The paper concerns the issue of combined classes in contemporary educational systems. It presents the historical conditions of this process, based on the concepts of education of Maria Montessori, Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky. The contemporary condition of using this form of organization of the school have been described, as resulting from both an economic and social necessity, as well as from as a result of the adoption of specific educational objectives. The paper shows contemporary trends in combining classes in selected education system, as Sweden and Colombia.

Key words: combined classes, education system, school achievements, social skills

Słowa kluczowe: klasy łączone, system edukacyjny, osiągnięcia szkolne, kompetencje społeczne

THE HOMOGENEOUS CLASSES

Contrary to a popular belief, the concept of split classes has become widely adopted relatively recently, if we take into account the centuries-long origins of the history of education. The concept of a division of students into classes according to the age criterion should be linked to the figure of Horace Mann, a US politician and education activist (1796–1859). He served as a secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, the first such an educational body in the United States. He was also an advocate of modernizing the education system and implemented reforms in this area. Mann was inspired by the Prussian education system, which he had a chance to observe during his

visit to this country in 1852. Thanks to his efforts, this system was introduced in the state of Massachusetts. This pattern was set up soon by some schools in New York.\(^2\)

Mann was a strong supporter of the school system open to all students, regardless of their social and financial status. In his view such a system would be a chance for social advancement for the less privileged, and it would create opportunities to improve the living conditions of those social groups which are at a particular disadvantage. School organization based on a split class system was based on the industrial model, and was aimed at facilitating the management of a school, which was regarded as a factory bringing together children and youth from diverse backgrounds. It was indeed quite a natural solution, while the period in which this model of school developed, was the time of the industrial revolution in the United States. One of its attributes was a specific model of management widely applied in this area and willingly adapted to the needs of other public and social institutions.

Although such a way of school organization from today’s perspective encounters criticism, and the researchers argue that this approach treats education as a product rather than as a process, it should be emphasized that mass education is based on a system of age split classes. One must also remember that the philosophical and pedagogical concepts and trends emerging over the years have significantly modified this pattern, discarding its “industrial” provenance. Despite this, its authors, sceptical of such an organization of teaching, refer to the opposition between program-focused education, which is associated with age-homogeneous classrooms, and student-focused education, which is characterized by alternative forms of education, including age-heterogeneous classes.

**THE “MIXED” MODEL**

In the context of the debate about the reasons and relevance of mixed-age teaching one should mention Maria Montessori and her method of moral education. Based on this method, used also today, the so-called Children’s Houses (*Casa dei Bambini*) were established.\(^3\) Based on this method, used also today, the so-called Children’s Houses (*Casa dei Bambini*) were established. In those institutions particular attention was paid to the freedom and independence of the child. On the other hand, as defined by the author herself, the practical advantage of *Casa dei Bambini* is that they group children of different ages, from the youngest, about one and a half, to five-year olds. It gives an opportunity to shape children’s independence in a personalized way. Maria Montessori also points out the organizational benefits of this method, especially from the point of view of schools in rural areas, in which there are difficulties in splitting classes according to age, due to a limited number of teachers.\(^4\)

Such an organization of education also maps family relationships and becomes a natural extension of the child’s social environment. The author emphasizes that one achieves the most effective self-improvement (perfection) in contact with other people. A group of pupils of different age brackets thereby creates an environment conducive

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\(^3\) M. Montessori, *Domy dziecięce*, Warszawa 2005, p. 27.

\(^4\) Ibidem, p. 187.
to learning through experience, which stems from interaction between “experts” and “newcomers.” The effect of educational activities in developing pro-social attitudes is also important. A group of pupils of different age brackets thereby creates an environment conducive to learning through experience, which stems from interaction between “experts” and “newcomers.” The effect of educational activities in developing pro-social attitudes is also important.

Another author that one should mention while discussing combined classes is Jean Piaget. His constructivist theory is considered to be one of the elements constituting the age-heterogeneous class system. In the light of this concept, we act on a few key assumptions. These include the following: the learning process is holistic in its nature and therefore has both a cognitive and an emotional and physical dimensions. The child acquires knowledge in interaction with the environment, and the process of its assimilation goes through successive stages of cognitive development. And further: the child learns actively, through experience and the learning process, which can also take place through play, and, as a complex process, should be individualized.

All these aspects can of course come into effect in the “traditional” class system, but apparently the “mixed” system is seen as more flexible, giving more opportunities in this area, not least due to a greater complexity and diversity of student interaction with their classmates. Undoubtedly, it strongly impacts the social development of the child and gives a slightly different perspective on the child’s cognitive processes and emotional development.

A similar assumption can be found in Lev Vygotsky’s concept of a zone of proximal development. It also involves a diversification of the areas of learning and, importantly, it is closely associated with interactions that arise between students of different ages. Thus, regarding cognitive development, older children may stimulate the younger ones to seek more complex and effective ways of solving problems. What is also important is that it gives an opportunity of developing the skills of articulation and communication of the problems within the group in both age groups.

Secondly, the emphasis is on social development — students become more sensitive to the complexities of social interaction when a group also includes younger children. In combined classes one can also observe manifestations of pro-social behaviour, such as helping one another or sharing. Older children develop attitudes related to nurturing, although, on the other hand, they show a tendency to take over leadership of the group. It is worth noting that not every child is eager to do so automatically, as it depends on individual predispositions. In this case, the fact of being older can be a natural factor in assuming the role of a leader.

The emotional aspect of the child’s development should be also indicated, as mixed groups are devoid of competition in the form with which we are dealing in the peer group. It occurs frequently because of the expectations set up by teachers at a particular stage of education, which correspond to an age-homogeneous class. In combined classes, students are more willing to help each other, not only with regard to the implementation

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6 *Ibidem*, pp. 122–123.
of their school tasks or responsibilities, but also in a wider social sense, on the grounds of relations with other group members or teachers. This favours a formation of the atmosphere close to the family environment.\(^\text{10}\)

**COMBINED CLASSES TODAY — A NECESSITY OR A CHOICE?**

The most common form of the organization of the educational process by combining classes can be encountered in remote or rural areas. In this case the key role is played by geographical and demographic circumstances. Angela Little in her report on implementation of the UNESCO initiative Education for All adopted in 1990, highlights some of the factors contributing to the organization of schools on the basis of mixed classes.\(^\text{11}\) These include, inter alia, demographic and geographic factors, and therefore the creation of combined classes in schools in sparsely populated areas, difficult to access, and with a small number of students. In such circumstances employing one or two teachers who work in those age-heterogeneous classes becomes the standard.

Similar indications appear in schools in areas that are depopulated, and the shrinking number of students and teachers enforces this organizational approach. One can also recall a reverse trend, where the number of students is increasing disproportionately to the number of teachers employed in particular school. Among the premises, which can be classified as demographic and economic, one can also include schools, where the number of students exceeds the officially set limits on class size. It is an effect of an improperly constructed network of schools, not suited to particular social needs: combining different age groups in such a case is inevitable. Similar consequences are a result of an improper structure of teacher recruitment. According to official figures the number of teachers employed in schools corresponds to the demand, but in fact this number is smaller, which entails combining classes.

Another factor enforcing combining classes is the popularity of certain schools in the opinion of parents as regards the level of education or proximity to the place of residence. Angela Little draws attention to the nomadic lifestyle of some communities which enforces school mobility in such areas.\(^\text{12}\) Teachers, often missionaries, are somehow forced to introduce flexible forms of work, which would meet the needs of the migrating population, and have to adapt their teaching methods to the changing number of students.

On the other hand, for economic reasons combined classes may be introduced due to the teachers’ need to have an additional source of income. In communities where the teacher profession has little social prestige or does not provide sufficient income, it is somewhat incidental to proper employment. In this case a significant absenteeism of teachers becomes a common phenomenon, which entails organizing ad hoc replacements as well as work in age-heterogeneous and combined classes. Perhaps such evidence can be determinative of a certain reluctance or tendency to marginalize combined classes as educational institutions and political and social actors who shape education policies at either central or regional level do not want to be seen as peripheral or old-fashioned.

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\(^{10}\) S. Stone, *The multi-age...,* p. 112.


As regards the factors that make combined classes a result of a deliberate choice, those are philosophical and pedagogical reasons, such as the overall training program, implemented, for example, on a particular level of education. It could also be a part of the concept of partial or general reform of the education system. The decision in this case is taken by the education authorities, which may act in cooperation with teachers or consult those. It can also be made by teachers themselves as an education experiment, or in order to improve the quality of the education system as a whole. This depends largely on the degree of centralization of a specific educational system and of the possibility of participation of schools in the decision-making process.

As demonstrated by the results of research conducted over the years 1950–1990, the formula of combined classes dominates in developing countries: India (60% of schools), Sri Lanka (63%), Peru (78%). This confirms to a large extent the already mentioned assumption: combined classes are a necessity enforced by demographic, geographic or economic circumstances which procure such an organizational solution.

While developed countries, like the United Kingdom and the United States, indicate only a small percentage of schools organized in this way, it does not come as a surprise, however, that such an approach is more frequent in developing countries, where the proportion of schools with combined classes is relatively large. As already stated, the reports on education in these countries treat the phenomenon marginally, and often with contempt. This is due to the lack of adaptation of those educational systems to such an organization of education. As it has already been indicated, there is a strong belief that education based on a typical class system is a sort of civilization standard, and any deviations from that standard are treated as a kind of supplement caused by lack of qualified teaching staff equipped with teaching aids, insufficient amount of learning materials for split classes as well as a shortage of manuals for students. What is a significant disadvantage of the age-heterogeneous class system is also a difficulty in the evaluation of learning outcomes, as diagnostic tests and other elements that support the work of teachers have been designed for use in a typical class system.

At this point one should emphasize that some countries and regions are faced with quite a dramatic alternative: either a school with combined classes, or no access to education at all. Taking into account international standards, for example in the field of children’s rights, the choice seems to be obvious. The right to education is a fundamental entitlement of every child and is stated straightforward in every international document dedicated to this issue. As an example one can recall a kind of bible of children’s rights, which is the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989, but also regulations enacted in the first half of the twentieth century, such as the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, when the concept of children’s rights had only just developed to evolve to contemporary standards. This evokes the United Nations declaration Educa-

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13 The period from which the data is presented is not accidental: neither the ministries of education, or international agencies such as UNESCO does not collect data on this subject in a systematic way. It can confirm the tendency to marginalize such an organization of school work, or to perceive it as irrelevant.
tion for All, which is committed to the implementation of educational needs of children, youth and adults. It fits into the concept of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals to achieve in 2015, with particular emphasis laid on the dissemination of basic education and gender equality in education.\textsuperscript{17}

In turn, the tendency towards combined classes in highly developed countries, such as Australia, Canada, USA, and Europe, including the United Kingdom or Sweden, is noted primarily in rural areas. It concerns mostly small schools, which corresponds with the assumptions already mentioned before and determined by a social or economic necessity.\textsuperscript{18}

The research available also takes note of another tendency, namely the transformation of education into its individualization and socialization, with emphasis laid on the need for greater creativity of teachers. Some researchers underline arbitrariness of age-homogeneous classes, arguing that for centuries the only environment of the child’s upbringing has been the family. Hence, significant differences in age between the children in a family were natural. This allowed them to play together and learn from each other, developing a sense of security of the younger, and responsibility of the elder, as well as developing certain individual skills, without being subject to external pressure.\textsuperscript{19} Split classes created on the basis of age emphasize the need for homogeneous and standard methods, without taking into account diversity, strongly emphasized in the contemporary era of globalization and integration. Besides, it is a gross simplification to assume all students in the same age group demonstrate similar abilities, interests, or social background. Thus a teacher who uses the same methods towards everybody in such a class has little evidence of a similar performance or achievements throughout the group.

Age-heterogeneous classes require a more individualized approach, as well as use of flexible methods also in terms of a substantive support for a particular student or use of variable materials. This may also imply a need to move away from the traditionally established approach in which the teacher is the leader in the educational process, in consequence of which he or she is considered an arbitrator who evaluates students’ knowledge and decides on the activities carried out in the classroom, assuming that each student is able to make progress in education at the same pace. The latter approach enforces a kind of uniformity of the learning process and takes little account of special educational needs of the students, while in age-heterogeneous classrooms students are able to become deeply involved in the process of education through mutual learning. It also gives the students an opportunity of creating a degree of self-reliance in the acquisition of knowledge and skills.

COMBINED CLASSES IN SWEDEN

In Sweden, a tendency to create age-heterogeneous classes is quite visible: in 2000 it comprised 1/3 students of grades 1–3 and 1/4 of grades 4–5. On the lower level, combining classes is motivated primarily by pedagogical reasons; on the higher one


\textsuperscript{18} A.W. Little, \textit{Multigrade teaching…}, pp. 489–490.

— economic reasons dominate. Referring to a group of younger students, researchers emphasize the issue of personalization of learning: students’ activity consists primarily of quiet reading and writing. However, in the older group the development of teamwork skills is underlined, as in this case, students focus on speaking and listening. In both situations students work independently and decide about their work pace on various stages themselves, focusing on achieving goals specified by the teacher. It is worth noting that the larger a variety of classes, the greater the preference for teamwork, especially in teaching social sciences or humanities. In turn, mathematics requires more customization and concentration of the teacher at particular age groups. It is carried out by creating a group of students who work independently, accomplishing particular tasks, while another group listens to the teacher’s explanations or instructions.

In Sweden, among educational policy makers both at central and local levels as well as among parents, there are proponents and opponents of this model of education. Proponents use arguments from the area of social development, which have already been recalled here, while pointing out that children absorb knowledge adequately to their individual degree of maturity rather than age, so a division into classes based on age criterion is arbitrary and can interfere with this process. Moreover, as already indicated, children have a natural curiosity. They tend to learn spontaneously from one another: younger children mimic the older ones, and the older are willing to share their already acquired knowledge and skills with the younger ones.

Moreover, an interesting observation is associated with the changing social reality. Namely, contemporary information society rewards above all the ability of effective search for information and ease of its processing and use. The acquisition of these competences is facilitated while preparing projects by the group which is diversified, also by age as it allows to bring into the project different points of view and diverse experiences of students.

Opponents, in turn, examine the issue from the perspective of teachers, paying attention to the specifics of work in an age-heterogeneous class, which requires greater effort, both organizational and substantive. There are also concerns about the lack of or insufficient training of teachers to work in combined classes. However, some seek positive aspects about teacher’s work in such classes, claiming that diversity promotes innovation in education, eliminates routine and provides a specific intellectual challenge.

It is interesting to refer to the effects of education in combined classes. Johansson and Lyndahl investigated the students of 6th and 9th classes, and they concluded that the results of verbal, numerical and spatial tests basically did not show statistically significant differences. In the case of class 6th there was visible difference to the disadvantage of combined classes at approx. 5%. The authors see the reasons for this tendency, on the one hand, in adverse effects of combined classes, and on the other hand — in a negative selection for these classes. The Swedish study also shows that teachers working in

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21 Ibidem, pp. 6–8.
combined classes often have less experience and their attitude to the learning process is quite flexible: they lay less emphasis on homework and formalized tests than their colleagues working with “traditional” classes.23

COMBINED CLASSES IN COLOMBIA

The project called Escuela Nueva (New School) initiated in the 70s of the twentieth century in Colombia goes relatively far. This concept is often referred to as a radical one since the class groups students regardless of age. Lessons take place in the same room, and teachers mostly focus on encouraging students to be active in seeking information, participation and cooperation in the learning process.24 It should be emphasized that in this case, differently than in Sweden, greater emphasis is placed on training the teachers. On the one hand, they are provided with teaching materials which allow them to decide independently on the pace of the learning process. On the other hand, they can rely on the support of more experienced colleagues, whom they can watch at work, discuss methods of teaching with and solve the problems emerging during the learning process. More experienced teachers can assist the newly employed colleagues during the lesson.25

The concept of the New School has become very popular and widespread in other South American countries, but also in a number of African countries, because of its high adaptability and low operating costs. Its popularity is primarily due to a far-reaching flexibility. Students are trained not only at their own pace, but also independently plan the time that they spend at school and beyond.26 The main idea is to help them to fulfill their obligations toward the family (work, care of younger siblings). The fact that part of their time is spent on extra-curricular activity does not effect in removing them from school. After returning they just need to catch up with the help of a teacher and turn up again in the course of work of other students.

Studies devoted to this educational experiment emphasize that such an organization of education has noted positive results in science classes. Colombian students of 3rd class in the combined system demonstrated better achievements in a test of the Spanish language and mathematics than their peers learning in traditional classes. Students of the 5th class performed better at Spanish and mathematics and their results were comparable to those of their peers from split classes.27

However, in the Escuela Nueva project an important feature is not only educational progress. Extremely noteworthy are the social skills that the children and adolescents develop in the process. The working methods used in this system encourage most of all active participation in local community life as well as promote responsible management of student time. In addition, they facilitate acquisition of an ability to establish conflict-free interaction and evolution of democratic attitudes among children and adolescents.

24 A.W. Little, Multigrade teaching..., pp. 487–488.
27 Ibidem, p. 441.
This undoubtedly involves another positive effect, emphasized by the researchers: the increase in the level of self-esteem, which is visibly higher than for the traditional school students.\textsuperscript{28}

**SUMMARY**

Concluding, one can state that combined classes should not be perceived as either superior or inferior to traditional classes. They are simply a kind of alternative education that can positively affect the adult life of their graduates.\textsuperscript{29} As can be observed on the basis of investigators’ findings, in developed countries like Sweden attendance in combined classes does not visibly affect students’ achievements and performance. However, from the perspective of social development, it brings positive results in building up interaction. This seems particularly important considering the trends observed today in the formation and development of social bonds where researchers draw particular attention to progressive atomization, reduction of personal contacts or disintegration of relationships in local communities.

Due to the use of specific teaching methods in combined classes, sometimes strongly individualized, learner-centered and based on collective work, there may be some difficulty in assessing academic progress of individual students. This results from restrictions on the use of standardized tests of knowledge or skills. It is very clear that if in the process of learning the teacher encourages students to search for information individually and allows them to operate independently in reading, writing or solving mathematical problems, the student may not have the sufficient “technical” ability to deal with such tests. On the other hand, however, assessment of group work can also pose certain problems. From the teacher’s point of view it may be difficult to decide on the commitment and contribution of the individual members of the project team. It is best therefore to simply assume that everyone is involved in equal measure, by performing individual tasks. It can obviously be unjust if the actual amount of individual contribution varied. Undoubtedly, such assessment requires teacher’s experience and the ability to communicate with the group.

Quite an important argument in favour of the introduction of combined classes is that they also allow to optimize the costs related to the functioning of the education system. A desire to reduce the costs of education while maintaining and even increasing its quality is currently one of the most widely discussed problems in the field of organization and management of education. It is clear that from the point of view of the quality, the best solution would be to reduce the number of pupils per class. This way a teacher would gain an opportunity of focusing on each student, to provide a diagnosis of his or her educational needs as well as individual interests and social predispositions, and identify the barriers in the teaching process. A lower number of students in a class, indeed the number of pupils per teacher, however, requires substantial financial resources and often exceeds the capabilities of central or local government budgets, depending on whether we are dealing with the centralized or decentralized education system.


In this context, combining classes appears to be a preferred solution because in contrast to a reduction of the number of classes it does not generate any additional costs. The question is, if this does not remain in conflict with a desire to improve the quality of education through a more personalized contact between a student and the teacher. In part, this observation seems reasonable, but on the other hand, taking into account the recently observed demographic trends, and even the already mentioned alternative in lack of access to education, with which we are dealing in developing countries, it may be a desired solution in certain circumstances.

As the example of the Escuela Nueva shows, the impact of the combined class system on the social activity of adult graduates and on their participation in local community life cannot be overestimated. This seems particularly worth emphasizing, if we take into account the opinion that despite the huge funds invested today in assessing learning outcomes in terms of acquiring new skills, it completely fails to monitor students’ social abilities or their sense of identification with the school and the community. Meanwhile, based on the available studies, the atmosphere in the combined classes, comparable to that of family relationships, promotes the creation of learners’ empathy, altruism and improves their self-esteem. These elements also deserve emphasis, particularly in the context of a low level of social trust, which can be observed in many countries, including Poland. Therefore, one of the most important effects of the combined system of education is a reconstruction of social ties and communities that have been marginalized as a result of social changes.30

Justyna Wojniak

KLASY ŁĄCZONE NA PRZYKŁADZIE WYBRANYCH SYSTEMÓW EDUKACYJNYCH: ZAŁOŻENIA TEORETYCZNE I PRAKTYCZNE ROZWIĄZANIA

Streszczenie
