

VALUE AND MARKET VALUE OF EDUCATION. UNSCHEDULED THOUGHTS ABOUT DIFFICULT TO MEASURE SIZES

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Introduction. It may seem strange to ask the question of the value of education at a university. It is still considered to be the one institution that exclusively awards the highest degrees of education that can ever be achieved.

At the same time, fundamental changes can be noted which, in the course of the so-called Bologna Process, have promoted a formal alignment of country-specific educational systems from a purely political-economic point of view. The relevant education policy decision-makers agreed on this and have since confirmed their willingness to comprehensively adapt the education sector to the requirements of the global capitalist economic order and to organize it as a contribution to international competitiveness.

Problem Statement. The now 49 signatory states in the European Higher Education Area - Austria has been part of this area since 1999, Armenia joined in 2005 - committed themselves to ensuring the employability of graduates through appropriate reforms in education system and guarantee mutual recognition of degrees that should provide for increased mobility of their populations. The effects have become very tangible for all of us. With the modularization of Bachelor's and Master's degree programs, the definition of quality standards, the introduction of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and quality assurance in teaching and development of universities, the degrees were made comparable and at the same time in line with the market. Education has become the commodity with which the individual may act in the Higher Education Area. It has a *Market Value*.

Short analysis of current researches and publications related to the problem. In this politically expansive labor and employment market, individuals can now try their luck with the educational qualifications they have achieved. It also means that they have to be comparable with a larger number of applicants for a job and employment position. In the job market, there is initially an abundance of well-trained but unsolicited people, who turn into a shortage for the same reason. "If everyone's graduated from high school, nobody really has the graduation!" In economic service companies and state institutions are in the sequence of jobs rarely or completely disappear, which does not make the graduation to the employment requirement. Because of this, school and college degrees, which for a long time were regarded as a kind of insurance for privileged positions in the labor market, today are much more like an "Option [...] traded on the stock market", a commodity with an early "expiration date" and "enormous pressure for innovation" (see

Gruschka 2009, p.109). Even with the greatest individual training effort, many in this competition - which inevitably generates losers alongside winners - do not reach their goal. The oversupply of academics, on the other hand, also creates new freedoms in the selection and filling of jobs. The remainder is regarded as an "academic precariat" and is far more or less imaginatively reflected in its life, far below its level of education level is concerned in the diverse and differentiated range of service sector.

Research novelty. Although the life chances are linked to education and school leaving or university degrees, they are apparently far from being guarantees of getting into a job or employment relationship at all, let alone that one corresponds to the level of education and training. Regardless of this, for many existentially threatening contexts education still exists in contrast to it as an independent value - more or less idealized. The complaint about the "practice of un-education" (Liessmann 2016) implicitly or explicitly takes up elements of a "true" education to highlight the questionable transitions associated with the above mentioned profound reforms of education. There is no doubt that education has a value that differs from its market value. Something of this value still appears even where general knowledge or general education is required, which can be used in various formats of media entertainment, in quiz broadcasts, for example, concert tickets, shopping vouchers can win or lose up to one million euros.

My untimely thoughts are not exhausted in further complaints about the mismatch of the two sizes. At the *beginning* there is a somewhat unusual literary comparison under the headline "How much education does a human being need?" with exemplary references to how education is currently being discussed. The spectrum ranges from enthusiastic statements about the global and individually life-time expansion of educational processes under the keyword "Lifelong Learning" to more sceptical or questionable time diagnoses, which see this expansion as a rather problematic development.

In the discussions, a contrast always flashes, which will then occupy us in a *second* step: the contrast between "mere" qualification and "true humanistic" education or, briefly, between training and education. In the memory of some almost forgotten insights, I want to show that the contrast itself had only a relative weight, even for the protagonists of one and the other position. The two sides - training and education - were originally not seen as contradictory and incompatible. Only in retrospect did it present itself in this way and it is sporadically deliberately exaggerated.

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I want to clarify the reciprocal dependence of both sides in order to deal with the "presumption" of education or its unpredictable and subversive remainder in the *third* step. In this way, I recall a few essential and - not only from my point of view - indispensable elements of education, which serve as a critical corrective and measure, even against false claims and impositions, which are connected with the continuous

education in the sense of a flexible usability. In return, one does not have to reconvert the "true education", which I hope I can also make clear. But first to the question:

1. How much education does a human being need?

Let me start with a story by Leo Tolstoy, to whom I owe a few important cause for thought on the subject of education. It is therefore no coincidence that the story bears the title: How much earth does man need? The short story begins with the conversation between two sisters. The older one lives in the city, the younger one in the countryside. When the elder praised the city life in the highest tones, the younger holds against:

"For nothing in the world ... I would swap my life for yours. It's true that we don't live very beautifully, we don't have any worries about that either. But you live more beautiful and cleaner, you can earn a lot of money today, but tomorrow lose everything ... Our peasant life is much safer ... meager, but long. We'll never get rich, but we'll always have enough to eat! "(Tolstoy 1886/1989, p. 9)

The young farmer's wife self-confidently encounters the throw-in of the elders, what kind of food is "out of a trough with the pigs and calves" and a life on the "dunghill" with: "Our life is just like that. For that we live safely, we don't need to stoop to anyone and we do not fear anyone. But in the city you live in constant contestation"- Through gambling addiction, alcoholism or infidelity the good life is destroyed all at once.

Now the farmer Pachom enters the scene. He "laid on the stove and listened to the conversation of the two women. 'It's all true,' he told himself. 'One of us has to deal with the earth from childhood on, and that's why such foolishness does not come to mind. One thing is just sad: we don't have enough land! If I had enough land, I would have feared no one, not even the devil! '"

"But the devil had sat behind the stove and heard everything ... 'It's good,' said the devil to himself, 'let's see: I want to give you a lot of land and just catch you with it' "(Tolstoy 1886/1989, p 10).

This is how the story takes its course and farmer Pachom has some quite reasonable reasons and also good opportunities to leave his native country to acquire more land elsewhere to live better and more carefree. With that I break off the retelling to draw some parallels. The properties or meaning that earth possesses for the Pachom peasant family can be transferred to our understanding of education. - At the same time, the high significance of education, at least since the Age of Enlightenment, becomes clear.

The earth or the land is a means to life. It doesn't necessarily make you rich, but free and independent. It is even possible to live largely carefree and safe. The country is constant. Wealth in the form of money on the other hand is fleeting. But sometimes it takes a lot of effort to bring in a rich harvest. Sometimes the fertility of the soil does not turn out until many years later. The treasures of the country must first be discovered, because sometimes it looks - at least at first sight - unspectacular and quite ordinary. The earth can then be refined and even developed into a truly "blessed land". Of all this, the

people from the city - who have no land - know nothing about all this and - above all, they do not appreciate it.

The comparison could, of course, be continued. But I will leave it for the moment. Because the devil is not only sitting at the farmer's *pachom* behind the stove. In the case of education, it is obviously in the details. This shows the ongoing discussion about lifelong learning. One and the same thing - lifelong learning - some see it as an opportunity and the others as an imposition.

Some emphasize that this concept receives all kinds of economic and social support and, above all, it is in line with the self-interest of adults, says John Field, the first person in charge of a teaching pulpit called "lifelong learning" in the Scottish town of Sterling (see Knoll 2007, P. 196).

The *others* see it as a fairy tale formula that obscures the problem: "constant learning becomes a necessity, more precisely a compulsion, but nobody knows exactly what should actually be learned" - said the Viennese philosopher Konrad Paul Liessmann (Liessmann 2006, p. 33). This is only to be agreed. Because at present people seem to attach more importance on comprehensively and flexibly educated humans than in no age before. Lifelong, from the cradle to the grave learning should continue. An endpoint is supposedly neither foreseeable nor achievable for every individual. Everyone should always be up to date and be able to train or call up exactly the specialist or social skills that are currently in demand. The needs of companies and the economy are in the foreground. Education is subordinate to this.

While "propaganda for key qualifications" is intended to allow for "maturity," in truth, they [the key qualifications, J.H.] are only used selectively [d. H. selected] and in a ruling form "- said Andreas Gruschka in his inaugural lecture in Frankfurt (Gruschka 2000, p. 625). Today, education serves more to subordinate to foreign purposes than to the emancipation and liberation of the individual.

In his "theory of Illiteracy" Liessmann describes how there was hardly any resistance from the scientific community against the comprehensive changes in the entire research and teaching operations at the universities. "Turning away from the idea of education" shows itself "most clearly where one might least suspect this: in the centers of education" (Liessmann 2006, p. 71).

The pedagogue Andreas Gruschka goes a step further and notes that the educational ideal necessarily disappears as soon as the contents of school education are perceived "above all as qualifications". And for universities, with the "last educated" who still have a "lighthouse function" dissolve the ideal "guiding principle" of education. Education becomes a "museum piece" (see Gruschka 2001, p. 624).

The discussion about education leads to a strangely paradoxical result: it is precisely the general dissemination of education that makes it less and less valuable and loses its original meaning in this process of devaluation. Both are expressed in the keywords "accumulation of knowledge and "Halbbildung" = superficial education. Nietzsche

already spoke of the fact that modern man "carries with him a tremendous amount of indigestible knowledge stones, which then, on occasion, rumble neatly in their bodies" (Nietzsche 1994, p. 180).

Paulsen describes "Halbbildung" in his manual article from 1903 as "inwardly unfinished education". While education arises "through inner processing and assimilation," superficial education takes up the "material merely outwardly": "Stuck in memory, they are like foreign bodies in the soul, inhibiting natural development and distorting and defacing spiritual education." Superficial education makes "vain and presumptuous ... haughty and bossy" and finally "intolerant and brutal" (see Paulsen 1903, p. 669). And for Adorno, "Halbbildung" is even more formulated not merely an imperfect preliminary stage, but almost the "mortal enemy" of education (see Adorno 1959/1997, p. 95) Originally, it was all about the generalization of education as the means of self-determination and emancipation of each and every individual and as a condition for social change.

This leads to the second part and to the question why the quality of education is so difficult to evaluate and measure. This has to do with the contrast that seems to exist between education versus training or qualification. On the one hand the possibility for individual perfection and emancipation, on the other hand, only an adaptation to economic and social requirements - a mental submission oriented towards social usefulness. It is about systematically demonstrating why the opposition is not tenable at all and probably never was, as it is still perceived time and again, and opposed to a seemingly only utilitarian position.

2. Between education and training - some forgotten insights

Education apparently has no measure, it is and remains an unfulfilled and insatiable need. One - from my personal point of view - particularly impressive image for this is again - a farmer: a reading farmer, as a symbol of emancipation through education in the 18th century. The characteristic feature of this Age of Enlightenment is, as we know, the (re) discovery of reason and confidence in a force equally shared by all human beings, freeing them from ignorance, superstition, prejudice, infatuation, belief in authority and religious fanaticism. Enlightenment is neither limited to a historical epoch nor is it a specific or even exclusive German phenomenon. Since then, there has apparently not been a single situation, no unfavorable circumstances, no age at which education is excluded or a state of satiety is reached. Both the unrestrained will to education and the tremendous effort associated with one's own use of reason are expressed in this image.

In an often quoted passage, the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) decisively rejects all forms of intellectual tutelage and at the same time puts the emancipatory self-conception of the epoch in a nutshell:

"Enlightenment is man's exit from his self-inflicted immaturity." Immaturity is the inability to use one's mind without the guidance of another. This immaturity is self-

responsible, if the cause of it is not due to the lack of reason, but to the resolution and the courage to use it without the guidance of another "(Kant 1773/1977, p. 53).

It may even be convenient for the individual to renounce the use of one's own mind and to become dependent on others. Kant also does not conceal that exemption from the state of immaturity demands great effort and even courage. This is especially true at a time when ruling circles deliberately reckoned with the mental inability of broad layers of the people and especially women. The rulers felt called to patronize their subordinates.

The educational reform movement, which has decisively helped to raise the importance of educating and training even the lower classes in the consciousness of the relevant educational institutions, were the philanthropists. The philanthropic Enlightenment educators lavished themselves partly by unfortunate confrontation with humanism in the offside. As a result, they continued to be reiterated, stressing too much the social benefits of education. They sacrificed the individual perfection of the individual's social usefulness within the socially prescribed limits.

The headmaster of a school in the Swiss canton of Aarau, Ernst August Evers (1779 - 1823) wrote, for example, in 1807 a bitter satire on the philanthropic education under the title "On education to bestiality. A pamphlet in favor of humanistic education". In this work, of course, he widely covered the aforementioned opposition. But it contains useful ideas that could be used to comment on some things in today's educational landscape.

So if you like, the Enlightenment educators are one-sided in education and qualification already in the 18th century. I want to try to show that these judgments are not so tenable.

Joachim Heinrich Campe wrote in 1785 a writing entitled "Of the necessary care for the maintenance of the balance among the human forces". The unilateral development of certain forces Campe declined so decided. Even if he divides the forces perhaps somewhat cumbersome and not consistently persuasive into original and derived ones, he pleads decisively for "that all the original powers ... are strengthened and trained in such an order and to such an extent that the adult man, who has grown up to maturity, can equally put these powers into equally strong activity"? (AR III, p. 317)

This already expresses a "formal" principle. In contrast to a canon of specific and socially sought-after educational content, this formal principle is regarded as a particularly exclusive quality mark for the neo-humanistic educational ideal.

Campe calls eight original powers, but then he does not stick to his own distinction. His conclusion is interesting to us: he is quite indifferent - in the sense of equal - to which specific activities or objects the individual original forces each form and practice. The future farmer, as well as the future minister, would test his body strength, his intellect, his comparative art. They do so in different areas and through different activities. But both bring about comparable results in terms of the degree of expression of their "original" powers (see AR III, pp. 343f).

Therefore, Campe is convinced of both: on the one hand, "that every citizen needs his individual vocation of certain exclusive skills," on the other hand, that this "with a general and uniform exercise of all his original powers" quite tolerated (see AR III, p. 345).

The acquired knowledge and skills already enrich the individual existence from Campe's point of view. They are a potential, a space of opportunity for each individual. This gives him the feeling of inner balance and satisfaction with himself - regardless of the current use of his powers. Campe's concern for the balance among human forces ultimately applies to the development of this consciousness, which sets itself by the comprehensive ability. At the same time, however, Campe is convinced that this awareness develops only in the examination of concrete requirements and not in an act of abstract formal self-realization. Like his philanthropic colleagues, he resolutely adheres to social reality and its necessities. Separated from this and without the division of social tasks, there is no balanced and blissful individual life possible - not only for Campe. In principle, this does not mean that education dissolves into functional adaptation to societal requirements and concentration on acquisition. Historically, the "exorbitant exaggeration of the point of utility" culminated in the development of industrial schools (see Blankertz 1963, p. 102f), which were economically innovative, yet pedagogically hardly justifiable. But Campe in his "concern" quite seriously wrestled with a connection between VET and "the humanity of the professional".

The second philanthropist, Peter Villaume, explicitly raised the question: "Whether and how far in education the perfection of the individual is to sacrifice his usefulness?" He caused a stir with it. The writing should not be treated here in detail, but I would like to point out only a break in his argumentation. Villaume, for example, wants a "knowledgeable and well-educated farmer" to recognize what is true, good and consistent. Moreover, he should even "see and feel" a "recited truth" (see AR III, p. 528). This gives Villaume a special problem. On the one hand, the farmer, craftsman, etc. should learn only useful things, on the other hand - in the sense of the Enlightenment - even judiciously judge what others present to him as truth. As you know, you can only see something if you know and examine the reasons that lead to a statement or a judgment. I.e. because Villaume wants to make the peasants "wise," he also says he has to give a measure of education, so that his professional usefulness is not called into question by education. Villaume, therefore, knows about the emancipatory surplus that exists at all times, which is potentially given with - that is, the possibility - of education. And he knows about the danger that individuals could be too narrow due to the education of his professional field. As with Campe, Villaume's concerns are mainly that the individual would be unhappy in his job if he appropriated too many items that he could not use in the end. Conversely, Villaume also holds that "every person whose powers are above his profession is in a state of discomfort" (see AR III, p. 475). He is concerned with a harmonious relationship between the individual forces and the professional requirements,

and by no means exclusively with the adaptation to the needs of the social class. Even the most decisive partisanship for vocational training evidently does not succeed without elements of general education.

The Exception

There is an exception, however. The insight that "man does not like to remain under his power" does not apply to Villaume and Campes' view of middle-aged girls and women. According to Villaume, the "noble ladies" should receive "lessons in everything" and they may "go as far" in science and art "as they want or can". He would not dare to commit these women to the job of housewife, mother, and wife. In addition, he is of course convinced that this "would be much better for mankind" (AR III, p. 548ff). Such scruples are completely eliminated when it comes to "the formation of a middle-class woman." The danger is that even the simplest physical exercises threaten to alienate the young girls from their future "confined, sedentary lifestyle," to which they, as wife and housemother, are "destined" (AR III, p. 549). However, it becomes definitively problematic when it comes to the nevertheless necessary understanding. In this case, one should definitely not go so far as to "that the intellectual momentum, the taste for truth, and the study of it, diminish the little household affairs" (AR III, p. 550). In any case, by engaging with the "beautiful sciences" a "hobby" should arise. This distorts the adolescent girl "the future housemother" (ibid.).

When Villaume complains about the education of the middle-aged woman, "How much does not belong to keep the right measure?" (ibid.), This expresses, somewhat out of line, but in fact a difficulty: the justifications for the demolition or the end of the education efforts are as inconsequential for girls and women as they are for farmers and workers who want to and can convince themselves of the justifications. The fact that it was not only women who were systematically reserved cultural educational treasures because their societal position was so demanded, after all, is not a question of the right measure, but of valid economic and social interests.

In Betty Gleim we get to know a woman from the time who successfully overcame these obstacles. Villaume knows one thing too well: Man, and probably the woman, "does not like to remain under his fortune" (AR III, p. 473). But in many cases, education is sacrificed without hesitation to social usability and limited to a socially acceptable, functional measure. At the same time, they do not even ask whether this also meets or meets their individual abilities, inclinations and possibilities.

Now consider the other, the humanist position, which purportedly represents only the pure educational ideal of individual perfection and pushes social utility into the background. With the idea of humanity, the single individual came more to the fore. It was not marginal to the philanthropists either, but it was more clearly defined by social relationships.

It is different with Wilhelm von Humboldt: he understands individuality as a variety of human possibilities. The task, therefore, is to "give the concept of humanity in our

person ... as much content as possible" (Humboldt I, p. 283). Even in these idealistic formulations, it still seems that the task can only be fulfilled in dealing with the contents, which are objectively predetermined in the world, by the individual subjectively appropriating the concrete contents. Or, as Humboldt puts it in his Theory of Human Education: "... this task is solved only by linking our ego with the world to the most general, free and reciprocal interaction" (Humboldt I, p. 284).

In this respect, Humboldt's social usefulness and functionality were by no means in absolute contrast to the general education of man, but his educational thinking contained quite a reference to social and professional tasks (see Benner 2003, p. 77f). But unlike Villaume, who thought he had to exclude certain content because of social utility, Humboldt pushed the idea of harmonious education of all forces to the extreme. Firstly, he does not see the functionality of a carpenter at all endangered by learning Greek, nor, conversely, does he mean that carpentry is not a worthy and meaningful object for a scholar to acquire. On the contrary, both carpenters and scholars would enrich their individual existence without even neglecting their social duties. Humboldt even promises to acquire extensive social skills - we would say today - so that the carpenter or day laborer "does not become raw under human dignity" and the educated "does not become sentimental, chimerical and eccentric under human power" (Humboldt 1809) / 1997, p. 112f).

At the point it becomes clear that the seemingly pure partisan of a formal idea of education Humboldt made quite similar considerations as the philanthropists. He was also concerned with the concrete content and he had to do it. Formal education and contentual canon interpenetrate (see Blankertz 1963, p.86).

Therefore, Betty Gleim in "Education of the female" 1810 decidedly advocates for a general and vocational education of girls and women. She had to reckon with corresponding resistance and to overcome it for herself. All the more combative, she stood up for the humanist ideals. Women should be able to develop their personality in all dimensions and to make their own the motto of the Enlightenment, to use themselves without guidance of another of their minds, to judge independently, uninfluenced, not only to think what others have thought before them, but self-thinking (see Borst 1999).

The prejudice of intellectual education can be lost to femininity, and it encounters the connection between both traditions - the philanthropic and the humanistic. Where femininity is withered, it cannot be concluded that the intellect is too weak:

"Wherever an investment in the human being subjugates all others, surely a disproportionate, an inharmonious education has taken place. The Rule: Depress a force because it may possibly become spoiler of the rest! is fundamentally wrong; On the other hand, it recommends this: do not develop an investment in the human being at the expense of the others ... formulate all investments in a congruent relationship, and into a harmonious whole "(Gleim 1810, p. 61).

Accordingly, education has an intellectual, an aesthetic and a moral or religious dimension. In addition, Gleim advocates "gaining employment" for women because there are many who are either discouraged from entering into marital and domestic relationships either by "their inclination or fate". They should be able to earn their own livelihood especially in social and nursing professions. Public offices are out of the question for women and are unimaginable for them. It took about 150 years until this area slowly changes come to fruition.

In all the positions presented it became clear that the contrast between education and training is not tenable. Neither in the Enlightenment pedagogy nor in the New Humanism was limited purely and exclusively to one of the two sides. With a few exceptions (Blankertz 1963, 1969 and Lichtenstein 1971), this was meticulously overlooked in the reception of historical approaches. There is even a systematic reason why both - education and training - are always connected and that the transitions between value and market value of education are fluid. This leads us to the third part.

3. Education as Critical Potential

The systematic or theoretical reason, which thus asserts itself in every possible historical situation and, as it were, ensures the connection between education and training. Wolfgang Sünkel has explained this reason in detail in his works "General Theory of Education" (2011) and "Outline of the theoretical didactics" (1996). He understands education in the widest sense as "bisubjective activities" the mediation and appropriation of "non-genetic dispositions of activity" (see Sünkel 2011, p. 29). There is always certain knowledge, skills and motives that are conveyed and appropriated - from speaking, reading, writing, arithmetic, cycling to carpentry, giving lectures, programming, playing cello or flying kites. It can therefore not be argued purely for training on social usability and functionality. Because with the concrete, content-specific special knowledge, skills and motives, which someone appropriates for the exercise of a profession or a socially useful work. He acquires or expands at the same time the potential to acquire any of many other knowledge, skills and motives. The individual, at the same time, acquires, as Sünkel calls it, the "appropriation disposition ... or the disposition for the activity of appropriation itself" (see Sünkel 1996, p. 77).

Although the "appropriation disposition" represents a potential, it can't be acquired separately from the concrete activities in this formal or methodological form - "no one can learn to learn" (Sünkel 2011, p. 49) - in this empty, airless form. The appropriation disposition arises concomitantly during the acquisition of concrete knowledge and skills. That is why training in a specific field always leads beyond itself - if you will - to what has been and is understood by "human education". Herder expressed this idea figuratively in the sentence: "If the knife is whetted you can cut all kinds of things with it" (Herder quoted in Paulsen 1903, p. 660).

Conversely, however, education, which wants to distinguish itself from any kind of social benefit as a pure form of "human education", inevitably has a structural

commonality with educational and teaching processes in which seemingly only profane, materially useful and useful knowledge, skills or motives are taught and appropriated. Education may claim to be universal, individual or comprehensive and total. In fact, it is always tied to a very specific content - even when it comes to such elementary and universally applicable activities as reading and writing. The activity of reading remains - once learned - the same, whether I read a scientific text, Goethe, Thomas Bernhard, Marx, the newspaper or a so-called trivial novel. The potential and extent of this potential of knowledge, skills and motives that individuals can derive from the "concept of humanity ..." (Humboldt I, p. 283) depends on the historical and social conditions and interests.

Humboldt was already aware of that. His educational theory must be "understood as a consistent response to his social criticism," as Eva Borst in her introduction to the "theory of education" reminiscent of the less widely received side of Humboldt's thoughts. The "aporia between freedom and coercion" could only "dissolve Humboldt if he moves the place of freedom in all radicalism into the individual himself and at the same time urges the prince to release the shackles and grant freedom, not as an act of kindness, but from reasonable insight into the necessity of freedom as such ". This means "that man is always compelled to examine the extent to which reality coincides with a liberally conceived society" (see Borst 2009, p. 63). Thus Humboldt already knew the dangers that lurked both on the state and in the economic field for the realization of the humanist idea. He knew how to determine the "limits of the effectiveness of the state" as well as the creeping processes of bureaucratization and control. However, according to Eva Borst, the inherently contradictory moment of his educational theory is that he "understood the 'dynamic character of the capitalist economy,'" but did not address the issue of "social relations" (see *ibid.*).

This contradiction is posed by the representatives of critical theory, especially Heinz-Joachim Heydorn. As Borst points out, he "positively accepts in his education theory the idea of bourgeois liberation represented by Humboldt, because it once represented the prospect of liberation of all humanity" (Borst 2009, p. 157). For Heydorn reflection on the "late capitalist society of his own time" becomes an indispensable element of educational theory (see *ibid.*). The impositions of education, the involvement of individuals in state and economic interests, but also the potential emancipatory possibilities of change within the contradiction between education and domination are clearly expressed in him.

Education obviously has a double face, it is a tool of oppression and at the same time an indispensable antidote. The "overcoming of domesticated educational practice through liberating educational practice" (Freire 2007, p. 39) was the theme of life for Paulo Freire, who both insistently pointed out Latin America and gave farm workers an awareness of their social situation and a language. Education creates and stabilizes a "culture of silence" (Freire) in which people are deprived of their curiosity and power of independent thought, submitting to resigned alien purposes and adapting to a world that is not theirs.

It takes courage and effort to restore confidence in the power of one's reason. The prevailing ideologies can be seen through, because education as a practice of freedom contains a *subversive element*. The attempts of regimentation, quantification and technologization of educational processes can also be undermined. Armin Bernhard chooses the image of the "Trojan Horse" as the education "through the constraints of social reproduction in the system of domination" is introduced. The "inmates of the Trojan horse are in principle able to open the gates" (Bernhard 2015, p. 130). They can also leverage the "tremendous potential for maturity" associated with the knowledge, skills, and motives that they acquire in "organized education" in the form of "qualifications" that are intended to serve market-driven self-optimization. "Questioning them and turning qualification processes into emancipation processes" (Bernhard 2015, p. 131). Of course, the "hard work" of education is connected with this, on the way of self-alienation and the (self-) critical distance to cherished thoughts, step by step to regain one's freedom.

Education is a "matter of freedom, not of compulsion" (Paulsen 1903, p. 665). Educational processes can be stimulated, but not enforced: memorizing may be enforced, but if I really want to learn something and not just superficially and forget about it after the exam, then I have to clear my mind. Freedom, curiosity, open-mindedness for the other and the stranger - what lies outside of one's own selfish sphere are at the same time prerequisite and essential elements of "education as the practice of freedom" (Freire).

Conclusion. The selection of educational goods is large and falls correspondingly difficult. Moreover, the cultural education universe is not free of multiple errors, interests, and ideologies. Critical capacity for judgment, uncomfortable insights, and resistant positions are in demand, which, in the tradition of the Enlightenment, embody it courageously and resolutely with the prevailing ideas and the political and economic conditions claimed as constraints. The "domesticated educational practice" stands in the way of the powerful and shows the other side of reason in rationalized computer-controlled industries, trade groups, service companies, surveillance systems and last but not least in effective killing machines practical.

On the eve of the unsuspected barbarism of reason at the beginning of the 20th century in Germany as well as in Armenia, Friedrich Paulsen concluded his article on education in the Encyclopedia of Education with the following hopeful sentence:

Education "makes you rich, content and happy; it is a treasure that, once acquired, cannot be lost or lose value, because it has no market value" (Paulsen 1903, p. 669).

The "Dialectic of the Enlightenment" (Adorno, Horkheimer) is massively asserting itself today in the economized educational systems at the beginning of the 21st century. The privatization of education is continuing, free educational events have become rare, universities have developed into business enterprises, the free spirit is still allowed to operate in elite universities. Education has a market value. Self-development and self-liberation through education are of little importance. The happy moments of education,

aha experiences, joy over self-contained knowledge, leisure and contemplation have become rare. With the treasures is not much to start, if they do not prove their marketability and lifelong, as soon as possible, flexible and constantly accumulated.

Leo Tolstoy's farmer Pachom also wanted too much of a good thing. The Bashkirs had plenty of land and the land he could place off in one day should belong to him. At some point during his day's march, he did not think about the effort and how much time it would take to plant the land and reap its fruits. At the end of that one day, he did not need more earth than was needed for his burial mound.

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ЦЕННОСТЬ И РЫНОЧНАЯ ЦЕННОСТЬ ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ. НЕРАЗУМНЫЕ МЫСЛИ О ТРУДНОИЗМЕРЯЕМЫХ РАЗМЕРАХ

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Аннотация

Введение. Может показаться странным задавать вопрос о ценности образования в университете. Это все еще считается единственным учреждением, которое присуждает исключительно высшие степени образования, которые когда-либо могут быть достигнуты.

В то же время можно отметить фундаментальные изменения, которые в ходе так называемого Болонского процесса способствовали формальному выравниванию систем образования в конкретных странах с чисто политико-экономической точки зрения. Соответствующие лица, принимающие решения в области образовательной политики, согласились с этим

и с тех пор подтвердили свою готовность всесторонне адаптировать сектор образования к требованиям глобального капиталистического экономического порядка и организовать его в качестве вклада в международную конкурентоспособность.

Постановка проблемы. В настоящее время 49 подписавших государств в Европейском пространстве высшего образования - Австрия была частью этой области с 1999 года, Армения присоединилась в 2005 году - взяли на себя обязательство обеспечить трудоустройство выпускников посредством соответствующих реформ в системе образования и гарантировать взаимное признание степеней, которые должны обеспечить для повышения мобильности их населения. Эффекты стали очень ощутимыми для всех нас. Благодаря модульности программ бакалавриата и магистратуры, определению стандартов качества, внедрению Европейской системы перевода кредитов (ECTS) и обеспечению качества в преподавании и развитии университетов, степени были сопоставимы и в то же время соответствуют магазину. Образование стало товаром, с которым человек может действовать в области высшего образования. Это имеет рыночную стоимость.

Краткий анализ текущих исследований и публикаций. На этом политически экспансивном рынке труда и занятости люди теперь могут попытаться счастья с полученными образовательными квалификациями. Это также означает, что они должны быть сопоставимы с большим числом претендентов на работу и должность. «Если все закончили среднюю школу, то на самом деле ни у кого нет выпускного!»

В хозяйственных сервисных компаниях и госучреждениях рабочие места постепенно редко или полностью исчезают, что не приводит к переходу на работу по требованию. Из-за этого школьные и университетские степени, которые долгое время считались своего рода страховкой для привилегированных позиций на рынке труда, сегодня во многом напоминают «опцион [...], обращающийся на фондовом рынке», товар с ранней «датой истечения» и «огромным давлением для инноваций» (см. Gruschka 2009, p.109). Даже с самыми большими индивидуальными тренировочными усилиями, многие в этом соревновании, что неизбежно приводит к проигрышам наряду с победителями, не достигают своей цели. С другой стороны, переизбыток академиков также создает новые свободы в выборе и заполнении рабочих мест. Остальная часть рассматривается как «академический прекариат» и гораздо более или менее творчески отражается в его жизни, намного ниже уровня образования, что касается разнообразного и дифференцированного диапазона сферы услуг.

Новизна. Несмотря на то, что жизненные шансы связаны с образованием и окончанием школы или университетским образованием, они, по-видимому, далеки от того, чтобы вообще гарантировать получение работы или трудовых отношений, не говоря уже о том, что они соответствуют уровню образования и профессиональной подготовки. Независимо от этого, для многих экзистенциально угрожающих контекстов образование все еще существует в отличие от него как самостоятельной ценности - более или менее идеализированной. Жалоба на «практику отсутствия образования» (Liessmann 2016) прямо или косвенно затрагивает элементы «истинного» образования, чтобы подчеркнуть сомнительные изменения, связанные с упомянутыми выше глубокими реформами образования. Нет сомнений в том, что образование имеет ценность, которая отличается от его рыночной стоимости. Нечто подобное имеет значение даже в тех случаях, когда требуются общие знания или общее образование, которые можно использовать в различных форматах мультимедийных развлечений, в викторинах, например, на билеты на концерты, в ваучеры на покупки можно выиграть или потерять до одного миллиона евро.

Мои несвоевременные мысли не исчерпываются дальнейшими жалобами на несоответствие двух размеров. В начале есть несколько необычное литературное сравнение под заголовком «Сколько образования нужно человеку?» с примерами ссылок на то, как образование в настоящее время обсуждается. Спектр варьируется от восторженных заявлений о глобальном и индивидуальном расширении образовательных процессов в течение всей жизни под ключевым словом «Обучение на протяжении всей жизни» до более скептических или сомнительных временных диагнозов, которые рассматривают это расширение как довольно проблематичное развитие.

В дискуссиях всегда всплывает вопрос, который затем займет нас на втором этапе исследования: контраст между «простой» квалификацией и «истинно гуманистическим» образованием или, кратко, между обучением и образованием. В память о некоторых почти забытых идеях я хочу показать, что сам контраст имел только относительный вес даже для главных героев одной и другой позиции. Обе стороны – обучение и образование – изначально не рассматривались как противоречивые и несовместимые. Только в ретроспективе он проявил себя таким образом, и он время от времени намеренно увеличивается.

Ключевые слова: *стоимость, рыночная стоимость образования, незапланированные мысли, измерения в сфере образования.*

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