

CATALYSTS OF CHANGE: ADVANCING EQUITY IN HUNGARIAN EDUCATION

Judit BOGNÁRNÉ KOCSIS

Abstract: In 1945 a regulation was made, with the commitment to establish a universally compulsory eight-year elementary school system in Hungary. At that time, only two notable experimental schools existed. One is associated with the name of László Gáspár, exemplified by the school experiment in Szentlőrinc (1969). The second is the Linguistic-Literary-Communication Programme (1971), and - stemming from this- the Value Transmitting and Ability Development Programme developed by József Zsolnai. The objective of this research is to elucidate the pedagogical approaches of József Zsolnai and László Gáspár with a specific focus on disadvantaged situations, the principles underlying their programs and equal opportunities.

Keywords: pedagogical program, Value-conveying and Ability Development Programme, school experiment in Szentlőrinc, skill development, equal opportunities

1. The situation of the Hungarian education after the Second World War

After World War II the restructuring and modernization of the Hungarian education system started. The objective was to create a more democratic system where religious and materialistic-atheist worldviews were present alike. When, on 18 August 1945, two weeks before the start of the school year, the organization and implementation of the 8-year primary school system was ordered, it meant a great challenge and a significant milestone in the history of the Hungarian education system (Zátonyi, 2006). The conversion from the earlier schoolhouse system was not without hardships: in many cases both the equipment and the personnel were missing. The benefit of the 8-year primary school system is that it provided a basic knowledge for all students, ensuring the eradication of illiteracy in the country and also the possibility for students to continue their studies in secondary and higher education. Thanks to this, children from lower-educated families and from the working class were provided the opportunity to learn and to go on to higher education (Kelemen, 2015). When articulating the characteristics of the system using headwords, the descriptors would include: freedom, cohesion, and mandatory adherence.

Very soon, as the left-wing political forces were gaining more and more power they intended to ensure the control of the education system. In the summer of 1946 the co-operation with the churches was nothing like friendly any more. Religious schools were attacked intensively as a result of which the law of converting all schools to state-controlled ones came into force on 16 July 1948. The main goal of the schools became - among others - to educate obedient citizens building on Marxist-Leninist ideologies. The pedagogical basis for the education was based on Makarenko's educational philosophy just to mention the most influential one. Reform-pedagogy and its ideals became unwanted in the new era. Teachers forced to believe in given ideologies, the social tensions, the unsolved problems and the unrealistic demands (eg.: the fight against dropout, the image of schools without failure, the increase of productivity and quality) led to operational problems as well as to the decline in students' performance both inland and on the international scale. Despite these facts the decree of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party (MSZMP) in 1972 shows that the leaders of the time did not face the problems, they just cemented the situation standing and they promised a reform in content. Unfortunately, the reforms were cancelled and the original problems were still present in the system in the 1980s.

In this period troubled with problems and challenges there were two main experimental schools, the first being the Szentlőrinc School Experiment led by Gáspár László (1969), the other the Language-Literature-Communication program (1971) leading to the Value-Relaying and skill development pedagogy, by Zsolnai József. (Lóránd, 2003)

The objective of this study is to show how these two pioneering paradigms (Gáspár László's and Zsolnai József's) fit into the socio-educational environment.

2. The sources and methodology of the study

The study basically researches the pedagogical programs emerging in the educational system of the period after World War II, from the point of view of new ideologies and reform ideas. Finding the sources was not much of a challenge, as these materials are mostly easily available in libraries and professional literature databases. The more challenging task was the interpretation of the situation of the studied concepts within the given period of time. It is not surprising that the sources concerning the studied era characterize the situations in that time from very different perspectives. Taking this fact as the starting point I first studied the relevant primary sources, eg: the legal background, the educational decrees, the writings of Gáspár László and Zsolnai József. Also, I analyzed the applying secondary sources, meaning the professional books of the era and professional magazines. Moreover, I researched the reverberations of the pedagogical experiments in the professional magazines and books published after the implementation of the experiments. The study is guided by the following research question: what are the similarities and the differences in the conception of Gáspár and Zsolnai, examining the surmounting of societal differences and disadvantaged situations; how would the two pedagogical programme like to enable the social promotion and the raising of life chances for disadvantaged (and not disadvantaged) societal groups; how can the succesfulness of the two programme be judged?

To answer the above questions, I mainly used primary sources and secondary work of references, however I had support from my previous research results, as well. The research method was the content analysis and synthesing analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Comparing the two pedagogical programs, I kept the following aspects in mind: a brief presentation of the professional life of the "fathers" of the programs, a demonstration of the characteristics and principles of their programs, after that I collect the similarities and differences of two programs.

3. The professional life of Gáspár László in a nutshell

Gáspár László was born in a poor family in a small village in the Great Plains (Doboz, Békés county) in 1937. He graduated from a Teacher Training College, worked for a youth magazine called Pajtás. He started his pedagogical career in the capital, in Budapest, then he went on to teach in a school in the boondocks. Meanwhile, he also graduated from Eötvös Lóránd University's Hungarian-Pedagogy faculty. He became the editor of the Hungarian Textbook Publisher. He developed an experimental educational program, and as a head teacher he got the opportunity to put it into practice in the Szentlőrinci Primary School. The school under his supervision (1969-1981) became a pilgrimage site: people from all over the country and from abroad travelled to Szentlőrinc to see the Marxist Gáspár's children-centered school. The students were involved in value creating and practical work as well besides just learning: for example they manufactured wooden toys, grew plants and operated a school shop, etc. They spent the income on going camping. The theoretical background for the practical skills was provided by subjects like basic economics, the development of nature and society.

During his professional life Gáspár László received a PhD in educational sciences. He became a university professor of the Janus Pannonius Tudományegyetem in Pécs. He was elected to be member of the Pedagogical Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he was the chairman if the Educational Science Department of the Hungarian Pedagogical Association, and also the head of the Hungarian Faculty of the International Makarenko Association.

He developed the secondary school variant of the Szentlőrinc school experiment, which was implemented in his home region (Sarkad) (Bernáth, Mihály and Páldi, 1979). Students in the

experimental secondary school could choose from six foreign languages - Russian, English, German, French, Esperanto and Rumanian. Like in Szentlőrinc, he encouraged student ventures: eg: printing press, school shop, etc. He put a great emphasis on the democratic operation of the school. (Gáspár, 1984)

In his program the assessment and evaluation of the students was in a text format or in percentages instead of with grades. The hierarchal relationship between teacher and student was replaced by a cooperative partnership of the two. His aim was to provide the experience of success to all his students. (Csalog, 2003)

He founded the first private university in Hungary, the Neumann János Innovator-Teaching University, which operated in a distance-learning system. Nevertheless, the university was never officially accepted despite his struggles. His works and program was not welcome by all operators in the field of pedagogy in Hungary. (Bernáth, 1997) The ambivalently received educational scientist died in 1998.

4. The main principles of Gáspár László's pedagogical program

Gáspár László states in the preface of the book introducing his pedagogical program that he developed his theory while implementing the program in practice. This means, his school experiment is research and development simultaneously and not one after the other. (Kovács, 1982) The practical results and the theoretical implications were the products of continuous dialogue between research and development.

The four basic pillars of the school experiment are: teaching-learning, production-management, the political and social activities of the students and the organization of free time. (Gáspár, 1977)

Following the principles of Makarenko, Gáspár placed the community instead of the individual into the centre of the program. The school was interpreted as a school of learning and as a school of education and the school of work at the same time. The socialist work-school and Makarenko's social education combined appeared in his concept, where we can also find the results of reform pedagogy. One of the central elements of his idea is practice and practicality, which applies to both school and out-of-school activities. The students were involved in production, they organized a student parliament and operated a school cooperative. Gáspár dealt with schooling and out-of-school activities, but he also put emphasis on educating students to spend their free time efficiently. According to him, free time is for the refreshment of the body, the soul and the spirit, it should enable personality development and the development of certain skills. Skill development can only be achieved through certain activities that are the reasons why a rich activity roster is exceptionally significant in his concept. (Gáspár, 1988)

He considered the students as complete human beings, which meant that they were not only evaluated on the basis of their knowledge of the given subjects but taking their overall school achievement into consideration. This meant that, for example, being successful in Maths or Hungarian Language equalled being successful in the production of plants, in sports, or even in the effective participation of the social life of the school. The well-known subjects were replaced by integrated ones that represented real life circumstances better. Initially, the teachers gave oral or written evaluation to the students instead of marking them. Gáspár believed in developing an individual development plan taking individual differences into consideration. The teachers planned the material together with the students, which was then followed by the practical implementation. Gáspár found raising the student's personal interests important, thus trying to achieve that students would participate in the school work with motivation.

Gáspár expected maximum strategic discipline, at the same time, he gave maximum tactical freedom to his teachers. He expected high level scientific and professional work. He often set challenges for the team of his teachers, for example they had to take part in one of the meetings of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and they had to comment on the topic. (Gáspár, 1978)

The versatile school programs and the activity-oriented curriculum was a source of joy and recharging both for students and teachers. Gáspár László's educational goal was to develop the individual from

all aspects in order for them to be able to deploy their skills for the sake of themselves and society. The task of the school was to prepare the student for the practices of the society, education had to convey and familiarize them with the basic social activity models. He believed that the practice of education should be the pedagogical reproduction of the social practices. Gáspár László saw education as a system, where the school and thus the process of education is made up of a system of activities. (Kronstein, 1998) Meeting the social demands and being child-centered are simultaneously present in his concept.

Gáspár László found equal opportunities to be a basic value, also, he built on the recent socio-economic circumstances, which - according to him - significantly determine the opportunities of education. It was not a coincidence that he chose Szentlőrinc, a small town in an underprivileged region of the country. (Kocsis, 2003) In this area, where the socio-cultural backgrounds are not satisfactory, the families are not harmonious, sometimes the critical situation within the family cannot or can just partly facilitate the personality development of the child.

Gáspár was committed to a liberal decentralization. According to him, the school has to be able to meet the versatile demands of a multi-divided society, it has to be able to introduce the future generation to the social life of the society, also to pass on the accumulated knowledge relevantly. (Hegedűs, 2007) In Gáspár's belief, there is a need for the school to be autonomous in order for it to operate successfully. According to him, there is a need for the modernization of the society, the economy and the school, which requires continuous development and innovation.

5. Zsolnai József's Lifeline

Zsolnai József, original name Zsemlye József, was born in 1935 and was brought up in the boondocks. After finishing the teacher training college he further educated himself to be a secondary school teacher of Hungarian Language and History. He also graduated from pedagogy, later, in 1977 he received a PhD. He started to work on his mother-tongue-pedagogy based experiment building on the most recent research in communication in 1971. (Zsolnai, 1978) One significant part of the study was his mother tongue teaching experiment between 1976-1977, in which he studied the improvability of underprivileged gypsy students in small settlements. He became the director of the National Educational Institute (OKI) in 1990. With the help of the Hungarian Pedagogical Society his first step was publishing the New Pedagogical Survey (Új Pedagógiai Szemle), which was a national professional magazine. Also, he founded the independent magazine of the Institute with the title Iskolakultúra (School culture). In the first part of the 1990s he was working on the project called the Renewal of the Profession of Pedagogues (PSZM). As a university professor, pedagogical researcher and leader of educational experiments he could see the problems of the Hungarian Teacher Training system. From 1999 he operated a Pedagogical Research Institute in Pápa, then from 2003 he was the leader of the educational program of the Interdisciplinary Doctorate School (today Linguistics D S) at the University of Pannonia. The source and the ultimate goal of his theoretical research was always the practice of pedagogy. (Zsolnai, Zsolnai, 1978)

He was a tireless researcher and educator, who founded and operated a network of schools for long decades. He published nearly 30 books and 200 studies. Zsolnai József was not only an enthusiastic advocate of the life-long learning and researching pedagogue but he was the prototype of it.

Zsolnai, a significant figure of 20th century Hungarian pedagogy died as professor emeritus, as a doctor of the MTA in 2011.

6. Zsolnai's pedagogical programs

The history of the linguistic-literary-communicative (NYIK) program led by Zsolnai dates back to the 1970s. Its predecessor was a teaching experiment in 1971 called 'proper pronunciation' then, in 1984 the Minister of Education declared the program to be an alternative curriculum. (Zsolnai, 2002) The significance of the NYIK program lies in the very fact that this was the first alternative curriculum in the 80s. The program offers methods that enhance the motivation for speaking along with improving the proper pronunciation for school children as opposed to the conservative mother tongue teaching methods. He connected the teaching of literature with the education in arts and aesthetics.

Dramatization, acting and role play appear among the methods of the program. (Heffner, Zsolnai, 1997)

Zsolnai agreed that he would help adopt his cutting edge teaching material among underprivileged children too. Between 1974 and 1978 the teaching tools and methods were successfully tried in small settlements mainly inhabited by gipsy residents (Csököly, Sárszentlőrinc). The linguistic, literary and communicative program was operated as a research too from the very beginning.

Zsolnai József's other pedagogical experiment, the value-conveying and skill development program (ÉKP) was based on action research. (Zsolnai, 1995) The people connected to the subjects of the project (students, teachers, parents) were involved as insider clients: they were not just participants but active insiders. The program was aimed at the reforming of all skill-development school subjects. The value-conveying and skill development program (ÉKP) is implemented by Zsolnai in the following fields: 1. the school, 2. the teacher 3. the family, 4. the school's environment. (Zsolnai, Kiss, 1995)

The teaching material, the teaching tools, the methods of teaching and teaching management, the treatment of the children, studying at the school, everyday life and social relationships are all organized along the lines of the basic values defined by the program. (Bognárné Kocsis, 2011) The basic values are as follows: order and cleanliness, well-mannered and polite behavior, work discipline, study discipline, Hungarian nationality as a national heritage, respect of achievement and human accomplishments, aspiring for being informed and civilized, morals, physical and spiritual wellness, joviality, happiness, democratic values, involvement.

Zsolnai wanted to make the versatile skill development accessible for everyone, the setting being the school evidently. (Zsolnai, 2003) Children should be given the opportunity to try themselves in many different fields in order for their interests to develop.

The value-conveying and skill development program (ÉKP) is a whole-day school, the timetable is adapted to the children's intellectual condition, which means: they have Maths, natural sciences, Hungarian literature and grammar in the morning and puppeteering, folk dance, environmental culture and arts in the afternoon.

The program provides a wide group of activities, it teaches significantly more subjects than a traditional school. Among the subjects we can find: human studies, religious studies, ethics, philosophy, drama techniques, visual arts and art history, theater, cinema, photography, media studies, floristry, home economics, book and library studies, folk dance, puppeteering, etc.

Zsolnai intended to accomplish the development of skills through activities. The many subjects and the versatile activities led to continuous skills development as the interrelationship between the activities facilitated it. For example, chess, logic, puzzle solving subjects facilitated the development of mathematical competences; physical education was possible outside the PE lessons as well, for instance in folk dance classes or at judo trainings. His teaching materials, appearing as individual subjects or built in to the materials of other lessons can be observed in student activities and in the skills development process deriving from them. (Csík, 1994)

He changed the organization of the school management, for example students worked in smaller groups, or some lessons only lasted shorter than usual. He implemented a new perspective for children in the school. The subject materials are intertwined with linguistic and visual communication. Contact culture gets a significant role: clear, well-understandable speech, sophisticated language use both orally and in written form, also the polite and well-mannered behaviour.

The centre of the value-conveying and skill development program (ÉKP) is Törökbálint (Törökbálinti Kísérleti Iskola), not far from Budapest. Complete and concise handbooks, teaching materials and course-books were prepared for the Zsolnai-programs.

Zsolnai prepared for the underprivileged students arriving to the schools, that is the reason why behavior-pedagogy is part of the program. There is no fail in any subjects in the first three years of the schools operating according to the value-conveying and skill development program (ÉKP). Zsolnai found it important to give an opportunity for everyone to catch up. He provided differentiated

learning-management for the students falling behind in all the subjects. From grades 1 to 6 there are separate catch-up classes in the most important subjects.

Besides the programs aiming at catching up, the other important element of the program is educating the students for creating things individually or in groups. Being problem-oriented, basing on philosophy, inter- and multidisciplinary perspective - these are all aspects gaining a determining role in all of Zsolnai's work. (Vágó, Balázs and Kocsis, 1990)

The main idea in his pedagogy is tackling the underprivileged status, creating equal opportunities, developing individual skills. (Zsolnai, 1986) The Hungarian and German media was very much interested in the value-conveying and skill development program (ÉKP).

He stated in one of the professional magazines (Köznevelés) in 1971, that we should familiarize the students not only with the results of sciences but also with the process leading up to achieving those results from a very early age (from the age of 10) at the schools. In accordance with science pedagogy, he developed a program for this cause and started to organize a scientific movement for students and founded a program (in 1997) in order to involve primary school students in scientific research. The Scientific Conference of Researcher Children helped bringing science closer to the children providing the use of the scientific approach.

7. The similarities and differences between Gáspár and Zsolnai's concepts

Below I would like to point out the similarities and the differences between the two concepts.

Similarities between the lifelines and concepts of Zsolnai and Gáspár:

- Both of them come from underdeveloped parts of the country, yet, they both struggled to become university professors and members of the Academy. Both had a strong urge to study and to belong to the better-educated layer of society.
- Their lifelines were also similar, as they both grew up in harsh circumstances, coming from poor families, with great determination. In their adult lives neither of them had a straight career, they tried themselves in many different fields, gathered a lot of life- and work experience while they were working on their concepts. Both their lives were full of conflicts, not being understood and revolt.
- They turned to the working class, to children of the underprivileged families instead of the elite in their pedagogical work. They considered their happiness and decrease of their handicaps important as they could sympathize with their situation, and many times hopeless fate. They wanted to help them, to give them a possibility for a better life.
- Both of them emphasized value-creating skills in their concepts, wanting to develop these skills at the schools. They did not expect a value-creating role from the family (as they knew it was not necessarily given), but they considered the involvement/cooperation of the family during the school work important.
- They were both urging pedagogical reforms, meaning the significant change of the basic school circumstances, the reform of the content and the structure, and also continuous innovation in the pedagogical processes. They were school founders who wanted a better, more comprehensive pedagogy than the contemporary political system could offer. They did not accept the teacher ideal of the time, who was unilaterally educated and operating as the subject of the system.
- Both programs are based on research, both of them were proud of this fact.
- They chose small towns as the setting of their experiments with absolutely average students. They avoided wealthy, elitist schools as practical places.
- Skills development was intended to be implemented through a great variety of activities.
- Neither of them aspired for creating an elitist school with cherry-picked students and teachers, rather, they wanted to show that underprivileged people, on the brink of society are also able to

rise socially. They wanted to give life opportunities for the students to be able to create better living conditions and also to be able to accomplish higher qualifications.

- They both built on the teachers' creativity in the organization of school work and lessons, what is more, they expected it from the teachers.
- Both of them urged activity-centered methods, motivation, harmonious student-teacher relationship and individual learning curves.
- The real and lasting values of their concepts can be grasped in the growing generations. Students attending their schools usually became more successful and efficient than those attending traditional schools. They were more open-minded to subjects, they generally had a broader perspective, it became clear that their whole personality was developed by the school education.
- Certain elements of the concepts appear in the present pedagogical practices. (development of competences, professional demands, individual treatment, etc.)
- They aspired for creating a complex, versatile approach.

Differences

- Skills development:

Gáspár had the social goals in the centre of his attention, in his concept the principle of skills development means the reproduction of basic social activities in the local, school environment. The school offers a lot of different opportunities for activities - self expression, where the student has to be (or should be) an active participant. If the students understand the potentials in these activities, they will be motivated for self- and community development. Integrated subjects and production type of work is important in his program.

Zsolnai took advantage of the versatility and interdependence of skills development, meaning more lessons at school aiming at the development of certain skills for the sake of a more secure result.

- The philosophical basis:

Gáspár based his program on socialist pedagogy, meaning the usage of the socialist work-school and Makarenko's community education principles.

Zsolnai emphasizes that his value-conveying and skill development program is not a pedagogy based on one particular philosophical idea, as he build on the principles of ancient theologians as well as on the ideas of contemporary scientists of the field. He is looking for the values in all of them. He accepts pluralism and eccentricity.

- Equal opportunities - catching up and/or talent care:

I believe both programs pay attention to providing equal opportunities. Both redevelopment and talent care are strongly present in Gáspár's program. Zsolnai, on the other hand, emphasizes the role of the individual and their development. Within the value-conveying and skill development pedagogy talent development is a more important element. Zsolnai justifies this by saying that talent care results in a fast and visible result for the teacher, that is the reason why this is chosen by more people. Compared to this, redevelopment is slow and less noticeable. However, Zsolnai believed that redevelopment and talent care should be carried out simultaneously in the schools.

- We can state that while Gáspár was practice-centered, Zsolnai was rather science and research-oriented.

8. The implications and findings of the study

According to me, both Gáspár László and Zsolnai József 's concepts brought vitality and momentum to the Hungarian socialist education system. I think, it was a significant result at that time that the strong central management of education put up with, what is more, allowed the implementation of the

two initiatives starting from the lower levels of the system. There must have been several reasons for that.

One important aspect is that both Gáspár and Zsolnai turned to underprivileged children of underdeveloped regions, by providing equal opportunities for them. Another significant factor is that their concepts were in sync with the ideals of the communist government of the time. What were these objectives? One of them was fighting against falling behind: both Gáspár and Zsolnai tried to give all the help for the students falling behind (extra lessons, tutoring, etc.). The next factor was the school without failure: the developers of the programs fought against failure by banning it from the first four grades of primary school, instead recommending redevelopment for the teachers. The third goal was increasing the efficiency and the quality of the education of the schools. Both Gáspár and Zsolnai set high demands for their teachers. They required continuous professional development, creativity, delivering high level classes and being active in after-school activities.

Gáspár László and Zsolnai József's concepts approached social inequality and tackling underprivileged status from the same perspective. Both of them accounted for the cooperation of the school and the families, but they did not expect the supportive activity of the family. They were aware that in the case of underprivileged students school have to take a bigger role in the development or redevelopment of the children. In order to minimize the handicap resulting from the socio-economic status of the children they offered rich and versatile activities in their programs. Even underprivileged students were granted the opportunity to try themselves in many different activities, so they could understand it more easily what they were good at. Also, they were involved in diverse skills development. As these were activities, opportunities and study groups provided by the school, they were available for everybody. Participation was not dependent on the social or financial background. Zsolnai and Gáspár considered education and higher level of qualifications as the signs of ascension. They believed that with diverse development, with activities aspiring for the betterment of society, with responsible and high quality work, the individual will get better opportunities thus ensuring the ascension in society. Gáspár highlighted and promoted the role of learning, education, community and work in the school program, while Zsolnai focused on learning, education, creation and scientific research.

We can state that both programs operated successfully and efficiently in their times, what is more, the value-conveying and skill development program remained operational decades after the change of the system (there are schools operating by it now, too). For the renewal or reestablishment of the programs we would need such strong, active and defining personalities as Gáspár László and Zsolnai József.

If we examine the programs from the point of view of today's pedagogical practice, we can say that Zsolnai's principles are generally present in public education, not only in schools operating according to the Value-conveying and Ability Development Programme, his principles appear in secondary schools and higher education as well. Smaller and larger research works, scientific student circle activities and talent development have particular importance at all levels of education. László Gáspár's education for work can be seen in the institutions of the vocational training centers.

In conclusion, it can be affirmed that the program creators have made significant contributions to enhancing the efficiency of Hungarian pedagogy. Zsolnai's pedagogical methodology stands as a timeless paradigm, which remains indispensable even in contemporary times. However, the incorporation of Gáspár's approach is equally imperative to ensure that education adequately equips young individuals for the demands of economic and social life.

References

- Bernáth, J. (1997). A szentlőrinci iskolakísérlet a sajtó tükrében. *Embernevelés*, 3.
- Bernáth, J., Mihály, O. & Páldi, J. (1979). Kísérlet az önálló tanulás kialakításához egy gimnáziumban. *Pedagógia Szemle*, 7-8., 635–644.
- Bognárné Kocsis, J. (2011). Zsolnai József pedagógusképe. *Iskolakultúra 10-11*, 31–38.
- Csalog, J. (2003). Szentlőrinc, a modell. *Iskolakultúra*, 13 (1). 111–112.
- Csalog, J. (2003). Ez történt Szentlőrincen. *Iskolakultúra*, 13 (3) 69–72.
- Csík, E. (1994). Zsolnai-programok. *Iskolakultúra* 4(10) 31–38.
- Gáspár, L. (1977). *A társadalmi gyakorlat szükségletei és az általános nevelés tartalma*. Akadémiai Kiadó
- Gáspár, L. (1978). *Egységes világkép, komplex tananyag*. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest
- Gáspár, L. (1984). *A szentlőrinci iskolakísérlet I*. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest
- Gáspár, L. (1988). Iskola és szabad művelődés. *Köznevelés*, 44(7).
- Heffner, A. & Zsolnai, J. (1997). *Az érték közvetítő és képességfejlesztő programtervei*. Oktatókutatató Intézet, Budapest
- Hegedüs, G. (2007). *Szentlőrinc, a jövő iskolája. A szentlőrinci iskolakísérlet részleges utóvizsgálata*. Kecskeméti Főiskola Tanítóképző Főiskolai Kar, Kecskemét
- Kasza, Sz. (2008). A tanulás szabadsága. A szentlőrinci iskolakísérletről ma. *Tanít-tanít*; 13 (3) 25 – 29.
- Kelemen, E. (2015). Fordulópont a magyar oktatás történetében. 70 éves az általános iskola. *Educatio*, 4. 36–47.
- Kocsis, J. (2003). Elégtelen röpdolgozat Gáspár László iskolájáról. *Iskolakultúra*, 13 (2). 70–74.
- Kronstein, G. (1998). Újraolvasva Gáspár Lászlót. *Új Pedagógiai Szemle*, 10. <https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00035/00020/1998-10-np-Kronstein-Ujraolvasva.html> (2023. 01. 07.)
- Kovács, S. (1982). Pedagógiai kutatók, kutató pedagógusok Szentlőrincen. *Pedagógiai Szemle*, 9. 803–809.
- Loránd, F. (2003). Így is lehet! *Iskolakultúra*, 13(3), 73–76.
- Vágó, I., Balázs, É. & Kocsis, M. (1990). *A képességfejlesztő program hatása és eredményei I–II*. Oktatókutatató Intézet, Budapest
- Zátonyi, S. (2006). Hatvan éves az általános iskola. *Iskolakultúra*, 6. 49–58.
- Zsolnai, J. (2006). Kényszerű hozzászólás a pedagógia újabb identitászavarához: egy eszme- és mentalitástörténetnek álcázott vita kontextusában. *Iskolakultúra*, (13) 3. 80–84.
- Zsolnai, J. (1995). *Az érték közvetítő és képességfejlesztő pedagógia*. ÉKP Központ; Holnap Kkt; Tárogató Kiadó, Budapest
- Zsolnai, J. & Kiss, É. (1995). Képességfejlesztő, érték közvetítő program. In: Kereszty, Zs. & Hajbács, I. (Eds.), *Több út – alternatívitás az iskolázás első éveiben*. (pp. 163 – 171). IFA-BTF-MKM, Budapest
- Zsolnai, J. (1986). *Egy gyakorlatközeli pedagógia*. Oktatókutatató Intézet, Budapest
- Zsolnai, J. & Zsolnai, L. (1987). *Mi a baj a pedagógiával?* Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest
- Zsolnai, J. (1978). *Beszédművelés kisiskoláskorban*. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest

Zsolnai, J. (2002). *Dokumentumok a Nyelvi, irodalmi és kommunikációs nevelési program történetéből*. Veszprémi Egyetem, Tanárképző Kar Pedagógiai Kutatóintézete, Veszprém

Author

Judit BOGNÁRNÉ KOCSIS, Veszprém (Magyarország). E-mail: bkjudit07@gmail.com