, and in other situations perceived with distance (cf. Samborska, 2014). Sometimes, the short duration of a child's presence at school, lack of curiosity, passive social interactions and partial lack of sense of security make school a foreign, empty, transit space – untamed for students. It is not about real shortages in material equipment, but about the child's subjective world of meanings and knowledge about school. In the studied group of 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students, 6 of them, while at school, experience nervousness, fear, embarrassment, uncertainty and anxiety (cf. Ordon and Skoczylas-Krotla, 2002). One of the boys described his experiences as follows: "School stresses me out and I am nervous and sometimes shy. I can't always answer other people's questions quickly. I am afraid of places outside the classroom such as the hallway, cloakroom and toilet. I don't feel at home there. They're such foreign places. And there are a lot of older students, not always nice" (boy, interview 5). The study participant emphasises that in the school space, especially in its institutional and individual dimension, he feels unwell. He experiences intense feelings and emotions resulting from the lack of security, in a still anonymous terrain, without assigned meanings and reference points (cf. Zwiernik, 2015). Focusing on corridors, bathrooms, cloakrooms indicates that students are unaccustomed with the location in the facility. Another respondent describes his place as follows: "I am insecure and impatient

and I feel stressed at school. I'm afraid of all sorts of things. Especially going to the toilet, because there are plenty of other students" (boy, interview 12). And another examined student adds: "I have a lot of fears at school, because I do not know all the places. I just don't always know what's where, because our school is big. And if I don't know, I'm embarrassed and sad" (girl, interview 9). This situation is superimposed by interpersonal relations and events taking place in specific places. "I'm scared at school and in class. And my colleagues stress me out because they don't always want to help me. Sometimes they are not honest and make fun of themselves" (boy, interview 3). "At school, I can't predict anything in class and on breaks, and it's stressful. You do not know what you will do, what the teacher has planned. And you can always lose colleagues. My colleagues are terribly loud and sometimes I can't stand it anymore" (girl, interview 19).

## CONCLUSIONS

Isolated images of the school as a childhood place indicate that there are various areas functioning in the institution, which describe such categories as a sense of security, attractiveness, activity and identity. In the subjective assessment of 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students, images of childhood can be arranged on a qualitative scale, the extreme degrees of which are determined by acknowledging school as a place of children's games and school as an untamed place, conducive to experiencing lonely individuality, burdened with fear. Between them there are children who recognise school as a place where the learning process is carried out in cooperation with others, where they can read one's own identity and where there is distinctiveness in the student community.

The image of school as a place of children's games – a joyful childhood, spent in a group, in the course of exciting activities with peers is described by 16 out of 43 surveyed students from grade 3. It is characterised by a full sense of security in the facility perimeter, which is attractive and causes natural, spontaneous children activity. Childhood spent at school is full of kindness, understanding and co-presence of others. When describing their experiences, the surveyed students point out their own activity, community experience, dialogue with others and emotional involvement. Joint activities are conducive to building the identity of a place.

In the light of experiences and activities of 13 out of 43 students from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, Childhood at school is also constructed in the hierarchy of values and meanings attributed to the educational process in a tame place (school image of a place for learning with others). Knowledge and skills from individual educational areas are significant for respondents who are active and independent in the process of its acquisition. They also see universal values such as being a good person, diligence and dutifulness in actions.

Another image of childhood at school as a place for building identity is connected with experiencing a sense of individuality and alikeness, conditioned by complete security in a space known, accepted and attractive. Opening up to other peers throughout events and social interactions, noticing one's own identity is presented by 8 out of 43 surveyed students of 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. This situation connects the students with the children's community in spatial-symbolic categories and enables evaluation.

Experiences and activities of 6 out of 43 studied 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students also reveal the image of school as an untamed place. Being at school makes one likely to feel lonely individuality, to experience a sense of alienation and isolation among others, in a place partially unknown, dynamic and unpredictable. The facility space may generate stressful situations and negative experiences, especially if it is somewhat misunderstood in the area of both material and social elements. Participants of the education process, when meeting the numerous requirements set by the school environment, may succumb to the pressure to achieve. It is a state of surrender to situations and circumstances, an apparent lack of activity, associated with waiting for the unpredictable. Students' school experiences are combined with sadness and loneliness. In a sense, childhood at school then becomes a space-time of insecurity, full of activity and insufficient relationships with peers.

## RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

School is one of the obvious childhood experiences, often discussed from the perspective of adult childhood reporting. The present study focuses on experiencing school as a childhood place by 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade students, striving to get to know the children's perception of the world. However, it is worth broadening the research to include the ethnographic context, taking into account the socio-cultural conditions in different types of schools and environments (rural and urban). Broadening the researching methods of the indicated issues using observation and analysis of children-students' products will allow to obtain a broader picture of school as a childhood place.

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## SZKOŁA JAKO MIEJSCE DZIECIŃSTWA. Z DOŚWIADCZEŃ UCZNIÓW KLASY III SZKOŁY PODSTAWOWEJ

**Wprowadzenie:** Dzieciństwo to bardzo ważny etap w życiu każdego człowieka. W tym okresie dziecko formułuje siebie i swoje życie, podejmując liczne aktywności początkowo w środowisku rodzinnym, potem rówieśniczym i szkolnym. Dziecięce obcowanie z ludźmi i przedmiotami w różnych przestrzeniach sprzyja poznawaniu nowych miejsc i ich oswajaniu. Jednym z obszarów dziecięcej egzystencji jest szkoła, w której przez wiele lat koncentruje się codzienne życie uczniów. W artykule przedstawiono obrazy dzieciństwa spędzonego w szkole, odnosząc się do zajmowanych miejsc i podejmowanych czynności.

**Cel badań:** Celem badań było poznanie przeżyć i doświadczeń uczniów klasy III szkoły podstawowej, związanych ze szkołą jako miejscem dzieciństwa.

**Metoda badań:** Badania zrealizowano w paradygmacie badań jakościowych, dążąc do poznania rzeczywistości społecznie konstruowanej na podstawie wywiadów narracyjnych. Badając dzieci, zastosowano przyjazne dla nich sposoby zbierania danych. Odwołano się do wykonania przez badanych pracy plastycznej, która stała się wstępem do wywiadu. Uczniowie klasy III opisali swoje przeżycia i doświadczenia szkolne.

**Wyniki:** Zebrane dane empiryczne podano kodowaniu i wyodrębniono kategorie obrazujące szkołę jako miejsce dzieciństwa. Uwzględniając bezpieczeństwo, atrakcyjność, aktywność i tożsamość nazwano je kolejno: szkoła jako miejsce dziecięcych zabaw, szkoła jako miejsce uczenia się z innymi, szkoła jako miejsce budowania tożsamości, szkoła jako miejsce nieoswojone.

**Wnioski:** Z prowadzonych badań wynika, że szkoła jest miejscem, w którym nie zawsze dominuje podmiotowe traktowanie dziecka w kategoriach aktywnego, samostanowiącego podmiotu. Dla niektórych dzieci to obszar związany z doświadczaniem samotnej indywidualności.

**Słowa kluczowe:** dziecko, dzieciństwo, miejsca dzieciństwa, szkoła.