HERD
**Higher Education
for Regional Social Cohesion**

Zoltán Györgyi & Zoltán Nagy (eds.):

Students in a Cross-Border Region

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for Regional Social Cohesion

Students in a Cross-Border Region.

Higher Education for Regional Social Cohesion

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Supported by:

European Union – European Regional Development Fund – Hungary – Romania
Cross-Border Co-operation Programme 2007 – 2013 (HURO/0901/253/2.2.2)

Published by University of Oradea Press 2013

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The historical land called Partium holds a special place among the many regions situated in the Carpathian Basin: its formation is related to the ever changing state and province borders. Today it is divided in three parts belonging to three different countries. These last borders that have existed for almost a hundred years now, made the life of people living here very uncomfortable by separating them from each other, and also separating some smaller settlements from their traditional centres and the centres from the periphery necessary for their evolution. In the last two decades the borders became more and more accessible, allowing people to renew their bonds - adapting also to hundred year old conditions. It will take many years, maybe decades, to enforce these bonds in order cover / influence? our lives, but there is a strong human factor which can catalyse the process through work.

For long centuries the different ethnicities have been coexisting here naturally, in peace, but the several conflicts that have arisen during the last 150 years left their mark on these relationships. The staff of three universities from this region, the University of Oradea, the University of Debrecen and the Partium Christian University joined their forces to - besides the secondary aim of giving an example to everyone on how to cooperate and think together - lead an investigation in order to identify the links uniting the population of the entire area and determining them to cooperate for different common aims, but also to point out the differences separating them.

The investigation included the area's institutions of higher education, these having an essential contribution, or we might even say a crucial role in the formation of Partium's future intellectuals. It is an important factor we consider that not only the borders within the Partium area, but also other borders in Europe became accessible, so that the students in this region could later work in other European regions, helping the economical or cultural development of other countries. Actually, this is the truth, even though the higher education institutions of Partium also benefit others than the people living here.

Our research regarding the students learning within the higher education system in the region - not only in the institutions taking part in this research - is based on the idea that these educational institutions - through their traditions and their students - are marked by some kind of specific "flavour". This regional point of view is perpetuated by their students throughout the region or outside it.

Keeping in mind the above idea and putting it in a European context the researchers formulated their hypotheses, refining them over and over during the research debate meetings. That is how the final research plan has evolved, providing us a unique chance to consider the social cohesion of higher education in many and very different areas.

Our research, part of the Higher Education for Social Cohesion Cooperative Research and Development in the Cross-border Area (HURO/0901/253/2.2.2.) cross-border project is based on a survey and on a number of questionnaires[1]. During the survey we tried to assess the students' previous and future knowledge, their study plans, professional career, way of living, values while taking into account those factors related to family, residence, economy and cultural factors in a broader sense that might influence the elements in question.

The results will be published in four volumes, just like this first one, which processes only some of the main themes thus not being a comprehensive volume. The studies can be grouped into two major themes reflected by the volume's framework. The first six studies deal with the manner in which students become part of the higher education system and their progress within the institutions, while the second part and its five studies analyse the questions related to students' values.

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1   See the chapter 'The Empirical Survey' for more details.

The first chapter - *From Secondary School to Labour Market* - starts with a study (Györgyi) pointing out that students who are part of the higher education system prefer to follow the same road, regardless of the social background they came from, though there are some smaller underprivileged student circles because of their background, but also some others who manage to take advantage of their situation. The study of Bottyán & Chipea makes a comparison between the students coming from rural and urban backgrounds pointing out that the students belonging to the first group - even if it is a smaller one - enter higher education with lower performances, so most of them have to finance their studies. Presumably, there are other young men and women in the rural areas who do not have the financial power to study; therefore they don't even try entering higher education, this being the reason of them so underrepresented here.

After analysing the results Csoba draws a conclusion: the conventional transition between work and learning is replaced by the so called cyclical transition [*the model of gradual transition is replacing the model of cyclical transition between studying and working*], also Beck's optional model [*the 'choice' biography model defined by Beck*] characterized by choices and the parallelisms of work and studying [*characterized by choices and parallelisms*], which is only typical for a smaller group of students. The study describes in detail the way in which students from different backgrounds get in touch with the labour market, and also the advantages and the drawbacks (related to the labour market) they encounter during their studies.

Erdei concludes that the further study plans regarding the period after graduating the university are extremely poor, with a real information gap regarding opportunities. He also states that even though Hungarian andragogy system is the most advanced, the students in Romania seem to be the most conscious LLL-students. Engler's study is about lifelong learning, too. She experienced that women and men have different learning strategies. Women seem to put an accent on their higher education, this being a strategic move, and don't see later studies as something crucial. Contrary to this point of view, men have lower performances during the university years, but their presence in andragogy and lifelong learning is more frequent due to their wish to achieve stability on the labour market.

Ceglédi & Fónai deal with growing talents in Hungary's special colleges for advanced studies – although there are such colleges in the neighbouring countries' Hungarian institutions as well -, also their social functions, emphasizing one question: do these colleges offer opportunities for the elite or do they serve to the inclusion and the alignment of the disadvantaged? The results show us that the colleges for advanced studies in the examined area reflect none of these two situations: they don't necessarily prefer the elite students or the students with a disadvantaged background. Although families' social capital plays an important role, it covers those soft factors that determine the fate of each student from an early age.

The title of the volume's second part is: *Different Students, Different Social Situations, Different Values.* The first study (Bocsi) deals with the values of students, especially with the differences between the three countries, with emphasis on Hungarian students (of Hungarian nationality) in the Romanian higher education system. The results show that experience doesn't reflect the national stereotypes.

Fényes & Pusztai analyse the connection between volunteering and attachment to religion and/or churches with the conclusion that the latter has a great importance. Their study makes a difference between traditional and modern volunteering and points out that being religious doesn't need to be connected to traditional volunteering. The authors underline the fact that volunteering is mostly based on the humanist values that one receives within the family.

Németh & Chrappán deal with the value preferences of students and teachers who are/were involved in the formation of teachers. The topic has a special connotation taking into account that in today's Hungary the prestige of teachers and educators is very low, this - besides the low incomes -being one of the main reasons for teachers to drop out of the system. The study tries to give an interpretation to this situation, but it is also concerned with the diverse value preferences of teachers with different ISCED-levels.

The study dealing with students' learning habits and specifically with the habits related to electronic devices (BUJDOSÓ) points out the differences between the traditional method applied by teachers and the modern learning methods demanded by the students, especially by the male students. It also draws our attention upon the fact that there is no uniformity regarding this question, among students either. For example, men and women follow different learning strategies.

The last study (BELÉNYI) deals with disabled students in higher education. The interviews with disabled students make us aware of the that they have difficulties in acquiring different learning methods, but another important hardship for them is to see beyond the target system that results from their handicap. Although, entering higher education helps them have a healthy self-esteem and makes their way of thinking more stable.

This volume's studies are about the Partium and the students of this region, but the essence of these studies usually goes way beyond the borders of Partium. The questions raised here are significant on a European level, while the results of these researches are not only comparable with other research results from different areas, but they provide a larger picture regarding the higher education in the above mentioned countries, and also the young people studying here. This way it contributes to the understanding of the different processes concerning the higher education in a larger area - in Central and Eastern Europe.

ZOLTÁN GYÖRGYI

EMPIRICAL **SURVEY**

Empirical Survey

In the frame of our research, *Higher Education for Social Cohesion Cooperative Research and Development in a Cross-border Area* (HURO/0901/253/2.2.2.) a survey was carried out in the three countries of the Partium region[1]. This historical region is now occupied, more or less, by two counties in Hungary (Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg), two in Romania (Bihor and Satu Mare) and by the Transcarpathian Region in Ukraine. The process of data collection took place in the higher education institutes of this territory.

The involved institutions are as follows:

- The *University of Debrecen* (Hungary),
- *Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher*
- *Training Institute of Debrecen Reformed Theological University* (Hungary),
- Three faculties of *College of Nyíregyháza* (Hungary),
- *Ferenc Rákóczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian Teacher Training College* (Berehove, Ukraine)
- *Faculty of Humanities and Natural Sciences with the Hungarian Language of Education of Uzhgorod National University* (Ukraine),
- The *University of Oradea* (Romania),
- *Partium Christian University* (Oradea, Romania),
- *Emanuel University of Oradea* (Romania).
- The Satu Mare (Romania) branch of *Babeş-Bolyai University*
- *Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute* (Berehove, Ukraine),

All the subsamples, except those from the University of Oradea and Partium Christian University, Oradea, were chosen on a random multistage basis. There were chosen groups of students in years 1 or 3 in MA and BA programs or 1, 3 or 4 in undivided programs (like Medicine) or all years at the University of Oradea.

At the University of Oradea a combination of multistage and quota sampling was used. Quotas were designed to obtain a sample proportionality of the entire group of MA and BA students by faculty, year of study and type of tuition (no tuition or tuition paying).

At Partium Christian University the aim was to administer the questionnaire to each student at BA level. Therefore we have chosen the complete query sampling technique. The response rate reached 50%. Also, we have noticed a high drop out rate (25–30%) at all faculties and also a very high rate of absenteeism. When analysing the data, we ought to consider the fact that the respondents are the most active students at each faculty.

Most of the questionnaires were administered to a group base by completing them at the university while a small percentage of them were administered via face to face interview.

Due to significant size imbalances among universities, some of the smaller institutions are overrepresented: the Emanuel University (which actually has only 350 students) and the Partium Christian University (with around 1000 actual students). Thus, weighting is necessary if analyses are done when the wholeentire data base is used. If the universities are treated separately in analyses, weighting is necessary only for eventual design errors.

The period when the survey was conducted was the spring of 2012. Altogether 2728 questionnaires were filled.

The language of the questionnaires was Romanian at the University of Oradea and the Emanuel University of Oradea, and Hungarian at the other universities or colleges.

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1 In present-day the Hungarian usage, "Partium", refers only to the Romanian part of the historical region, but we defined it differently, thinking of the historical "Partium" usage.

Table 1: Sample by countries

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Romania	1323	48.5	48.5
Hungary	1295	47.5	47.5
Ukraine	110	4.0	4.0
Total	2727	100.0	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 2: Sample by institutions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Babeş-Bolyai University	66	2.4	2.4
University of Debrecen	1118	41.0	41.0
Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher Training College	25	0.9	0.9
College of Nyíregyháza	152	5.6	5.6
Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Teacher Training College	66	2.4	2.4
Uzhorod National University	44	1.6	1.6
University of Oradea	714	26.2	26.2
Partium Christian University	407	14.9	14.9
Emanuel University of Oradea	136	5.0	5.0
Total	2727	100.0	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

FROM SECONDARY SCHOOL TO LABOUR MARKET

Zoltán Györgyi:

Students' Study Paths and their Social Background

Introduction

Decades ago, the various disparities between studies and mobility researches pointed out that the youth's qualifications were considerably influenced by their parents' educational level, their labour market position and their residence. As long as the differences of the formal educational levels are significant, that effect can be followed up. As soon as these recorded qualification differences decrease or disappear, the effect is hardly observable. Presumably, these connections do not disappear, but we have to reinterpret them.

With the mass popularity of secondary and tertiary education, the above mentioned are gradually turning into an actual question. Being qualified is becoming more and more common. In most of the developed countries, 85–90% of different age-groups have some kind of a secondary graduation diploma. The rate of the tertiary qualification is also increasing: in several countries, half of the young adults (25–34 years old) own at least a BA/BSc degree. The statistical system – both national and international –still categorizes in a traditional way. For example, regarding the higher education, sometimes it does not distinguish/separate the bachelor and the master courses, and does not record the number of the accomplished years, although most of the students who enter higher education do not obtain a degree.

According to our presumption, students'different and statistically hardly? measured careers are influenced by social effects. It can be stated that most social effects appear in higher education setting definite ways and divergences at that level.

In the HERD research – mainly based on Hungarian circumstances – we have tried to verify this hypothesis by revealing the importance of the question and the contingent points, which would be worth of consideration in the future, in similar researches and which should appear in the domestic statistical system. Through this research we can compare the domestic results with the transborders'.

Although, there has not been an inland (and international) collection of data regarding the attrition in higher education; we cannot know the exact rate of it. Table 2 shows us that there is not a straight way to get a higher qualification: only one-fourth of the enrolled students in Hungary take the final exam of bachelor's course in time, less than one-fifth of them get the degree, and one-eighth of them start a master's course[1]. Although we do not know the factual data regarding the qualification, these inputs and outputs representselection situations and supposedly depend on the social background.

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1 The data are approximate due to the deficiency of the statistical system: the statistics do not follow the studies on an individual level, so we do not have exact information about when the final examinees, degree holders and MA/MSc first-year students start their study.

Table 1: The rate of students having a secondary qualification and any kind of degree, among the 25–34 year-old people (2008)

Country	The rate of students having secondary qualification (%)	The rate of students with a degree (%)
Austria	87.7	19.0
Belgium	83.1	42.0
Czech Republic	94.2	18.0
Denmark	85.0	43.0
United Kingdom	76.6	38.0
Finland	90.1	38.0
France	82.9	41.0
Greece	74.8	28.0
The Netherlands*	82.4	40.0
Ireland	84.7	45.0
Poland	92.8	32.0
Hungary	85.6	24.0
Germany	85.8	24.0
Norway	84.0	46.0
Italy*	68.9	20.0
Portugal	46.7	23.0
Spain	65.0	39.0
Switzerland	90.3	38.0
Sweden	91.2	41.0
Slovakia		18.0

* With no short-time training in higher education
Source: Education at a Glance 2010: OECD Indicators – © OECD 2010

Table 2: The BA/BSc final examinees and the MA/MSc first-year students in 2009 compared to the rate of the students who enrolled for BA/BSc education in 2006 – in Hungary

Institution, faculty, department	Students who took the BA/BSc final examination	Students with a BA/BSc degree	MA/MSc first-year students
University of Debrecen – total	36.7	30.2	16.2
College of Nyíregyháza – total	25.3	12.1	2.1
State Institutes – total	25.3	19.1	12.6
Foundation Institutes – total	10.3	6.9	4.4
Religious Institutes – total	25.6	21.3	15.9
Total	24.2	18.3	12.2

Source: Higher Education Statistical Publication 2006 (*http://db.nefmi.gov.hu/statisztika/fs06_fm/*) and Higher Education Statistical Publication 2009 *http://www.nefmi.gov.hu/miniszterium/oktatasi-statisztikak/felsooktatasi-statisztikai-kiadvany-2009*

Considering the fact that our research is a sectional investigation based on questioning students, we did not have an opportunity to reveal all the study paths. We can only interpret the careers of those students who not only applied but were also studying in the higher education system during our survey and had the most different study plans.

The extent of the transborder research, which was mainly conducted in Romania, was determined not only by the given framework of the survey, but also by the fact that in spite of the common historical roots and cultural effects, Hungarian and Romanian educational and labour market situation is different. Without insisting upon these differences, we are going to show

through the next diagrams that the Romanian educational expansion is behind the Hungarian one. Whether we consider the rate of students from the point of view of their secondary or tertiary education level, it can be stated that the direction is the same in both countries. The difference in the secondary education is very slowly decreasing, but in what concerns the higher education system it is constant. It all means that, certainly, in these two countries it is not the same groups that gain access to higher education.

Chart 1: The rate of people having at least secondary qualification
among the 20–24 year-old inhabitants
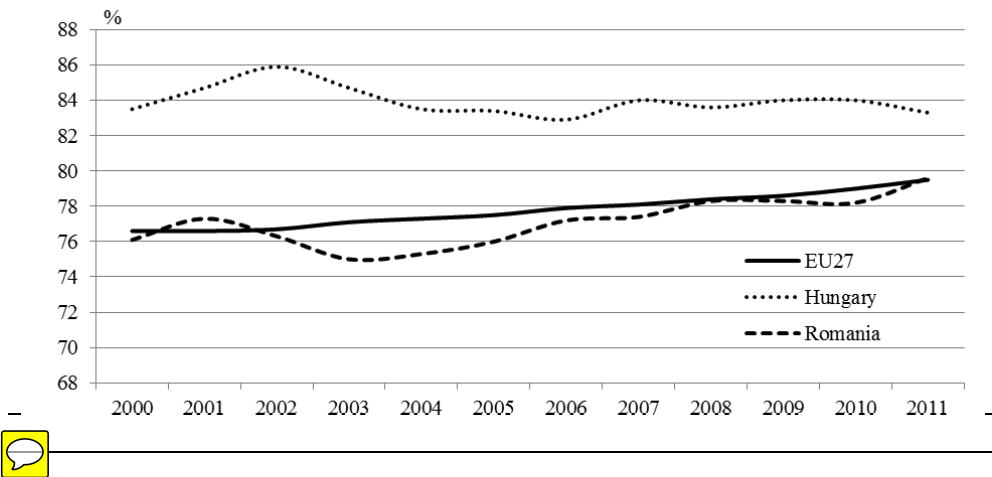
Source: Eurostat: *http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/education/data/main_tables*

Chart 2: The rate of people with a degree among the 30–34 year-old inhabitants
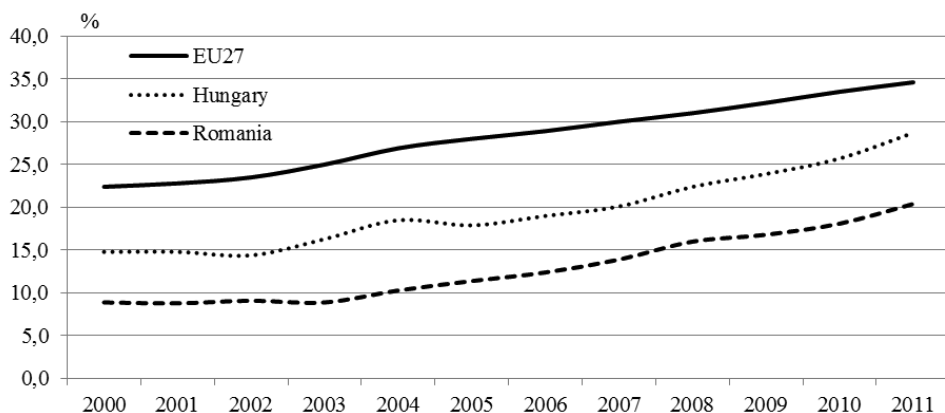
Source: Eurostat: *http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/education/data/main_tables*

The proceedsures of (obtaining?) a degree with respect to the labour market also differs on the two sides of the border. Although in the recent years, the data regarding the unemployment in Romania are more favourable than in Hungary, it is not at all true for the young graduates.

Despite the occasionally big fluctuations, during the last decade the Romanian graduates' unemployment rate was 1 1/2 – 2 1/2 higher than in Hungary. All of these cannot be traced back to the exceedingly high Romanian unemployment rate, but to the low Hungarian unemployment rate. Internationally, the labour market proceeduress regarding a degree in Hungary is significant.

Chart 3: The rate of the graduate unemployed people aged 20 - 34
compared to the graduate youth of the school system

Source: Eurostat: *http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/education/data/main_tables*
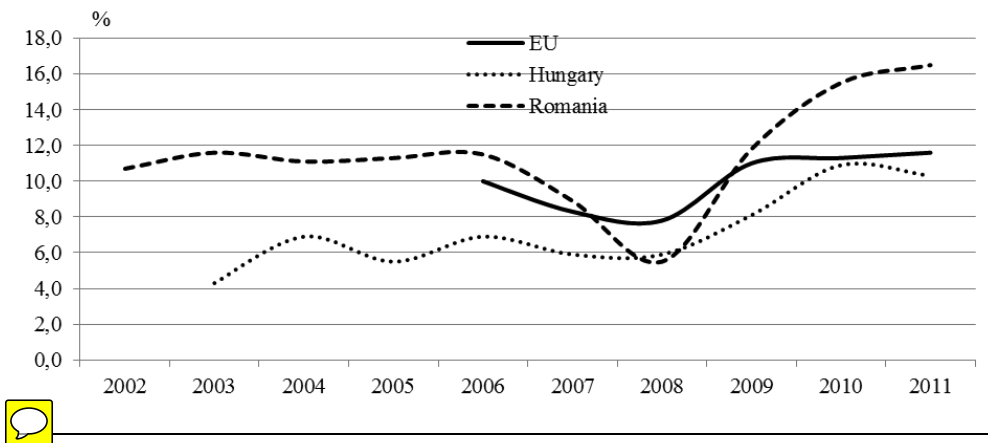
The interpretation of the study paths – the applied methods

Our investigation started with the Hungarian students enrolled in bachelor courses or in the first three years of undivided programmes. To make the comparison easier, we considered as home-students those who took their matura exam in a Hungarian institution. In the case of the Romanian data (the data pertaining to the Transcarpathian Region seem too smallscarce) we used the variables of the sample country, in other words, we did not consider the place where the matura exam was organized.

In the case of the study paths, the way to the present current studies and the conceptions about further studies became the criteria of forming groups. These were considered and submitted to a thorough investigation, using them to form the career groups. When studying the professional life until the time of our survey, we focused on the periods between secondary school graduation and the starting of the higher education (did it happen immediately? if not, then what did that person do during that period?) and changes of institutions or/and professions in higher education (did it happen or not?). Regarding the plans, we distinguished the qualification levels, the incidental drop out resolution/decisions?, the intention towards further professional studies (that does not raise the level of higher education) and the study directions inland and abroad. Beside the large number of samples, this approach raises methodological problems too. Because between the prevalence of the criteria there are considerable differences (for example, 85% of the questioned students had chosen a higher education enrolment immediately after their matura exam, while the other 15% had another career), as there are certain fields for which a small number students opt. As a consequence, we either had to investigate mixed careers groups or to accept that our results will become uncertain.

Based upon all of these facts, the following ways are outlined: more than four-fifths of the students continued their study immediately after their matura exam and during the survey 90% of them were studying in their initial department. Most of the students who did not continue immediately their higher studies did not come from the labour market environment, only one fifth of them took a job, but just like the great majority of the others, they studied something before chosing a tertiary education enrolment. For this group unemployment was almost unknown.

Considering the plans, there is a great uncertainty: beside the fact that some students had conflicting opinions, one fifth of them did not answer all questions related to this topic. The answerers named all three higher education qualificationas as their possible goal on a large scale. If we consider the opportunities of a masters course level as further study, in which there are free places only for the half or third of the enrolled bachelor students[2,] we can notice that the fact of two thirds of the students wanting to continue their study (MA/MSc and PhD levels together) – on the level of intention – exceeds the possibilities. Between the need and the possibility for PhD studies, there is a large discrepancy: more than one fifth of the students intended to apply for PhD studies at the time of the survey, while the number of PhD students represented only 3% of the BA/BSc students in 2010 (Statistical Handbook. Education Yearbook 2010/2011, KSH, 2011). The latter rate unambiguously shows another barrier of the survey: that between intentions and opportunities, at least on this level, there is a huge gap, and we could only measure the intentions.

Collated the six and eight criteria of the two variables, altogether 48 possible groups can be appointed. However, the investigation of such a great group number is not possible because of the element number of the research and the barriers of interpretation. Thus, we contracted the criteria in the case of both variables. During that, we considered the similarity of contents and the number of the elements (see Table 6 of the Appendix). When we considered the way to the present current studies – we contracted the different activities during the period between graduation and the beginning of the higher studies (job, study, job and study, unemployment) – we organised them into three categories: those who continued their study immediately, those who continued their study immediately but have since changed the educational institution or department, and those who started higher education later than the year of the matura exam. In the case of the planned careers we considered the three higher qualifications as categories (we left out the vocational further studies as a group forming criterion, and we combined the home and foreign studies). We tried to separate those planning to stop their studies, but as they were few, and their career was significantly different, finally we did not include them into the analysis. The next table shows the distribution of the home sample.

According to the table above, we divided the interpretation of the careers into nine groups. The possibilities of analysis are still limited because we can only draw limited conclusions from the element number of many groups[3] due to the missing answers and because of the three large groups.

In the next paragraphs we are going to investigate the home study groups according to the similarities and variances of the study paths and ambitions. Then, the social backgrounds of the groups are going to be shown. After that, we are going to take a look at the Romanian students' career groups and their social backgrounds too. Because of their thematic approaches all tables could not be fitted in the process of the career-focused investigation. Thus, most of the tables were placed to the Appendix.

2　We have not met exact data regarding these. In 2009 and in 2010 the number of state financed places in the masters program was 19,600, that is 48% of the number of students who could be admitted to BA/BSc education in that year (40,610 people). Self financed places can modify these rates. (The government's 1276/2010. (XII. 8.) resolution about the number of students who can be admitted to tertiary education with a state aid). When we compare it to those who graduated BA/BSc in 2010 (on state financed and self financed places together) (23,524), then 83% of the graduates have the possibility to study further in a self financed form, and apart from these, there are still self financed places. (Source: Statiscctical Guide. Educational year-book 2010/2011. KSH, 2011.)

3　The great majority of the cross tables – all except for the one that shows the distribution of sex – are significant, although the Cramer's V indicator does not show very strong correspondences.

Table 3: BA/BSc students' planned studies in Hungary – according
to the expected study path

Study path so far	Planned study path	Max BA/BSc qualification	Max MA/MSc qualification	PhD	Total
Continue study immediately, here	Count	215	271	143	629
	%	26.0	32.8	17.3	76.1
Continue study immediately, somewhere else	Count	18	28	17	63
	%	2.2	3.4	2.1	7.6
Start higher education later	Count	44	60	31	135
	%	5.3	7.3	3.7	16.3
Total	Count	277	359	191	827
	%	33.5	43.4	23.1	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

HUNGARIAN EXPERIENCES

Study achievements of the career groups

The study approach for the nine groups which we have investigated through their motivation and study achievement occasionally differs considerably. Two groups of the three which intended to apply for PhD studies, excel compared to the others. These are the ones who were immediately accepted at studies and who changed their career. On the other hand, as negative examples there are those two groups who would be satisfied with BA/BSc degree and have the same past. Considering the indexes which measure the intensity of the academic activities we have roughly the same result[4].

The career groups are generally distinguishable as are some of their attributes. In the following paragraphs we can see that their social backgrounds are identifiable in most of the cases (see Table 4). In this table, as in the tables of the Appendix, the career groups are named according to the students' character of them; see our later notes related to this matter.

The achievements of the relatively large numbered-group (1) of students intending to apply for PhD studies, were significant (honours and awards) during elementary and secondary school. These students seemed to be exhausted by the time of the entrance examination (their extra points were not so considerable; however their achievements and language skills were above-average). Most of them obtained a study grant and the rate of those accepted by the first-named institute and course was high. So, this group is a successful one. Their academic achievements are

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4 Index taken into this part of investigation – mainly conducted from primer variables – are the next:
- The number of the types of honours and awards related to achievement and received during elementary and secondary schools;
- The type of plus points received for professional achievement with the occasion of the entrance exam of university or college (school contests, language exam, maturity exam);
- The number of the activities connected with professional achievement – answers 'yes' for ER_1 questions – except language exam;
- The frequency average (values: 1–4) of professional activities;
- The average of answers' values (1–5) related to the study intensity;
- The rate of the answerers who marked the same factor related to career choice;
- Frequency of attending lessons (the same as the original variable; values: 1–5);
- Study time per day (values: 1–5);
- Sense of purpose (the average of 10 features' values related to self-consciousness, definiteness and flexibility);
- Working plans: the measurement of the distance from the residence to the school territory.

around average. Due to it, this group consists of moderately ambitious students who hardly care about their careers after their studies yet (as compared to many other layers).

In contrast with the previous group there are those students who also intended to apply for PhD studies and who changed their career (changed the course and/or the institute). These students belong to a small-numbered, specifically to an elite group (2). Of course, this does not mean that the career shifters are elite, but a career change can be considerably professionnally motivated, leastwise for a part of them, for example, for those who intended to enroll on PhD studies. This professional motivation can be proved by various indexes. The students of this group applied for the higher education, with some surplus of educational points, almost without an exception and studied hard according to almost all the applied indicators of research. Their language skills are excellent considering the widest-spoken language or all the world languages. They have much more definite study plans than the previous group. However, they do not really deal with the labour market; moreover, they seem to avoid it as it is shown by their career conceptions. With all certainty, these facts also play a role in it: from their work as students in BA/BSc course and as thinkers of PhD studies, labour market is still far. That is why this small group focuses on their studies as their primary concern; they consider it as their job, they do it consciously, diligently. The fact that when applying for their current education more than one third of them marked only one institute indicates their consciousness, in other words, they did not think of alternatives. In the case of course marking, the rate is lower but it is twice above the average. The fact that financial related questions concerning their study during their career choice have arisen, conveys the fact that they did not have an exceedingly good financial background.

The third group (3) consists of those who also intended to apply for PhD studies and who did not continue studying immediately after the matura exam. The reason for their study suspension is not known, but their former and present (either at university or at college) achievements are under average, not only compared to the two former groups who aim at similar goals, but also to the average of all students. Their language knowledge is also at a lesser level compared to that of the two former strata, it borders the lower level of the average of the sample. Their choice of course and institute is somewhat less successful than the previous groups'. Probably the members of this group will achieve their established goal (PhD) to a lesser extent than the others. This is shown not only by their educational achievements but also by their plans that are rather labour market-centred than study-focused.

Most of the students – almost a third of the students who were questioned – continued their studies in tertiary education cycle immediately after their matura exam and intended to finish their studies in order to obtain a MA/MSc degree (4). All in all, they are the average students. Their goals are quite heterogeneous. Not significantly, but compared to other groups they are highly influenced by their family environment.

Their career shifter companions (5) have changed in order to get a degree in a less difficult manner and presumably not because of a professional ambition. Their achievements are lower than of those who did not change (and similar to those who did not start their higher education not immediately after the matura exam). Their goals are uncertain: many kinds of goals appear within their circles. Only the motivational role of friends and money are significant. Considering the fact that during their studies, expenses play a little role, we can see a layer of a small number of students undermotivated in studying, influenced rather by the outer environment and income-centred.

The other small layer (6) is in many respects similar to the former stratum because they have a similar ambition but they are not defined by the intent to continue studying after the matura exam. They show they are in a weaker financial situation[5]. Their study results are professionally noticeable. Considering their language skills they do not reach the average.

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5 We deal with the signs that refer to the financial situation in the chapter that describes the social background, we mention them here only when they played a significant role in the further studies.

The third stratum (the quarter of the samples) consists of students who continue their studies right after the matura exam but do not want to study further than BA/BSc level. (7) They have bad admission indicators, do not attend lectures too often, and considering other indicators, do not excel in their studies either. This implies that this stratum studies rather for the degree, other things representing little motivation. Although knowledge, as motivation factor, is not low, when compared to other layers it occurs in a lower level here, and at the same time they are moderate when it comes to labour market goals. All this allows us to conclude that they are uncertain, which cannot be independent of the regional labour market situation.

Among those who set basic training as a goal, there are few career shifters as well (8), their indicators being weaker than those of their companions' who stick to their profession. This implies, similarly to the students who set masters course as a goal, that they shifted by necessity rather than in order to fulfil their professional ideas. The strong exterior pressure shows that they do not really identify with a studying activity, but at the same time they escape from work and/or unemployment too.

Compared to them, the students who choose other path (than tertiary education) give a double weight in / are twice as important for the sample (9). Their data indicate that they have weak public educational performance, they reveal average diligence at university and college, and their language knowledge belongs to the lowest level. Their purposefulness is low and they rather struggle in tertiary education. Maybe job placement difficulties was what brought them here, but they are less afraid of entering labour market than the former group, while not being motivated by the labour market advantages of the degree either.

We have named the groups according to the features above. Their names basically serve as their identification in the study; none of the career groups is homogeneous, in the case of some members, the names do not necessarily mirror the real situation.

The social background of the career groups

We present the social background of the career groups according to the usual background variables of a social analysis: the questionee's sex, place of living (at the age of 14), parents' education level and labour market position, family's financial situation, the type of the secondary school (that of the matura exam) were the basics of the analysis. We used the perception variables[6] for the financial situation.

Among the regular students (1) there were many who came from a small town; the more qualified layers are overrepresented among their parents, but their family background is not significantly good. They typically come from a good secondary school: almost the four fifth of them took their matura exam in a structural change, bilingual secondary school or in class with a special curriculum of a traditional secondary school. Their parents' labour market situation is also good, but, as unemployment is usually very rare, this only means that the layer of retired persons is underrepresented. They think that their financial situation is average. All these, compared to the above mentioned, describe a background where the parents are urban intellectuals or live from other intelectual work, a stratum that strongly insists on their children's education. But their children do not necessarily reach an outstanding qualification. Although they stand their ground on some point of their studies (entering a higher educational institution), having set ambitious goals (PhD), during their studies in higher education institutions they rather perform only as much as they have to.

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6 We contracted some of the criteria of the questionnaire in the case of the variables that apply to the parents' school education level and residence and the type of the secondary school where the matura exam was undertaken. In the case of the family's financial background we udes as a basis the distribution of the answers on a four grade scale and the average of the given numbers (question TS15), moreover the average of the data of the relative situation correlated to the groupmates (question TS17/A) on a ten grade scale.

Table 4: Distribution of the students' career groups in the BA/BSc education – in Hungary according to their study goals (%)

	Count	%
1 Students that have chosen the royal path/Regular students (admission right away, goal: PhD)	143	17.3
2 Career climbers (career shift, goal: PhD)	17	2.1
3 Illusion chasers (delayed admission, goal: PhD)	31	3.8
4 The average ones (admission at once, goal: masters course)	271	32.7
5 Students subject to influence (career shift, goal: masters course)	28	3.4
6 Unsteady progressers (delayed admission, goal: masters course)	60	7.3
7 Credentialists (admission at once, goal: BA/BSc degree)	215	26.0
8 Students under pressure (career shift, goal: BA/BSc degree)	18	2.2
9 The strugglers (delayed admission, goal: BA/BSc degree)	44	5.3
Total	828	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Career climbers are less average; in many respects they are in an outstanding situation. This stratum can be linked very strongly to big towns, most of the students' mothers having a degree, but their fathers have rather secondary school education, which refers to the first generation of intellectual parents. Regarding their financial situation they are not unified: a significant part of them think that their situation is specifically good, another large part of them declared financial problems. Altogether, taking also this into consideration, we can see one of the layers in the best situation outlined. The fact that many fathers are retired or dead refers to old parents. We do not know why a career shift happened/occurred among them, but a very conscious stratum, that seems to be able to direct their lives and to make efforts in the interest of it, is outlined. The rate of the students in self financed training is high among them. This may equally indicate that they have already used up their state financed year allowance because of the career shift, or that consciousness lead to the overestimation of their abilities, and therefore, they could not fulfil the requirements of a Ma/MSc and BA/BSc education. The number of this group is not too significant in the sample, so the data picture this stratum rather than describe them precisely.

The illusion chasers' family background is not bad, but is worse than that of the other two groups. One part of them is attached to big towns, while another part to villages. It is typical for them not to come from an elite secondary school and significantly many of them come from vocational secondary schools. Their financial background is less good than that of the other two groups. Their parents' education level is also different. Altogether, the rate of higher education qualification is average in the case of their mothers and fathers too. All this may contribute to the fact that the students rated in this category weigh their possibilities less, and mainly they do not see the way toward the goal.

The social background of a big part of the average students is also average or slightly better. The residence composition and the indicators of their financial situation are average, many of them having obtained got their secondary qualification in elite institutions and the graduated parents are being overrepresented. On the basis of these results it is hard to characterise this student layer; the deviation of other groups from them can be much better interpreted.

We find a high rate of men among those students that were influenced and who probably want mostly to meet the requirements of the social norms, by trying to reach the university level, the masters course. There are positively many people among them who live in the chief town of their county. Parents with higher education level are overrepresented, with a good financial situation. Most of them come from a traditional gymnasium. All these refer, in their case, to the importance of the social background; in other words it refers to the fact that if they had a different background, they would, most certainly have contented themselves with a lower education level than (masters course) what they have formulated for themselves. Supposedly, their career choice also mirrors the social expectations, or rather the fact that no matter how and where they should reach the graduation norm they think to be proper. Their family's expectations are indicated also by the fact that many of them take part in a hereditary training.

In the case of the unsteady progressers the emphasis is not only on the uncertainty but also on progress. There are specifically many men among them who, typically, come from a small town and have graduated a vocational secondary school. The reason for the late beginning of their studies may be because – there are no data about it in the survey – they chose a profession after the matura. If this is true, than we can recognise in this fact the decades-long secondary school choice attitude of the students (and of their parents) with a vocational school background: a profession and matura exam, which has been modified into a "vocational qualification and degree" approach considering today's circumstances. The questioned students see their financial background as average, but when compared to their group friends they feel somewhat on a lower position.

The credentialists form a mixed stratum regarding their social background. Many of them come from villages and among their parents there are a lot of skilled labourers, but at the same time an important number of them have good social beackground: (come from cities and haveing well qualified parents). Among them there are a lot of men as well. In many respects they are similar to the layer of those students that were influenced, but they have set a lower goal. The reason for this is shown by the typical social indicators. Their language knowledge is not bad, which – beside the missing professional work – indicates that this is a motiveless, undeveloped stratum that would be able to achieve higher level (educational) goals, but they cannot rely enough on their social background as to push themselves towards higher purposes.

The students under pressure come from big towns, a significant part of them having a specifically good family background; almost half of them are men. Forty percent of them come from families with two intellectual parents; many have come from a secondary school class with a special curriculum. Half of them benefit from the state financed education, their indicated financial situation being good but not very good. We can notice a layer similar to the the credentialists' layer in many respects, however the difference is that they already modified their study path but still cannot find their place.

The financial background of the strugglers is decidedly the worst: their parents' education level is the lowest. A big part of them come from a small town, more than the half of them from vocational schools. Their financial situation is worse than the others' but there is no really significant difference regarding this factor among the groups.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES ALONG THE BORDERS

As we have seen, the educational and the labour market situation in Romania are significantly different from that of our country, and it is certain that it exerts influence on the students' career choice, motivations, and goals. (We do not have any comparative data about Ukraine; we can only suppose that this difference is even more significant compared to domestic circumstances.) At the same time we need to indicate that the comparison of the national data in respect of the HERD research is not totally relevant: the regions of Debrecen–Nyíregyháza and of Oradea–Satu Mare do not have or do not totally have the same situation as their countries, especially regarding the labour market.

During the comparison we used the career groups that were formed on the basis of Hungarian situations, and their labels, but they are not necessarily internationally valid, and as we will see: they are actually not. The similarity of the samples from these three areas can be primarily seen in the qualification goals, but we can also notice differences when examining the rates. Compared to the Hungarian situations, in Romania there is a more serious difference between the doctoral program and the masters course, in favour of the first; but the doctoral program in the Transcarpathian Region, beside the bachelor course, is also reevaluated, also at the expense of the masters course. We do not plan a detailed investigation of the Transcarpathian sample because of the small number of elements. In the case of more ambitious goals, in Romania, – although we do not know the schooling possibilities, we can only suppose that it cannot be easier to be admitted to a doctoral program there than in our country – we can suspect labour market considerations: the high graduate unemployment rate may prompt students to advance.

Career groups	Hungary		Romania		Ukraine	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
1 Students that chose the royal path/ Regular students	143	17.3	227	27.9	34	40.5
2 Career climbers	17	2.1	18	2.2	1	1.2
3 Illusion chasers	31	3.8	30	3.7	4	4.8
4 The average	271	32.7	224	27.5	11	13.1
5 Students subject to influence	28	3.4	13	1.6		
6 Unsteady progressers	60	7.3	29	3.6	2	2.4
7 Credentialists	215	26.0	230	28.2	28	33.3
8 Students under pressure	18	2.2	12	1.5	1	1.2
9 Strugglers	44	5.3	32	3.9	3	3.6
Total	828	100.0	815	100.0	84	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 5: The analysed students' distribution in the three countries

The main issue is the degree of Hungarian characteristics that appear behind the borders. Regarding the motivations for further education, the similarity is altogether (apart from the motivation related to the tuition fee) very strong. But the differences are significant when viewing the student layers that are drawn based on the Hungarian circumstances. This may equally indicate that these strata are not relevant in Romania or that they have been formed because of other interests, goals and values. The data refer to both instances.

Motivational differences are significant in the case of all three layers: in the case of the so called career climbers in Romania, a career development can be observed just as often as in our country, only that it is more powerful there and the concepts about it are much more supported by labour market considerations, while the exterior pressure and the will to escape from the labour market

play a lesser role. Students who belong to this category form a very little, but pronounced layer in Romania.

We can observe a second significant difference in the case of the students under pressure. The difference is so remarkable, that on the Romanian side this layer cannot be defined regarding their study motivations; they are very similar to credentialists.

We can notice a third and a more serious difference in the case of the strugglers. In Romania we can also observe this layer, but their motivations refering to a conscious career choice and implying exterior pressure are both definitely weaker. This indicates that rather individual choices play a role in the career choice; the signs of social background are less prominent.

Regarding the expectations about the labour market, the concepts of people living on the Romanian side are less developed. But there is an apparently important layer that only thinks about the possibilities of working abroad. They exceed the average rate, significantly among the regular students. Altogether, we can also notice a higher rate of those students who plan a higher tertiary education level and strive to step out of their narrower area.

Higher education has been feminised in the Romanian institutions less than in the Hungarian area, but while in our country men are rather overrepresented among those who set the masters courses as a goal, on the other side of the border there are more men among those who aim at BA/BSc level.

Regarding parents' qualification, we can find less tertiary education graduates, secondary qualification being much more typical. Parents' educational level influences their childrens' goals in the lower level qualifications as well, but to a degree somewhat lesser than in our country. The parents of those who plan to enroll in doctoral programmes have an above average qualification, but at the same time we cannot find any difference between the parents of the other two graduation categories. The effect of the residence is more difficult to interpret here than on the Hungarian side. Even so, we can notice that the more the level of the envisaged qualification sinks, the more the rate of students who live in the chief town of a county sinks. Another noticeable fact is that here, the career changers in the same graduation category are more attached to the chief town of the county; those who continue their studies after the matura exam, are less attached. At the same time such an endeavour may be perceived less often among the lower levels of the residence hierarchy. This implies that on the Romanian side there is no real difference between the efficacy of small towns and villages. It remains to discover to what degree it can be traced back to the similar social composition of these settlement groups, their similar educational infrastructure, or to the eventual situation, that – because of the level of educational expansion in Romania – only the higher qualified parents can send have their children enrolled in to the higher education, from both the villages and the small towns.

Summary

The Hungarian experiences equally show the effect of homogenisation and the selective force of the tertiary education. We cannot say that there would be significant differences in every respect, among those who aim to enroll in different levels of tertiary education. The ambition to reach a higher level cannot really be linked to a big town, parents' high education level or elite school. At the same time when we look at the other end of these dimensions (that is, the students with not too low qualified student, come from villages and not from elite secondary schools), the background effect is clearly delineated. As we are moving towards higher and higher educational goals, we can find less and less students coming from villages, from families with a low educational level and who took their matura exam in a vocational secondary school. There is no paradox between the two statements: the balancing role of the medium stratum causes it. It all implies that, there is no significant difference between those who belong to the medium and the high layers of the residential, graduation and school hierarchy, but there is a significant discrepancy between those who belong to the medium and those who come from the low level.

Considering also the finer structures of the students' background we can notice the layer to which belong those coming from a more accomplished family, and living in a big town, who took their matura exam in a better secondary school. These factors are certainly not independent of each other and have two significant effects. On the one hand, these young people have a better chance to change their career, may it happen either in order to achieve a more serious professional background (career climbers), or to strive to get the expected and/or formal qualification, but without any signs of more serious professional activities (students subjects to influence or pressure). On the other hand, in the case of those layers who come from a disadvantageous background one can notice that inside each (aimed) qualification level they are the ones who show the most signs of problems (illusion chasers, unsteady progressers, strugglers). It is true that they are small layers, and it is also true that the necessary period to get a qualification may modify the goals, or make those who have a disadvantageous background overcome the difficulties, but the data of the survey temporarily show a difference of social background in case of detailed analysis.

The experiences in Romania overlap only partially the Hungarian experiences. Supposedly, it is the effect of the later expansion (but we cannot rule out the consequences of the different labour market), that students' society is somewhat differently structured. Here we can notice a similarity not between the medium and the high strata, but between the youth coming from the medium and the low layers. In other words, while students from the low strata could be regarded as being in a disadvantageous situation (considering the size of the career groups, this disadvantageous situation does not concern masses, but rather marks a direction), in Romania the privileged situation of the higher layers is striking. Based on the comparison of the two layers we can see that, in spite of the different higher educational exits, the expansion of the higher education has a homogenising effect. At least it is true if we look at the educational goals, but only nother can the answerquestion regarding the manner , how in which the goals can are realised can only be a nswered by another research.

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APPENDIX

Table 6: The planned study paths of the students in BA/BSc education
according to their earlier career paths – Students in Hungary

Study path so far	Planned study path:	Finishing his/her study without BA/BSc qualification	BA/BSc qualification in Hungary	BA/BSc qualification + further education in Hungary	Another BA/BSc qualification in Hungary	MA/MSc qualification in Hungary	BA/BSc or MA/MSc qualification in other country	PhD qualification in Hungary	PhD qualification in other country	Total
Students studying here immediately after taking GCSE	Count	4	135	47	27	263	14	135	8	633
	Per cent of total	0.5	16.1	5.6	3.2	31.5	1.7	16.1	1.0	75.7
Students studying at another university or college or in other field, immediately after taken GCSE	Count		12	3	3	28		17		63
	Per cent of total		1.4	0.4	0.4	3.3		2.0		7.5
Students that didn't opt for a higher education enrolment after taking GCSE	Count	6	27	5	3	49	2	18		110
	Per cent of total	0.7	3.2	0.6	0.4	5.9	0.2	2.2		13.2
Students working after taking GCSE	Count		1		1	2		4	1	9
	Per cent of total		0.1		0.1	0.2		0.5	0.1	1.1
Students who work and study, but didn't opt for a higher education enrolment after taking GCSE	Count	1	4			6		7		18
	Per cent of total	0.1	0.5			0.7		0.8		2.2
Students who were jobless after taking GCSE until the beginning of their present studies	Count		1			1		1		3
	Per cent of total		0.1			0.1		0.1		0.4
Total	Count	11	180	55	34	349	16	182	9	836
	Per cent of total	1.3	21.5	6.6	4.1	41.7	1.9	21.8	1.1	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 7: Students' target when choosing a university or college – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Chose only the present tertiary institution	Chose more tertiary institutions, the present one was the first	Chose another university or college	Don't remember	Total
1 Choosers of the royal path/Regular students	Count	18	100	25		143
	%	12.6	69.9	17.5		100.0
2 Career climbers	Count	6	11			17
	%	35.3	64.7			100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	4	19	9		32
	%	12.5	59.4	28.1		100.0
4 The average	Count	42	171	54	3	270
	%	15.6	63.3	20.0	1.1	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	9	11	9		29
	%	31.0	37.9	31.0		100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	11	37	12		60
	%	18.3	61.7	20.0		100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	25	151	36	2	214
	%	11.7	70.6	16.8	0.9	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count	6	12		1	19
	%	31.6	63.2		5.3	100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	14	20	9		43
	%	32.6	46.5	20.9		100.0
Total	Count	135	532	154	6	827
	%	16.3	64.3	18.6	0.7	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 8: Students' objective when choosing the fields of tertiary education – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Chose only the present field	Chose more fields, the present one was the first	Chose another field	Don't remember	Total
1 Choosers of the royal path/Regular students	Count	7	92	44		143
	%	4.9	64.3	30.8		100.0
2 Career climbers	Count	3	11	3		17
	%	17.6	64.7	17.6		100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	3	16	12		31
	%	9.7	51.6	38.7		100.0
4 The average	Count	18	177	74	2	271
	%	6.6	65.3	27.3	0.7	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	6	11	11		28
	%	21.4	39.3	39.3		100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	11	29	20		60
	%	18.3	48.3	33.3		100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	21	144	47	1	213
	%	9.9	67.6	22.1	0.5	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count	5	13	1		19
	%	26.3	68.4	5.3		100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	5	32	7		44
	%	11.4	72.7	15.9		100.0
Total	Count	79	525	219	3	826
	%	9.6	63.6	26.5	0.4	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 9: It was important to enter higher education so as to ….. (Students in Hungary)

Career groups		find later a well paid job	find later a respected job	get later a managing position	know more	get a job easier	not work yet	get good contacts	follow the family model	follow the friends	(not?) be pressed by parents or teachers	can afford to do it	not pay any tuition fee
1 Choosers of the royal path/Regular students	Count	111	111	80	132	110	36	99	45	40	51	70	87
	%	80.4	80.4	57.6	95.0	78.0	25.9	71.2	32.8	29.2	36.7	50.7	62.1
2 Career climbers	Count	14	14	11	17	14	9	10	6	3	6	10	14
	%	77.8	77.8	64.7	100.0	77.8	52.9	58.8	33.3	17.6	35.3	58.8	77.8
3 Illusion chasers	Count	29	27	19	31	28	9	23	11	6	9	16	17
	%	93.5	87.1	59.4	100.0	90.3	28.1	74.2	34.4	19.4	28.1	51.6	54.8
4 The average	Count	214	197	145	250	228	96	159	102	66	103	125	171
	%	81.4	74.9	55.1	94.7	86.7	36.4	60.7	38.8	24.9	39.3	47.9	66.8
5 Students subject to influence	Count	26	12	8	26	25	11	11	7	9	9	10	10
	%	92.9	42.9	28.6	92.9	89.3	39.3	39.3	25.0	32.1	32.1	35.7	35.7
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	47	48	45	54	49	23	40	12	13	17	26	35
	%	83.9	80.0	75.0	90.0	84.5	39.0	67.8	20.3	21.7	28.8	43.3	59.3
7 Credentialists	Count	165	134	98	176	171	55	106	61	46	76	82	129
	%	78.2	64.4	47.3	84.6	81.8	26.4	51.2	29.5	21.9	37.3	40.2	62.9
8 Students under pressure	Count	14	11	8	14	15	12	10	8	2	9	5	9
	%	82.4	61.1	44.4	100.0	83.3	66.7	55.6	44.4	14.3	50.0	35.7	50.0
9 Strugglers	Count	40	34	21	37	32	19	27	12	18	17	17	31
	%	93.0	81.0	50.0	86.0	74.4	45.2	67.5	28.6	42.9	40.5	41.5	73.8
Total	Count	660	588	435	737	672	270	485	264	203	297	361	503
	%	82.0	73.0	54.0	91.7	83.1	33.5	60.5	32.8	25.2	37.1	45.5	63.1

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 10: It was important to enter higher education so as to ….. (Students in Romania)

Career groups		find later a well paid job	find later a respected job	get later a managing position	know more	get a job easier	not work yet	get good con-tacts	follow the family model	follow the friends	(not?) be pressed by parents or teachers	can afford to do it	not pay any tuition fee
1 Choosers of the royal path/Regular students	Count	174	180	134	196	192	66	125	63	41	53	113	81
	%	80.6	83.3	63.2	91.6	88.1	31.0	58.7	29.3	19.2	24.8	53.1	38.0
2 Career climbers	Count	15	16	15	16	16	4	13	2	2	2	9	10
	%	88.2	88.9	88.2	88.9	88.9	23.5	72.2	11.8	12.5	11.8	52.9	58.8
3 Illusion chasers	Count	23	18	15	29	25	8	22	7	12	9	10	7
	%	82.1	64.3	51.7	96.7	89.3	28.6	75.9	24.1	41.4	31.0	33.3	24.1
4 The average	Count	166	155	120	194	183	67	118	51	48	50	97	77
	%	79.0	74.2	58.3	92.4	86.3	32.4	57.0	24.3	23.3	23.8	46.6	36.8
5 Students subject to influence	Count	9	10	6	13	9	4	9	4	3	3	3	7
	%	69.2	76.9	46.2	100.0	69.2	30.8	69.2	30.8	23.1	23.1	23.1	53.8
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	23	20	20	27	26	5	22	5	5	8	17	13
	%	79.3	71.4	69.0	93.1	89.7	17.2	75.9	17.2	17.2	27.6	58.6	44.8
7 Credentialists	Count	173	160	121	186	181	76	126	61	56	64	104	98
	%	79.4	74.4	55.8	86.5	83.0	34.9	57.8	28.2	25.8	30.2	48.1	46.0
8 Students under pres-sure	Count	8	9	6	11	9	1	6	2	3	1	2	4
	%	72.7	81.8	54.5	91.7	81.8	9.1	54.5	18.2	27.3	9.1	20.0	36.4
9 Strugglers	Count	21	21	10	28	23	9	14	4	7	5	9	7
	%	70.0	70.0	33.3	90.3	74.2	31.0	46.7	14.3	24.1	17.2	32.1	24.1
Total	Count	612	589	447	700	664	240	455	199	177	195	364	304
	%	78.6	76.7	58.5	90.7	85.3	31.4	59.2	25.9	23.2	25.5	47.6	39.8

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 11: The career groups and the financing of their studies – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Financed by state budget	Self financing	Total
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Count	125	13	138
	%	90.6	9.4	100.0
2 Career climbers	Count	11	6	17
	%	64.7	35.3	100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	26	6	32
	%	81.3	18.8	100.0
4 The average	Count	237	32	269
	%	88.1	11.9	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	18	9	27
	%	66.7	33.3	100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	50	10	60
	%	83.3	16.7	100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	167	44	211
	%	79.1	20.9	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count	9	9	18
	%	50.0	50.0	100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	28	6	34
	%	82.4	17.6	100.0
Total	Count	671	135	806
	%	83.3	16.7	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 12: Plans to get a job – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Only in the county of residence or town of university	Also in another part in the country	Also in another country	Only in another country	No plans yet	Total
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Count	56	11	38	20	18	143
	%	39.2	7.7	26.6	14.0	12.6	100.0
2 Career climbers	Count	3	0	14	0	0	17
	%	17.6	0.0	82.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	12	3	10	4	3	32
	%	37.5	9.4	31.3	12.5	9.4	100.0
4 The average	Count	127	36	68	14	27	272
	%	46.7	13.2	25.0	5.1	9.9	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	18	1	5	0	4	28
	%	64.3	3.6	17.9	.0	14.3	100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	31	7	10	3	9	60
	%	51.7	11.7	16.7	5.0	15.0	100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	86	19	44	26	40	215
	%	40.0	8.8	20.5	12.1	18.6	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count	10	0	3	0	5	18
	%	55.6	0.0	16.7	0.0	27.8	100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	14	7	6	6	10	43
	%	32.6	16.3	14.0	14.0	23.3	100.0
Total	Count	357	84	198	73	116	828
	%	43.1	10.1	23.9	8.8	14.0	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 13: Indicators of university (college) activities[7] – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Number of types of awards during the primary and secondary education	Rate of students having educational extra points when applying to university	Number of types of several educational activities during the university (college) period	Average points (from 1 to 4) of educational activities	Educatio-nal intensity (points from 1 to 5)	Taking part in lessons (points from 5 to 1 = the most)	Daily learning activity points from 5 to 1 = the most	Points of purposeful activity (points from 1 to 5 = the most)
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Average	1.70	76.2%	3.52	2.056	2.211	1.66	3.10	3.102
	Count	143	109	143	138	140	143	143	141
2 Career climbers	Average	1.41	94.1%	4.87	2.633	2.700	2.29	2.86	3.611
	Count	17	16	17	14	17	17	17	17
3 Illusion chasers	Average	1.17	56.3%	3.26	1.974	2.256	1.64	2.44	3.049
	Count	31	18	31	28	28	29	29	31
4 The average	Average	1.73	62.4%	2.72	2.105	2.231	1.61	3.46	2.971
	Count	271	169	271	256	261	270	265	263
5 Students subject to influence	Average	0.90	62.1%	2.21	1.926	2.116	1.74	3.26	3.025
	Count	28	18	28	26	26	26	26	28
6 Unsteady progressers	Average	1.11	51.7%	2.29	2.006	2.077	1.60	3.78	3.057
	Count	60	31	60	59	59	60	60	57
7 Credentialists	Average	1.17	57.7%	1.99	1.936	2.114	1.98	3.26	2.944
	Count	215	124	215	200	212	214	214	213
8 Students under pressure	Average	0.79	27.8%	2.06	2.011	2.159	2.47	4.31	2.887
	Count	18	5	18	14	14	18	18	18
9 Strugglers	Average	0.88	37.2%	2.28	2.140	2.044	1.63	3.42	2.842
	Count	44	16	44	44	43	44	44	42
Total	Average	1.41	61.1%	2.65	2.044	2.181	1.75	3.33	3.003
	Count	828	506	828	780	801	821	816	811

Source: HERD database 2012

7 Except of FT_3 and FT_5 variables, the higher points mean the best or more intensive activitiy.

Table 14: Knowledge of foreign languages – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Average knowledge of three international languages (English, French, German)	Knowledge of the best known international language
		(points from 1 to 4 = the best)	
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Average	2.159	3.300
	Count	133	142
	Std. deviation	0.3779	0.4910
2 Career climbers	Average	2.345	3.404
	Count	17	17
	Std. deviation	0.3996	0.6609
3 Illusion chasers	Average	1.999	2.903
	Count	29	31
	Std. deviation	0.5420	0.7402
4 The average	Average	2.025	3.097
	Count	243	266
	Std. deviation	0.3936	0.5788
5 Students subject to influence	Average	1.906	3.059
	Count	27	28
	Std. deviation	0.3398	0.5887
6 Unsteady progressers	Average	1.832	2.888
	Count	56	60
	Std. deviation	0.2835	0.5854
7 Credentialists	Average	2.052	3.135
	Count	199	214
	Std. deviation	0.3859	0.5603
8 Students under pressure	Average	2.088	3.059
	Count	14	18
	Std. deviation	0.3485	0.5258
9 Strugglers	Average	1.831	2.934
	Count	37	43
	Std. deviation	0.2985	0.4834
Total	Average	2.035	3.115
	Count	757	820
	Std. deviation	0.3938	0.5743

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 15: Males and females within career groups – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Male	Female	Together
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Count	50	90	140
	%	35.7	64.3	100.0
2 Career climbers	Count	5	12	17
	%	29.4	70.6	100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	12	20	32
	%	37.5	62.5	100.0
4 The average	Count	84	185	269
	%	31.2	68.8	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	11	16	27
	%	40.7	59.3	100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	28	32	60
	%	46.7	53.3	100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	61	148	209
	%	29.2	70.8	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count	8	9	17
	%	47.1	52.9	100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	13	26	39
	%	33.3	66.7	100.0
Total	Count	272	538	810
	%	33.6	66.4	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 16: Residence at the age of 14 – Students in Hungary

Career groups		County towns	Other big towns	Small towns	Villages	Together
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Count	42	10	53	34	139
	%	30.2	7.2	38.1	24.5	100.0
2 Career climbers	Count	8	3	3	4	18
	%	44.4	16.7	16.7	22.2	100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	12	5	3	12	32
	%	37.5	15.6	9.4	37.5	100.0
4 The average	Count	92	20	85	72	269
	%	34.2	7.4	31.6	26.8	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	17		8	4	29
	%	58.6		27.6	13.8	100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	13	6	26	16	61
	%	21.3	9.8	42.6	26.2	100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	65	19	58	69	211
	%	30.8	9.0	27.5	32.7	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count	9	4	1	1	15
	%	60.0	26.7	6.7	6.7	100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	11	7	17	7	42
	%	26.2	16.7	40.5	16.7	100.0
Total	Count	269	74	254	219	816
	%	33.0	9.1	31.1	26.8	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 17: Fathers' school of graduation – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Without GCSE	Secondary school (with GCSE)	Degree	Total
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Count	40	51	43	134
	%	29.9	38.1	32.1	100.0
2 Career climbers	Count	1	10	6	17
	%	5.9	58.8	35.3	100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	10	12	8	30
	%	33.3	40.0	26.7	100.0
4 The average	Count	83	107	77	267
	%	31.1	40.1	28.8	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	7	11	11	29
	%	24.1	37.9	37.9	100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	28	20	12	60
	%	46.7	33.3	20.0	100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	90	70	54	214
	%	42.1	32.7	25.2	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count	4	5	6	15
	%	26.7	33.3	40.0	100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	18	16	6	40
	%	45.0	40.0	15.0	100.0
Total	Count	281	302	223	806
	%	34.9	37.5	27.7	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 18: Mothers' school of graduation – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Without GCSE	Secondary school (with GCSE)	Degree	Together
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Count	17	76	46	139
	%	12.2	54.7	33.1	100.0
2 Career climbers	Count	3	0	14	17
	%	17.6	.0	82.4	100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	7	12	12	31
	%	22.6	38.7	38.7	100.0
4 The average	Count	42	118	105	265
	%	15.8	44.5	39.6	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	9	5	13	27
	%	33.3	18.5	48.1	100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	20	31	9	60
	%	33.3	51.7	15.0	100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	47	85	82	214
	%	22.0	39.7	38.3	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count	1	9	7	17
	%	5.9	52.9	41.2	100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	8	24	12	44
	%	18.2	54.5	27.3	100.0
Total	Count	154	360	300	814
	%	18.9	44.2	36.9	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 19: Perception of financial situation of one's own family – Students in Hungary

Career groups		'We can buy everything including more expensive articles and supplies'	'We can buy everything for our basic needs'	'Sometimes we cannot buy anything for our basic needs'	'Often, we cannot buy anything for our daily needs'	Total
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Count	21	101	16	1	139
	%	15.1	72.7	11.5	0.7	100.0
2 Career climbers	Count	7	3	7		17
	%	41.2	17.6	41.2		100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	9	17	5		31
	%	29.0	54.8	16.1		100.0
4 The average	Count	53	189	24	3	269
	%	19.7	70.3	8.9	1.1	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	2	25	1		28
	%	7.1	89.3	3.6		100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	6	42	9	3	60
	%	10.0	70.0	15.0	5.0	100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	43	152	15	3	213
	%	20.2	71.4	7.0	1.4	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count		13			13
	%		100.0			100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	4	29	5	3	41
	%	9.8	70.7	12.2	7.3	100.0
Total	Count	145	571	82	13	811
	%	17.9	70.4	10.1	1.6	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 20: Average points of the families' financial situation – Students in Hungary

Career groups		Perception of the financial situation of own family (points 1 to 6 = the best)	Perception of the financial situation of own family compared to group friends' families (points 1 to 10 = the best)
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Average	1.97	5.28
	Count	139	142
	Std. deviation	0.544	1.405
2 Career climbers	Average	2.00	6.06
	Count	17	17
	Std. deviation	0.926	1.792
3 Illusion chasers	Average	1.90	5.77
	Count	31	31
	Std. deviation	0.674	1.694
4 The average	Average	1.92	5.43
	Count	270	270
	Std. deviation	0.576	1.361
5 Students subject to influence	Average	1.99	5.45
	Count	28	28
	Std. deviation	0.432	1.386
6 Unsteady progressers	Average	2.16	4.72
	Count	60	59
	Std. deviation	0.665	1.200
7 Credentialists	Average	1.90	5.21
	Count	214	211
	Std. deviation	0.576	1.483
8 Students under pressure	Average	2.00	4.82
	Count	13	17
	Std. deviation	0.000	1.410
9 Strugglers	Average	2.14	4.72
	Count	41	40
	Std. deviation	0.680	1.210
Total	Average	1.96	5.28
	Count	814	816
	Std. deviation	0.590	1.429

Source: HERD database 2012

Table 21: Type of school that issued the GCSE – Students in Hungary – distribution of the career groups according to their secondary schools

Career groups		Specialized gymnasium[1]	Specialized courses in traditional gymnasium (classes from grade 9 to 12)	Traditional gymnasium (classes from 9 to 12 level)	Vocational secondary school	Total
1 Choosers of the royal path/ Regular students	Count	28	54	43	19	144
	%	19.4	37.5	29.9	13.2	100.0
2 Career climbers	Count		6	8	3	17
	%		35.3	47.1	17.6	100.0
3 Illusion chasers	Count	3	8	7	12	30
	%	10.0	26.7	23.3	40.0	100.0
4 The average	Count	44	95	81	49	269
	%	16.4	35.3	30.1	18.2	100.0
5 Students subject to influence	Count	5	6	14	3	28
	%	17.9	21.4	50.0	10.7	100.0
6 Unsteady progressers	Count	5	6	17	32	60
	%	8.3	10.0	28.3	53.3	100.0
7 Credentialists	Count	29	75	66	42	212
	%	13.7	35.4	31.1	19.8	100.0
8 Students under pressure	Count	1	7	6	3	17
	%	5.9	41.2	35.3	17.6	100.0
9 Strugglers	Count	4		14	23	41
	%	9.8		34.1	56.1	100.0
Total	Count	119	257	256	186	818
	%	14.5	31.4	31.3	22.7	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012[8]

8 Gymnasium from grade 5 or 7 to 12 or bilingual gymnasium.

Zsolt Bottyán & Floare Chipea:

Rural Youth in Higher Education. A Crossborder Analysis

Introduction

The extensive processes that occurred in the post-communist Romania have generated social changes within the system, including social structure, reshaping and restructuring the social positions occupied by members of society and the employment mechanisms. The Romanian sociological literature has been concerned largely with describing and explaining the social transition, highlighting the consequences,both positive and negative, the difference in regard to other social systems, particularly European ones, highlighting the sociological paradigm for the transformational transition mechanisms, the winning and the losing social categories (Badescu 2003; Chipea 2010; Larionescu, Mărginean & Neagu 2006; Mărginean & Precupeţu 2011; Mărginean 2004; Pasti 1995; Sandu 1996; Sandu 2005; Vlasceanu 2007; Vlăsceanu 2001; Voicu 2005; Voicu & Voicu 2006; Zamfir 2004; Zamfir et al. 2011; Zamfir, Elias & Stanescu 2010; Zamfir, Bădescu & Zamfir 2000).

The undertaken studies had confirmed a slow and, in some respect, a negative economic transformation, proved by the fact that the GDP has decreased, equalling the value of 1989 only after 15 years of transition, representing 129% in 2008 and then falling again as an impact of the crisis (INS, 1999–2011). A deindustrialization process was ongoing, which resulted in the decrease of the employees in the industrial field from 4,005,000 in 1990 to 1,221,000 (Zamfir et al. 2011). On the other hand, a proof illustrating the unbalanced structure of the economy is provided by the high share of the employment in agriculture: during the most prosperous year, 2008, it represented (28%) compared with other EU countries (EU27 average is 4.7% in 2009 and 4.5% in Hungary). The situation becomes even worse if we consider the fact that about two-thirds of rural people working in the sector accounted for seasonal work or work in their own households, which ensures the survival of rural residents only. According to data from the most recent Diagnosis of Quality of Life (Mărginean & Precupeţu 2011), along with the unemployed, farmers one finds the occupational category with the highest percentage of people who do not believe in the chances of getting a job (85%), followed by those who declare themselves unemployed (83%). Rural areas have, in most cases, few opportunities regarding the employment in the non-agricultural field and on the other hand, offer low-income employment in agriculture compared to other fields. In terms of average annual income per adult, the equivalent (euro) earned in 2008, in the EU countries, the statistics place Romania in the last position with an average income of 2323 euros, compared with 35448 euros in Luxembourg or 4827 euros in Hungary (Eurostat EU-SILC quoted in Zamfir et al. 2011).

Both, in terms of statistical indicators as well as regarding people's perception, Romania is characterized by social polarization. The Gini coefficient, which measures the inequality of the income distribution, rose more than 60% for the first time during the 20 years after 1989. At the beginning of the transition, the coefficient had a value below the European average of 0.21, but after the first 10 years of post-communist the transition already exceeded this average, reaching far beyond the value of 0.32 and 0.36 (Zamfir et al. 2011).

An indicator of the increased social polarization is represented by the difference between the poorest 20% and richest 20% of the population, which in 2004 had an income ratio of 1:7.1, a value significantly higher than the European average. After eight years of uninterrupted economic

growth, even if the absolute poverty rate dropped, social inequality increased significantly. The main beneficiary of this period of growth was the upper class so that in 2008 the income of the richest 5% exceeded over 15 times the income of the poorest 5% (BOP, 2007).

According to POB (Public Opinion Barometer) 2007, the class structure (constructed by self-identification) is as follows:

- In urban areas 1.9% of the respondents stated that they belonged to the upper class, 23.1% declared themselves as belonging to the lower class
- In rural areas 1.9% say they belong to the upper class, 39% of the respondents identified themselves with lower class categories, 60% more than in urban areas, consistent with the reality illustrated by objective indicators, whereby the poverty rate is about three times higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas: 22% versus 7%.
- Regarding the counties with the lowest wages, it is worth noting that in 1989 Botoşani County ranked first, Călărasi in 2000, while in 2009 the lowest wages were registered in Bihor County. It is important to note that the wage gap, above and below the national average, has increased considerably in recent years, which shows an increase in the wage polarization between developmental regions of Romania. Bihor County has thus a position which appears as a paradox, prompting explanation, especially as it is part of North West which is a region with a high development level.

Table 1: Changes in wage levels by county

	1989	2000	2009
Minimal compared to the national average,%	87.6 Botoşani	78.2 Călăraşi	75.3 Bihor
Maximum compared to the national average, %	126.5 Hunedoara	129.7 Mun. Bucureşti	134.6 Mun. Bucureşti
Difference between the highest and smallest salary (county average) (pp)	38.9	51.5	59.3

Source: Authors' Report ICCV (Zamfir et al, 2011), as raw data. INS/Tempo

We can conclude that during the post-communist period in Romania, beyond the undeniable positive effects of gaining social and individual freedoms and the restoration of democracy, the economic reconstruction progressed with difficulty; the living standards became more precarious as the inequalities have deepened compared to other European countries. These social changes have caused a social polarization which emphasized inequalities, including those at regional (urban-rural) level.

COMPARING THE RESOURCE DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE RURAL AND THE URBAN AREAS. A SECONDARY ANALYSIS

Demographic disparities

The urban population percent of the total population is an important indicator of the level of development of a country, taking into account the fact that urban areas offer better conditions of life than rural areas, both in terms of infrastructure and in terms of securing access opportunities to education, healthcare, cultural activities, employment etc. (Badescu 2003; Preda 2002; Preotesi 2009; Rotariu 2009; Voicu & Voicu 2006).

From this point of view, Romania, which in 2008 had a share of 55.1% of the resident population living in urban areas, occupied one of the last places among European Union countries, similar percentages having been recorded only by Italy 30% and Slovenia 47.9%, while most countries recorded a much higher percentage: Slovakia 55.5%, Hungary 67.8% and the United Kingdom 80%, (World Economy in numbers, INS, 2009). Bihor County, with 50.2% of the entire population living in urban settlements, is well below the national average, which influences other indicators, including social ones. Based on these records we can formulate the following hypothesis, which we intend to verify by using statistical analysis: that the level of the higher education enrolment of young people from rural areas is lower in Romania than in Hungary. The argument we rely on, although we recognize that it is not strong enough since it does not provide information about the age structure of the population, is the rural population percent of the total population: 44.9% in Romania and 32.2% in Hungary, with a difference of 12.7 percentage points.

Dimensions of the educational capital in Romania and Hungary

Most studies of social mobility apply the meritocratic model in explaining the individuals' accession to prestigious social positions, where schools role of selection, distribution and social reproduction becomes dominant (Larionescu, Mărginean & Neagu 2006 p. 26). The concept of merit is operationalized generally according to two main dimensions. On the one hand, the merits are measured by educational or occupational attainment, in diplomas or professional qualifications obtained by individuals, on the other hand, the merit is quantified by the social effect of the individuals' actions, and the results obtained by direct involvement in using the skills and the competencies acquired during the whole process of socialization. In fact, the meritocratic model acts together with other processes such as the process of merit validation with market mechanisms, or by the legal system, salary policy, market segmentation and power relations (Preotesi 2009 p. 21). Thus, we assume that the educational enrolment will be directly influenced by the policy of resource allocation for education.

Indicators used for international comparisons regarding the education are those that relate to the spending share in GDP for education and the gross rate of the enrolled students, representing the total number of students, regardless of age, as compared to the total population of official age (19–23 years) corresponding to this level of education. In 2009, the share of the expenditure for education of Romania's GDP was 4.1%, which situated the country on the antepenultimate place among the European countries, placing it near the second lowest, Slovakia (with 3.9%) and Greece which is in the last place with a share of 3.5%. It should be noted that developed countries are affecting a higher percentage of the GDP for education: Denmark (8.3%), Sweden (7.1%), Finland (6.3%), Belgium (6%), Hungary 5.2% and most other European countries allocate above 5% of their GDP for education (World Economy in numbers, INS, 2009).

Although the trend in taking part in education is rising, Romania is situated under the levels of both the EU-15 countries and the countries that recently joined the EU regarding the participation

at all levels of education of the population aged 5–29 years. In Romania, the participation in education in 2006 was 50.5% (compared to 59.2% – the average EU-27), an increase, however, compared to 2000 when it registered 48.4%, which placed the country in last position among other European countries, except for Bulgaria (49.8%) (The report regarding the state of the national education system issued by the Ministry of Education and Research from 2000–2006, p. 59). On the other hand, the data shows that the rate of early dropouts from education is well above the EU average and particularly above the politically assumed targets. Participation in tertiary education and lifelong learning in Romania is insignificant compared with that of the rest of Europe.

Table 2: Indicators on education in Romania and the EU

Rate (%)	Romania		Media EU		Target EU	
	2000	2010	2000	2010	2010	2020
People who left early the education and training system (youth aged 18—24 years)	22.9	18.4	16	14.1	10	10
Participation in tertiary education (young people aged 30—34 years)	8.9	18.1	22.4	33.6		40
Adult participation in education and training (adults aged 25—64 years)	1.4	1.3	8.5	9.1	12.5	15

Source: A report regarding the state of the education in Romania – 2011
http://www.tincutaapateanu.ro/2012/07/25/raport-privind-starea-invatamantului-din-romania-2011-partea-a-iii-a/

The disparities between the urban and rural areas, highlighted by the sociological literature and by the analysis presented above, are underlined by the participation in education. In this respect, the statistics show that the rate of participation in education in rural areas is consistently lower than in urban areas, the differences being relatively constant, indicating that the participation rates in upper secondary education (upper secondary school and vocational school), which varies between 55.4% and 82.6% are much lower compared to those regarding the primary and lower secondary education from rural areas with variations between 90.3% and 100.0%, which actually coincides with the results of the research on the school dropout who showed consistently higher values for the primary versus secondary education (Chipea 2009)

Table 3: Gross enrolments in primary, secondary
and higher secondary in Romania: 2003–2011 (%)

	2003/2004	2004/2005	2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011
Primary and lower secondary								
Total	100.3	100.3	101.5	100.1	99.2	98.4	98.3	97.5
Urban	103.0	100.2	106.7	106.4	105.7	106.3	106.4	105.6
Rural	97.6	100.4	96.6	94.4	93.3	91.6	91.2	90.3
Upper Secondary (grammar school and vocational school)								
Total	74.4	76.4	75.0	80.0	84.9	89.3	96.7	96.5
Urban	89.0	87.8	86.6	92.5	96.2	101.4	110.6	111.0
Rural	55.4	61.0	59.9	63.9	70.7	75.4	81.9	82.6

Source: A report on the sitaution of the school education in Romania – 2011
http://www.edusfera.ro/raport-privind-starea-invatamantului-preuniversitar-din-romania-2011

Regarding the gross rate of the enrolled students, another important indicator used in international comparisons, during the academic year 2007/2008, Romania had a rate of about 54%, ranked 21 among the 27 European countries, surpassing countries such as Slovakia (51), Germany (51),

Austria (51), Bulgaria (50) Cyprus (36) Luxembourg (10). At the same time, developed countries recorded much higher rates, such as Finland (94%), Greece (91%), Slovenia (86), Denmark (80%) and Sweden (75).

The process of increasing the higher education participation rate from 37.9% to 54, despite the low investment in education, was influenced by the growth of the educational offerings through increased participation in public and private universities, especially by the enrolment in higher education of people over 24 years who have not had access to higher education during the communist era because of the scarcity of university places. Perhaps this explains the depletion of this category of students during the academic year 2008-2009, and also the drop in the rate of enrolment in higher education by 12.8 percent.

Table 4: Gross enrolment rate in higher education in Romania (%)

	2003/ 2004	2004/ 2005	2005/ 2006	2006/ 2007	2007/ 2008	2008/ 2009	2009/ 2010	2010/ 2011
Total	37.9	40.2	44.8	47.2	53.6	51.7	45	40.8
Urban	-	-	-	-	68	62.8	56.3	53.9
Rural	-	-	-	-	30.9	33.9	27.2	20.8

Source: A report regarding the Education in Romania 2011
http://www.tincutaapateanu.ro/2012/07/25/raport-privind-starea-invatamantului-din-romania-2011-partea-a-iii-a/

In the academic year 2009/2010 the gross rate of students enrolled in Romania was 45% (40% of young men and 51% of young females), while Hungary had a participation rate of 62%, higher by 17% (53% of male population and 72% of the females) (World Economy in Figures, 2009, Chapter Education).

We have to emphasize the gap between the higher education enrolment rate of young people in rural areas compared to the urban ones (which is more than double) the most pronounced discrepancy manifested last year with a difference of 33.1%.

In conclusion, the hypothesis proposed in this chapter, based on statistical data, was confirmed. This means that a lower share of the rural population (an important indicator of social development), 32.2% for Hungary compared to 44.9% in Romania, accompanied with a policy of allocating a larger share of GDP for education, 5.2% in Hungary compared to only 4.1% in Romania in 2009, contributed to the achievement of higher gross enrolment rates of young people in higher education in Hungary by 17% (45% in Romania and 62% in Hungary), thus providing higher education opportunities to the highest standards and access to employment and important social positions.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THE SAMPLE

We consider that the analysis of the disadvantaged status of the students from rural areas, concerning the integration of the students in higher education, cannot be achieved without a comparison between the statistics of students that are from rural areas with those that are from urban areas. On the other hand, we consider that is important that the analysis be done by country (differently for Romania and Hungary) because of the socio-economic, cultural and institutional differences between the two countries highlighted in the chapters above.

Our sample has the following structure if we take into account the rural – urban origin of students (see Table 5):

Table 5: Sample: students from rural and urban areas

| | | | Lived until 14 year old in areas | | Total |
			urban	rural	
Country	Romania	Count	861	423	1284
		%	67.1%	32.9%	100.0%
	Hungary	Count	880	352	1232
		%	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	1741	775	2516
		%	69,2%	30.8%	100.0%

Source: HERD database 2012

In accordance with the general demographic data from the two countries it may be noticed that the sample in Hungary and Romania is roughly equal and the proportion of students from the rural areas from Hungary is smaller than the same group from Romania. In addition, we observe that the proportion of the rural students enrolled in universities in this cross border area is lower than the proportion of the general population that leaves in rural areas in the cross border area and this is an argument that is underrepresented.

Table 6

Hungary		
U. Debrecen	Count	1118
	% within *Country*	86.3%
F. Nyíregyháza	Count	152
	% within *Country*	11.7%
D.R.T.U.	Count	25
	% within *Country*	1.9%
Total	Count	1295
	% within *Country*	100.0%

Romania		
U.B. Satu Mare	Count	66
	% within *Country*	5.0%
U. Oradea	Count	714
	% within *Country*	54.0%
P.K.E. Oradea	Count	407
	% within *Country*	30.8%
U.E. Oradea	Count	136
	% within *Country*	10.3%
Total	Count	1323
	% within *Country*	100.0%

Sample: Higher education institutions considered in Romania and Hungary
Source: HERD database 2012

In Table 6 we present the institutions, considered in our sample, that are higher education institutions from the cross border area, mainly from the cities of Debrecen and Oradea.

Table 7: Sample: Structure by sex and learning language (%)

Country			Sex			Language learning in upper secondary school			
			Male	Female	Total	Romanian	Hungarian	Other	Total
Romania	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	40.0	60.0	100.0	67.1	32.1	0.7	100.0
		Rural	31.3	68.7	100.0	63.8	35.1	1.0	100.0
Hungary	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	33.1	66.9					100.0
		Rural	27.9	72.1					

Source: HERD database 2012

It may be noticed, according to the data (see Table 7), that there are more female students than male students in general and the difference is even bigger, if we consider the group of students from rural areas. In Hungary the learning language in upper secondary school is Hungarian but in Romania we observe that 33.1% have studied in Hungarian and that is because they are members of the Hungarian ethnic minority.

As it is observed from the tables above, we used a variable in determining the rural or urban background of the student corresponding to the item "*Where have you lived until 14 years old?*", with several options recoded in just two options: rural and urban. Since the age of 14 the students attended upper secondary school in very different social settings, but we considered the family background to be a strong factor in determining a student's habitus and academic preparedness, acknowledging the big influence of the upper secondary school on the aforementioned variables.

Proposed theoretical model. Hypotheses

The theoretical model used in our research (Figure 1) is attained from various concepts and their relationships that are intensely analyzed in the sociological literature (Coleman 1990; Davies & Guppy 1997; Dumais 2002; Nora 2004; Seginer 1983; Thomas 2002; Tinto 1975; Tinto 1987; Tinto 1998). We analyze two forms of capital for explanatory purposes: economic and cultural capital of the student's family. The economic status of the family greatly determines the economic resources available to the student for financing the educational participation and we expect that it is influencing the social integration and the academic achievements of the student (Sewell & Shah 1967).

Cultural capital represents the educational background of student families that comprises variables such as the parents' education and parental control towards personal and academic development of the student. Cultural capital greatly influences the student's habitus, a concept proposed by Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990; Hatos 2006), that is an intermediary theoretical concept explaining the relationship between the cultural background of the student and the academic social integration. The academic social capital is represented by the extra and intra-institutional relations of the students with other students, teachers and university staff and we expect that it is influenced by the economic and cultural capital of students (Dumais 2002; Lareau 1987).

Another important factor for successful academic integration is represented by the educational achievements of students before getting into the university. We are using an intermediary theoretical concept "student academic preparedness" that comprises the necessary intellectual and social abilities to cope with the academic requirements in higher education. We expect the students' academic achievements to be greatly determined by their "academic preparedness" as defined above (Zwick 2004).

Figure 1: The relationships between student's family background, prior academic achievements and integration in higher education.
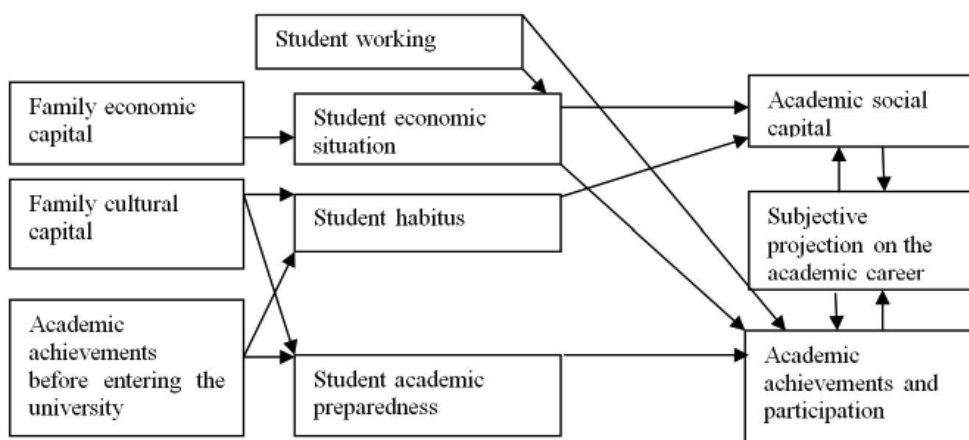
Source: research team

We think that the subjective dimension of the projection that students made about their academic careers is influenced by their academic results and social capital.

The main purpose in our research is to discover differences, in respect of these aforementioned relationships, between students that are from rural areas and those that are from urban areas. We have to establish if there is a disadvantaged status of students from rural areas.

THE ECONOMIC CAPITAL AND THE CONSEQUENCES ON STUDENTS' ACADEMIC CAREERS

The economic capital is very important for a successful academic career in most of the historical contexts (Archer, Hutchings & Ross 2003; Sewell 1971; Sewell & Shah 1967; Titus 2006). Even in a publicly founded educational system there are costs that can be prohibitive for reaching certain academic goals. In the Romanian higher educational system we have public universities like the University of Oradea, where we have publicly and privately funded student places, and private universities like Partium Christian University from Oradea. We can observe, by looking at Table 8, that there are more students from rural areas at PKE than at the University of Oradea. This fact may be due to scholarships or to the perceived higher difficulty of the public universities in Romania.

Table 8: Proportion of rural students

| | | | Lived until 14 years old | | Total |
			Urban	Rural	
University	UO	Count	500	205	705
		%	70.9%	29.1%	100.0%
	PKE	Count	249	143	392
		%	63.5%	36.5%	100.0%

Source: HERD database 2012

The economic capital is approached with two sets of variables: one that defines the economic status of the family and another, directly influenced by the former, which establishes the economic resources available to the student during the academic period. The first set of variables are formed by items that question certain goods available to the family and that are relevant for their economic status: housing, electronic goods (TV, computer etc.), car, air conditioning that were combined into a single variable on a scale with eight positions for the family's welfare (Table.9).

Table 9: The relationship between the residence
and the economic status of a student's family.

| Country | | | The distribution of the family's economic status (%) | | | | | | | | | Total |
			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Romania	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	2.0	9.5	19.6	21.5	21.4	11.3	6.3	4.6	3.8	100.0
		Rural	2.4	12.8	21.5	27.0	17.7	8.3	4.7	3.1	2.6	100.0
	Total		2.1	10.6	20.2	23.3	20.2	10.3	5.8	4.1	3.4	100.0
Hungary	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	2.2	3.3	11.5	20.6	20.0	18.0	11.9	8.9	3.8	100.0
		Rural	0.9	4.8	13.4	27.0	24.4	13.6	10.2	3.7	2.0	100.0
	Total		1,8	3.7	12.0	22.4	21.3	16.7	11.4	7.4	3.2	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

The chi-square tests show that there is a relationship between the residence and the economic status of a student's family. It's a significant, slightly negative correlation between the two variables, students coming from rural areas being a little bit poorer than those from urban areas.

We consider that the differences in living standards between students from rural and urban areas are showed by the scholarships received for being socially disadvantaged. In Romania, for example there are numerous programs and corresponding scholarships to help the socially disadvantaged students from dropping out or to achieve their full academic potential. One of the scholarships is directed towards the students from rural areas acknowledging the integration difficulties they face when admitted to universities (www.edu.ro).

Table 10: The relationship between the residence and the received social scholarship

Country			Received social scholarships 1—8		Received social scholarships 9—12		Received social scholarships University	
			Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
			% within *Lived until 14 years old*					
Romania	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	7.7	92.3	8.2	91.8	4.2	95.8
		Rural	12.3	87.7	17.4	82.6	8.5	91.5
	Total		9.2	90.8	11.2	88.8	5.6	94.4
Hungary	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	5.1	94.9	7.1	92.9	23.5	76.5
		Rural	8.0	92.0	15.6	84.4	44.3	55.7
	Total		5.9	94.1	9.5	90.5	29.5	70.5

Source: HERD database 2012

The chi-square tests show that there is a relationship between the received social scholarships and the students' residence (Table 10). The students from rural areas receive significantly more social scholarships than their counterparts from urban areas; we can observe the especially high numbers of social scholarships in Hungary.

The lack of economic resources determines partially the phenomenon of quasi-permanent employment during their academic career. In the Table 11 we analyzed the relationship between residence and employment, while following the courses at the university, but the chi-square tests show that there is no association between the variables.

Table 11: The relationship between the residence and working during learning period

Country			Working during learning period			Total
			Never	Sometimes	Frequently	
			% within *Lived until 14 years old*			
Romania	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	54.9	26.3	18.7	100,0
		Rural	59.6	22.6	17.8	100,0
	Total		56,4	25.1	18.4	100.0
Hungary	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	62.4	21.3	16.3	100,0
		Rural	61.2	25.2	13.6	100,0
	Total		62,1	22.4	15.5	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

This can be explained by the fact that many students in Romania study in privately financed places in universities and they cannot receive social scholarships, because of this having to work to finance their studies (Table 12).

Table 12: The relationship between the residence
and the type of financing of academic places in university

Country			Type of financing of academic places		Total
			Public	Private	
			% within *Lived until 14 years old*		
Romania	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	58.9	41.1	100.0
		Rural	55.5	44.5	100.0
	Total		57.8	42.2	100.0
Hungary	Lived until 14 years old	Urban	84.8	15.2	100.0
		Rural	90.4	9.6	100.0
	Total		86.4	13.6	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Secondly, in Romania, there is an undervaluation of college degrees that triggers the perception that a working place is more important than a degree and subsequently academic activity. Unfortunately, we didn't have variables in our questionnaire that would reliably measure this aspect.

One of the hypotheses that results from our proposed theoretical model is that the economic status influences the academic integration which is represented by the quantity and quality of the relationships that the student develops during the academic career. One of the items used in our survey to measure the student's integration is "*Evaluate your relations with the teachers and the academic staff*".

Table 13: The relationship between the social scholarship
and the relationship with teachers and other academic staff

Lived until 14 years old			Evaluate your relations with the teachers and the academic staff				Total
			No relations	Bad relations	Indifference	Good relations	
			% within *Social scholarship*				
Urban	Social scholarship	Yes	10.0	4.6	57.7	27.6	100.0
		No	11.9	4.8	43.6	39.7	100.0
	Total	% with *Social scholarship*	11.7	4.7	45.5	38.1	100.0
Rural	Social scholarship	Yes	13.7	3.2	58.9	24.2	100.0
		No	11.4	3.4	40.5	44.7	100.0
	Total	% with *Social scholarship*	11.9%	3.4	45.1	39.6	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

The chi-square tests show that the variables are associated, and we can observe a big difference between the students with social scholarships and those without them when analyzing the "good relations" with the teachers and the academic staff. There is no relevant variation between students

from rural or urban areas. The symmetric measures are significant with moderately higher values in the situation of the students from rural areas. These students seem to have slightly worse relationships with the teachers and the academic staff, but when characterizing the relations between students and teachers and academic staff, the common denominator seems to be a low socioeconomic status (SES: receiving social scholarship) and not the area of origin.

When analyzing the relations with other students we didn't observe any differences between the students from rural or urban areas. One of the possible explications for this situation is that the intra-institutionally the universities analyzed didn't develop a student's structures sensitive to SES. The above analysis is based on subjective variables (personal evaluation of the relationships in the university) and it is more appropriate to say that we measured students' expectations regarding these relationships to be quite different from the objective relations such as the academic participation. However, it is important to understand how the students relate subjectively towards their teachers.

Regarding the influence of low SES on the academic participation, which is a more objective measure of the relations between students and teachers, we analyzed the relationship between low SES, expressed by the variable *Social scholarship* and the participation in class during courses, seminars or other academic activities (see Table 14). The index was constructed from more items concerning the academic integration such as: how many times during an academic year did the student contribute to the discussions in classes, give a presentation, work together with other students during classes, work with fellow students on a project, share his career plans with a teacher and talk to the teachers outside classes about academic or scientific problems. We obtained an index with a minimum value of 6 and a maximum of 24 academic activities. We decided to recode the index according to four ordinal categories that represent different levels of participation in academic activities.

Table 14: The relationship between the social scholarship and the participation in classes

Country			Academic participation				Total
			under 10 participations	between 10 and 14 participations	between 15 and 19 participations	more than 19 participations	
			% within *Social scholarship*				
Romania	Social scholarship	yes	9.9	43.7	39.4	7.0	100.0
		no	8.6	51.5	33.2	6.7	100.0
	Total		8.7	51.1	33.5	6.7	100.0
Hungary	Social scholarship	yes	6.1	62.0	28.2	3.6	100.0
		no	9.5	58.4	29.7	2.4	100.0
	Total		8.5	59.5	29.3	2.8	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

What can be observed from the data is that low SES doesn't make any difference regarding the participation in class. If we analyze the relationship between the residence and the academic participation (see Table 15), we will observe a significant difference between students from rural or urban areas regarding their academic participation (Romanian data), but we cannot observe any relationship between these variables for the Hungarian part of the sample.

Table 15: The relationship between th residence and the participation

Country			Academic participation				Total
			under 10 participations	between 10 and 14 participations	between 15 and 19 participations	more than 19 participations	
			% within *Lived until 14 years old*				
Romania	Lived until 14 years old	urban	8.5	49.0	34.9	7.6	100,0
		rural	8.7	56.5	30.1	4.7	100,0
	Total		8,6	51.4	33.3	6.7	100.0
Hungary	Lived until 14 years old	urban	8.0	61.2	28.3	2.5	100,0
		rural	7.9	57.7	31.5	2.9	100,0
	Total		8,0	60.2	29.2	2.6	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

THE CULTURAL CAPITAL AND THE PRIOR ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENTS;
THE CONSEQUENCES ON THE ACADEMIC CAREERS OF STUDENTS

The cultural capital represents the students' cultural inheritance from their families and communities. This category may include variables such as the parent's education, the parenting models, the community cultures such as ethnicity and religion, variables that can influence the students' social acceptance. If the cultural level of the student is substantially different from the university culture that seeks to integrate him, we predict that this can generate a communicational conflict between the student and the institution, resulting in difficulties of integration.

We used the father's education level as an indicator towards the student's family intellectual level, grouping the variables in three categories of education: low level which represents a person that didn't finish upper secondary school; medium level which represents a person that graduated upper secondary school and some professional courses, but didn't enrol in higher education and superior level which represents the person which has a university diploma.

Table 16: The relationship between the residence and father's education

Country			Father's education			Total
			Low level	Medium level	Superior level	
			% within *Lived until 14 years old*			
Romania	Lived until 14 years old	urban	24.5	56.2	19.4	100.0
		rural	38.5	50.7	10.8	100.0
	Total		29.1	54.4	16.5	100.0
Hungary	Lived until 14 years old	urban	29.8	50.9	19.3	100.0
		rural	50.4	44.0	5.5	100.0
	Total		35.7	48.9	15.4	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

As it may be observed from Table 16, the two analyzed variables are associated. As the chi-square tests confirmed this aspect, the student's father's level of education is lower in rural areas than in urban areas. This finding is in accordance with the national data regarding Romania and possibly with those from Hungary.

While analyzing the data we found no evidence of a relationship between the father's education and prior academic achievements (upper secondary school), a surprising result. When we analyzed the relationship between the university academic performance and the student's father educational level, we learned that the performance scholarships increase with the father's educational level (Table 17).

Table 17: The relationship between the residence and the performance scholarship

Lived until 14 year old			Performance scholarship		Total
			Yes	No	
			% within *Father's education*		
Urban	Father's education	Low level	19.5	80.5	100.0
		Medium level	27.4	72.6	100.0
		Superior level	28.3	71.7	100.0
	Total		25.4	74.6	100.0
Rural	Father's education	Low level	22.7	77.3	100.0
		Medium level	25.1	74.9	100.0
		Superior level	30.6	69.4	100.0
	Total		24.5	75.5	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

We assumed that the performance obtained by students in upper secondary school is a strong predictor of the academic performance with the hypothesis that the disadvantaged students enrol at the university with weaker results.

Table 18: The relationship between the performance scholarships received
in upper secondary school and the university

Lived until 14 year old			Performance scholarship University		Total
			Yes	No	
			% within *Performance scholarship 9―12*		
Urban	Performance scholarship 9―12	Yes	36.2	63.8	100.0
		No	19.1	80.9	100.0
	Total		25.8	74.2	100.0
Rural	Performance scholarship 9―12	Yes	37.0	63.0	100.0
		No	17.4	82.6	100.0
	Total		25.1	74.9	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

As we observe from the Table 18, the two variables predicting the academic achievement during upper secondary school and university periods are associated, fact confirmed by the chi-square tests. Finally, we tested the influence of the cultural capital through the student's father educational level on the student's integration process through the evaluation of the relations with the teachers and other university staff. These variables are subjective and synthetic but we consider that the students can properly evaluate their relationships with teachers and other university staff by comparing their expectations and experiences.

We can observe from the Table 19 that there is no association between the variables when analyzing the data regarding the students from the urban areas. For the students from rural areas,

the chi-square test shows a result that confirms a relation between the two variables. The result can be explained by the presumption that, compared to the students from rural areas, the urban students' habitus is less affected by their parents' educational low level.

Table 19: The relationship between the father's education level
and the student's relations with the teachers

Lived until 14 years old			Evaluate your relations with the teachers and the academic staff				Total
			No relations	Bad relations	Indifference	Good relations	
			% within *Father's education*				
Urban	Father's education	Low level	12.8	3.4	45.1	38.7	100.0
		Medium level	10.5	5.3	47.0	37.3	100.0
		Superior level	12.3	4.6	42.6	40.5	100.0
	Total		11.5	4.6	45.6	38.3	100.0
Rural	Father's education	Low level	13.6	2.6	47.8	35.9	100.0
		Medium level	8.3	4.0	46.5	41.2	100.0
		Superior level	13.5	2.7	31.1	52.7	100.0
	Total		11.0%	3.3	45.7	40.0	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Measuring the father's education level, that can influence the academic participation (Table 20), we found a weak relationship between the two variables regarding the data received from the students coming from urban areas. For the students from rural areas we found no evidence of a relationship between the father's education and the academic participation.

As for a career projection, we discovered no evidence to support the premise that quitting academic studies is influenced by the residence. Abandoning the studies is, in Romania, more associated with a low SES expressed by a social scholarship; in Hungary we found no association between the two variables.

Table 20: The relationship between the father's education and the participation

Lived until 14 years old			Academic participation				Total
			under 10 participations	between 10 and 14 participations	between 15 and 19 participations	more than 19 participations	
			% within *Father's education*				
Urban	Father's education	Low level	5.8	59.7	31.1	3.4	100.0
		Medium level	7.5	55.8	31.3	5.4	100.0
		Superior level	12.5	48.4	32.1	7.1	100.0
	Total		8.0	55.5	31.4	5.1	100.0
Rural	Father's education	Low level	8.8	58.0	30.0	3.2	100.0
		Medium level	7.3	57.7	29.7	5.2	100.0
		Superior level	11.3	46.8	40.3	1.6	100.0
	Total		8.3	56.9	30.7	4.0	100.0

Source: HERD database 2012

Conclusions

We concluded, based on the research, that the students from the rural areas are still underrepresented in the higher education system in both countries, although female students are better represented.

The students from the rural areas are poorer than their colleagues from the urban areas, this being underlined by the fact that more of them receive social scholarships. Working during the academic year is common, especially in Romania, but is not differentiated by the student's residence. We noticed a large number of students, in Romania, coming from rural areas and who privately finance their university studies. This can be explained, in part, by the poorer prior academic results which didn't allow them occupy the publicly funded places.

Students with low SES, and who receive social scholarships tend to evaluate their relationships with the academic staff as less favourable then the students who do not receive social benefits. We did not notice a relationship between the low SES and the participation in class, during courses and seminaries. Also, a low SES has little influence on participation measured by objective means.

The cultural capital measured by the level of the student's father's education is associated with the residence; the level of education is lower in the case of the students from rural areas. The performance related scholarships, as an indicator for academic achievements, are increasing in relation with the student's father's level of education. The cultural capital, expressed by the student's father's level of education, is not associated with the evaluation made by students in their relations with academic staff; we found a weak relationship between the cultural capital and the academic participation expressed by objective achievements and situations in the case of the students coming from urban areas, but we did not observe the same situation in the case of the students from rural areas.

Prior academic achievements, as performance scholarships received during upper secondary school, are associated with performance-related scholarships received in university.

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Judit Csoba:

"Working and Studying"

On the Work Experience of Students Participating in Adult Education

"Society develops in a direction where young people are expected to come of age as soon as possible and participate in consumption, but find their place in the world of labour as late as possible." (Gábor 2004, p. 61)

The expansion of education has become a general phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe since the mid-1990s. A growing proportion of the population participates in different forms of education and the number of people entering higher education is growing as well. Whereas, in this region the rate participation in higher education had been between 15 and 20% in the 90s, nowadays this proportion is approaching 50% (KSH 2009, OECD 2011). As a consequence of the growth of the participation rate in higher education of the population within the age group of 18 to 25, which was in turn due to the employment crisis that deepened in the 90s, people have begun to enter the labour market at an older age.

Up until the 1960s, the life cycle of youth was considered to be a stage of life that lead up to employment and work (Schelsky 1957). Young people traversed this short stage of life relatively soon, most of them having entered the world of labour becoming producers at the age of 14. With the development of the economy and the employment crises of the post-industrial age, the consumer function became the characteristic of young people aged between 25 and 30, instead of the less and less accessible productive function. Today, an extensive section of the economy – ranging from information technology through chemical industry (which manufactures cosmetics) to light industry (which produces clothing articles according to the latest fashion) – concentrates on young people who do not have their own income but have proved to be very good consumers. "The model of the factory is now being replaced by the model of the supermarket." (Gábor 2009, p. 67) In terms of the social division of labour, an increasingly smaller proportion of the generation belonging to the age group of 15–25 plays the part of the producer, whereas more and more of them expect their environment to ensure their income so they can act as consumers. Besides students – who constitute the biggest part of this generation – the proportion of the unemployed under the age of 24 has also increased significantly in the past few years. However, after a certain age, the dependant status of young people lays an unreasonably heavy burden upon both the parents and the society.

Chart 1: Development of the unemployment rates by labour market sub-group
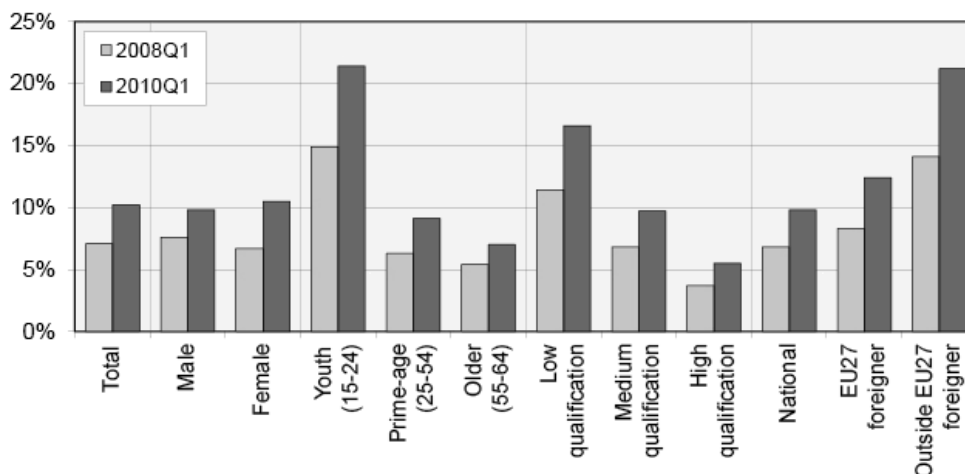
Source: European Labour Force Survey, online database (Eurostat 2010)

In the past decades, as the economic crisis gradually deepened, several questions have arisen in both professional and public policy contexts in connection with this significantly extended and study/consumption-focused life cycle. When do these young people gain work experience? When does working become a skill for them? When do they start producing value so that they can contribute to financing their consumption? Do these young people in their twenties work at all, or are they just waiting for their adult life to start (which they will find to be increasingly hard to integrate into because of their lack of adequate experience, skills and connections)? Moreover, integrating this generation into the world of labour is a fundamental issue with respect to the society's ability to sustain itself. In Hungary, for example, the part of the population aged 15 to 29 numbered 1 million 880 thousand (1,880,000) in 2010. This group constituted 27.8% of the population aged 15–64 that represented the potential labour force supply (KSH 2011 p. 2).

The generation's entry into the world of labour is hindered, in addition to the economic and employment difficulties, or exactly as a result of these, by a phenomenon known as quarterlife crisis, which was first described by Alexandra Robbins & Abby Wilner in their 2001 book *Quarterlife Crisis: The Unique Challenges of Life in Your Twenties.* According to the authors, this phenomenon can mainly be observed among university/college students. After the time they had spent at university or college, which had been characterised by relatively few constraints, career-starters in their late twenties to early thirties have difficulties adapting to the strict rules of a workplace and become distressed due to performance expectations as well as to the abundance of opportunities and all the doubts deriving from them. The first-generation of young intellectuals are especially considered to be at risk, since they do not have anyone who could provide them with a model and help their progress through their connections. Typical symptoms of this crisis are procrastination, aimlessness, drawing out higher educational studies for as long as possible, and shying away from work (Robbins & Wilner 2001).

In spite of what we have outlined above, the labour market position of degree holders compared to the non-graduate job seekers is relatively favourable. However, with the unemployment, continuously rising[1] among graduates, the widely held view that young people with a degree can easily find employment is not accurate anymore.

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1   According to the 2011 data of the Hungarian Statistical Office (KSH), the rate of graduates among the unemployed reached 4%.

The reason for this is that since more than 40 % of those in their late twenties hold a higher-education degree, then the work experience gained and the employee and the practical skills acquired during one's studies play an important role in the competition for the entry into the labor market. For this generation, a degree is a necessary but not a sufficient requirement to enter the labour market. When competitive interviews for a job opening are carried out, the employers always ask about additional activities and jobs the candidates engaged in during their studies. The lifecycle model that was developed based on traditional analyses of mobility – according to which the cycle of employment begins after the cycle of training ends – is not valid anymore under these changed circumstances, and it is not a profitable strategy for young people participating in higher education. The basis of successful labour market integration is a new model which emphasises working while studying.

The gradual transition theory

Research on transitions between stages of life – especially the study of regularities characterising the transition from youth to adulthood – has again become the focus of research in youth sociology since the mid-90s[2]. The researchers' interest can be explained by the fact that young people's life experiences and future perspectives have become more and more complex by the end of the 20th century, and therefore the boundaries between the life cycles are not as clear-cut as they used to be around the middle of the last century. "Instead of taking a series of plan able steps, writes Kálmán Gábor, when they enter the world of labour, after having completed their education or when they leave the family they were born in and start their own family, young people today spend more time in an extended stage of youth, where they do not have a job but are not entirely out of work either. The short period of courtship and education before *settling* in a family and finding a job, respectively, has been replaced by an extended period, which includes education, training, the world of part-time and casual jobs and movement between different households and connections. These steps are always reversible, and the final goal is not really clear either." (Gábor 2009, p. 67)

The divide that had characterised the transition from childhood to adulthood and from school education to the workplace belongs to the past; today the world of labour is also characterised by gradual transitions and a gradual accumulation of experience. Ulrich Beck was the first to draw attention to this phenomenon in his book *Risikogesellschaft,* where he demonstrated the transformation of biography patterns. According to Beck's definition, there are 'normal' and 'choice' biography approaches (1986, p. 217). The essence of the concept of a *'normal' biography* is that the transition to adulthood is typically an institutionalized transition consisting of subsequent predetermined phases, whereas in the case of a *'choice'* biography there are no clear stages; instead the latter is characterized by choices and parallelisms, and the individual's decisions and responsibility are crucial.

Beck's theory was further developed by Du Bois-Reymond, when, analysing the results of her research which had been carried out at the end of the 90s, she pointed out that these biography models can be linked to the social status. In her view, the *'choice'* model is a typical feature of the upper class and mainly men, whereas the transition from youth to adulthood among young people from the lower middle class and the working class usually follows the 'normal' biography model. According to her, this duality is determined by "the typical paradox of modern life: Although (western) societies provide more options to choose from, modern (young) people are forced to reflect on the available options and justify their decisions. They might also get frustrated

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2   This research includes, among others, Zinnecker's 1992 study about the transition to a new age of civilization and about the situation of young people in this context; Chisholm's research (1997) on young people in Great Britain, or Wyn and Dwyer's (1998) five-stage typology of life-patterns; finally, among Hungarian researchers, we have to mention Kálmán Gábor's theoretical and empirical studies (1992, 2006, 2009, 2012).

because they realize that there are many options available; perhaps they do not feel ready to make a good choice, or perhaps they would like to make a choice but are prevented from doing so." (Du Bois-Reymond 1998, p. 282) This is the reason why the lower social classes adhere to the 'normal' biography model, whereas the members of the higher social groups can take advantage of the benefits of the *'choice'* model.

In line with the above, our research examined, on the one hand, which model the students participating in higher education today follow as a rule. How typical is a gradual transition into the world of labour, a parallel co-existence between work and study, and the presence of the *'choice' model*? If this model is present, can the social differences posited by Du Bois-Reymond with regard to the choice of the models be confirmed? What is it that determines whether a student is working or not during their studies: does the student's double identity (student and worker) develop due to economic pressures, i.e. because they are forced to earn their living, or are we dealing with a *'choice'* biography linked to the lifestyle of the higher social classes, as it was formulated by Du Bois-Reymond; or in other words, is working while studying part of a conscious career plan?

In analysing students' work experience, we were also interested in whether there were differences between the students of individual countries involved in the research with respect to the manner they gain work experience.

The analysis is based on the database of the HERD 2012 research project of the Center for Higher Educational Research and Development (CHERD) at the University of Debrecen, as part of which 2728 students of higher educational institutions in three countries (Romania, Hungary and Ukraine) participated in a questionnaire survey in 2012.

Students' work experience

When we tried to identify the biography models defined by Beck, we considered young people's employment and work experience at a relatively early stage of their life as particularly important among the structural factors that have an effect on these types. In the course of our research, we analysed, as a first step, what proportion of the participating students possessed work experience, what kind of experience it was, and when they had acquired it. We assumed that work experience significantly determines the success of job-seeking, it has a positive impact on employability, improves the ability and skill to work, and provides opportunities to realize the full potential of the *'choice'* biography model.

"In Denmark, Australia, the United Kingdom, Canada and the USA, 30 to 40% of teenage students today are working while studying. This intention is less observable among teenagers in Austria, the Czech Republic, Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Spain and Germany." (Mihály 2009, p.10) In Hungary, according to the 2006 labour force survey data, 4% of the population aged 15 to 24 worked during their studies, most of them on seasonal jobs during school holidays (OECD 2008).

There are some European countries where the habit of young people taking up employment during their studies is more popular already in their teenage years. Fehér (2009) distinguishes two types of teenage employment. She counts Austria, Germany and Switzerland in the first type, where the frequency of employment lies in the peculiarities of the educational systems. In these countries, says the author, a practice (internship) period is included in the later years of secondary professional education. Thus, students' entry into employment happens almost automatically. At the same time, open labour market employment of teenagers is not typical. In the other type of countries, open labour market employment is high among students. Students mainly take part-time jobs (e.g. Netherlands, Denmark), where *working represents a supplementary income and is not connected to the line of profession being acquired by the student.*

According to the data of the HERD research project with regard to teenage employment, the countries we have examined are closer to the second model (at least based on the responses given by the interviewed students in the Hungarian and Romanian institutions of higher education located in regions close to the border between the two countries). Out of the 2728 students questioned as part of the project, 1289 (47.3%) worked during school holidays while they were in secondary school[3], 1094 (40.1%) worked on the family farm, and 484 of them (17.15%) earned income during the school term.[4] We found 109 students among them who stopped working later on, during their university years. Only 746 respondents (26.3%) stated that they had not worked at all during their secondary school education (See *Table 1*). The largest proportion of secondary school students worked during school holidays; compared to them, the number and proportion of workers had scarcely grown by the time they had become university students (plus 101 persons, 7.3%). The family farms represented the second largest area where regular work was carried out, predominantly by secondary school students living in villages. 33.1% of the secondary school students living in villages work regularly on their family farm while 25% of them work only occasionally. As opposed to this, barely 12.9% of the secondary school students living in the capital work regularly and 25.8% work occasionally on the family farm. Secondary-school students living in the capital stand out in respect to seasonal work carried out during holidays (54.8%). At the same time, only one-third of secondary school students living in cities, small towns and villages have holiday jobs (county boroughs 32.2%, cities 35%, and villages 30.5%). It seems that the divide between the capital and the rest of the country with respect to the labour market already strongly limits the employment opportunities of young people while they are still in secondary school.

Among those who work we find students attending Ukrainian institutions and working on the family farms or taking part in voluntary activities during their secondary school years in a bigger proportion than Hungarian students, who prefer paid holiday jobs. In this respect, they are ahead of the two other countries' students, but they fall behind their neighbours with regard to all other forms of work.

Teenagers' work was only significantly less frequent than university/college students' work in the case of work carried out during the school terms. For example, there are 217 students (8%) in the sample who had worked regularly during secondary school but did not participate anymore in any work activities during their university years; and there also are 52 people who had worked regularly during secondary school, but only occasionally after they had become university students[5].

Summarizing the data, we can state that working while studying plays an important role already during secondary school. Almost three-quarters of the secondary school age group[6] have acquired work experience, though they gain most of this experience on the family farm; usually, they only are present in the market of income-earning activities during the school holidays. Whether a student is involved in the working activity the nature of the work being carried out is substantially influenced by the country and the type of municipality the respondent lives in during his or her secondary school years.

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3   As part of the questionnaire survey the responding students talked retrospectively about their secondary school years as well. The study data regarding secondary school students that we present are based on the processing of the relevant questions of the questionnaire. With regard to the interpretation of the data related to secondary school students, it is advisable to keep in mind that it is not the whole secondary school population that is being characterised, but only a specific segment of it, whose members all continued their studies at universities/ colleges after having left secondary school. Nevertheless, we believe that comparing the two age groups is worthwhile and the results are remarkable.

4   Since the respondents were allowed to choose several answers, there were some students who participated in two or even three forms of work. Here we wanted to show the frequency of each form individually.

5   As the sample includes both university and college students, the correct phrasing would always be ,university and college students'. Regardless, for the sake of brevity, they will be referred to as university students or just students.

6   In this case, the surveyed university students during their secondary school years.

Summarizing the results with regard to the models under examination, we find that the *'choice'* biography model defined by Beck is less present during secondary school, since work activities carried out specifically in parallel to studying during the school term are typical of just 22.4% of the young people. The 'normal' cyclical model is much more strongly represented. The latter draws up a cyclical career path, with alternating cycles of studying, working, and studying again, for young people even when they are already on the verge of adulthood, or when they would already be acting as producers had they lived in a traditional society. The group of students belonging to the Ukrainian sub-sample is exceptional in this respect: they work on the family farm continuously, but this labour is part of the informal economy, the young people do not carry out this work as a way to earn income directly, and in most cases this activity is not related to their later profession. Calculated with logistical regression, the odds ratio of a Hungarian student having worked on the family farm during their secondary school years is 0.195 compared to the earlier (secondary school) work activity of a Ukrainian student, while this value in the case of a Romanian student is 0.517.[7] Thus, regarding the Hungarian economy (at least in the catchment area of the observed institutions of higher education), it is significantly less probable, compared to the neighbouring countries, for a young person to gain work experience on the family farm before their university/college years. They are much more dependent on the opportunities in the open labour market to gain experience; if the latter is shrinking, their range of opportunities becomes inadequate.

Table 1: Work experience during the university/college years

	Romania		Hungary		Ukraine	
	during secondary school	during the university/ college years	during secondary school	during the university/ college years	during secondary school	during the university/ college years
The proportion of working students (%)						
Worked during holidays	48.9	55.5	53.2	657.2	35.5	55.7
Had a paid job during school term	22.4	43.6	17.5	38.7	10.3	26.7
Worked on the family farm	54.0	56.0	30.7	29.9	69.4	66.0
Participated in unpaid, voluntary work	27.0	32.6	15.7	20.4	32.7	36.2

Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2728

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7   In our logit model, the dependent variable was working on the family farm, whereas the explanatory variable involved was the country in which the institution in question is located (from among the three countries examined in the Partium region). The base of comparison was represented by the participation of those students, who attended a Ukrainian institution, in the working activity on the family farm. Thus, we calculated the odds in relation to them.

The Proportion of people with work experience

Chisholm already indicated in 1997 that according to his observations, combining studying with working is more and more common in Europe (Chisholm 1997, p. 14).

In his papers that were written in the late 90s, Kálmán Gábor pointed out that a new age was beginning for the youth and discussed its effect in respect to young people's employment. In his studies on the Pepsi Sziget music festival, he showed that a great proportion of young people took up work before having finished their studies (Gábor 2004, p. 62).

A paper analysing the Canadian/Australian survey published by Wyn & Dwyer in 1998 stated that at least half of the students who were questioned in the survey were studying and working at the same time, and only 20% of the Australian respondents had replied that they had never studied and worked simultaneously (Wyn & Dwyer 2006, p. 252–253).

The results of the first phase (carried out in 2000) of the Youth (Ifjúság) survey that is repeated every four years in Hungary, also include specific data about the rate of students' participation in work. "23.5% of the students work full-time. Every second student enrolled in part-time and distance learning courses works full-time, while every third student of evening school classes does so. 8.9% of the first-year students work part-time. This employment form can also be found among full-time students quite frequently, at 5.4%" (Gábor 2009, p. 78).

In their analysis of the data of the 2004 Ifjúság survey, Bauer & Szabó conclude that "due to the duration of education becoming longer, as many as 12% of people between 25 and 29 are still in the educational system, two-thirds of whom earn income in addition to studying. 39% of young people between 15 and 29 are employed and 5% work and study at the same time." (Bauer & Szabó 2005, p. 25) According to them, however, in the case of the 20–24 age group this duality (working and studying) is a feature of barely 10% of the students in higher education.

In her study on tracking the careers of the graduates who had completed their studies in 2007, Veroszta concluded that 40.8% of the students already had a job at the time when they received their degree. In her opinion this is due to the fact that there are a lot of students who study part-time or attend evening classes while working. The proportion of the students enrolled in part-time and distance learning programmes, and who work exceeds 80%. If, however, we only examine the full-time students, only 16.4% of them had already been employed at the time of their 2007 graduation, says the author (Veroszta 2010, p. 19–20).

In spite of the above, the Ifjúság 2008 research data indicate that the rate of young people who take up a job during their studies is still low. "11% of the respondents work/worked regularly while still at school, whereas 21% of them work/worked occasionally." (Bauer & Szabó 2009, p. 42) The authors' interpretation of this trend is that "whereas in 2004 we described the joint appearance of working and studying as atypical, this form has become 'common' by 2008." (Bauer & Szabó 2009 p. 43)

According to the newest survey of the KSH, for example, "20.9%, i.e. 189.000 respondents out of the 907.000 students aged between 15 and 29 studying in full time education stated that they had worked sometime during the last year in addition to their studies. Their majority (87.1%) belonged to the 15 - 24 agegroup." (KSH 2011 p. 20-21)

Compared to the data above, our own HERD survey had a much higher value. 76.6% (2091) of the students questioned mentioned that they had already worked during their university/college years, i.e. they had some work experience. The obvious contradiction between the orders of magnitude of the figures on young people working can be resolved, on the one hand, by stating exactly the kind of work that is being discussed in the individual studies.

Based on her studies that had been carried out in the United Kingdom, Canny called attention to the fact that we have to distinguish between the work experience that is gained while earning income and that which is acquired during activities where students combine working with studying. The first group benefits from work as well, says the author, but those combining the two approaches progress more quickly (Canny 2002). Accordingly, she defines the notion of work according to these two

dimensions: earning money and acquiring experience. We started off on this path too, but our notion of work aims to reveal further details. On the one hand, we divided up the types of income-earning activity into two forms of work that occur among students most frequently: working while studying during the school term on the one hand, and the holiday jobs that are taken up on the formal labour market for a salary, on the other hand. In addition to these two types, in order to be able to explore a students' work experience as fully as possible, we also examined the work experience gained as a consequence of activities on the non-formal market (which is not carried out primarily in order to earn income, or this aspect of these activities is at least only present indirectly). We examined this activity through the work performed on the family farm and voluntary jobs. Among other reasons, we want to emphasize the significance of such activities because informal contexts will grow in importance regarding to way the work experience is gained, as the market of paid work continues to shrink and less formal income-earning activities to choose from.

Of course, there are many other combinations of students' work activities, but we tried to concentrate on the most common forms and keep in mind the criterion of measurability. In accordance with all of the above considerations, our analysis measured the work experience in four dimensions:

1. income-earning activity during holidays
2. income-earning activity during the school term
3. work on the family farm
4. unpaid voluntary work

As the previously mentioned, studies highlighted the income-earning elements of students' work activities. First, we examine the proportion of students participating in each form of work for the sake of comparability.

Table 2: Did the university/college students
that participated in the survey work during their studies? (%)

%	During secondary school						During university/college years					
	never		occasionally		regularly		never		occasionally		regularly	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
Worked during holidays	40.5	54.6	36.2	29.6	23.3	15.8	36.1	48.5	33.8	27.7	30.1	23.8
Had a paid job during school term	74.2	83.8	17.4	11.5	8.4	4.7	55.2	61.6	27.5	21.8	17.3	16.7
Worked on the family farm	48.8	60.5	24.8	19.7	25.4	19.9	48.7	59.9	28.5	20.4	22.9	19.7
Participated in unpaid, voluntary work	78.7	77.6	16.3	15.2	5.0	7.2	75.5	71.3	16.6	17.2	7.9	11.5

Source: HERD database 2012, Count=27288

We used the questionnaire in order to collect information about work activities, not just at the time of the questioning but rather throughout the whole life of the respondent up to the time of the survey. Obviously, this methodological difference represents a further obstacle to the direct comparison of the databases. Nonetheless, it is advisable to start with examining the proportion of the students participating in the formal work forms with the purpose to earn an income on the one hand, and in the less formal work forms that do not have this aim directly, on the other hand. While in school, 60.8% of the students had participated in work activities during holidays or during the

school term, whereas 58.3% performed informal work. As few as 24.4% of the respondents said that they did not participate in any kind of work activity during their university years.

Since we were examining whether the respondents possessed any work experience and how they participated in work activities, the data did not reveal much about the intensity of the work performed, but nevertheless they were sufficient to question the dominance of the *'normal'* biography model. Studying is not a closed stage of life which is immediately followed by life with a capital *'L'*. Students try to be present in various roles in *'Life'*, i.e. in the world of labour already during their school years.

Who works and why?

According to the results of our research, the odds of boys working on the family farm during secondary school is 1.6 times bigger than that of girls, the odds of boys taking on holiday jobs 1.766 times bigger than that of girls, and the odds of boys working during the school term 1.8 times bigget than that of girls. At the same time, the boys participate significantly less frequently in voluntary, unpaid activities than the girls. The odds ratio of boys performing this type of activity is 0.835 smaller compared to girls.[8] The traditional set of roles marks out girls' and boys' duties in the world of labour already in secondary school. A bigger proportion of girls perform voluntary work, and a bigger proportion of boys engage in income-earning activities.

7.2% of the girls and 5% of the boys perform unpaid, voluntary work. This difference between female and male students persists during the university years as well (female 11.5%, male 7.9%). Although the rate of participation in voluntary work during university years is slightly higher in the case of both sexes, the degree of this increase is smaller in the case of boys than for girls. The odds ratio of boys carrying out voluntary work drops from 0.853 during secondary school to 0.631 compared to girls.

Boys are typically more active in all types of paid activity, but the difference between girls and boys regarding the degree of participation in work decreases by the time of the university years, as opposed to what we experienced in the area of voluntary work.

Whereas, during secondary school, 25.4% of the boys work regularly on the family farm (and only 19.9% of the girls do so), during their university years only 22.9% of male students participate in family farm work, whereas the same value for girls is 19.7%, which is barely less than their secondary school rate.[9] The odds ratio of engaging in working activites on the family farm is slightly higher compared to that during secondary school and to girls (secondary school 1.602, university 1.649). Thus, male students are still more likely to work on the family farm during their university years than the female students.

A considerably more pronounced trend of homogenisation may be observed between the two sexes, with respect to the paid work performed during the academic year. While boys in secondary school undertake regular work twice as frequently during the school term (boys 8.4%, girls 4.7%), at the university 17.3% of the male and 16.7% of the female students participate regularly in income-earning activities during the academic year (The boys' odds ratio of 1.8 falls to 1.075 during the university years).

If we compare the work performed during the holidays while at secondary school and while at the university, respectively, the distance between the two sexes decreases to a somewhat smaller degree.

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8 In our logit model, the dependent variable was the degree of participation in the individual work types (work activities during holidays, during the school term, on the family farm and voluntary work). The explanatory variable was the respondents' sex and the point of comparison was the girls' participation in each form of work.

9 Another factor that contributes to the decrease in the rates is that a significant number of young people move to the city where the university/college is located after being admitted into an institution of higher education – at least temporarily. The resulting geographical distance limits young people's participation in their family's farming.

23.3% of boys and 15.8% of girls perform some income-earning activity during holidays while in secondary school. The proportion of boys working during holidays rises to 30.1% when they enrol at the university, and though the proportion of the girls working rises as well, only 23.8% undertake holiday work (Boys' odds ratio of 1.766 in secondary school drops to 1.584 at university.).

We assume that the fact of nearly the same proportion of both sexes working during the school term on the family farm is related to the compulsory nature of this activity, which cancels the gender roles defined by society. This is not the case with holiday and voluntary work, where the social expectations towards the sexes (boys have to work and earn money, girls have to help others) are present more strongly. The difference in respect to the status between the sexes is tangible in other contexts as well. For example, 15.9% of the boys but 12.7% of the girls did not continue their studies in an institution of higher education immediately after the secondary school. Boys follow more liberal paths in the institutional system, as well as regarding employment, than women who are bound by the traditional constraints more strongly. This entails both advantages and disadvantages.

We also experience a generational shift in young people's relation to work. During the university years, a bigger proportion of people who graduate at an older age work regularly during holidays and the academic year, whereas younger people participate in voluntary work and family farming to a greater extent.[10] Presumably, this model change is due to the economic crisis, which has had an increasingly powerful effect since 2008 and has resulted in growing financial pressures.

Table 3: Participation of each generation in work (%)

What kind of work activity did you participate in?	Up to 21 years old (Count=1099)	22 years old or above (Count=1520)
worked regularly during holidays while in secondary school	16.3	20.2
worked regularly during holidays while at the university	17.2	32.1
worked regularly during the school term while in secondary school	4.6	7.2
worked regularly during the academic year while at the university	8.9	22.6
worked regularly on the family farm while in secondary school	23.6	20.4
worked regularly on the family farm while at the university	21.5	20.3
never participated in voluntary work while in secondary school	73.2	81.6
participated regularly in voluntary work while in secondary school	7.6	5.4

Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2728

Whereas 20.2% of people over 22 responded, in the survey, that they had worked regularly during holidays while in secondary school, a proportion of only 16.3% of the age group under 21 had a summer job regularly. 8.9% of the younger and 22.6% of the older university students had a paid job during the academic year.

17.2% of the younger and 32.1% of the older students participated during summer in work related activities while at university; whereas the proportion of people who worked regularly during the school term, while in secondary school, a generation older than 22, is 7.2%; only 4.6% of the people under 21 undertook work. The proportion of the respondents who worked

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10 One reason why it is important to draw attention to this result is that the students taking part in the survey predominantly study in full-time courses, and therefore the place where they come from and the school are a significant distance apart.

occasionally was nearly identical between the two groups (13.0% under 21, 13.9% above 22). However, at the same time, a slightly larger proportion of the younger group took part regularly in work related activities on the family farm (23.6% and 20.4%) and voluntary work. 19.2% of the younger students perform voluntary work occasionally, while only 12.9% of the older generation participate to it. While 81.6% of the older generation has never worked as a volunteer, this is true for only 73.2% of the younger generation. 7.6% of the younger students volunteer regularly, whereas this proportion is only 5.4% in the case of the older generation.

This indicates that the model of participation in working activity is currently undergoing a change: the younger generation takes part in the informal economy to a greater extent, whereas the older generation does so in the formal economy. As a consequence of the economic crisis, the younger a generation is, the less room is left for it in the formal economy. However, the issue in this respect is that a significant part of this generation does not have the opportunity (since the family farms are losing ground and undergoing a crisis), the network of connections or the motivation to participate in the informal economy (This might also be a sign of the failure of the overly supportive family model advocating that the child's duty is to study, which was typical of ambitious segments of the lower-middle class). The younger generation becomes more and more passive, mainly due to the constraints, in respect to acquiring work experience, while being constrained to acquire the skills to earn income independently and to use them early to a greater extent because of the financial situation (e.g. 9.1%, 90 people, of the younger generation, receive a scholarship on social grounds, while this rate is only 6.6% or 44 people for the older generation.). The model of how work experience is acquired already starts to change, as we have seen, during secondary school and this change is further amplified during university.

The place of residence also influences how young people tend to engage in work. The more the level of urbanization increases, the more young people leave the family farms. 33.1% of those young people whose permanent place of residence is a village worked regularly on the family farm during secondary school and 30.7% during university, while 25% (secondary school) and 27.5% (university) worked there occasionally. Young people living in the capital, where the rate of unemployment is also significantly lower, whereas the choice of available jobs is broader and there are more student employment offices, i.e. employment opportunities are considerably better, worked on the family farm less frequently, a mere 12.9% did so during secondary school and 11.55% during university. Families that own businesses in the capital do not involve their young family members in acquiring experience on the job like families in villages do.

The necessity of working during the school term and on the family farm is also due to the family background. Those who work in their family considered their families, both during their secondary school and their university years, to be in a better financial situation than their acquaintances and friends. Secondary, school students working regularly on the family farm rated their families' financial situation at 5.7 on a scale from one to ten[11] on average. The students working occasionally rated it 5.54, while those who left the family farm rated their family's status 5.6 on average. The values were almost identical for university students working in their family. In this group, people performing occasional work again evaluated their families to be less wealthy than those who worked regularly. However, it seems that the family expects the students to help out in exchange for a better financial situation, and involve the young family member in the joint production of value to a greater extent. Thus, in this case it is not primarily financial pressure that forces young people to work but rather the family bonds or the family model. These bonds are still more powerful in villages even among the generation of the university students, than in the case of the families living in towns.

Out of the students working during the school term, those who estimated their income to be the lowest engaged in occasional work both in their secondary school and university years. Those who had never worked before and those who had worked regularly reported their financial situation to be nearly identical, whereas those who worked occasionally consistently reported

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11   The value 10 represented the best financial situation, whereas 1 stood for the least favourable one.

their financial state to be less favourable. Compared to friends and acquaintances, people working during secondary school estimated an average value of 5.54 regarding their family's financial state, while those who worked occasionally during their university years rated it 5.51.[12] At the same time, we see an average value above 5.6 for both age groups, among those people who had never worked and those who had done so regularly. In other words, we experience a duality with respect to the income situation and the work activities, which takes the form of an inverted bell (parabola). People who are most in need participate in work related activities only occasionally, they do not consider continuous work to be their task and they undertake a job occasionally only because they are forced to earn their living. In line with Du Bois-Reymond's, these are mostly first-generation intellectuals who have come to the university to study, not to work. Typically, they consider the value of work during the academic studies low. They see studying as an "accumulation of capital" that is necessary for them to rise up from the lower-middle class, and accordingly, they only invest a minimum amount of energy into working while studying, and only when they are forced to do so because of financial difficulties. Since they struggle with a shortage of capital, compared to the children of the higher middle class (in terms of knowledge, connections and financial means as well), they cannot choose the same model as the latter. On the one hand, they cannot afford to exclude working completely and not to participate in it ever, in any way, but to rely on their own or their family's capital. On the other hand, the skills and knowledge they had brought with them from their earlier studies do not allow them to choose the other possible path, of which Ruhm proved in his 1997 research that, assuming a stable background, a moderate amount of time spent working does not exert negative effects on educational attainment. In other words, from the perspective of career-building it makes sense to gain as much work experience and "collect as many references" during the academic studies as possible (Ruhm 1997). Students coming from the lower middle class find less time to study if they undertake too much work and, as a consequence, their original goal is jeopardised, which is to improve their social status through earning a degree.

This duality proves that there is an element of necessity in the model. The financial situation of those students who had never worked and of those who had worked regularly is similar: they are the ones who can afford both to acquire a large amount of experience and to choose not to work if they decide to do so. This is how the *'choice'* biography model, defined by Beck (1986), takes shape in their case. This dual or 'mixed' society can also be characterised well in terms of the value of labour: the characteristic model of the middle and lower middle class, which follows the 'normal' biography model, does not allow the students to work, or only occasionally, whereas the more wealthy upper class, which adheres to the *'choice'* biography model, can choose their own strategies, acquire work experience by taking advantage of the benefits of their social status, and thus consciously realize their career plans.

19.8% of those students that had worked regularly during the school term while at secondary school did not continue their tertiary studies immediately after having completed secondary school. We assume that they were unable to enter higher education directly due to their family's financial situation. By contrast, only 12.5% of those who had not worked started university at a later date. There is also a significant difference with respect to the academic progress between those who had worked during the holiday while at secondary school, compared to those who had not. 16.4% of the students who had worked during holidays did not carry on with their studies at once. Only 11.3% of those who had not worked enrolled into an institution of higher education later. The proportion of those students, who had a paid job while studying at university, was highest among those students who had to pay a tuition fee for their university studies. It is important for these students to earn their own income in order to be able to cover the tuition fee.[13]

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12   The questionnaire inquired only about the current financial circumstances. Therefore, we examined whether there is a difference between how respondents who had worked during secondary school and during university judged their *current* financial situation!

According to the data, the social status, which has an effect on the model choice of the students, changes only moderately over the years, and the change rarely points in a favourable direction in the current economic context. 71.9% of the secondary school students who did not work during the school term did not work during university either and only 28.1% of them participated in occasional work activities. Only 14.1% of those secondary school students who had worked during the school term could afford not to work during university, whereas 85.9% continued to participate in income-earning activities while studying at the university.

Chart 2: As compared to friends and acquaintances,
how would you rate your family's current financial situation?*

regular, secondary sch.	regular, university
occasional, secondary sch.	occasional, university
never, secondary sch.	never, university
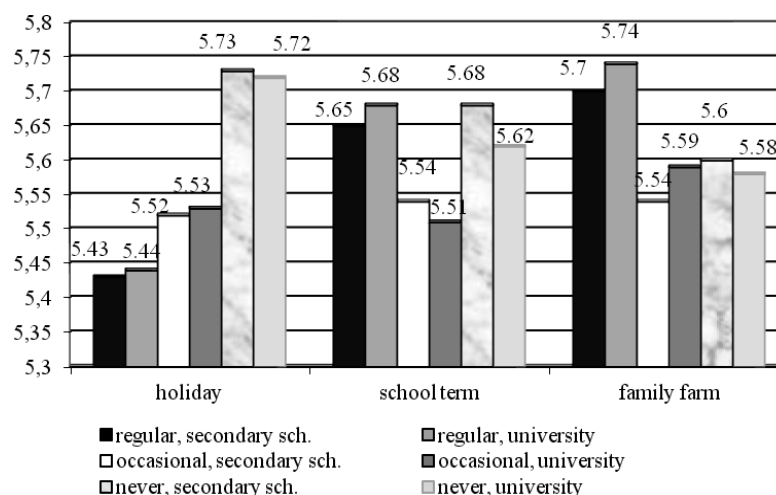
* average values on a scale of one to ten
Source: HERD database 201, Count=2728

STUDENTS' WORK EXPERIENCE IN THE COUNTRIES UNDER EXAMINATION

Students' work experience differs significantly between the countries. The biggest difference can be observed in the case of the working on the family farm. Whereas in Ukraine the majority of the students participating in the survey had been working since secondary school (66% during secondary school, 69.4% at university), this is true for barely one third of the young people in Hungary (secondary school 29.95%, university 30.7%).

The odds of a Hungarian university student working on the family farm as compared to a Ukrainian university student is 0.219, whereas the corresponding figure is 0.653 in the case of a Romanian university student compared to a Ukrainian. The proportion of students who work during the school term is highest among the Romanian young people (22.4% during secondary school, 43.6% at the university), whereas this is least common among the Ukrainians. The odds ratio of a Romanian university student working during the academic year is 2.129 compared to a Ukrainian, whereas this figure is 1.739 in the case of a Hungarian student.[14]

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13 This correlation raises the question whether the fact that the state is reducing its funding of higher education – as is apparent today – will entail an increase in the proportion of students who enter the open labour market to earn their living.

14 In our logit model, the dependent variable was the degree of participation in the individual work types (work activities during holidays, during the school term, on the family farm and voluntary work). The explanatory variable used in our analysis was again the country in which the institution in question is located (from among the three countries examined in the Partium region). The base of comparison was rerpesented by those students' participation, in different forms of work, who attended a Ukrainian institution. We calculated the odds in relation to them.

The smallest difference between the countries is observable with regard to the work performed during holidays. With the exception of the Ukrainian secondary school students, almost half of the young people have an income during the holidays. Romanian and Hungarian students are more likely to find a holiday job than Ukrainians. The odds ratio of Romanian students participating in income earning activities during holidays is 1.796 compared to Ukrainian students, whereas that of Hungarian students doing so is 1.928.

Chart 3: The proportion of students who had acquired work experience in the examined institutions of higher education in Hungary, Romania and Ukraine in the border region (%)
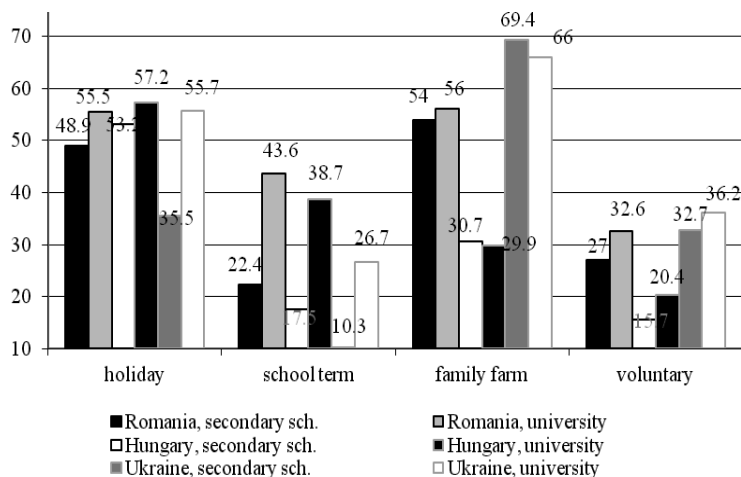
Source: HERD database 2012, N =2728

With respect to acquiring work experience, two models which can be easily distinguished emerge: the formal market economy model and the informal acquisition of experience model, which is embedded in non-formal structures.

The characteristic features of the formal market economy model include finding employment on the open labour market (even if merely in an atypical form[15]), earning wages and establishing a legal employment status.

What is typical of the informal acquisition of experience model is that no employment relation is created for the time period during which the work is performed, earning wages is not the primary motivation for working, and the compensation for the work that is carried out is embedded in the structures of the student's environment.

Ukrainian young people gain their experience in the informal economy (family farm providing no tangible income, and voluntary tasks), whereas young Romanians and Hungarians try to integrate into segments of the formal economy (income-earning activity during holiday and during the academic year as well.)

The validity of the model is supported by the fact that while 66.9% of the Romanian students claimed that their work during the university was related to their learned profession, only 23.7% of the Hungarian and 13.5% of the Ukrainian students stated the same. The majority's work is not at all or mostly not connected to the profession they are learning.

Various factors underlie the emergence of these two types: on the one hand, the typical

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15   The employment relations established in this way are mainly realized in the forms of seasonal or part-time employment, contract work, a scholarship or internship/traineeship.

macroeconomic processes of the countries[16], and on the other hand, the traditions, the values, and the organizational and legal context of work, which either facilitate or hinder the propagation of these two types of gaining work experience.[17]

Young Hungarians who follow the formal market economy model are worse off for several reasons with respect to gaining work experience, than the students in the other two countries. They are neither involved in the family farm work by their parents[18], nor do they take advantage of the opportunities of volunteer work during their education. Compared to them, students attending Ukrainian and Romanian institutions gain significantly more work experience during their academic studies. This lagging behind is already typical during secondary school with respect to volunteer work, activity during the school term, and to gaining work experience on the family farm as well. The odds ratio of a Hungarian secondary school (and later university) student taking part in their family's farming is 0.195 compared to a Ukrainian student, and the same figure for volunteer work is 0.382.[19] Working during the school term occurs more often among them (17.5%) than in the case of Ukrainian students (10.3%), but this level is still below the frequency of employment among young Romanians (22.45%).

Summary

During their significantly extended and study/consumer-focused youth life cycle, a steadily increasing proportion of young people are gaining experience regarding working activity. The data of our research also support the theory that a model of gradual transition replaces the model of the cyclical transition between studying and working. 76.6% of the young people, included in the sample, already possess some kind of work experience. They start to gain this work experience as early as in their teenage years, with 73.7% of the respondents having participated in some kind of work activity during secondary school and having mostly performed work during the holidays or on the family farm. The *'choice'* biography model defined by Beck, on the other hand, is typical only in the case of a smaller proportion of young people, since only 22.4% work during the academic year. Most typical among them are the cycles of 'studying – holiday job – studying' instead of the *'choice'* model which would entail a combination of these activities at the same time.

The young generation's entry into the world of labour is especially difficult – due to the current economic and employment situation –, and shows a differentiated picture depending on the young people's social status. Employment is fundamentally determined on the one hand by gender-based expectations concerning social roles: girls mostly undertake volunteer work, while boys engage in income-earning activities already when they first gain work experience. On the other hand, we are witnessing the start of a new age with regard to the generations. The generation older than 22

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16 Factors that can play a decisive role include the chance to find a job in the open labour market, the proportion of the employed vs. the unemployed in the given country, and the traditions and legal contexts that have developed concerning students' employment after the fall of socialism. As we evaluate the data, we need to take into account the fact that in the case of Romania and Ukraine the survey was carried out at institutions of higher education in the western region of these countries, where the economy is in a considerably more favourable state than in the eastern region of Hungary, where the institutions of higher education which were chosen for this research are located. The distance between the regions under examination is well indicated by the fact that, for example, the difference between the unemployment rates exceeds 10%! (OECD 2008)

17 For example, how well-established are the student employment offices or the agencies that recruit students for the labour market and job placement networks.

18 Presumably because the number of family farms has dropped significantly in the last 20 years and the ‚second economy' which had played a crucial role in the socialist era is in decline.

19 For this correlation, the dependent variable of the logit model was the rate of the responding university/college students working on the family farm or carrying out voluntary work, respectively, during their secondary school years. The explanatory variable used in our analysis was again the country in which the institution in question is located (from among the three countries examined in the Partium region). The base of comparison was represented by the values of students attending a Ukrainian institution.

had been able to enter employment on the open labour market during summer holidays and the academic year in a significantly greater proportion, than the members of the generation under 21, for whom there are no opportunities for work left on the open labour market; therefore, they gain work experience mainly in the informal economy, family farming and volunteer work. The status of the place of residence has also a crucial influence. Although the capital can offer considerably more work opportunities for young people, those living in smaller municipalities tend to acquire work experience more frequently. Finally, we also have to stress the correlations between the financial situation and work, where we can observe an interesting duality: young people most in need work only occasionally, whereas those who are wealthier either work regularly, and thereby contribute to building their career consciously according to the *'choice'* model, or they never participate in work activities, choosing to take advantage of the benefits that their social status provides instead.

We experience fundamental differences as well if we compare the countries under examination. Students, in Ukrainian institutions, that were surveyed gain experience in the informal economy, in the context of the family farm that provides no direct income or through volunteering for work, whereas students attending Romanian and Hungarian institutions try to integrate into segments of the formal economy and undertake income-earning activities there.

Out of the three observed countries, it is most typical of the Hungarian students (in Debrecen and Nyíregyháza) that after a period of study at a university/college that is characterised by few constraints, career-starters in their twenties have difficulties finding their place among the more and more limited opportunities for work offered by the labour market, and the family farm only allows a small number of students to acquire work experience. Thus, the Hungarian students suffer a double disadvantage regarding the gaining of work experience compared to the students in Oradea, Satu Mare, Berehove and Uzhgorod in the neighbouring countries.

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Gábor Erdei:

Learning in Later Life - The Inspirations of Students in Higher Education to Participate in Adult Education and Training Programmes in the Partium Region

Introduction

Our research project, which examined the inspirations of current students in several institutes of higher education in three countries of the Partium region, is not entirely without antecedents. It is primarily the work carried out in the CHERD-Hungary Research Centre and in the Doctoral Programme of Pedagogy at the University of Debrecen that should be mentioned. The series of publications titled *Region and Education* discussed the findings of the research projects launched by CHERD-Hungary in the early 2000s and the eight volumes in the series so far contains a large number of articles and studies on the topic of adult education and adult training[1]. Also worth mentioning is a recently completed HURO project examining the processes of lifelong learning in the border region, which was jointly implemented by the Partium Christian University and the Debrecen Reformed Theology University, Teacher's Training College. The above works were partly theoretical and historical in nature, partly included statistical analyses; we can also find empirical studies among them. On the other hand, however, it should be noted that we were not aware of any large-sample empirical study of exclusively adult education and training in the region concerned.

In the present study, we only examined the medium- and long-term academic plans of the students participating in the HERD research project with a few questions, which already takes us over to the area of andragogy and lifelong learning (LLL). We deem the discussion of these questions important because finding employment on the labour market, as well as the continuous development of professional and general competences becoming a reality on the labour market, orient the employees of the future toward continuous learning and training. In addition, even though the LLL concept and programme arrived with some delay in the East-Central-European, and even more so in the Eastern European region, over the past ten to fifteen years, the examined countries made significant efforts and had initiatives to catch up and reduce the gaps in these areas (GHK 2010).

In the analysis of the questions, we were confronted with two sets of problems. The first of these concerned the interpretation and the use of certain concepts, such as adult training and adult education, which were not defined in the questionnaire, even though it is known from experience that these technical terms are not clearly understood by those outside the field concerned (not to mention the differences across cultures/countries). However, since we always used these two terms in conjunction, and therefore, even in the absence of an accurate definition, respondents (primarily full-time students) could understand it as formal education/training, without making

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1 Papers related to this topic first appeared in Volume I of *Region and Education* edited by Gabriella Pusztai, which appeared in 2005, included the following Éva Nagy, Péter Csaba Szabó& Anna Szerepi: *Helyi kezdeményezések a harmadfokú képzésben* [Local initiatives in tertiary education], as well as Györgyi Szilágyi, Gábor Flóra & Gyula Ary: *Humán erőforrások a romániai Bihar megyében* [Human resources in Bihar County of Rumania]. The papers in the volume titled *Régió és oktatás:a Partium esete* [Region and Education: The Case of Partium] edited by Tamás Kozma & Tímea Ceglédi and published in 2010 were Katalin Ábrahám & Zoltán Tőzsér: *A felnőttképzésben résztvevő partiumi hallgatók munkaerő-piachoz való viszonya* [The relationship of adult education students in the Partium region to the labour market], Erzsébet Ádám: *Felnőttképzés gyerekcipőben* [Adult education in its infancy], and Erika Juhász: *A felnőttképzés rendszere a Partiumi térségben* [The system of adult education in the Partium region].

any institutional distinction between the two. Further, interpretation problems may arise from the concept of postgraduate training (training after receiving a degree), which was a possible answer to an earlier question. Even though in the answers it clearly transpires what forms of education, and especially what types of institutions the creators of the questionnaire had in mind, it was not possible to clarify the concepts of adult training, adult education and postgraduate training, as well as the relationships between them.

In case of one of the questions *(What training would you like to participate in the future?)*, the possible answers included BA/BSc, MA/MSc, Ph.D. and postgraduate programmes. It is primarily a higher education approach, rather than an adult education/adult training aspect that this question refers to, and therefore we shall not ponder on this question in the present analysis. We shall examine, however, the answers to three questions that are closely related to the adult'spossible education and adult's training inspirations of the respondents. These questions are the following:

- If you could not find work to meet your expectations within a few months, what would you do?
- If you cannot find a job in which you can use your degree, are you willing to participate in adult education, adult training programmes?
- What influences your decision whether you participate in an adult education/adult training programme?

TRANSITORY SOLUTIONS IN CASE OF DIFFICULTIES FINDING EMPLOYMENT

Recently, there has been an increasing length of period between the time of graduation and finding employment on the labour market. There are several economic and social reasons for this, which are outside of the scope of this paper. However, it is indisputable that in this transitory period service providers may have a particularly important role. The question is: to what extent is the individual capable of controlling his or her own path and to use the available opportunities?

More than a third of the respondents (36.5% of the respondents) chose the answer "*I would wait and continue to search,*" and the result was similar also in a breakdown according to year. This is followed by two answers with similar values: "*I would go to work abroad*" (22.4%) and "*I would take any job*" (20.2%). On the one hand, the results confirm the well-known and almost commonplace fact, namely that about a 20–25% of young people think of working abroad as the solution for the future. On the other hand, a significant group of young people also show flexibility by way of willing to take up work requiring a different type and level (usually lower) of education if necessary. In addition to the flexibility towards the labour market, we should also mention the existential difficulty that a significant proportion of young people are (or may be) forced into. Lower, but also similar proportions of the respondents chose the answers "*I would registered myself as a job seeker*" and "*I would register for courses*" (9.9% and 9.4% respectively). Participation in adult training programmes shows an insignificant difference across the years (distribution between 6.9% and 13.2%), and with the exception of third-year students (where adult training was the third most frequently chosen answer), training was the fourth option chosen in order of the importance.

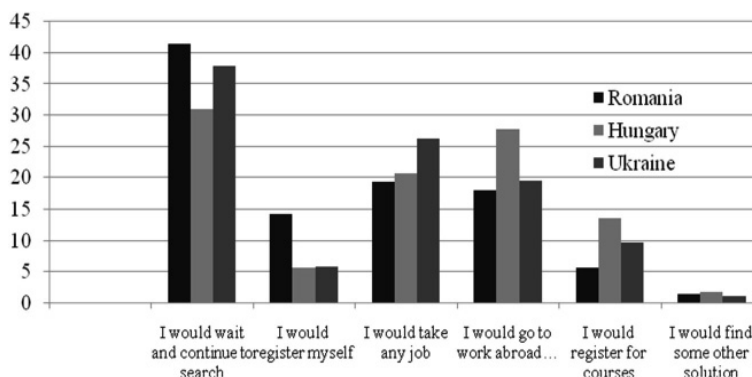Chart 1: Possible alternatives if having difficulties in finding a job
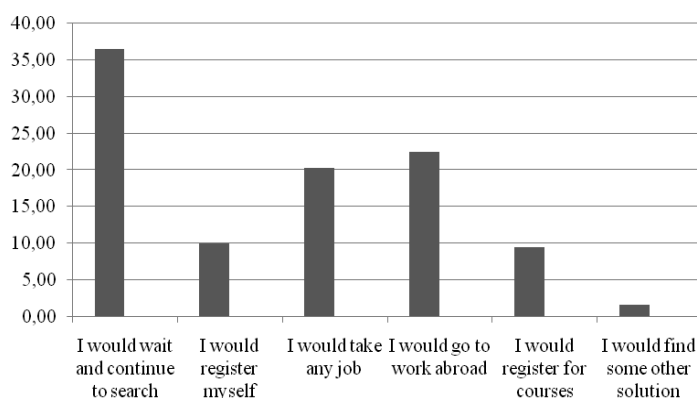
Alternatives in case of difficulties of finding employment – showing what % of the respondents chose each of the options (only one answer could be selected)
Source: HERD database 2012, Count= 2508

More than a third of the respondents (36.5% of the respondents) chose the answer "*I would wait and continue to search,*" and the result was similar also in a breakdown according to year. This is followed by two answers with similar values: "*I would go to work abroad*" (22.4%) and "*I would take any job*" (20.2%). On the one hand, the results confirm the well-known and almost commonplace fact, namely that about a 20–25% of young people think of working abroad as the solution for the future. On the other hand, a significant group of young people also show flexibility by way of willing to take up work requiring a different type and level (usually lower) of education if necessary. In addition to the flexibility towards the labour market, we should also mention the existential difficulty that a significant proportion of young people are (or may be) forced into. Lower, but also similar proportions of the respondents chose the answers "*I would registered myself as a job seeker*" and "*I would register for courses*" (9.9% and 9.4% respectively). Participation in adult training programmes shows an insignificant difference across the years (distribution between 6.9% and 13.2%), and with the exception of third-year students (where adult training was the third most frequently chosen answer), training was the fourth option chosen in order of the importance.

We would also like to note that in general, the differences in the individual response categories show a minimal difference: the value preference of students in higher education manifest significant similarity and a large degree of homogeneity in this respect.

Chart 2: Possible alternatives (by countries) if having difficulties in finding a job

Alternatives in case of difficulties of finding employment in a breakdown according to countries – showing what % of respondents chose each of the options (only one answer could be selected)
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2517

The breakdown according to countries shows significant differences and, perhaps we can also add, some surprising results, which are also significant. (It should be noted, however, that we only received 103 answers from Ukraine, as opposed to 1,257 from Romania and 1,157 from Hungary)[2]. The option most respondents selected was "*I would wait and continue to search*". It was chosen by nearly a half (41.4% to be precise) of the respondents in Romania, and less than one-third (30.9%) in Hungary. While only 5.6% of Hungarian respondents would register as jobseekers, this proportion was 14.2% in Romania. The result and the difference may come from the fact that respondents in Hungary prefer different tools and solutions than the respondents in Romania, but perhaps also from less confidence in the usefulness of the organization of employment agencies and the successfulness of trainings. The difference between the figures pertaining to working abroad as an option is surprising, as significantly more Hungarian youths (27.7%) indicated the possibility of using this option than their counterparts in Romania (18%). This result may be due to the unfavourable economic prospects in Hungary, as a consequence of which an unprecedented number of employers since the beginning of the economic crisis have considered working abroad as the solution (despite the fact that, earlier, such a willingness to mobility was not characteristic to the Hungarian employees) (Kofler &Ghataore 2011). On the Romanian side, the result may also be attributed to the experience of tens of thousands of transnational migrants failing to find work in Western and Southern Europe and returning to Romania.

From the point of view of our analysis, adult education, as an alternative, is also very important. There is a very significant difference in this respect between the students queried in the two countries. While only 5.6% of the respondents in the Romanian institutes of higher education thought of participating in adult training as a solution, this proportion was 13.5% in Hungary. What factors could be behind this very significant difference? The institutional system of adult training in Hungary is more developed (aspects of this development may include marketing, a wider availability of information on the institutional system and programmes, a more positive general evaluation of the programmes, the rate of utilizing the courses, etc.). By contrast, adult training in Romania is less developed (in terms of control and support of this sector, level of development of this institutional system (access), quality of the training programmes, organizational professionalization, social embeddedness, the later level of development, etc.)

2   A significant part of the Romanian sub-sample (the entire Partium Christian University), and the entirety of the Ukrainian sub-sample participated in Hungarian-language education programmes.

(Juhász, 2010). On the other hand, the phenomenon itself, of learning as an adult and the linking of the same to a formal system of institutions, is less widely known, and even less accepted as a social activity in Romania, which is partly due to cultural and historical reasons, and partly to causes related to the economic development.

THE WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION AND ADULT TRAINING PROGRAMMES

We have reached a very important question in the research project, during the course of which we queried respondents about their willingness to participate in adult education/adult training programmes. This question was asked in such a way that we did not inquire about the willingness of adults to learn without constraints (voluntarily), but rather about the willingness of taking this path as a possible way out of joblessness.

Chart 3: The willingness to participate in adult education and adult training
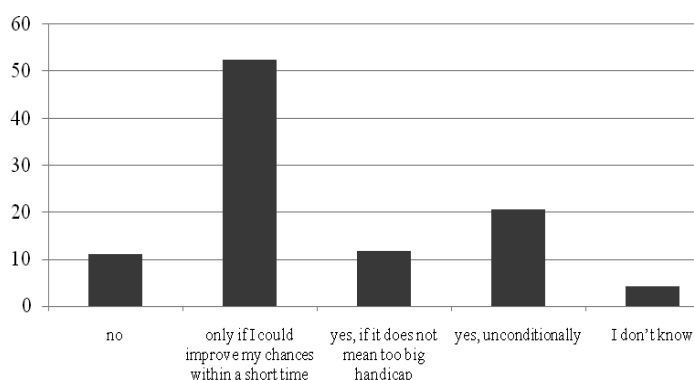
The chart shows what % of respondents chose each of the options (only one answer could be selected) "*If you cannot find a job in which you can use your degree, are you willing to participate in adult education/adult training programmes?*"
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2554

Unconditionalwillingness was expressed by a fifth of the respondents (20.5%). This is an important indicator because we can assume that in their subsequent careers, in different situations, these individuals will also be open and willing to participate in adult education/adult training programmes. A much higher proportion of the respondents chose the answer of participation with conditions (52.5%), meaning that they expected significant improvement within a short time, which would therefore "guarantee" an improvement in the labour market position of the individual. 11.7% of the respondents were willing to participate in adult education/adult training programmes on condition that these did not pose too big of a burden for the individual. We consider it useful to compare the two results. Half of the respondents are willing to make efforts, if these efforts yield results at the end of the process, while one-tenth of them would only take part in such programmes if it did not require them to take large sacrifices, but they did not have a preliminary condition to their participation (concerning the success of the process). The first of these attitudes is related to making sacrifices, but is successand result-oriented, while the other group is not willing to make efforts and sacrifices, but also do not necessarily expect success following the training.

About a tenth (11%) of the respondents is firmly against participation in adult education/adult training programmes. Although this is not a high proportion, the attitude cannot be regarded as

negative, since, even though adult training is not "manna", but can be a possible solution among the limited opportunities available for improving the labour market positions. It is a proposition that cannot be analyzed at all –from the questionnaires, at least – what alternative options those choosing this negative answer had at available.

Examining this question - in a breakdown according to years -, on the whole, we can conclude that the proportion of those firmly rejecting adult education/adult training is slightly higher among the students closer to graduation (1st year: 11.2% – 4th year: 16.4%). At the same time, the willingness to participate on certain conditions is also lower (*yes, in case the situation improves within a short time*: 1st year: 53.7% – 4th year: 50.7%), and the willingness to make sacrifices also increases (participating in adult education/adult training *if it does not mean too big of a burden*: 1st year: 12.2% – 4th year: 6.2%).

Chart 4: The willingness to participate in adult education and adult training by countries
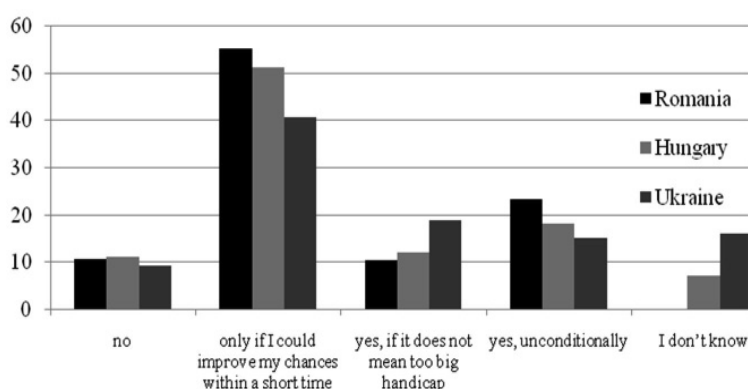
The chart shows what % of respondents chose each of the options (only one answer could be selected) *"If you cannot find a job in which you can use your degree, are you willing to participate in adult education, adult training programmes?"*
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2563

In a breakdown according to countries, the firmly rejecting attitude (*no*) shows little difference (Romania: 10.8%, Hungary: 11.3%, Ukraine: 9.4%). Although, in all three countries, most respondents would undertake participation in adult education/adult training in the hopes of short-term gains, we can find a significant difference especially between the results of Ukraine in comparison with the other two countries (Romania: 55%, Hungary: 51.1%, Ukraine: 40.6%)[3]. Among the three countries, the proportion of those who would participate unconditionally was higher among those studying in Romanian institutions (23.3%), while only 15.1% of the students in Ukraine shared this opinion. This attitude is observable, but obviously in a reversed manner, in the percentage of those choosing the answer "*yes, but only if it does not pose too big of a burden*," where the value for respondents in Ukraine was the highest, and for Romania was the lowest (Ukraine: 18.9% – Romania: 10.6%). Generally, in the case of the other questions, the responses "*I don't know*" or "*other*" did not reach a level requiring analysis. Regarding this question, however, the respondents studying in Ukraine showed a high level of uncertainty, since 16% of them had no plans in mind for a solution related to a possible uncertain situation in their lives.

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3   The value of significance: <0.001

FACTORS INFLUENCING (IMPEDING AND MOTIVATING) THE PARTICIPATION IN THE ADULT EDUCATION/ADULT TRAINING PROGRAMMES

The next question dealt with the factors impeding or motivating the participation. The participation is a cardinal point of LLL, the reason for which it can be attributed to the inherent nature and operational mechanism of andragogy, as well as its system of objectives and tasks. This is because participation in adult education/adult training appears as a task binding upon the individual only in certain areas and only to a certain extent; participation, however, is mostly based on the decision of the individual and the community. Therefore, there are significantly more barriers and impeding factors of formal learning as an adult, mainly due to the situations in life related to being an adult (work, family, etc.) in comparison with other levels of education (elementary, secondary, higher education), and these may largely affect the original intention and motivation to learn.

Unfortunately, due to the constraints of space of the questionnaire, the impeding and the motivating factors had to be covered in a single question, which covers answers of different nature concerning possible factors in a summary way. The list of factors assisting or impeding learning as an adult, drawn up by Cross and developed further by McGivney, arranges these factors in three groups. The first group is represented by the situational factors (factors impeding the individual in a given situation), time, money, the physical accessibility of the institution/programme. These represent the most important barriers to adults, thus being regarded as the initial-level filtering factors. The second set of factors constituting barriers are those related to the operations of the given/chosen institution (e.g. pre-conditions for registering, the time-related characteristics of the courses, exit requirements [e.g. language examinations], etc.), which may pose problems for the adult learners, despite the fact that they may have already overcome the most important and challenging situational barriers. Therefore, the second set of barriers is the group of the institutional factors. The third group includes the dispositional barriers that manifest themselves for adult learners who have already overcome the first and second set of barriers. These factors include the adult learner's subjective, and typically negative, image of himself or herself, such as *"I am too old to learn"* or *"What will my younger course mates think if I don't even know this"* etc. (Cross 1981, McGivney 1993).

From the possible impediments that can be enumerated, we included the financial and the time-related barriers in our question. The other part of the responses (four options) examined not the barriers or the impediments, but the personal, labour market and the social opportunities generated by participating in the training (the four possible options: *professional development, employment opportunities, establishing professional links, acquiring new knowledge)*, i.e. the positive output of the participation in trainings. Several studies deal with the individual, economic and social usefulness of training, from among which perhaps the most comprehensive are the papers published by CEDEFOP, last year (CEDEFOP 2011a, 2011b).

Before we examine each of the answers given to this question separately, let us examine the overall result, all the more since three possible answers could be chosen here from the total of six options (we will not examine the option "*other*" here). The two impediments, *costs involved* and *time spent*, are of different nature and quality (there is no semantic overlap between the two), regardless of the fact that in case the individual has an abundance of one of these resources, it can reduce the impact of the other impediment.

From the possible answers to this question, four are positive (future-oriented, favourable results for the individual): *professional development, employment opportunities, establishing professional links, acquiring new knowledge*. These responses are strongly linked to each other in their content (unlike in the case of the two impeding factors), and even show significant overlap, since *professional development* and *establishing professional links* on the one hand, as well as *improving employment opportunities and acquiring new knowledge* have close links in terms of their content.

Chart 5: Factors influencing (impeding and motivating) participation
in adult education/adult training programmes
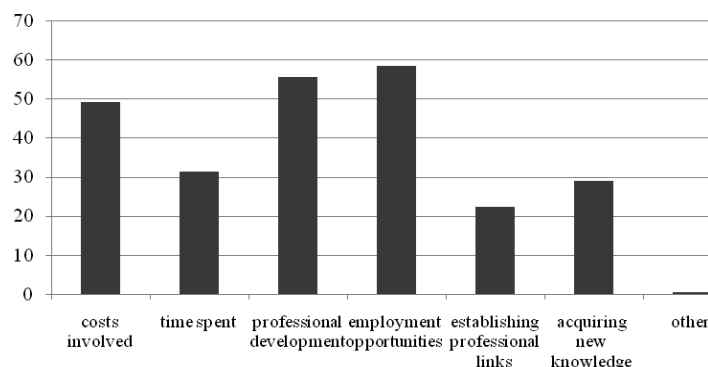
The question: What *influences your decision concerning the participation in adult education/adult training programmes?*
Please choose the three most important factors.
Source: HERD database. Count=2597

The highest values were recorded in the case of *improving employment opportunities* (58.5%)and *opportunities for professional development* (55.6%) Two positive elements provided, therefore, the decisive criteria, followed by the first barrier, the *costs involved* (49.9%), followed, with a considerably lower value, by *the amount of time needed* (31.5%), *acquiring new knowledge* (29%) and *establishing professional links* (22.4%) at the end of the list.We received an answer that is typical in less economically developed regions, as more people replied that the problem was the lack of financial resources rather than the lack of time. In the more economically developed areas, which have a better coverage of educational service providers and programmes, these proportions are reversed (Belanger &Tuijnman 1997). The good news is that the factors influencing adult education/adult training primarily move in a developmental direction and positively determine the future; the respondents mentioned the barriers only in the second line of factors.

Nearly one half of the respondents (42.9%) indicated the lack of financial resources and the costs involved as possible or actual impediments of participation in adult education/adult raining programmes - also in the breakdown according to years - we can find a relatively balanced distribution (with differences within 10%). This confirmed the fact that the availability of resources is one of the biggest problems and barriers of implementing the principle of lifelong learning.

At the same time, it is surprising that there was a minimal difference on the basis of the type of the programme the students participated in, since slightly more than half of the correspondence students replied that the lack of financial resources is a barrier (full-time students: 49.2%, correspondence students: 53.3%).

In a breakdown according to institutions, we can find more significant differences concerning the importance of financial resources as a barrier to participation (the two extreme values: PKE[4]: 66.2% – UEO[5]: 21.8%). In the three countries examined, on the basis of results of the two

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4   Partium Christian University

5   Emanuel University

Ukrainian (RFKMF[6]: 38.5%, UNE[7]: 52.3%), four Romanian (BBTE-SZ[8]: 47%, UO[9]: 42.8%, PKE: 66.2% UEO: 21.8%), and three Hungarian institutions (DE[10]: 50.1%, DRHE-KFRTKF[11]: 56.0%, NYF[12]: 63.6%), we were unable to draw very marked country-specific conclusions (later, however, we will examine and analyse the aggregate results for the three countries). Further research into deeper relationships would be necessary to be able to provide a more detailed interpretation. There are large differences in the financial burdens that learning and acquiring a new qualification and diploma put on a young person in higher education (or an active adult on the labour market). This strongly depends on the financial conditions of the individual intending to study, but also at least as much on the costs of education related to the given qualification, i.e. the cost of the training concerned. Furthermore, there are also additional costs (travel, accommodation), lost income (due to the time spent studying), all of which making a simple interpretation of this question more complex. A comparison between the countries shows relatively little difference (students in Hungarian institutions: 51.8%, in Romanian institutions: 47.1%, in Ukrainian institutions: 44%), but it should be noted that while the Hungarian respondents reported the highest burdens associated with the participation in adult education and training programmes, at the same time the LLL activity in Hungary is the highest among the countries examined (despite the fact that the Hungarian figure is very low in comparison using a European benchmarking system).

Time constraints were reported as a problem by nearly one third (31.5%). In an institutional breakdown, the extreme values were recorded for Kölcsey FerencThe Reformed Teacher Training College in Debrecen and the Emanuel University of Oradea (56% and 23.5% respectively), with the majority of the institutions reporting values on a much smaller scale (30–35%). An examination of this question, by countries, we can find very close results, which means that there are practically no differences (students in Romanian institutions: 31.5%, in Hungarian institutions: 31.4%, in Ukrainian institutions: 32.1%).

Of the situational factors constituting most frequently barriers for the adult education/adult training, we have already examined the financial resources/expenses and the time factor. Following these negative factors, we will move on to the analysis of the positive ones. As discussed earlier, in the examination of this question (what influences the decision concerning the participation in adult education/adult training programme), we provided a mixed set of possible answers to choose from: two barriers and four positive factors (professional development, employment opportunities, establishing professional links, acquiring new knowledge) were listed. In the following, we will examine the answers received in response to these four options.

More than half of the respondents (55.7%) held that adult education/adult training could ensure their professional development; at the same time, no significant links can be identified between responses provided by those students during individual years of study and the results.

The knowledge of students in higher education concerning LLL, and their level of commitment to these opportunities does not change significantly during the years spent in college or university. We can assume, therefore, that there is a lack of information and attitude formation during these years.

Of the nine examined institutions, they consider LLL activities as having an effect of the professional development of two organizations in Oradea (TheUniversity of Oradea: 66.7%,

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6　Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute

7　Arts and Science Hungarian Speaking Department of Uzhhorod National University

8　Branch of Babeş-Bolyai University in Satu Mare

9　University of Oradea

10　University of Debrecen

11　Kölcsey Ferenc Reformed Teacher Training College

12　Three faculties of College of Nyíregyháza

Emanuel University: 64.7%), while the results of the University of Debrecen are slightly below average (52.5%). It was at Kölcsey Ferenc Reformed Teacher Training College (36%) and the Branch of Babeș-Bolyai University in Satu Mare where LLL activities were least considered to be an important element in the professional development of students (36% and 39.4%,).

Major differences were also found between the examined countries. In Romania, 61.1%, while in Ukraine only 48.6% of the respondents considered the adult education/adult training as an activity influencing professional development. The average for Hungary was established between these two values, at 50.9%.

CONCLUSIONS

The knowledge of students in higher education concerning LLL is rather scarce, and their level of commitment to these opportunities does not change significantly over the years spent in college or university. We can assume, therefore, that there is a lack of information and attitude formation during these years.

It is inevitably good news, however, that the factors influencing the adult education/adult training primarily move in a developmentaldirection and positively determine the future;the respondentsmentioned the barriers only in the second line of factors.

As perhaps the most important result of the comparative examination of these countries, we can state that the least developed system of adult education and adult training is in Ukraine. While the Hungarian adult training/adult education seems to be further ahead, the respondents in Romania appear to be more critical and more conscious respondents.

It is our hope that by the means of a systematic, more thorough and more in-depth analysis of the institutional systems in the three countries (documents analysis, interviews, case studies), we will be able to formulate further findings and recommendations concerning the andragogical (adult education, adult training) development of the region, as well as possible cross-border co-operations.

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Ágnes Engler:

The Attitude of Men and Women in Higher Education towards Life-Long Learning

Our study is an attempt to survey the characteristics of life-long learning among young adults studying in higher education, taking into consideration the gender of the individuals involved in the study.[1] For a long time, gender differences in life-long learning manifested primarily in issues of equal opportunities. Such an issue was the alteration of the basically masculine curricula of the courses that opened up for women or the launching courses in jobs in which women were formerly underrepresented (Oglesby et al. 1989). Consequently, more and more women joined higher education in a wide range of fields. The intense activity of women in education is observed in the whole of Europe. In the northern countries of the continent, where education traditionally plays an important role in society, women have an edge of 10–15% over male students (Europe in figures 2011). In the member states of the European Union, women are overrepresented in higher education; there is an average of 124 women to 100 male students (Key Data on Education in Europe 2012). Increasing one's knowledge in the academic sphere is only possible through an effective cooperation of all the stakeholders in higher education (Heuser 2007), but the institutions of higher education may also be involved in meeting the increasing demand of society for knowledge and permanent learning (Kulich 1987).

According to the findings of a nationwide survey, Hungarian men with a lower qualification tend to prefer formal education to a lesser degree than women do. 20% of men with a vocational education return to school, whereas 30% of women with a similar qualification choose to start learning again (Csernyák et al. 2004, 28). 65% of men with a GCSE return to school, and the respective figure in the case of women is 55%. 20% of people with a college or university degree continue their studies, and the figure is the same at both genders. Men in permanent employment enter further training courses in lower numbers than women (18% of men and 22% of women). On the other hand, unemployed men choose further education in higher education than unemployed women (32% of men and 29% of women respectively).

Decisions made during one's life in school largely influence the shaping of the individual's attitude to education. The experience gathered during school years and the attitude of the students' family towards learning represent important elements of the person's attitude towards education (see, among others, Bourdieu 1986, De Graaf 1986 & Pusztai 2004). During a students' career in school, an important milestone is the decision regarding further education at the end of the secondary school. When students considers the idea of further training at the end of the grammar school, their decision is usually influenced by their parents. A number of research findings suggest that highly qualified parents encourage their children to choose a classic academic career, whereas parents with lower qualifications want their children to obtain a trade, as they are reluctant to undertake the risks of long-term investment into education (Boudon 1998). Deviation from the classic academic career is more common among men, as traditional gender roles so require. The research conducted by Fényes (2010) in respect to higher education clearly demonstrated the disadvantage of men, with special attention to the lower degree of social mobility of men.

The differences between men and women in terms of schooling have several reasons. DiMaggio (1998) attributes the different performance of boys and girls to gender socialization processes. Boys directed towards cultural mobility are career-biased, whereas girls often reproduce their

cultural capital in marriage. Leathwood (2006) examined the characteristics of successful and independent adult students. These students are usually men, in possession of masculine attributes, such as purpose- and success-bias and ambition. Female students, on the other hand, require consultation and guidance even when they are grown up.

In our earlier nationwide survey we did not find any significant gender differences in terms of the performance and success of adults in higher education (Engler 2012). The performance indicators were similar, suggesting highly similar results of, and commitment to learning in both sexes. It seems that the differences, still tangible in public education and higher education, vanish in adult education. In the continuation of the survey, we wish to follow the educational career of young adults in order to chart their approaches to permanent learning and the differences between male and female attitudes.

In the course of our analysis, we proceed in a chronologial order, following the careers of the students involved in the survey. First we use all the available relevant data so as to analyse the circumstances of the individual's starting advanced studies, the mechanisms of making a decision about commencing studies. The in-progress phase of advanced studies is examined with a set of variables that are closely connected to the individual's attitude towards learning, to the demand and need of knowledge acquisition and skills. These are the factors that largely determine–reinforce or weaken–a person's desire for life-long learning. After an analysis of the educational past and present of the respondents, we focussed on their plans regarding their future, the appearance of the need for permanent learning at the two sexes.

Decision Making Mechanisms and Circumstances of Starting Further Education

The majority of the 1471 respondents involved in the pool of the HERD-research are women (69%), so the proportion of men is below one third (31%). The demographic characteristic features of these students were, from a social gender aspect, not very different; only the education of the parents (r=-0.084 and 0.077, p=0.005, p=0.002) and the father's economic activity (r=0.056, p=0.045) correlated with the gender. The parents of men have higher qualifications, especially their mothers. 44% of the mothers of male students had a college or university degree or advanced academic degree, whereas the respective figure was 35% in the case of the female students. The difference was much smaller regarding the fathers: 30% as opposed to 26%. At the time of making the inventory, 75% of the male students' fathers and 80% of their mothers worked actively. In this respect, there was no difference between the fathers and mothers of female students (80%).

The social background of the students did not provide any clue as to the students' attitudes of towards learning. Our hypothesis is therefore based upon the learning activities and practice of female students, using educational statistics and gender approaches. It is assumed that the advantageous attitude of women involved in various forms of learning appears in higher education as well, and their participation in adult education is predictable with certainty.

The overwhelming majority (85%) of the respondents did not suspend their studies after secondary school, as 86% of the women and 82% of the men started college or university right after completing their secondary education. Students largely followed the traditional academic career; 65% of them graduated grammar schools. In accordance with the earlier observations, secondary schools offering vocational training (vocational secondary schools, technological secondary schools) are preferred by men, as 27% of them came from such schools, as opposed to 17% of the women (p=0.000). 20% of the students who did not directly continue their studies after secondary school found a job, only 6% of them registered as job seekers. It is important to note that during the time of formal education missed, men were more active (45% of them attended some training course), and only one third of the women did the same after secondary school (p=0.046).

Entirely different is the answer that we received to our question aimed at imaginary situations in the future: *"What would you do if you couldn't find a suitable job in a few months?"* In this case, women appear to be more willing to learn, as 35% of them are sure that they would start a course in higher education, while the respective figure in the case, of men is only 8% (p=0.000). Men would rather wait and continue seeking a job (37%, women 29%), or would go abroad (this is an attractive idea for women too, as 25% of them would do the same, hardly behind the 28% of men). These data suggest that in a real-life situation men are more active when it comes to permanent learning, while women will only accept the need for permanent studying in theory.

In an analysis of the attitude of people towards learning, an important element is the system of motivation leading to the beginning of studies. The system of motivation is summed up in Table 1. The respondents opted for a very powerful internal urge to improve their knowledge at the top of the list of priorities. If all the answers are true and honest, this internal urge proves itself an excellent basis for studying in higher education. Although, the need to improve their knowledge, as a motivation, was found to be somewhat more powerful in the case of women, their edge was smaller than we had expected.

Table 1: Motivation factors to pursue advanced studies,
in a breakdown according to the genders in percent

	Total	Men	Women
Improving knowledge*	92,0	89.8	93.8
It is easier to find a job with a degree	84.2	82.5	84.7
Well-paid occupation**	78.8	83.3	76.3
Respectable job	76.6	75.6	76.6
Improving social relationships	61.5	60.4	61.3
There was no tuition fee	60.7	63.3	60.0
Wanted a leading position***	53.5	63.7	48.7
Was able to afford financially	44.6	45.6	44.3
Encouragement from parents, teachers	34.4	34.0	35.0
Following family traditions	33.2	33.1	32.6
Did not want to work	30.6	32.0	29.5
Following the example of friends*	24.1	27.6	22.4
N	1350	405	945

*p<0,05 **p<0,01 ***p<0,001
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=1350

The next set of motivating factors related to the labour market (*finding a job, income, prestige*), and the influence of the environment (*parents, friends and teachers*) appears to be less important. As for the secondary factors of motivation, the men in the group had very high expectations of a higher salary and a chance for occupying a leading position. This preliminary expectation may be rooted in the tendencies of the labour market, since male employees have had a higher salary for decades (Galasi 2000), whereas vertical segregation has kept women at the lower and middle levels of employment hierarchy (Nagy 2001). Income and position are important motivating factors among men studying as adults, but they also pay attention to the potential network of connections to be created (Engler Ibid.). In higher education the connections as a motivating factor have not been observed. It is likely that the experience gained in the world of work makes adult learners aware of the importance of personal-professional connections, but day students do not yet recognize the value of such connections.

At the bottom line of motivations there are those coming from people in the students' environment. Our hypothesis ascribed great significance to the family background, but only one

third of the respondents found it important in their decision regarding higher education. But if we suppose that the parents, rather than the teachers, stand behind the remaining 34%, the parental guidance may play a more important role than it was originally assumed.

Therefore, we experienced no considerable differences in the preliminaries of the advanced studies, which is probably because of the similar social backgrounds. For the further examination of the male and female students' attitude we selected variables that measure the demand to obtain more knowledge, the efficiency of learning, honest work, and efficient activity in an academic environment.

Attitude to Learning in Advanced Studies

During the college or university years the attitude of the individual towards learning may change in a positive or in a negative way. But we are not able to measure those changes with the means of research applied in our project. It is, however, possible to judge the individual's personal investment into learning, the working morale in the institution of higher education, through the questions we ask about the process and results of learning. The desire to obtain more knowledge is indispensable for developing and sustaining the desire for life-long learning (Memorandum 2000).

We begin the analysis of the students' commitment to learning in a breakdown according to genders, by requesting the respondents' personal opinion. Table 2 contains statements relevant to advanced studies. We registered the answers of the students who fully or largely agreed with the statements. The powerful internal motivation experienced earlier has been further reinforced by the strong commitment and perseverance of the students, motivating them to do quality work (*good results, active participation*) and to expect a return of their investment (*completion of their studies, utilizing the knowledge gained*).

Table 2: Students' attitude (in percent) towards advanced studies
in a breakdown according to gender
(The Proportion of Respondents who fully or largely agree with the Statement)

	Total	Men	Women
I would like to perform as well as possible***	89.1	82.6	91.9
I am very determined to complete my studies***	88.5	84.4	90.2
My studies will be useful for my professional career	81.8	79.0	83.0
I do my best to be able to attend the classes***	78.6	69.2	82.8
N	1374	420	954

***p<0,001
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=1374

Although no considerable difference was observed between genders at the beginning of the studies, their attitudes towards studying were far from being the same. Both genders, in a similar proportion, believe that they will be able to utilize their new knowledge and competences in the labour market (79% vs. 83%). Both genders have great expectations regarding the return of their investment in learning, but the types of the investment they make, in terms of time and energy, are significantly different.

The responses suggest that women are more determined, and not only achieving their goal is important for them, but also the ability to perform quality work. 83% of them assert that they do their best to attend the classes in order to perform as well as possible, whereas 70% of the men answered similarly. This result is confirmed by the answers received to a question in a different

segment of the questionnaire, where 88% of the women claimed that they did the utmost effort in order to attend the classes under all circumstances, as opposed to 79% of the men (p=0.000). Active participation in the classes is an important part of the learning process, it is therefore advisable to examine whether the attendance of the lessons means a transfer of knowledge at the same time as well.

In the set of questions aimed at the circumstances of learning we used a four-grade scale to evaluate the attention of the students at the classes. The results on the scale suggest that women are more attentive at the seminars (p=0.001). Learning outside the classroom is also important in surveying the attitude of students to studying. In another set of questions we intended to obtain data as to how many hours a day students spend preparing for their classes. We identified considerable differences between men and women in terms of the period they spent preparing (p=0.000). 24% of the women spend more than three hours/day learning. Only 14% of the men devoted the same amount of time to learning. At the opposite end of the scale, the respondents were able to choose "less than half an hour" as time spent learning. Only 7% of the women chose that option, and 14% of the men did the same. The number of successful exams was used as an indicator of regular learning and preparation. Female students scored better, as 58% of them passed their exams at the first attempt. On the other hand, only 38% of the men were successful at the first attempt; they were more willing to postpone an exam or two (p=0.000).

It appears therefore, that female students are characterised by determination and commitment to a larger extent. This assumption is underpinned by other answers we received on a four-grade scale. According to the findings, more women than men submitted their essays in due time (p=0.000), and the women were willing to settle down to learn even when they had some other, more interesting thing to do (p=0.003). Women prepared for their exams more regularly than did the men (p=0.000). Women's commitment is illustrated by the fact that they find it less likely to fail in some courses (p=0.000) or semesters (p=0.002), or terminate their studies entirely before graduation. The variables measuring the resources invested in studying–the time devoted to learning, the class attendance and meeting the output criteria–all indicate that women are doing better in adult higher education courses.

Although the motivation leading to higher education is the same for both genders, we find considerably different attitudes during the actual period of learning. Men appear to be less determined and active, and they treat learning requirements and tasks more leniently. In the following part of the research we examine whether the gender-specific learning attitudes remain the same in life-long learning as well.

Attitudes towards Life-Long Learning

Eighty five per cent of the students plan to continue the advanced studies after obtaining a diploma. In that respect, there is no difference between genders: half of the male and female students intend to earn another degree. 5% of them wish to have another BA, 25% have a master's degree in mind, and 30% of the men and 28% of the women would like to start doctoral studies. As it has been pointed out before, the students believe that they will be able to utilize their knowledge in their professional career. One of the questions asked during the empirical questionnaire was this one: "*If you are unable to find a job with your current qualification, would you be ready to attend various adult education courses or trainings?*" (Table 3)

Table 3: Students' willingness (percent) to attend adult training courses,
in a breakdown according to gender

	Total	Men	Women
Unwilling to enter a course	10.4	17.7	7.3
Willing to enter, if that would considerably and shortly improve their position in the labour market	51.5	46.9	53.5
Willing to enter, if not too strenuous	12.9	12.2	13.2
Certainly willing	17.2	14.2	18.5
Not certain about the issue	7.9	9.0	7.5
N	1324	401	923

p<0.001
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=1324

Ten per cent of the students are certain they do not intend to undertake a further training course in order to improve their chances of integration in the labour market.

However, the overwhelming majority of the respondents claim that they are determined to invest in their human capital if they are unable to find a job (82%). Some of them do not set up any condition for that (17.2%), whereas others make it dependent on certain circumstances (*not very strenuous*) and a fast return of the investment (*considerably and shortly improve their position in the labour market*). The latter is a condition that is present at half of the students, superseding our preliminary expectation as to which a powerful internal motivation is a persisting attitude all through one's educational career.

Let us remember that the question refers to a fictitious situation, examining the intention of the individuals to learn when they are, according to the assumption, unemployed. Our original expectation is that learning is in the centre of the thinking of young professionals, especially when it comes to improving one's chances in the labour market. It is especially important in the case of those who are about to start their career, as they constitute one of the most sensitive groups of the job seekers.

The division according to gender calls our attention to significant differences. Although, the unconditional willingness to learn is present among women to a much larger degree (19% vs. 14%), they also have more powerful expectations of a return. 47% of the men and 54% of the women are only willing to learn if there is a rapid and tangible return. Statistical data suggest that women, when they lose their job, will find another one much later than the men (Nagy 2000). We are also aware that there are tendencies in the labour market that adversely affect women; such are negative discrimination, vertical and horizontal segregation and lower wages. As these circumstances are well-known to the general public, we expected women to be more committed to the permanent improvement of their competences. The results are, however, in accordance with the statistical data: one third of the men participate in adult education courses, and 29% of women do the same. In inactive groups the differences are larger: 40% of the men and a mere 16% of the women learn in a formal or informal way (Csernyák 2004 p.28).

The previous question was aimed at an imaginary situation, but the data in Table 4 summarize some of the factors that influence students in their decisions regarding higher education. At the beginning of the survey, among the factors of motivation leading to higher education we found that internal motivation (improving one's knowledge) prevailed over considerations regarding the labour market. Later, when students are closer to the world of labour, the order is reversed, and the primary motivation (professional progress, new knowledge) is in the background, in the perspectives of the adult learner.

Table 4: Factors influencing the participation of men and women in adult education (%)

	Total	Men	Women
Improving chances in the labour market***	64.5	56.0	68.4
Size of financial investment required*	51.2	47.2	53.0
Professional progress	50.6	49.1	51.3
Necessary amount of time	32.3	34.6	31.2
Chances of acquiring new knowledge**	23.2	18.8	25.1
New professional relations**	21.5	17.4	23.3
N	1416	436	980

*p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=1416

Women and men are willing to make different investments in education at an adult age; women are over-represented in almost every aspect. The most conspicuous difference is in connection with the ideas concerning the chances of finding a job (68% vs. 56%). The information that an envisaged return of the investment (finding a job more easily, obtaining a more advantageous position) increases the likelihood of investing into studying is now added to the female attitude towards learning, outlined above.

The attitude of men towards learning is more balanced and less dependent on the size of the investment or on the way of the return. It is interesting to note that in our survey establishing new professional connections during studying is not a priority for men. Earlier research projects have, however, indicated that men value professional connections, and find such relationships to be an important asset in studying in higher education (Albert & Nagy 1999). In the case of the adult learners in higher education, men find professional relationships important, whereas women prefer social connections and friendship (Engler 2012). The findings suggest that men also tend to spend less time studying. Earlier we have seen that the actual, physical time they devote to learning and the quality of time spent learning (as measured by their results) are both less than the time women devote to learning. The issue of time is also important when the individual makes a decision about beginning to study at an adult age.

Conclusion

In the survey we intended to map the attitude of college and university students to life-long learning. We focused on three moments in the educational career of the respondents: the transition from secondary to higher education, their period of studies in higher education, and their plans for their future. The results reflect that students with a powerful initial primary motivation give up some of their original desire in order to gain more academic knowledge during their way to becoming professionals. Their interest is diverted towards marketable skills and competences.

When analysing the empirical data, we observed different learning strategies between men and women. During their career in higher education, women were characterised by a permanently high primary motivation, they were very much aware of their qualitative and quantitative investment into education. It is indicated by the higher number of contact classes they attended, adequate performance at the lessons, and more successful examinations. Men, on the other hand, appeared to be less motivated and committed. During their studies, they concentrated on learning to a lesser degree than women did. Despite the smaller investment they expected a higher return of higher education, as they wanted higher income and prestige upon receiving a degree.

As the course of learning stretches, however, the motivation of women tends to subside. They make further learning a subject of several conditions, and each element of their investment (time, money etc.) will be more decisive for them than it is for men. Intrinsic motivation continues to be more powerful for women at that stage of learning as well (professional development, acquisition of new knowledge), but their decision making strategy related to learning will become more complex, even under exceptional circumstances (unemployment). Our initial hypothesis has therefore been justified. The attitude of women to studying is more favourable during their years in higher education, but their willingness to be involved in life-long learning appears to be diminishing with time. Men's commitment to learning is not as powerful as that of the women during their career in higher education, but they are not so keen on a prompt return when they consider the idea of further studies.

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Tímea Ceglédi & Mihály Fónai:

Who Enters Higer Education?

Former Achievement and Social Background of Students in Colleges for Advanced Studies

Introduction

The history of the colleges for advanced studies (CASs) which dates back decades, can be described with the double pressure of elitism and the "promotion of folk talents" concerning their goal, operation and the recruitment of their members (cf. e.g. Papp 2006, 2008, Varga 2009, Takács 2009, Chikán 2009, Ceglédi et al. 2012b, Ceglédi 2011). During the over one hundred years history of the CASs there have been examples of elitist operation, but there is the same amount of examples regarding the reduction of social differences and disadvantages, and the ascension of the students with a low social background.

Today the role of the CASs is going through gradual changes due to the changing conditions of higher education, the transformation of the student basis of higher education, the radical shifts of the student number (raise, recoiling and then reduction), the revaluation of higher educational talent development, and the differentiation process of the mission in the institutions of higher education. In our study we raise the question, whether the CASs are the elitist institutions today, or rather they serve to equalize opportunity. This we can best measure by using the social recruitment of these colleges, in case there are reliable data. Unfortunately, it seems that there are very few empirical data about the social background[1] of the students belonging to the CASs, except for researches in the Partium region, coordinated by the University of Debrecen, and there are even less surveys, in which we can get an overall picture of the indicators of origin concerning students who are and who are not members of CASs in a given student population. This is why it is hard to answer whether CASs are elitist schools or institutions that equalize chances.

The dichotomy of elitism and chance equalisation in itself is a fundamental theoretical simplification, because not only two extremes (to elevate or to rule out those who have come from the lower strata of society) prevail in the everyday life of the CASs, but there are several transitions as well. Moreover, the explicit goals regarding the recruitment basis (if they formulate such goals at all) and the implemented practice can be different too. For example we have found a college during a qualitative research among CASs in Debrecen, which bluntly turned down the promotion of students in a more disadvantageous situation and their (financial or professional) support, but still the opposite came true in practice (Bordás & Ceglédi 2011, Ceglédi & Bordás 2012).

In our analysis we do not concentrate on the formulated goals of the CASs, but we examine the implemented practice. We put the admission chances under the lense, namely by taking a look at the recruitment basis of the CAS students. Our primary question we are eager to find an answer to and which we can answer on the basis of the available data, is to what extent is the establishment of membership of CASs formed by social background and how does reproduction influence getting into university. Is the social background in itself decisive, or does it have an effect through individual performance? In our analysis we /oppose/confront the students' individual performance

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1 Erős's work published in 2010 and the work of Demeter et al. published in 2011 are exceptions to it.

and their social origin. Although, in the case of individual performance we can also talk about the reproduction and selection processes that can be perceived behind it, we still think that it is worth /confronting its effect with the social background. At the same time, we cannot leave out of consideration that other, less measurable factors, also affect the successfulness of the higher education. Such factors can be a family milieu, the family's cultural habits, cultural and social capital, the institutional effect of secondary school or higher education (with the relationship and social capital effects that also prevailwith, and which were analysed during the researches in the region – e.g. Fényes & Pusztai 2004, Pusztai 2010a, 2010b, 2011, Ceglédi 2010b).

We start our study with the definition of the CASs. Then, we analyse the role of these institutions in the broader context of the equal opportunity to higher education using the experiences of former researches in the CASs. In our analysis we are going to compare the students' recruitment bases belonging and not belonging to CASs in a region (Partium) overarching the country borderlines, emphasising two important aspects: the social background and the individual performance.

WHAT IS A COLLEGE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES (CAS)?

The CASs are the oldest institutionalized talent development initiatives of higher education in Hungary. The first was established in 1895 under the name Eötvös Collegium, but the talent development form of the CAS became popular among a broad mass only after the establishment of László Rajk College for Advanced Studies in 1969/70, after which, more colleges were established, one after the other, starting with the early eighties. Nowadays there are more than one hundred such institutions, not only in Hungary but also in the regions of the neighbouring countries with a Hungarian population (e.g. Demeter et al. 2011, Takács 2009, Varga 2009, Pünkösti 2006, 2008, Szijártó 1991, Papp 2008, Pataki 2009, Faludi 2008).

Each CAS has its own profile, gradually chrystallising through time, formed by its members or leaders, yet still some common elements can be perceived in their operation. The CAS students form communities, where students (mainly, but not in all cases) live in a dormitory. These communities are formed as a result of professional interest or other common traits (e.g. religious scale of values, transborder origin, and artistic interest). In every case their goal is to create new possibilities for themselves beyond those offered by the university/college in the areas of study and community experiences. CASs offer the participants an opportunity to listen to lectures about topics beside or beyond the university/college curriculum (held by famous, sometimes Nobel prized researchers), to discuss topics, learn languages, take part in common free time programmes etc. Both social and community activities are productive scenes of intellectual and professional socialization. The key elements of professional get-togethers are represented by the debates, the sharing of experiences and the reinforcement of norms. (See in more details e.g. Charta 2011, Demeter et al. 2011, Fazekas & Sik 2007, Gerő et al. 2011, Bordás & Ceglédi 2011, Bordás & Ceglédi 2012, Ceglédi & Bordás 2012.)

As we can see in this introduction, the CASs are very appreciated institutions, not only due to the traditional students, but also due to the socially disadvantaged students, because all these activities and characteristics can help them compensate for the possible deficiencies in cultural and social capital. But this can only happen when the socially disadvantaged students participate in the higher education and CASs.

Inequalities in higher education

The reproduction of inequalities in higher education, as well as in the whole public education was one of the decisive theses of the education research during the sixties and the eighties (e.g. Bourdieu 1978, Boudon 1981). This was related to the structuralist approach of mobility, which interprets the movement of individual layers in the context of social-economical-structural processes among the vertical social circumstances (Baron 1998). The origin of this approach can be found in the fact that the emergence from the lower social strata, which encompasses greater masses, often naturally accompanies the structural social changes and the expansion and transformation of the school system (Andorka et al. 1994, Kozma 2004). In the last decades, the expansion of the higher education – embedded in the macro processes of the society – was one of those processes through which we could define the social mobility. In relation to this, one of the current central questions was whether the more and more differentiated and diversified higher education, which encompassed greater and greater masses, contributed to the reduction of social inequalities in the newly structured (multitude of students), and whether higher education is able (and whether it sets as a goal) to compensate for the social and economic disadvantages under the changed conditions (Veroszta 2009, Hrubos 2006, 2009). According to the experiences of the international researches, several theories considering not only structural but also individual aspects, described how students from the lower strata got into higher education (Baron 1998) (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The theoretical approaches to higher education and inequality
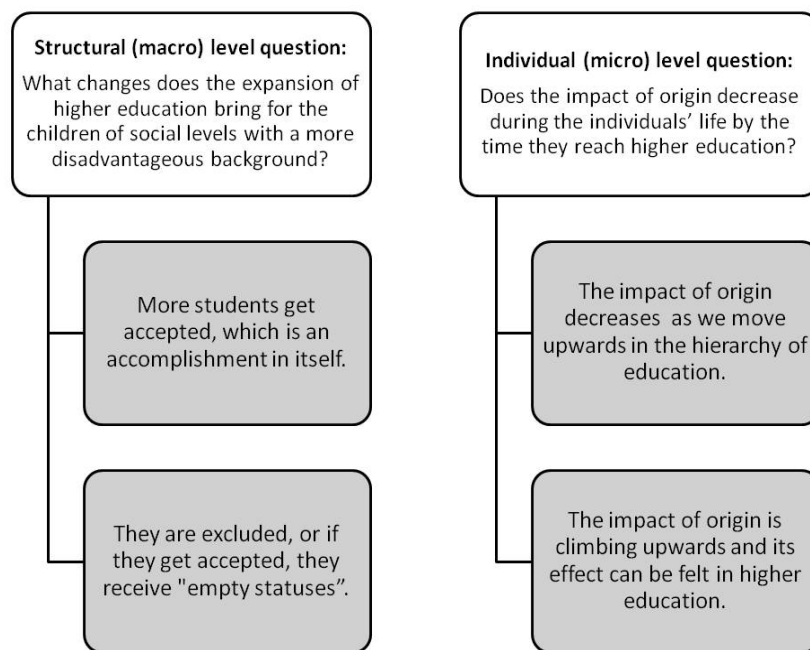
Source: self-designed by grouping the theses marked in the text

The structural (macro level) question raises the issue of the changes that the broadening of the tertiaryhigher education brought for the children of the social layersstratas in a more disadvantageous situation and whether their admission chances have grown. Have they taken part in the same degree in what concerns the advantages of the real labour market or in respect to

the advantages enriching the cultural capital, provided by higher education, to the same extent as their companions who came from families of higher status?

A group of researchers have experienced that self-exclusion is typical of secondary school graduates in a more disadvantageous situation (in other words, the fact that they do not even apply for higher education), which can even be perceived while the gates of the higher education are widening (Bourdieu 1978, 2003, Róbert 2000, Örkény & Szabó 2011, Andor & Liskó 1999, Nagy 2003). Their further statement is that even if these students get into higher education, they aim at and/or can get the less advantageous places. According to Lipset, Bendix and Zetterberg the broadening of education does not necessarily go hand in hand with the rise of equal opportunities, because expansion means the growth of *"the availability of empty statuses"*. The mobility of lower strata serves as provider for specialist, officer, director and white collar jobs that are losing their value (Lipset & Zetterberg 1998, Lipset et al. 1998, Róbert 2000). It can be stated, that selectivity can be perceived along the axles of college and university, the one cycle study program and the two cycle study program, marketable and not marketable majors etc. (e.g. Szemerszki 2009a, 2009b, 2010, Róbert 2000, Neuwirth & Szemerszki 2009, Gáti 2010). Esping-Andersen (2008) based on his international research, came to the conclusion that the broadening of education did not go hand in hand with the decline of effects of social heritage.

The other group of researchers (mainly from Hungary) who investigate the structural approach draws a somewhat more favourable picture of the inequalities in higher education. They emphasise that from the middle of the twentieth century the secondary education opened up for the lower strata, and that the trade-focused secondary school forms, which are useful in the labour market, organize the matura exam too. These factors left the possibility of further education open for those who (or whose parents) used to prefer to enter a profession (Nagy 2003). They believe that the appearance of the first generation of intellectuals (whose parents have not got a degree) in a large amount (in 1998 four tenth), in higher education[2], is a very positive consequence of this opening – even if it happened unevenly (Székelyi et al. 1998). Zoltán Ferenczi's survey of 2004, in which he took two universities into consideration, in Western Hungary, points out that the first generation intellectual rate at the two universities was 58.5% (Ferenczi 2004). Gábor Dániel Nagy found almost exactly the same data during his survey of the Southern Great Plain Region in 2006/2007 (it was 60% in the case of fathers, 58% in the case of mothers) (Nagy 2009). However, these data rather show the very strong regional segmentation of higher education in Hungary, as the students of "regional universities and colleges" are of a lot lower ancestry than those in the capital (Fónai et al. 2012). This fact can be derived not only from the social compound of those who live in the catchment area of the given universities and colleges, but it is also amplified by the selective migration of socially advantaged students, who are moving to Budapest from the whole country (Ceglédi & Nyüsti 2011, Nyüsti & Ceglédi 2012, Polónyi 2012).

The individual (micro level) interpretations study the inequalities on the level of the individual and raise the issue whether the origin still has an effect among the students and if it does, to what extent, as compared to the former educational levels.

According to one of the approaches, the effect of origin is decreasing as we proceed upwards in the educational hierarchy. One of the reasons for this was discovered by Alwin & Thornton

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2 Here we have to refer to a phenomenon by all means: the policy of highera education of the national socialist system was based on the open discrimination principle till 1962, and it excluded, from tertiary education, those who were not of folk origin (folk origin means that somebody came from the lower socal stratas, eg. from peasent categories or working-class), and it validated hidden administrative restrictions from the sixties, but the rate of the so called class "F" (blue collar workers) did not exceed 40%. It seems that the expansion of higher education in the nineties could not raise the rate of the "first generation intellectuals" above this either, in other words, we can speak of long term social historical processes, in which also the operation and composition of the whole educational system played an important role. For long decades "first generation intellectuals" meant students who came from non intellectual, in other words, non graduate families. Educational sociology deals with this group as a "non traditional" group, which means that the students' parents did not have any experience with higher education, which fact influenced in its turn the decisions regarding the further education, its direction and level (Fényes & Verdes 2006, Pusztai 2011).

under the name of life cycle hypothesis, when they summarized the results of an 18-year longitudinal study of families and their children. According to this, the older the child is, the less the family background matters (Alvin & Thornton 1984, Róbert 2000). Mare & Chang also share this opinion and they stress that the family effect is fading, especially when other people in child's environment have a greater influence (Mare 1981, Mare & Chang 2003, Pusztai 2011). Richardson gives the following interpretation: the older the children get, the better are they able to exploit the conditions of their surroundings. Children's results can come from the combination of possibilities and risk factors provided by their environment. These factors are continually changing, and the children also form their roles actively, thus becoming able to exploit their outside possibilities (e.g. school, peers, and support organisations) (quotes Bass & Darvas 2008). The selection process hypothesis also agrees with the decrease of the impact of origin, which can be linked with the name of Mare. According to this thesis there are more and more selected groups in the upper level of education, this way the impact of origin is low in them. Mare set forth this connection in the United States in the seventies, and researchers in several other countries found the same connection on the basis of his work (Mare 1981, Róbert 2000, Ganzeboom et al. 1998). Treiman says in his industrialisation hypothesis that a position in the labour market is a lot more affected by the individual's qualification than by the family origin (Treiman 1998). A qualitative study among students in Debrecen also strengthens this hypothesis, as we found resilient students (with a good performance in spite of their disadvantages) with disadvantages because of their background which had no effect on their upsweeping career (Ceglédi 2012).

The other standpoint of individual (micro) interpretations is the opposite of this. Boudon for example says that the origin effect is climbing upwards (Boudon 1974, 1981, Róbert 2000). He believes that it isdoes not an issue if the inequalities disappear on the lower levels of education, as they will reappear at the higher levels, for example in choosing a secondary school or an institution of higher education, furthermore, after leaving the university/college and entering the labour market (Bukodi 2000, Róbert 2000, Ferge 1980, 2006, Ladányi 1994, Andor & Liskó 1999, Neuwirth & Szemerszki 2009, Gazsó & Laki 1999, Szemerszki 2009a, 2009b, Forray R. 1992, Györgyi & Imre 2000, Blaskó 2008, Gáti 2010, Györgyi 2010). According to Péter Róbert (2000), if the rate of the students who get into higher levels of education rises, then the borders among groups formed by performance selection become more vague, the selectivity effect based on performance drops, so the origin acts again. The differentiated selection hypothesis asserts the same, pointing out the effect of origin as a key dimension. This theory claims that the audience taking part in the highest levels of education is already selected in respect of abilities and motivation. At the same time the selective role of the social-economical background is strengthened, revaluated because of the similarity in ability and motivation (Csata 2006). Esping-Andersen sharpens the key element of this problem and draws the attention to the fact that the interaction between parental and social investments into children's development has changed. He talks about the value that is added by the society, the extent of which is continually growing compared to the families' effect. While the role of the families becomes less important, the labour market at the same time revalues this capital: the basic capital family inherited; the school, as well as the transforming society "punishes the socially inherited disadvantageous situations." (Esping-Andersen 2008 p.29, Bourdieu 1978).

THE ROLE OF COLLEGES FOR ADVANCED STUDIES REGARDING THE INEQUALITY

Based on the above described theoretical suppositions, we consider as our starting-point of the macro level analysis stating that inequalities are still present in higher education. These inequalities do not only appear on the occasion of the admission but they thicken according to the inner selective structures of the higher education. We consider CASs as institutions that are one of the

shapers of this inner structure. So, we can consider the CAS admission as selective breakpoint, partly because of the selectivity experienced during the admission (see later), and partly because of the advantages of the admission (cf. e.g. Szijártó 1991, Bordás & Ceglédi 2011, Ceglédi & Bordás 2012). Related to this, we start out from the analogous attitude of the micro level approach, according to which the origin effect can still be perceived in higher education. From the point of view of the CASs, this appears in connection to the students' family-social background playing a role in their admission. In the following, we are going to present researches of the CASs, all of which justify these standpoints.

As we have mentioned earlier, there have been few researches about the social composition of CAS students. More comprehensive studies concentrate mainly on the institutional analysis, goals and talent development of these colleges (e.g. Fazekas & Sik 2007). According to most of these research results, no definite answer can be given to the question whether the CASs are rather "elitists" or are for "equal opportunities". This uncertainty derives partly from the fact that there is sometimes a contradiction between the formulated goals and the implemented practice (cf. Bordás & Ceglédi 2011, Ceglédi & Bordás 2012). As we take a look at the researches regarding the recruitment of CASs one by one, we catch a glimpse of whom they let through their gates. At the same time it is important to remark, that it is impossible to give a unique answer, valid for each CAS, concerning the social openness because of the variation of the target groups, goals and operational principles of CASs. The researches may show an overall picture, but different selectivity samples can prevail in each CAS.

In 2007, Péter Erős (2010) discovered sharp differences, while doing an online research, among CAS students. Although the sample can be considered representative //(as disregarding any criteria), the result is still worth of attention. According to this 83.7% of the 287 CAS students, who filled the questionnaire, came from families where at least one of the parents had a university or college degree or graduated a technical school of tertiary level. In the case of the CASs that are not located in the capital, this rate is somewhat lower, but the CASs in Budapest show a vast intensity. According to the results of an all-round 2011 research in Hungary led by Márton Gerő, 69.1% of CAS students came from graduate families, while in the age group of the college students' parents the same rate was 16% according to the microcensus (Demeter et al. 2011, Gerő et al. 2011). According to the results of Katalin Kardos' (2011a, 2011b) survey of 2011, among the members of an ecclesiastic CAS in the capital, the rate of graduate mothers-fathers was 81–84%, which also indicates strong . The same research studied a non-ecclesiastic CAS at the University of Debrecen, where a lot smaller portion of the members, 54% came from graduate families. Compared to all of the students of the University of Debrecen even this rate is low, for the above mentioned is true for the 37% of the university students who came from graduated families. The question arises: why is it that the atmosphere of CASs in the region studied by us differs from the national tendencies?

THE SPECIALITY OF THE STUDIED SAMPLE – THE SPECIAL CASE OF A REGIONAL UNIVERSITY

As regional university, the University of Debrecen attracts, to a very high extent, ofstudents having passed and ,from Hajdú-Bihar, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén counties, which rather belong to the lower economically "tail-ender" counties of Hungary than to the most successful ones (Teperics 2005, 2006, Kozma & Pusztai 2006, Fónai et al. 2005, Fónai et al. 2012, Szemerszki 2010, Felvi n.d.). A significant majority of university students can be considered in a disadvantageous situation concerning their parents' qualification and professional status. Beside the very high attendance of children of the middle strata at the university, the appearance of the low-middle strata and of the students of low status has increased as well (Pusztai 2010a, 2011). Even today, the rate of those who are entitled to get extra points as a result of the university

entrance process because of their disadvantageous or accumulated disadvantageous situation, is one of the highest in the Northern Great Plane region[3] (Szemerszki 2010).

The stratum the socially body of the socially disadvantaged students body(in a certain sense non-traditional students, cf. Pusztai 2011) partly derives from the fact that the university is located in an originally more disadvantageous region, where unemployment is higher and the population's education level is lower than the national average (Szemerszki 2010, Ceglédi & Nyüsti 2011, 2012). Selective migration can also leave further traces in the students' composition. István Polónyi's research justified this (2012) by pointing out that the rate of the students who study at an elite secondary school in Debrecen and choose to study further in the capital city is higher than the national averagestudents studying the capital city. The analysis of the data regardingdata regarding the 2011 admission proves that students who graduated from the best secondary schools in the Hajdú-Bihar county and who have a good background and/or results, prefer to continue their higher education in Budapest, while the higher education of the county retains a multitude/number? of students consisting of local pupils, who somewhat lag behind the (rather at national level than in at county level) average, concerning their social background (what is more is that those coming from the neighbouring counties can "worsen" the social compound of students who study further in the county). In spite of this, the efficiency indicators of local students who remain in Hajdú-Bihar county do not lag so far behind the national average than their background indicators (Ceglédi & Nyüsti 2011).

From the CASs viewpoint this means that those who choose the county higher education form a skimmed student population concerning both their social background and performance – it is also true that this skimmed nature concerning their efficiency can be perceived less. So, efficient students of a less good social background (resilient students) start out with supposedly good chances when "fighting for" places in CASs.

The student compound of colleges for advanced studies in the research area

We only analysed the subsample of the University of Debrecen, among the former student data bases of the Partium region, partly because the CASs have a long past going back to ages in this institute, partly because we also touched upon other talent development forms, and their comparison to CASs. This way the comparative analysis seemed to be coherent within one higher education institution. The other particularity of former researches was that the parents' education was the primary aspect among the indicators of the students' social background (cf. Ceglédi 2010a, Ceglédi et al. 2012a, Márkus 2010), beside some exceptions (cf. Ceglédi 2010b). The moral of these analyses was that the rate of the first generation intellectuals was lower among the CAS students of Debrecen than among the non-CAS students. At the same time it was also prominent that the percent of the first generation intellectuals was higher among the CAS students in Debrecen than in the CASs of the country, in general, or in some CASs in Budapest, according to the results of national researches (cf. Demeter et al. 2011, Gerő et al. 2011, Kardos 2011a, 2011b, Erős 2010). Considering the local students' admission chances, it can be stated that the CASs in Debrecen are socially closed, but they seem to be somewhat more open compared to the figures of the national researches.

In the first part of the current analysis we are going to continue the traditions of former researches in order to investigate the way the data of the newest (2012 year) student survey fit into the series of former results. Our main target institution is the University of Debrecen, and we will only deal with the parents' education.

In the second half of the empirical part we are going to extend our analysis in more directions: on the one hand, we will include in our study those institutions of higher education where the

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3 The entrance data, in a regional breakdown, provide information about the rate of students entitled to get extra points because of their disadvantageous situation. So the data of the region of the Northern Great Plane does not only consist of data of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Hajdú-Bihar counties, but also of data of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county.

CASs have been established in the last years (the College of Nyíregyháza, the Partium Christian University, cf. Nyíregyházi n.d., Ceglédi et al. 2012a), or where CASs of older tradition operate, but without being part of the topic of our research yet (Ferenc Rákóczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute). On the other hand we are going to investigate the family background in a more detailed manner. Thus beyond parents' educational level,, other indicators will be included in our analysis as well.

Some particularities regarding the research itself and the researched sample

The data base we used is part of the 2012 questionnaire survey form of the HERD research. We created a subsample for our analysis from the data base of the whole HERD research. We chose institutions with CASs, so the control group of non-CAS students included students from institutions where the possibility of a CAS membership was given.[4] This way, our statements about CAS students and non-CAS students refer only to the students who have filled in the questionnaire in these institutions (Count=1585[5]), not to all students who have taken part in the HERD research (Count=2728).

Altogether we made inquiries about the students of two Hungarian institutions, one Transcarpathian and another institution of higher education in Oradea, all of whom took part in Hungarian language training (Table 1). Our analysis allows an insight into the world of the Hungarian CASs in the Partium region.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that partly because of the small case number, and partly because of the fact that there were no questions in the questionnaire concerning the name of CAS, we cannot investigate the admission connected to the individual CASs – although, all of these colleges have an individually formed admission practice (cf. Bordás & Ceglédi 2011, 2012, Ceglédi & Bordás 2012). This way, our statements about the selectivity of admission cannot be applied to each CAS. They can only present a kind of overall picture.

Table 1: The number and the rate of CAS and non-CAS students in the institutions with a college for advanced studies (% and person)

	CAS Students		Non-CAS Students	
	%	Count	%	Count
Total	10.7	170	89.3	1414
University of Debrecen (UD)	7.9	80	92.1	933
College of Nyíregyháza[6] (CNY)	9.3	13	90.7	127
Ferenc Rákóczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute (FRTHI)	37.3	22	62.7	37
Partium Christian University (PCU)	14.8	55	85.2	317

Source: HERD database 2012, the subsample of the institutions that have a college for advanced studies, Count=1584

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4 Table 1 of Appendix contains the institutions that are included in the analysis and the list of CASs that operate in these institutions.

5 Altogether, 1743 questionnaires have come back from the four institutions that have CAS, but only 1584 students have answered the questions regarding the CAS membership. We consider the element number 1585 as a basis when we compare the CAS and non-CAS students of the investigated institutions.

6 Only three of the five faculties of the College of Nyíregyháza got into the sample: the students of the Faculty of Economy and Social Science, Faculty of Engineering and Agriculture as well as the Faculty of Pedagogy.

Results

University of Debrecen

When we compare the results of the surveys (that have a different methodology), there is a striking difference between the social compositions of the CASs that took part in the national researches and that of the University of Debrecen. As we have previously referred to it, it is especially true in the case of the CASs of the universities in the capital that only very few first generation intellectuals can become members. At this point, we should answer the original question whether CASs recreate social inequalities. The data made us be careful, since this statement is a lot less valid regarding the University of Debrecen as a regional university.

Chart 1: The rate of the students of the University of Debrecen
with at least one graduate parent (%)
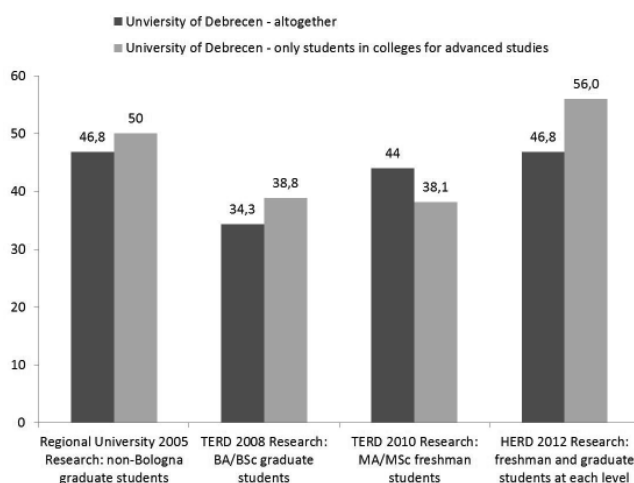
Source: Ceglédi 2010a, HERD database 2012, the subsample of the University of Debrecen, Count=972[7]

During the researches among the students of the University of Debrecen (Regional University[8], TERD[9], Campus-life[10]) we found vague traces to support the statement that isolation could be felt to a small extent against those who came from a non graduate family (Ceglédi 2010a, 2010b, Fónai et al. 2011, Ceglédi et al. 2012a, Márkus 2010, Kardos 2011a, 2011b). The only exception to this, were the data of the 2010 survey that investigated the first year students enrolled in masters courses of the TERD research.[11] It seems that according to the 2012 data of the newest research (HERD)

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7   1118 people got into the subsample of the University of Debrecen, but only 972 people answered the questions about the CASs membership and their parents' educational level.

8   A research called Regional University. Leader: Prof. Dr. Tamás Kozma (financed by NKFP, 26-0060/2002)

9   A research called The Impact of Tertiary Education on Regional Development. Leader: Prof. Dr. Tamás Kozma (financed by OTKA, T-69160)

10   A research called Campus-life at the University of Debrecen. Groups, group borderlines, group cultures. Leader: Prof. Dr. Ildikó Szabó (financed by OTKA, T-81858)

11   Our hypothesis to elucidate this data is that students from a higher social strata left the University of Debrecen after their BA/Bsc degree, therefore MA/MSc students form a skimmed student population. In other words: the skimmed social composition of MA/MSc students could be caused by a selective migration of students (Ceglédi & Nyüsti 2011, Nyüsti & Ceglédi 2012, Polónyi 2012).

– where more levels and years of the educational structure appear – first generation intellectuals still had a smaller chance at entering CAS (Chart 1). Because of the low element number of CAS students it is hard to conclude universal statements. The data definitely show that the advantages of CAS students are still valid – although the difference in their favour does not appear to be statistically significant. Based on a qualitative research, we tried to answer the question of what lies behind the selectivity. In 2011 we interviewed leaders of the CASs in Debrecen, whom we asked about the process of the enrolment. We summarized the most important statements of the research and concluded the following. The CASs are muchvery diversified. So, the admission mechanism, the target group, and also the recruitment differ too. We can talk about manifold approaches: from the elitist that declines the promotion of students in a disadvantageous situation, through the egalitarian, to the institutions that concentrate on some special groups in a disadvantageous situation. At the same time (apart from this last extreme), the past performance and the subjective criteria count more on the whole, in the admission process (as for example appearance that is defined by the cultural capital present in the family, a letter of reference that can be easier attained through social capital), which are not independent of the social background either (Bourdieu 1998, 2003, Bordás & Ceglédi 2011, Ceglédi & Bordás 2012).

In the following, we are going to reach beyond the available results and investigate in detail other indicators of family background that can influence admission. We also consider worth analysing the impact of students' results received before their CASs membership (exactly: secondary school and higher education admission results). As in the former studies we only presented the results of their attendance in higher education. Although, according to these, a strong advantage could be demonstrated in the case of CAS students compared to the overall sample, we could not decide whether it was due to the CAS or the result of the students' performance brought from "home" or from some other place (Ceglédi 2010a).

The Institutions in Partium with Colleges for Advanced Studies

Social background

The basic question of our study is whether the admission of the CASs can be better explained by the family background or by the students' previous performance. As we have already referred to it, CASs can also operate as "the elite islands" of higher education. Before the analysis of the hard indicators concerning social background we have to point out that among the CAS students men are significantly overrepresented: the rate of men among them is 39.3%, while among non-CAS students it is only 31.3% (p=0,024). This corresponds to the "male disadvantage hypotheses", according to which men's disadvantage prevails only during the admission to higher education as a result of the differences in secondary school performance between the sexes, but by the time they graduate from university this disadvantage disappears, and in the disciplinal and academic fields the (relative) advantage of men develops in the early phase of education (Fényes & Pusztai 2006, Fényes 2009, Fényes 2010, Fényes & Ceglédi 2010). Considering CASs, this is a remarkable result because these colleges offer their members academic and disciplinal advantages, relationship capital (so the somewhat overrepresented men receive them as well) that would promote the advantage of men in the future (cf. Bordás & Ceglédi 2011, Ceglédi & Bordás 2012).

However, in the case of the "hard" indicators of social background we cannot find any significant differences between the CASs and non CASs students (Table 2). The parents' qualification – viewing them both separately and together – seems to be somewhat higher than the qualification of the parents of those students that are not members of a CAS, but this difference is statistically not significant. (In any case the fact that the differences seem to be lower than those in the case

of the University of Debrecen is thought provoking. This is why it would be worth writing about the particularities of the institutions in a more comprehensive research.)

Table 2: The "hard" indicators of social background among CAS and non-CAS students*

		CAS Students	Non-CAS Students	Everybody	p values of χ^2 test or ANOVA test
The father's educational level (%)	Grade school or trade school	30.5	37.9	37.1	
	Passed a matura exam	44.5	38.7	39.4	0.169
	Graduate	25	23.4	23.6	
The mother's educational level (%)	Grade school or trade school	20.2	24.2	23.8	
	Passed a matura exam	42.3	43.9	43.7	0.278
	Graduate	37.5	31.9	32.5	
Parents' educational level (father and mother together) (%)	Grade school or trade school	13.0	18.0	17.5	
	At least one of them passed a matura exam	46.3	43.4	43.7	0.279
	At least one of them has a degree	40.7	38.6	38.9	
The settlement type of the residence at the age of 14 (%)	Farm or village	38.3	31.5	32.3	
	A smaller or bigger town	35.3	37.6	37.3	0.188
	Capital or chief town of a county	26.3	30.9	30.4	
The average number of siblings		1.1	1.1	1.1	0.891[12]
The father is working (%)		76.2	78.2	77.9	0.311
The mother is working (%)		74.6	78.9	78.4	0.12
The subjective estimation of the family's financial situation (the average of 10 grade scale)	Compared to an average family living in the country	5.4	5.5	5.5	0.491[13]
	Compared to close acquaintances/ friends	5.4	5.5	5.5	0.425[14]
	Compared to group mates at the university/ college	5.2	5.3	5.3	_[15]
Parents' objective financial goods (the average of a 10 value index)[16]		4.5	4.3	4.3	_[17]
Gained an award during highschool, or a scholarship because of social need (%)		13.9	10.6	11	0.15
The rate of those who are entitled to get extra points the year of the matura exam	Because of a disadvantageous situation (only CNY and UD subsamples, Count=1090[18])	20	19.4	19.4	0.494
	Because of accumulated disadvantageous situations (only CNY and UD subsamples, Count=1068[19])	2.4	4.4	4.2	N≤5[20]

* column percentage, average

Source: HERD database 2012, the subsample of institutions that have a college for advanced studies, Count=1584

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12 Levene statistic Sig. 0,876

13 Levene statistic Sig. 0,14

14 Levene statistic Sig. 0,23

15 Levene statistic Sig. 0,022

16 Present in the index: own flat, self-contained house; summer house, hobby farm; plasma TV, LCD TV; table computer or laptop with home internet access; tablet PC, e-book reader; Mobil-internet (on telephone or tablet PC); dishwasher; air-conditioner; automobile; smart phone. Parents of CAS students had a significant advantage in the case of these goods: tablet PC, e-book reader; Mobile-internet (on telephone or tablet PC); air-conditioner; smart phone

17 Levene statistic Sig. 0,001

18 Altogether, 1270 students got into the joint subsample of the College of Nyíregyháza and the University of Debrecen, but the rate of those who gave answers about the CAS membership and about the given extra points was 1090.

One of the reasons for the higher rate of rural students may be that some of the CASs provide housing for its members (optiopn to get a place in a dormitory). At the same time, it is an interesting fact that the students who live in the chief town of a county and in the capital enter these colleges in a relatively high rate. Regarding the indicators of parents' professional and the family's financial situation we did not find any relevant differences. Furthermore, these indicators proved to be unreliable predictors regarding the becoming of a CAS student; the small amplitude of almost identical rates (which are otherwise never significant) sometimes tilts towards CAS students and sometimes towards non-CAS students.

The "hard" indicators of the social background do not directly explain the CAS membership: they seem to contradict the reproductive and the selective explanation. The theory that operates with students' career changes can only modify this conclusion, according to which the direct impact of parents' social situation decreases with the passing of time. We experienced a similar phenomenon in the Gift Attendance Program of the University of Debrecen: the parents' educational level influenced the admission into the program less, students' own and the family's cultural and social capital had a greater effect. Beside the capitals, the significantly different institutional habit and the different student recruitment of the faculties seemed to explain the career of the students on higher level in the mentioned program (Fónai & Márton 2011, Pusztai & Fónai 2011). In our current analysis we do not have the possibility to investigate the differences of the faculties due to the students' small element number at CASs. In spite of this, we can make the more direct effects measurable with the "soft" indicators of the students' social background at CASs. Table 3 shows the connections between becoming a student of a CAS and the family's soft indicators – it is true that these connections are only in a few cases significant.

According to the table, we investigated three types of "soft" indicators: those that refer to the parents' cultural capital, those that refer to the educational milieu of the family, more generally, the indicators of the family's social capital (Carbonaro 1988, 1997, Coleman 1987, 1988, Pusztai 2009), as well as the indicators of the crises of family structure (Ceglédi 2012, Nyüsti 2012). In the case of the variable refering to the parents' cultural capital and measures the parents' reading habits, there are no significant differences between the two groups. This does not mean that the more complex cultural capital that takes other indicators of cultural consumption into consideration as well would not have any difference generating impacts. From among the three possible types of capital, the economical capital and the indicator of cultural capital in a more narrow sense (parents' qualification as an institutionalised cultural capital and reading habits as the materializedobjectified cultural capital) are those that do not show significant differences between the CAS students and the non-CAS students. But conversations on intellectual topics and keeping in touch with the teachers go significantly hand in hand with the student's CAS membership (furthermore, the time spent on cultural programs with the parents is almost significant), which can play a key role in the promotion of professional, academic career at the university.

The impact of family crises had surprising effects within the two groups: those who could relate to crises got into CASs with a bigger probability. The differences are significant when the mother is missing from the family – among CAS students the rate of those who lived only with their father was higher. The differences in connection with the social capital of the family can only be explained by supposing that fathers who raised their children alone or with a new partner had a very intensive relationship with their children. This also shows that a crisis situation in the family does not necessarily lead to failures or unsuccessful life paths. As educational sociology/sociology of education researches rather emphasise the importance of the mother's role in school life path and in career choice (Róbert 1986), this result sets a new light on fathers' role in their children's upbringing.

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19 Altogether, 1270 students got into the joint subsample of the College of Nyíregyháza and the University of Debrecen, but only 1068 people gave answers about the colleges for advanced studies membership and about the given plus points.

20 There were 5 or less than 5 elements in certain cells.

At the same time we must not forget that in our survey we asked the university and college students, who have struggled through several selectional /levels/stages of education (cf. e.g. Neuwirth & Szemerszki 2009, Róbert 2000). In a former qualitative study we have seen, that there were students in higher education who excelled in their performance, in spite of their more disadvantageous situation – they are the so called resilients, on whom their social heritage did not have any effect on their school career according to the interviews (cf. Ceglédi 2012). It is possible that during our survey we met those types of students in the CASs in whose life a "bounce back" effect occurred in a situation of crisis.[21]

Table 3: The "soft" indicators of social background among CAS and non-CAS students*

		CAS students	Non-CAS students	Everybody	p values of χ^2 test
Father usually reads books (%)		48.2	45.6	45.9	0.296
Mother usually reads books (%)		63.6	64.2	64.1	0.474
Parental care – the rate of: "they do it very often" an-swers[22] (%)	General conversation	61.9	61	61.1	0.441
	Conversation about culture, politics, public life topics	35.5	25.2	26.3	0.003**
	Conversation about books, films	27.6	20.1	20.9	0.017*
	Enquiry about free time activities	44.7	40.2	40.7	0.147
	Sharing housework	47.6	50.2	49.9	0.294
	Enquiry about studies	65.7	60.9	61.4	0.131
	Enquiry about friends	44.6	41.7	42.0	0.259
	Financial support	66.5	64.6	64.8	0.349
	Organising common cultural programs	22.9	18.1	18.6	0.069
	Encouragement to learning	58.6	59.2	59.2	0.465
	Keeping in touch with teachers	9.4	3.6	4.2	0.001**
The rate of those who have lived through a family crisis (%)	Lived in a one-parent family. With the father	9.5	4.0	4.5	0.003**
	Lived in a one-parent family. With the mother	16.6	18.3	18.2	0.336
	Was raised by the father and the foster mother	5.8	2.0	2.4	0.008**
	Was raised by the mother and the foster father	7.7	7.7	7.7	0.569
	Was raised by another relative	7.6	3.0	3.5	0.006**
	Lived in an institution for underage children	3.2	0.4	0.07	N≤5[23]
	Lived with foster parents	4.5	0.5	0.9	0.000***
	Lived with social parents	3.2	0.5	0.7	N≤5

* column percentage, average
Source: HERD database 2012, the subsample of institutions
with a college for advanced studies, Count=1584

Efficiency

We have seen that the role of the social background faded away during students' university/college life paths and successes, and from among the capital types, the elements of social capital inside the family affected the successful university career. Beside the capitals inherited from the

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21 A recent study investigated the crisis situations that occurred in the lives of the participants of HÖOK Mentoring program (their target group was different from those who were listed in the HERD research), compared to the control group of the first year university/college students and a group of people who were not accepted in higher education. A student can get a mentored status if his/her family is in a very disadvantaged social situation. The results show that mentored students met with the most crisis situations, more than those who did not even get into higher education (Nyüsti 2012).

22 There were 4 possible answers: They do it – very often, often, seldom, never

23 There were 5 or less than 5 elements in certain cells.

family, personal capitals appear to play a bigger part, and their relationship with the original social background weakens (Fónai & Márton 2011). The students' "own heritage" consists of many dimensions (such as their own cultural and social capital, etc.), which could form the material of a separate study. In the current study we have undertaken the task of presenting a single dimension of this heritage, the performance regarding studies. In order to do this by filtering out the CASs values, we chose performance indicators that students already had before their admission, either during their studies at secondary school or during their admission into higher education (Table 4).

Table 4: CAS and non-CAS students' efficiency before their CAS membership* membership

		CAS Students	Non-CAS Students	Everybody	p values of χ^2 test
They took their matura exam in a secondary vocational school [24] (%)		17.4	23.2	22.6	0.052
They took their matura exam in a secondary grammar school [25] (%)		82.6	76.8	77.4	
The rate of students who gained an award or a scholarship during highschool (%)	For their study performance at the end of the year or semester	37.2	27.8	28.8	0.013*
	For a success in a competition	42.7	22.6	24.8	0.000***
The rate of students who were entitled to get extra points the year of the matura exam (%)	For artistic or sport performance	30.8	16.1	17.7	0.000***
	For sport performance	12.7	3.9	4.8	0.000***
	For a school competition (e.g. OKTV[26])	21.9	5.8	7.5	0.000***
	For an intermediate language exam (only CNY and UD subsample, Count=1096[27])	47.1	47.6	47.5	0.509
For an advanced language exam (only CNY and UD subsample, Count=1071[28])		17.4	9.5	10.2	0.021*
For advanced level matura exam (only CNY and UD subsample, Count=1090[29])		55.3	42.8	43.8	0.017*

* column percentage
Source: HERD database 2012, the subsample of the institutions
with a college for advanced studies, Count=1584

CAS students were "more successful" than the non-CAS students regarding almost all indicators during secondary school and the entrance exam into higher education. This answers, apparently easily, our basic question: it is not the social background but the individual performance that makes a difference in the admission to CASs, in other words, the initial differences disappear in the school system. However, the answer is not this easy at all, for at least two reasons. Although a part of the scientific literature states that initial differences disappear or decrease following the admission into higher education (Boudon 1981), at the same time – as we have already referred to it – the differences among the various social groups can be grasped in their pondering over a

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24 Vocational school, vocational or technical lyceum, trade school class

25 Grammar school, humanities secondary school or sciences secondary school, transcarpathian 12-class secondary school

26   National Secondary School Academic Competition

27 Altogether 1270 students got into the joint subsample of the College of Nyíregyháza and University of Debrecen, but the number of those who gave answers about the college membership and the given extra points was 1096.

28 Altogether, 1270 students got into the joint subsample of the College of Nyíregyháza and University of Debrecen, but the number of those who gave answers about the college membership and the given extra points was 1071.

29 Altogether, 1270 students got into the joint subsample of the College of Nyíregyháza and University of Debrecen, but the number of those who gave answers about the college membership and the given extra points was 1090.

decision, in the fact of their further education and its direction. Because of the selective nature of the school system and the significant differences among secondary schools (the high rate of structure changing schools[30] in Hungary, the secondary schools in Romania and Ukraine that are regarded to be elite on the basis of other aspects) students with a different "performance" get into different schools, in other words, the social selection happens not only in higher education but already at the primary and secondary levels. Due to these factors the reproductive processes play a role in the efficiency of secondary schools to a significant degree, which seems to disappear or take another shape when students reach higher education. To what extent is this true in the case of admission to CASs? Did we find the so called resilient student in the CASs (students with a good performance in spite of their disadvantages), whose life paths are characterised by special sociological regularities? A further analysis that will examine the effect of the two indicators (background and individual performance) together will answer this question extensively.

SUMMARY

Social background or performance? Elitism or equalisation of chances? These were our main questions related to the CASs recruitment. Based on our data, collected during the HERD research, it can be stated that the role of origin in the researched institutions was less important during the admission process at the CASs than what we experienced during the national researches of these colleges. The "hard" background indicators (parents' educational level, employment status, the family's objective and subjective financial situation) hardly have any connection with the CAS membership. Some elements of the social capitals inside the family show significant differences in favour of CASs students, which result proves the impact of hidden dimensions of the reproductive processes. We suspected that the indirect effect of parental background could be perceived in the individual performances before the student acquiring a membership of a CAS. Those who later became CAS students had significantly better results while attending secondary school. It is assumable that the students coming from a social group of lower status, whose families' social capital is high and/or have a successful secondary school career, have a real chance of becoming members of a CAS. The CAS membership is a suitable field for equalizing chances and for decreasing inequalities – for example in the individual cultural capital – being more difficult to identify by that time, and it is also a suitable field for supporting the students' academic career.

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30   The Hungarian system of institutions of secondary level is rather divided. It consists of vocational schools, trade schools and grammar schools (gymnasium). In the case of the last one, the eight years studying in primary schools is followed by four years of studying in grammar schools, but there are also six and eight year grammar schools as well, which are called structure changing schools, which – just like bilingual secondary schools – strengthen the selection process (Liskó & Fehérvári 1996, Hunyady & R. Szendrei 1998, Györgyi & Imre 2000).

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Appendix

Colleges for Advanced Studies inside the investigated institutions or outside this institutions, but available for their students[31]

University of Debrecen	Boldog Terézia Katolikus Egyetemi Feminine Studies College for Advanced Studies
	DEX Circle
	Dr. Pállfy István College for Advanced Studies on Theatre Studies
	Gulyás György College for Advanced Studies
	Hatvani István College for Advanced Studies
	Kerpely Kálmán College for Advanced Studies
	Márton Áron College for Advanced Studies
	Sántha Kálmán College for Advanced Studies
	Tormay Béla College for Advanced Studies
	Wáli István Református Gipsy College for Advanced Studies
	Hajdúböszörményi Gipsy College for Advanced Studies [32]
College of Nyíregyháza	Lónyay Menyhért College for Advanced Studies
	Bessenyei György College for Advanced Studies (it became a talent development circle since its founding)
	Evangelic Roma College for Advanced Studies
Ferenc Rákóczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute	Zrínyi Ilona Transcarpathian Hungarian College for Advanced Studies
	Kölcsey Ferenc College for Advanced Studies of Ferenc Rákóczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute
	Kálvin János Reformed College for Advanced Studies
Partium Christian University	Janus Pannonius College for Advanced Studies
	Klebelsberg Kuno College for Advanced Studies
	Arany János College

Source: Ceglédi et al. 2012a, *http://www.nyf.hu/btmk/node/350, http://bgyszk.mindenkilapja.hu/, http://www.kmf.uz.ua/hun114/index.php/a-foiskola-egysegei.html*

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31 Not every CAS belongs to an university or a college. They can function in other conservators as well (e.g. church or foundation).

32 It was under establishment during the HERD 2012 survey.

DIFFERENT STUDENTS, DIFFERENT SOCIAL SITUATIONS,
DIFFERENT VALUES

Veronika Bocsi:

Value Preferences in Cross-Border Area

The aim of our study is to examine the value preferences of the students of three big higher educational institutions taking part in HERD research, comparing the students of the University of Oradea (Romania), Partium Christian University (Romania) and the University of Debrecen (Hungary). So, the main strand of our analysis is the comparison of student groups formed on the basis of ethnic-national origin by means of a list of questions surveying the value preferences with sixteen items. Hereby the theoretical frames of our study examine the comparability of values among the nations, and the system of those factors generating the differences of value preferences that may produce differences relevant to our sample. In the course of our analysis, however, we cannot either lose sight of the fact that student population is a special segment of the society, whose characteristics can be corresponded neither to the representative data of the certain countries, nor to the results of youth research, as we are talking about a group having a peculiar sociocultural background, which, at the same time, plays a fairly important role in the society of the regions. This statement can be considered especially true in the case of the Hungarian minority living in Romania, since intellectuals are a key factor in the formation of the identity and public thinking of the minorities.

Prejudice-research affecting both Hungarians and Romanians and analyses of national characterology point out that there are considerable fault lines dividing the population of the two countries – at least concerning the sympathy, the tolerance and the characteristics attributed to the other side. Pomogáts writes that Hungarian-Romanian opposition has already become part of history's mythical dimension: it has become part of the spiritual formation playing a symbolic role, which has an effect on a national community's mentality and sense of identity (Pomogáts 2000 p.150). At the same time the author also adds that this phenomenon is not at all unfamiliar in the region of East-Central Europe. The question is whether the degree of these presumed differences is really as big as it is rooted in public thinking, and whether the differences can really be experienced at the points previously presumed by us. However, we should not forget about the third subsample of our analysis that includes Hungarians living as a minority. In the past few decades the migration of the transborder Hungarians to Hungary has also been a process full of conflicts, which can be grasped on both sides; so from the side of the receivers and the arrivals – its traces are conceivable, for instance, in the narratives of those settling in Hungary. Therefore the main question of our analysis is how much the student population of our region can be regarded as unified concerning the value preferences, and where the main fault lines lie.

Culture, national origin and the world of values

We launch our theoretical frames with examining the relationship between culture and values. Probably the most cited and used theory is Hofstede's so-called onion diagram, which brings together the different strands of intercultural value research. In this model the whole culture is composed of layer upon layer, which are the following (from the exterior layer to the interior one): symbols, heroes, rituals and the innermost layer is the category of values. The different layers are connected by the common intersection of practices. In fact the world of values appears at every level, as the symbols are imbued with semantic content, the heroes are described with characteristics highly estimated by that particular culture and the rituals are intended to reach the desired goal – and the desired goals are determined by values. According to Hofstede, values

form the core of culture, on the basis of which we prefer certain states of affairs over others (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005). Fukuyama (1992) defines culture as inherited ethnical habit, which also influences behaviour. Groups formed in this way can be interpreted as moral communities, which have a shared 'language of good and evil'. Nevertheless, in the course of the comparison between nations, the concept of culture is often ignored by researchers due to its irrational nature being difficult to grasp.

Cultures are influenced and created to become peculiar and unique by many other factors besides their adaptation to natural environment, the ethnical-moral elements of religions, the economic situation, and the process of modernization and the characteristics of the political system. Of course, certain cultures cannot be regarded as unified systems – in fact there is no consensus in the case of civilization theories on which main cultures are separated (cf. Huntington 1996, Spengler 1991). The boundaries of the cultures are not clarified, either. Furthermore, several fault lines can be found within certain units – theese can be regional, of a religious nature and ethnic-based, but we must definitely mention the different value preferences and thinking structures of the social groups, too. In connection with the region of Partium we must point out that it is composed of peculiar and peripheral regions of certain countries: in Hungary the existing East-West Slope, while regarding Romania the special ethnic and historical situation must be emphasized. In his civilization theory Huntington (1996) draws the dividing line between Western and Orthodox cultures on religious bases inside the territory of Romania.

Comparative examinations among cultures affect several aspects that can be clearly grasped from the direction of value preferences. Hofstede (2005) basically distinguishes four dimensions, along which national cultures can be compared –certain of their elements can also be found among the items of the most frequently used value tests (e.g. Rokeach Value Survey, Morris's paths of life typology, Schwartz test). The first one is inequality and the relation to it, which also includes the extent of power distance – in countries with a higher power distance index hierarchies seem to be much more acceptable, while in other cultures power distance is much less considerable (e.g. in the United States it is manifested in communication, but it has several signs in the field of education, as well). The collective and individual axis is also an important dimension, which controls the relation between the individual and the group. It is essential to point out here that the strands of individualism lead to Western culture (Macfarlane 1978, Huntington 1996), while its influence in Orthodox culture seems to be more moderate (Buss 2010). The axis of masculinity and femininity is the mapping of traditional gender roles, as social values aiming at security are opposed to values aiming at competition and independence. Tolerating insecurity is connected to following the rules, experiencing aggression or expressing emotions.

Other comparative examinations also frequently affect the world of values, many of them are anthropological examinations – here we can mention the research of Mead (1935) or Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck (1963), while in connection with the Hungarian examinations, the work of Kapitány & Kapitány (1996). In the case of comparative examinations, however, it is worth considering their drawbacks, too: they partly originate in the conceptional complexity of values, which on the one hand, raise methodological problems, and on the other hand, problems concerning the fields of science. Váriné (1987) also mentions that value tests are fundamentally the products of western scientific thinking, so their concepts are by no means certain to be clearly interpreted[1] in other civilizations as well, and calls our attention to the fact that by means of groups' average values we are only able to draw a so-called 'modal personality', which does not exist in reality – we might merely regard it as ideal-typical phenomenon in Weber's sense of the word.

Hamilton (1998) presumes that religion's circle of phenomena and morality has a shared sectional area – thus, these ideologies include behavioural principles and ideals. But he describes traditional world religions as complex phenomena, in which religion, belief and morality exist intertwined, forming a unit: they regulate the behaviour and attitudes among people, in detail, with moral

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1 Here we can mention for instance, the item of 'salvation' from the Rokeach Value Survey.

support and thinking in a system. According to Fukuyama (1992), bigger institutional sources of culturally determined behaviour are traditional religions and ethical systems. According to Földvári (2009), religiousness and values can be described as phenomena overlapping one another, so it seems likely that the different religious and value patterns are attached. In the sociology of religion Weber's work about Protestant ethic (2001) and his essay entitled The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism (1995) form the basis of the thinking which analyzes religious systems firmly embedded in economic, ethical and political subsystems. Weber's concept of 'ascetic Protestantism' can be considered apparently relevant to our analysis. The influence of Orthodox religion on value systems is less known, because this culture tends to have been left out of the first wave of longer comparative value examinations. According to Buss (2010), Orthodox religion presumes strong community ties, is more tolerant to hierarchies, and in the fields examined by us the influence of secularization is also less significant. The position of the minority is accompanied by the overestimating of the values built on the different characteristics of the group – and this might be considered true with regard to the religious behaviour of the Hungarians living in Romania.

As we could see earlier, national and ethnic affiliation plays a significant role in the cultural separation of groups. If we accept that, it is logical to find differences even in the field of values, which forms the core of culture according to Hofstede. An important function of national identity is the experience of belonging somewhere so, there is identification and a counter-identification process that happens within the self (Csepeli 2005). Making the world in an organized entity is also an important momentum – the relation between groups becomes applicable due to the assignments, even if the objectivity of the obtained results is questionable.[2] The formation of the national and ethnical identity, similarly to other segments of political socialization, is rooted in an early age of childhood, and can be ranked among its deeper layers that are difficult to change. However, the research of the national character raises several problems: according to Rákos (2000) the phenomenon itself is over discussed, complicated and confused and its roots are irrational. However, its scientific and objective approach is necessary, as the phenomenon interweaves our days, and in East-Central Europe it was given a political slant in the past few decades. According to Eriksen (2011), whose main field of analysis is Northern Europe and the developing countries, emphasizing ethnic identities is rather to be interpreted as a political instrument, and not as a response given to a threat coming from outside. In their formation and fixation mass education also plays an important role, as the individuals never establish personal relationships with the majority of the groups categorized. In this way national identities are in fact qualified as a surface that can be constructed. The fixation and functions of national stereotypes recall the concept of closed mindedness framed also by Kruglanski (2004), which makes quick decisions possible, but prevents empathy and in hierarchies results in accepting attitudes at the top and rejecting attitudes at the bottom. According to the author, closed mindedness can be interwoven with ethnocentrism, dogmatism and may induce intolerance towards minorities.

The more increased use of national categories in East-Central Europe was brought along with romanticism and the birth of nationalism, while the extremely mixed ethnic relations of the region, the political events of the past two centuries and delayed modernization resulted in the emergence of peculiar forms. In the fields of politics, literature and journalism the formation of their own national image had been launched on both the Hungarian and the Romanian sides (Köpeczi 1995, Rákos 2000), and the mutual, mainly negative stereotypes had also become rooted (Mitu 2006). And while in other geographical regions national identities that earlier appeared to be more unified now seem to be fracturing, and they are described with the words nihilist and apolitical by Eriksen, in East-Central Europe we can hardly find any trace of such processes, moreover it seems as if opposing phenomena were emerging in certain segments of the society or maybe in the whole of it.

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2 Köpeczi (1995) makes a distinction between national image and national stereotype. He describes the first as a national related ingroup and outgroup attitude, which serves the arrangement of the world, while the latter is a set of knowledge of national relevance, accumulated collectively, whose purpose is, among others, to preserve this set of knowledge unchanged.

But, concerning the national characterology, the most interesting question to be raised is whether the structures and opinions developeddeveloped in public thinking can actually be / comprehended by means such as value tests. And if yes, whether the differences are really as big as they have become rooted in the public thinking, and whether they appear at the expected place. Hunyady (2001) writes that due to the nature of human thinking human and psychological qualities are attached to economic and social achievements. As the author writes, it is also an interesting, but at the same time the logical result of researching the national characteristics, the fact that different nations describe certain groups in the same way. Other elements, however, involve a lot more differences caused by subjectivity and different experience. In the case of a conflict-filled relationship, a situation that Hunyady (1996) also experienced in his examination, might arise: during his examination covering eight nations, for instance, the Hungarian and the Romanian subsamples mutually preferred each other the least, while the self description of the two nations was rather similar, since they both view themselves as friendly, having a good sense of humour, but less hardworking. Interestingly enough, the mutual description of the other side also corresponded; the Romanian respondents described the Hungarians the same way as the Hungarian subsample described the Romanians.

And although we have already emphasized that our sample, due to its regional and student character, cannot be to /correlated with the results of the international or national examinations which survey value preferences, certain elements of the comparative examinations will most probably be reflected in the course of our own examination. So now, we are going to briefly review the differences between the preferences of Romanian and Hungarian population and also touch upon the world of values of the Hungarian minority living in Romania. First we are going to summarize the results of Hofstede's research (2005) from the viewpoint of the two countries. Nevertheless, we must know that the samples of these analyses are not representative. Power distance index, which maps the relation to hierarchies, results in the following, corresponding to the theoretical frames outlined previously: the Romanian subsample accepts a lot more great power distances.[3] In the ranking order of the index, the values of individualism the Hofstede researched, placed Romania in the central field, while Hungary is placed in one of the last positions – which contradicts the value of those outlined sociological theories, which draw a parallel between the later elimination of the Orthodox religion and of the traditional social forms, and collective orientation.[4] Masculinity is not a characteristic of either of the countries, but Hungary finds itself on a considerably lower position in this ranking order, as well,[5] while the avoiding insecurity index is the only index, where Romania is positioned higher.[6] Keller (2009), analyzing the data of the fifth wave of World Value Survey (WVS) drafted the following diagram, which placed 44 countries along the axes of traditional/religious and secular/rational, and open and closed mindedness (Chart 1). The chart shows that closed mindedness is a characteristic of both countries – Hungary can, most of all, be described as being closed minded within the Western civilization. Along the other axis, however, great difference can be experienced between the two countries, as Romania is much more close to the traditional/religious pole. Keller calls attention to the fact that regarding the dimensions he examined closer e.g. freedoms, free speech, controlling destiny) Hungary is placed separately from Western culture, inserted much more between Orthodox countries.

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3   Among 74 countries Romania is positioned as 7th and Hungary as 71st.

4   Romania holds the 45th-47th positions, Hungary the 71st-72nd positions.

5   Romania holds the 50th-52nd positions, Hungary the 70th position.

6   Romania holds the 14th, Hungary the 26th position.

Chart 1: Axes of traditional/religious and secular/rational,
and open and closed mindedness based on the fifth wave of WVS
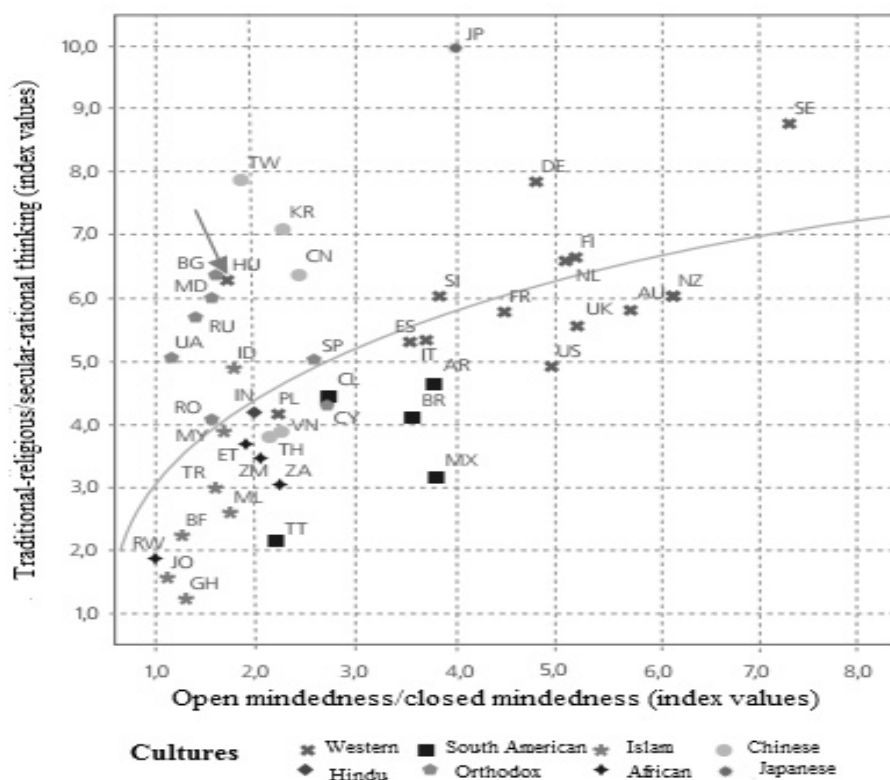
The first axis shows the weakening of religious, familiar and national ties.
Open mindedness is connected with trust, tolerance and acceptance of democratic values

Source: Keller 2009

Following the turn of the millennium, Csata (2012) compared the value preferences of Hungarian youngsters, Romanian youngsters living in Transylvania and Hungarian youngsters living in Transylvania and came to the conclusion that the Hungarian subsample preferred more material values, while in the case of the other two subsamples religion was positioned higher. The characteristic of the Romanian subsample was a more positive relation to power, while in the case of Hungarian youngsters living in Transylvania national identity received higher values.

The examination of student value preferences

In the course of our analysis, we used the HERD database (Count=2619). However, during the comparative analysis of the subsamples, we highlighted based on this, on the one hand, the institutions of the Hungarian minority living in the Ukraine and on the other hand, the Emanuel University of Oradea (because of its theological orientation) so that it should not modify the worth of value preferences in a non-desirable direction. In this way we obtained a database of

2482 persons consisting of three subsamples: the Hungarian subsample comprised the University of Debrecen, the College of Nyíregyháza and Kölcsey Ferenc Reformed Teacher Training College (regarding the latter, students majoring in theological subjects were not included in the sample), the Romanian subsample compromised the students enrolled at the University of Oradea, while the subsample of Hungarian minorities living in Romania was based on the students of Partium Christian University (students majoring in theological subjects were not involved in sampling, either). In the course of our examination the value preferences were surveyed by means of a list of questions consisting of 16 items, where students had to evaluate the importance of a particular item in their life on a four-step scale (from 1 to 4). Before our analysis, we presumed that:

- in the case of value preferences both the Romanian and the Hungarian minority (living in Romania) subsamples will differ considerably from the Hungarian subsample
- according to the research of Hofstede (2005) and Csata (2012), the item of power will have a dominant role in the Romanian subsample
- the lowest-degree presence of the conservative, national values will be experienced by the Hungarian subsample.

As the first step of our analysis, students' value preferences were examined on the grounds of the HERD database (Table 1). At the top of the list – as we presumed beforehand – the values focusing on close-knit social networks and strong ties, the item of love and happiness were placed. The least preferred values were power, politics-public life and religious belief, while items of conservative-national character (social order, preserving respectable traditions, national security), and values of material and hedonist attitude were positioned in the central field. The relatively high averages of inner harmony and intellect may be recorded as a peculiar trait of the population.

Table 1: Student' preferences value - the HERD database

Inner harmony	3.58
Power	2.27
Freedom	3.59
The world at peace	3.54
Family security	3.77
National security	3.14
Love, happiness	3.70
Social order, stability	3.39
Preserving respectable traditions	3.23
Religious belief	2.74
Imagination	3.29
Material resources	3.16
Intellect	3.43
True friendship	3.69
An exciting life	3.51
Politics, public life	2.34

The maximum value to be set is four
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2482

The next step we undertook wads to compare the averages of the three subsamples. Table 2 shows the results obtained. Having studied the value of the preferences we can state that individual and micro-community items (inner harmony, family security, love, true friendship) occur more strongly in the Hungarian subsample, as opposed to for instance, material resources, which is represented as having the lowest value in our restricted database. This latter data does not concord with Csata's results (2012) quoted earlier. Romanian students valued the item of power and the dimension of

politics-public life extremely high, but placed intellect and inner harmony (so values gravitating towards individual orientation) at a low position. In the case of the Hungarian minority subsample the micro-community values occur less strongly than in the case of the Hungarian students; the minority status may account for the lower scores of 'national security' and 'social order'. It should be noted that concerning the 'religious belief' the difference between the Romanian and the Hungarian minority subsample is only a hundredth, exceeding the values of the Hungarian students.

Table 2: Student value preferences in the subsamples of Hungarian, Romanian, and minority Hungarian students living in Romania

	Hungarian sub-sample	Romanian sub-sample	Minority Hungarian subsample
Inner harmony	3.66	3.40	3.64
Power	2.09	2.71	2.10
Freedom	3.60	3.58	3.59
A world at peace	3.56	3.54	3.48
Family security	3.81	3.73	3.71
National security	3.17	3.15	3.03
Love, happiness	3.74	3.68	3.64
Social order, stability	3.38	3.48	3.28
Preserving respectable traditions	3.26	3.18	3.22
Religious belief	2.43	3.06	3.07
Imagination	3.28	3.33	3.25
Material resources	3.12	3.20	3.19
Intellect	3.51	3.27	3.44
True friendship	3.72	3.67	3.64
An exciting life	3.54	3.49	3.46
Politics, public life	2.25	2.52	2.30

Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2482

In the first phase of our analysis we also examined the order of the values (Table 3), as in certain cases the difference between the items was no more than a few hundredths. The data obtained in this way indicate characteristics that have not come to light by means of averages – for instance, concerning inner harmony extremely big difference can be experienced in the case of the Romanian and Hungarian minority subsample, which can be grasped in six positions. The position of the item in the latter group can be interpreted as the counterpoint of the lower scores of micro-community/national values. The more material approach of the Romanian subsample is in agreement with the data of the previous table, and an attitude that places a lower value on the intellect can also be seen. The pattern of the values connected to national and conservative categories is not clear – the national security for instance, is placed in its highest position in the case of Hungarian students, while in the case of the Romanian students it is social order. A smaller, but clearer difference is shown in the case of power, world at peace and religion as well. The intercultural analysis of Kapitány & Kapitány (1996), which, however, is not based on student data, mentions the appreciation of the intellectual attitudes in the case of the Hungarian minority living in Romania – its signs cannot be grasped within the block of values of the HERD database. Concerning Romania, the authors also write about the different role of power and politics, and this statement seems to be demonstrated within our sample as well.

Table 3: The orders of the students' preferences values by subsamples

Hungarian subsample	Romanian subsample	Hungarian Minority subsample
Family security (1)	Family security (1)	Family security (1)
Love, happiness (2)	Love, happiness (2)	Inner harmony (2)
True friendship (3)	True friendship (3)	Love, happiness (3)
Inner harmony (4)	Freedom (4)	True friendship (4)
Freedom (5)	World at peace (5)	Freedom (5)
World at peace (6)	An exciting life (6)	World at peace (6)
An exciting life (7)	Social order, stability (7)	An exciting life (7)
Intellect (8)	*Inner harmony (8)*	*Intellect (8)*
Social order, stability (9)	Imagination (9)	*Social order, stability (9)*
Imagination (10)	*Intellect (10)*	Imagination (10)
Preserving respectable traditions (11)	*Material resources (11)*	Preserving respectable traditions (11)
National security (12)	Preserving respectable traditions (12)	*Material resources (12)*
Material resources (13)	*National security (13)*	Religious belief (13)
Religious belief (14)	Religious belief (14)	*National security (14)*
Politics, public life (15)	Power (15)	Politics, public life (15)
Power (16)	Politics, public life (16)	Power (16)

The differences reflected in two or more positions are indicated in *cursive* type
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2482

In the second, bigger phase of our analysis we undertook it to separate factors, in our restricted database, on the grounds of the values, and then to examine the factor scores in the three student groups by means of variance analysis. The created factors can be seen in Table 4. In the course of our procedure the following four factors were detached successfully: harmonious individualist, hedonist intellectual, conservative national and enforcing interest.

Table 4: Factors in the subsample of the analysis (factor loadings)[7]

| | *Factors* | | | |
	Harmonious individualist	Postmodern intellectual	Conservative national	Enforcing interest
Power				0.895
Freedom	0.697			
World at peace	0.692			
Family security	0.762			
National security			0.774	
Preserving respectable traditions			0.734	
Imagination		0.755		
Intellect		0.734		
An exciting life		0.685		
Social order			0.559	
Politics, public life				0.665
Inner harmony	0.486			
Love, happiness	0.693			

Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2482

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7 The factors were rotated using the Varimax method and we also used the principal method estimation. When creating the factors we carefully watched that the information explained should not decrease below one unit by variable. The amount of information preserved is 61.558% with terminal values. The matching factor structure could be reached by keeping 13 values.

In the last step of our analysis the factors were examined based on the three big subsamples (Table 5) – a significant relation was found in the three cases. In the case of harmonious individualist factor it is an interesting fact that the averages of the factor scores of the Romanian and Hungarian subsamples are close to each other, but the Hungarian minority students living in Romania are far behind them. The postmodern intellectual factor is also most characteristic to Hungarian students, and its rejection is notable among Romanian students. However, this is the subsample where the enforcing interest factor has an outstanding value. The table is also in agreement with the results of Hofstede's research on organizational culture, which analyze the relation to power and affect the dimension of femininity-masculinity, and at the same time highlights the difference between the thinking structures of Hungarian students and Hungarian minority students living in Romania.

Table 5: Averages of factor scores by subsamples

Subsamples	Harmonious individualist	Postmodern intellectual	Enforcing interest	Sig.
Hungarian	0.0333	0.0693	-0.221	
Romanian	0.0233	-0.148	0.471	
Minority Hungarian	-0.123	0.0453	-0.141	
sig.	0,016	0,000	0,016	

Significant relation, ANOVA-test (p<0.05)
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2482

SUMMARY

As the first step of our summary we must examine whether our hypotheses were right or not. Our first presumption was that both the Romanian and the Hungarian minority subsample would considerably differ from the Hungarian subsample. This statement can be regarded as confirmed, as we could experience both in the case of values and in the case of factors that all the three groups have peculiar characteristics: Romanian students have a stronger orientation towards power and their attitude to enforce interest is more significant, while Hungarian students' world of values is more secular and intellect-oriented. The individual attitude of the Hungarian minority subsample is weaker, but there is a great difference between them and the Hungarian students in the field of religion. Concerning the explanation of this latter phenomenon, most of all, the minority status effect on values can be mentioned, which on the one hand, increases the importance of collective elements and on the other hand, positions the values connected to their own identity (in this case, religion) higher. Our second hypothesis concerned the item of power, and in this case the results also confirmed our expectations – in agreement with previous research results the power orientation of the Romanian subsample proved to be stronger. We finally presumed that values of conservative, national character would appear weaker in the Hungarian subsample. This hypothesis was based on the idea that macro-community/national values would be manifest less in an ethnically homogeneous country. We were not able to confirm this hypothesis, as the relevant items behaved differently in the cases of the three subsamples: national security and preserving respectable traditions were the most pronounced within the Hungarian subsample, while social order, stability had a greater role in Romanians' world of values. There was no significant difference in our three subsamples concerning the factor created by means of these variables, the so-called conservative, national factor.

Closing our analysis we can state that the categories outlined in the theoretical frames, culture and nation, minority or majority, status and religion lead to significant differences within the

thinking structures. The differences can also be grasped by means of value tests, but the results obtained do not concord with the picture created by national characterology, and do not move in harmony with the differences created by stereotypes, national images, either. However, they correspond much more to the underlying variables explaining values, such as the political situation, the ethical systems of religions and the effects of civilizations-cultures on value orders.

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Hajnalka Fényes & Gabriella Pusztai:

Religiosity and Volunteering among Higher Education Students in the Partium Region

Introduction

Our goal in this paper is to examine the relationship between the different dimensions of religiosity of higher education students and the students' volunteering. Volunteering is a quite new activity of higher education students in Central-Eastern Europe, and has been examined only very rarely, so far. We can find, in the literature, that religiosity, especially churchgoing increasing volunteering. Those who participate in religious communities volunteer more frequently than those who are not part of those communities. The other finding of the literature is that religiosity, in general enlarges the chance of volunteering, as non-materialistic values, and the importance of helping others is more popular among religious people, and these value preferences are more compatible with volunteering than others. In the frame of the HERD research, we have already examined the relation of the students' values and the students' volunteering in another paper (Bocsi & Fényes 2012), but now we focus especially on the students' religiosity and on the effect of religiosity on the students' volunteering.

In the theoretical part of our paper we deal with students' religiosity in Central-Eastern Europe, with the definitions of volunteering and of the volunteering types and finally with the relationship between volunteering and religiosity. In the empirical part, first we examine the different dimensions of students' religiosity, as the confessional composition, the personal religious practice, the participation in the religious communities (churchgoing) and finally we examine the self categorization of students' religiosity, where we differentiate between churchly religious, religious in their own way and non-religious students. Then we analyze the relationship between the different dimensions of religiosity and the students' volunteering. Finally, we create three clusters based on the motives of students' volunteering (traditional, mixed, mixed but not résumé building motives), and we examine the relationship of cluster membership and the dimensions of religiosity.

Confessional landscape

Religiosity is a multidimensional phenomenon, and its thorough investigation is inevitably important. Although we can differentiate five dimensions of religiosity (practice, ideology, knowledge, experience and consequences), we usually classify the types of religiosity only according to personal and community factors (Glock-Stark 1968). However it is very interesting to compare the data measured in different religious dimensions, especially the first four dimensions and everyday life behavior. If we interpret voluntary actions as a potential consequential dimension of religiosity, consequences in the day to day life can be strongly consequent and inconsequent with the dimensions of practice. Obviously, it depends on the cultural, contextual norms acquired both in the family and within the wider community. In this paper we wish to investigate the association between religious practice and voluntary work, and the consequences of the religiosity among Central and Eastern European students twenty years after the collapse of communist states.

As for religious affiliation the first issue is the confessional identity. Based on the recent research in the sociology of religion, we can state that Euro-secularism characterizes post-communist countries in a different way, than it did in the western European societies (Zulehner et al. 2008). Some of them are considered the most religious countries in Europe, e.g. Romania. Researchers found a few alternative explanations for this situation, and one of them based on confessional landscape. There is no doubt the fundamentally mono-confessional blocks of Europe have been replaced by the broadest and most manifold multi-confessional belt here: Catholics, Protestants, Orthodoxs and also south Muslims live close to each other. Ethnic and confessional factors are interrelated in multiconfessional and multiethnic states and religiosity is stronger in those regions where confessional affiliation functions as a central component of identity. As for the confessional landscape of the Central Eastern European region, it is supposed to be an influential factor within the present religious setting. Secularization has been more intensive in partly monoconfessional Protestant countries, and the proportion of religious Protestants has decreased. The most secularized culture is displayed in the previous provinces of East Germany and the Czech Republic. Although, according to the supply-side theory, confessional pluralism stimulates religiosity, some researchers consider confessional diversity as the weak point of resistance to state-facilitated secularization, because in this situation the representatives of the state-party used effectively the "divide et impera" tactics. In Hungary this worked very efficiently.

THE CHARACTER OF THE RELIGIOUS PRACTICE IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

According to latest international comparative studies, Romania is the most religious country in Europe. It is a multiethnic and multiconfessional state, but obviously the regional differences are very striking. Orthodoxy is a very dominant confession in eastern and southern part of the country. Compared to western Christianity the orthodox religiosity seems to be more stable and stronger in the religious practice. The orthodox churches traditionally have had stronger ties with the state, than Roman Catholic and Protestants in central Europe, but we do not have enough research findings regarding their role during the communist period. The ideological dimension of the orthodox religiosity is more traditional within established institutions of public religiosity. As for the balance of religious knowledge and experience, we can state, that the emotional dimension is more important in the orthodox communities, than the intellectual thinking, suspicions and reflexive analysis as, for example, in some protestant confessions. In what regards the consequences, we have a small amount of information for comparison; only Tomka revealed a lower level of satisfaction with political transformation and democracy (Tomka 2005). What seems to be a highly distinct characteristic is the unity of the religious community of belonging to church and a very strong homogeneous religious practice in all social strata and age groups (Tomka 2005). The north-western part of the country (including the investigated region) is a multiconfessional and multiethnic region that seemed to be more religious than other Central European areas.

After the Communist takeover, different worldviews and ways of thinking, in particular faith-based world views, were declared to be a dangerous enemy of communism in Hungary too. Religious education continued within the parishes, but it could attract only very few children. People who were affiliated to any of the religious communities became stigmatized, and a number of clergymen who attempted to organize activities for young people or small communities were harassed. While the several forms of indoctrination and persecution continued until the 1990s, the so-called soft dictatorship revealed a much more substantial religious change in Hungary. This contributed to the unambiguous religious revival after 1978 (Tomka 1999), and paved the way for "a reflex-like crude individualism aiming at the accumulation of material wealth and survival" (Hankiss 1986).

In the western part of Romania and Ukraine there have been compact indigenous Hungarian ethnic minorities since 1920. Although, this region is characterized by a significant Protestantism

among Hungarians, there is a significant gap within the levels of religiosity within the ethnic Hungarians and within those in their home-country. Probably, this can be explained by their plural religious context. Until recently, religion has been one of the pillars of ethnic Hungarians' national identity in the reviving Orthodox context in Romania and in Ukraine.

STUDENTS' RELIGIOSITY

In the special tripartite structure of the religiosity of the Hungarian society, churchly interpreted religiosity (people who practice their religion within a church) and non-religiosity are two smaller groups of about the same size. Almost every second person claims to be religious in their own way (Tomka 1991). Essentially, the same classification applies to young people as well. Tomka observed that the basic indicators of social status are very strongly, but negatively interrelated with religiosity, but in the recent years the tendency seems to have weakened with respect to the frequency of churchgoing. For example, the most highly qualified people (with university degrees) follow the path of the least qualified people. Among young people, highly qualified parents are already overrepresented on both ends of the scale, and practicing young church members come not only from more educated background, but also from those with economically higher-status backgrounds, especially in big cities (Rosta & Tomka 2010). Young people increasingly practice their religion in small communities, which often surpasses or even replaces their practice in the large community. All the research done among young people unanimously contends that religion-based voluntary membership is by far the most popular organized activity among young people, even more popular than sport activities (Pusztai 2009). There are considerable differences between the ethnic Hungarian minority and home-country youths' religiosity, as more of those belonging to the minority are practicing religiosity (Pusztai 2011).

RELIGIOSITY IN THE SCHOOL-SYSTEM

During the communist regime all the schools were nationalized, religious associations and civil movements were eliminated from the public life. In Romania, there were no denominational schools, while in Hungary only ten denominational secondary schools were allowed to exist under strict limitations (Pusztai 2006). In the new state-controlled schools, teachers and students were constrained to acquire and propagate the Marxist ideology. It was a particular subject of instruction; moreover, aggressive atheism penetrated all the elements of the curricular and of the extracurricular activities and youth movements. Religious students who expressed their religiosity were discouraged or excluded from applying for higher education. The special socialist model of higher education was widespread in this region, scientific achievement was usually replaced by political reliability and students' worldview was controlled by the higher education enrolment (Görgőy 2001). This caused social and educational disadvantages of the religious people. Even nowadays, the highly influential subculture of intellectuals is mainly secular in these countries and this phenomenon seems to be an even more predominant feature among the higher education of post communist countries (Smolicz et al. 2001). Following the political transformation in Central and Eastern Europe, one of the most important challenges of restructuring the educational system was how the different cultural groups would be able to ensure pluralism in education to their children after the domination of the totalitarian ideology. It is obvious that a large part of the youth can experience personal religious practice in their families, even in the religiously polarized Hungary one fifth of the youth meet religiosity in their narrower family environment, but in more religious regions, two thirds of them anticipate it. Praying is a rarely common activity even in the more religious regions; it is possibly an individual practice of family members.

Despite this fact, our research results have revealed that higher education studies seem to be a highly important stage in the shaping of the individual's cognitive, political and religious attitudes. The results of the research conducted by Newcomb at the Bennington College that the higher education studies have triggered essential spiritual changes depending on the various institutions has also been reinforced by recent investigations (Feldman & Newcomb 1969, Schreiner 2000, Morris et al. 2003, Astin et al 2011, Pusztai 2009, 2011). However, the religiosity of the students seems to be more up-to-date than that of the generation of the parents, as this religiosity is based on small communities rich in personal relationships, seeking personal attachment rather than the traditional churches. It may also be observed that they are efficiently able to make use of modern mass media in order to maintain the ties between small communities. In this paper we have attempted to find out whether this new generational, modern religiosity can apply to the university students as a whole in this region, and finally if a kind of unified attitude to volunteering is being established or the cultural diversity will also be represented in this respect as well.

VOLUNTEERING AND TYPES OF VOLUNTEERING

In our paper we examine the relation of religiosity and voluntary activity of higher education students. The common elements of volunteering are as follows: it is a non-obligatory activity, it is carried out for the benefit of others (individuals, specific organizations or society as a whole), it is unpaid and normally it takes place in an organized context (Voicu & Voicu 2003, Meijts et al. 2003, Wilson 2000, Chaan & Amrofell 1994, Handy et al. 2010, Dekker & Halman 2003, Bartal 2010).

We can differentiate between traditional and modern motivations of volunteering. The traditional motivations are based on altruistic values (being useful for the society, doing something for others) and on the importance of social interactions and community. The modern motivations include career development, personal growth, work experience, professional improvement, gaining information, developing and practicing skills, getting a job more easily, enlarging human capital, making friends, meeting people with similar interest, useful leisure activity (learning and practicing sports and cultural activities). Among young generation the mixed motivation type is also frequent: e.g. helping others is important for the students with modern motivations. (Perpék 2012, Czike & Kuti 2006, Stefanescu & Osvat 2011, Handy et al. 2010)

The new type of volunteering is strongly related to modern motivations of volunteering. Handy et al. (2010) called one of the new types of volunteering among higher education students the career-related résumé building volunteering (e.g., they do voluntary work, because they can put such experience in their CVs). Due to volunteering the students can convert the acquired cultural and social capital into economic capital later on, when they seek and find jobs. This new type of volunteering is usually goal-oriented, concomitant with more freedom and autonomy, it is a short-time activity and it takes place in a flexible organizational frame work.

Another type of new volunteering is the cultural or leisure oriented volunteering among the young generation. Inglehart (2003) showed that volunteering has not decreased these days, only the traditional type of volunteering is less frequent. The young volunteers perform activities in a more flexible organizational framework, mainly in charitable and sports associations. However, concerning leisure-time volunteering, it is still important that the volunteer should work for the benefit of others (function and task tackling).

In our previous research we examined the group membership ratios of higher education students, and based on this, we tried to make predictions regarding the voluntary activity of the students, especially the students' voluntary activities regarding the potential leisure time. We have found that the participation rate in such groups (organizations, clubs etc.) is quite low compared to Western European countries. Only few students are members of such groups, and the number of potential groups is quite low as well, in the examined region. (Fényes & Kiss 2011a,b, Fényes & Pusztai 2012)

RELIGIOSITY AND VOLUNTEERING

Based on several studies, religiosity – especially regular churchgoing – enlarges the probability of volunteering. Voicu & Voicu (2003) showed that in Romania it is the fact of belonging to a religious community that is important concerning volunteering, not the personal religious practice (e.g. regular praying). Based on a 2008 research study among the volunteers of non-profit organizations, Bartal (2010) emphasizes the fact that among socio-demographic factors, religious people are overrepresented among volunteers in Hungary.

It is also demonstrated that social capital variables are stronger predictors of volunteering than socio-demographic factors, and religiosity as a social capital indicator increased the probability of volunteering (Perpék 2012). Hodgkinson (2003) has also demonstrated that among the social capital effects on volunteering, active engagement in religious institutions is a strong predictor of volunteering.

Our previous results showed that at the University of Debrecen the religiosity increased the volunteering. 28.4% of students, who were religious in their own way, did voluntary work, which is higher than the average, but the regular churchgoers volunteered even at a higher rate (45%), which is in accordance with the literature. (Fényes & Kiss 2011a,b) Our hypothesis is that religiosity increases especially the probability of the traditional type of volunteering among higher education students (this hypothesis will be controlled later on in this paper).

Based on our previous data, 12.3% of students are participating in religious groups at the University of Debrecen, which can involve various voluntary activities, such as accompanying and managing, providing food and drink on the occasion of social gatherings of young people, helping the homeless in e.g., ecumenical organizations (a qualitative analysis of volunteering among higher education students can be seen in Fényes' et al. (2012) work).

METHODS AND EXAMINED VARIABLES

In our research, we used the database of the HERD research. To examine the research questions, quantitative data are used. We conducted the data-analysis with the SPSS program; we used frequencies, crosstabs and cluster analyses.

The examined variables were: (1) if the students volunteer during the studies or not, (2) if yes, why does he/she volunteer (with 6 possible answers), (3) the different dimensions of religiosity (praying –, internal religiosity, churchgoing – external religiosity), self categorization of religiosity (for example, clerical religious or religious in their own way or not religious), (4) and finally the denomination of students.

RESULTS

The dimensions of religiosity by countries

Belonging to a denomination is an important aspect of several dimensions of religiosity. It reveals that a family's identity is or was shaped by an awareness of belonging to a cultural system and a community that is wider than the extended family, place of residence or region, even if religious practice today is less frequent than before. Four fifths of our student sample claimed to belong to a denomination, a very high rate compared to the Hungarian data. Theories that give macro-level explanations may as well attribute this phenomenon to a denominational diversity, to free and conscious decision-making after the fall of the system of totalitarian ideology or to superficial socialist modernization that left the profound structure of society untouched (Iannaccone 1991). Owing to the multiethnic political

composition of the region, the functions of religious identity are expanded by the intertwined nature of national and religious identities (Titarenko 2007, Doktór 2007).

As shown in our earlier research, the surveyed region has a special status in terms of denominational composition, as it is one of the multiconfessional areas of Europe, which, on the contrary, is predominantly made up of monoconfessional units. In our earlier research conducted among students of institutions where the language of instruction was Hungarian, multiconfessionalism was indicated by the segment of Greek Catholic and Protestant students, which was higher than in other countries of the region. Our extended sample, which is still being processed and includes both state and minority-language institutions, reinforces the image of a multiconfessional student society. Denominational diversity tends to result in mixed marriages and the possible dual denominational identity of the young generation. Our sample, however, contained hardly any (as few as 23)[1] dual identity respondents, which suggests the fact that denominational identity is fairly stable.

Table 1: The confessional composition of the students by country in the border region (%)[2]

	Hungary	Romania	Ukraine	Total
Reformed (Calvinist)	34.3	21.0	61.5	28.9
Orthodox	0.2	38.2	2.8	18.8
Catholic	21.8	14.5	22.0	18.3
Greek catholic	10.9	2.6	7.3	6.7
Baptist	0.4	10.0	0	5.0
Pentecostal	0.1	1.7	0	0.9
Evangelical	1.0	0.6	0	0.8
Jewish	0	0.6	0	0.3
Unitarian	0	0.6	0	0.3
Other	0.8	3.9	1.8	2.3
No confession	14.9	0.8	1.8	7.5
No answer	15.6	5.4	2.8	10.2
Altogether	100.0	100,0	100.0	100.0
Count=	1295	1323	109	2727

Chi-square: ***
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

The table clearly shows that it is the student sample from Romania that has the most diverse confessional composition in the surveyed region. Those of them who have a definite denominational identity can be classified into three major groups: one third belongs to the Reformed or other Protestant denominations, over one third are Orthodox, and Catholics make up only one sixth. As for the Ukrainian students, they are the least heterogeneous group in terms of confessional composition. They have the lowest rate of students with no denominational identity or refusing to answer. In the Hungarian sub-sample of the region, the three major divisions are approximately of the same size: the Reformed and Catholics make up one third each, and 30% do not belong to a denomination or refused to answer.

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1   The distribution of students with dual denominational identities: 8 Roman Catholic-Greek Catholic, 3 Reformed-Orthodox, 4 Lutheran-Reformed, 1 Roman Catholic - Jewish, 1 Reformed - Jewish, 2 Unitarian - Reformed, 1 Unitarian - Roman Catholic, 1 Roman Catholic- Orthodox, 1 Baptist - Roman Catholic, 1 Reformed-Baptist

2   In the following tables, $0.01 < p < 0.05$ is marked by *, $0.001 < p < 0.01$ is marked by **, $p < 0,001$ is marked ***, and NS is non-significant relation by gender according to the Chi-square test.

Personal religious practice

Modern religiosity is characterized by the priority of the personal religious practice or of the privatized religion over communal practice. The two ways, however, do not exclude each other but exist parallelly. Our earlier research clearly showed that churchgoers (people with communal religious practice) are a subset of people with personal religious practice (Pusztai 2011). The most typical indicator of personal religious practice is the frequency of praying. Yet it is very difficult to mark out the group of people praying regularly, as the actual frequency may vary. During our research we have always left it up to the respondents to judge what they mean by regularity. Our earlier survey among students attending Hungarian-speaking universities revealed that nearly 40% of them had regular personal religious practice. In our present sample 16.6% pray more than once a day, 23.9% once a day, 9.8% more than once a week and 4.5% once a week, so almost 60% have regular personal practice. One fifth of the students pray less frequently than that, another fifth never pray and only a very low percentage (5%) refused to answer.

Praying daily suggests very strict and strong personal religious practice. Being familiar with the lifestyles of today's young people, we had assumed that only a very insignificant minority would do that. On the whole, however, over two fifths of the students turned out to have serious daily religious practice, which implies the existence of student groups with strong and constant spiritual needs. On the other hand, our data show that the state borders serve as clear dividing lines as to the frequency of personal religious practice. Not only is it important because three thirds of the Romanian and Ukrainian sample students pray regularly on their own or in a community but it also indicates that in families and local communities personal religious practice is a natural part of everyday life. Regarding the Hungarian students, over one third of them pray regularly and frequently, but overrepresented are those who rarely pray, or rather never at all.

Table 2: Frequency of personal religious practice by country (%)

	Hungary	Romania	Ukraine	Total
Praying daily	24.2	58.6	62.6	42.9
Praying weekly	12.8	17.9	13.1	15.3
Rarely	24.6	17.5	15.9	20.7
Never	38.5	6.0	8.4	21.1
Count=	1192	1282	107	2728

Chi-square***
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

Having examined personal religious practice by denomination, we found that in many respects the state borders proved to be much more powerful than denominational ones. As for the correlation between confessional composition and religious practice, our data shows clearly that such booming denominations as Baptists and Pentecostals as well as other ones that appeared after the political transformation can be characterized by strong personal religious practice. Among the large, historical denominations it is the Orthodox that stands out with their active religious practice, followed by the Reformed and Greek Catholics slightly behind them.

Table 3: Frequency of personal religious practice by confession (%)

	Orthodox	Catholic	Greek catholic	Reformed	Other protestant	Jew	Other	No confession	No answer
Daily	52.0	34.4	45.9	40.0	87.3	71.4	87.1	5.6	26.2
Weekly	25.1	15.7	9.8	17.9	4.8	28.6	8.1	3.0	7.6
Rarely	19.4	29.0	25.7	25.8	4.8	0	1.6	7.6	12.8
Never	3.5	20.9	18.6	16.3	3.2	0	3.2	83.8	53.5
Count=	510	489	183	772	189	7	62	198	172

Chi-square***

The values written *cursively* indicate that the number of people into that cell was considerably higher than what was expected in the case of random array.

Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

However, when we compare the three countries with regard to the correlation between confession and personal religious practice, it makes our picture of students' religiosity subtler. Owing to their roots, the Reformed have always had strong personal religious practice with half of them praying on a daily or weekly basis in Hungary, whereas half of the Catholics pray weekly or even more rarely. Yet in another religious environment, in Romania, small Protestant communities with their outstanding daily religious practice are followed by Orthodox and Reformed students with the equally intense religious practice of the two.

The religious practice within the community

During our recent regional research we have found that one fourth-one third of the students in the border region go to church regularly, and about one fifth-one fourth of them attend small communities. The rate of students with religious practice increases slightly as they advance in their studies. This is in accordance with the findings of international, national and previous regional research, which has all concluded that there is an increase of the religiosity in parallel with the growth into adulthood (Tomka 2010, Hámori & Rosta 2011)**.** Researchers of education have been prompted by this phenomenon to study the influence of the institutions and the institutional context. They have come to the conclusion that with respect to the relationship-dependent indices of religiosity there is an apparent shift during higher education (Pusztai 2009).

In accordance with the findings the other research revealed, the overall frequency of churchgoing is lower than that of personal religious practice. As we assumed beforehand, it may be partly due to the fact that the surveyed region is not dominated by the Catholic Church, where weekly churchgoing is strictly required. Because of the multiconfessional character of the region and the heterogeneity of requirements concerning religious practice, we accepted "a few times a month" as regular communal religious practice. This approach is supported by the fact that today's students show a growing tendency towards attending small communities instead of large ones for their religious practice (Pusztai et al 2012).

Table 4: The religious practice within the community by countries (%)

	Hungary	Romania	Ukraine	Total
Weekly, a few times a month	16.8	58.5	64.2	39.4
Rarely	43.0	36.7	30.2	39.3
Never	40.2	4.8	5.7	21.3
Count=	1201	1278	106	2585

Chi-square***
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

There is a striking difference between the students in Hungary and the students in the other two countries. While only one sixth of the Hungarian students belong to a local religious community, two thirds of the Romanian and Ukrainian students go to church on a regular basis. The difference is very significant, considering that all the students belong to the same age group; moreover, as they all study in institutes of higher education, their lifestyles must be very similar. Besides studying, they establish relationships, sit at their computers and, in principle, they are free to continue their studies anywhere in Europe. Thus we attribute the difference to each country's own religious climate, which has been path-dependent in each country and now shows a very stable character. Religious climate has been brought about by the joint effect of the confessional composition and the political context of religiosity. We have observed that although there are constant features of the religious practice of each denomination, their members' behavior in a specific environment is strongly influenced by the confessional composition, the interaction between the different communities and the political treatment they have received during the past five decades.

By now it has become obvious that as well as in the case of personal religious practice, it is other Protestant denominations such as Baptists and Pentecostals that are the most active churchgoers. Orthodox students come second, with half of them attending church weekly or a few times a month. Catholics and the Reformed community are well behind the above two groups as far as their religious activity is concerned.

Table 5: Frequency of religious practice in community by confession (%)

	Orthodox	Catholic	Greek catholic	Reformed	Other protestant	Jew	Other	No confession	No answer
Frequently	51.0	36.2	34.3	32.0	91.5	33.3	88.5	1.5	22.4
Rarely	45.7	46.4	48.1	51.5	4.8	66.7	4.9	11.9	17.6
Never	3.3	17.4	17.7	16.5	3.7	0.0	6.6	86.6	60.0
Count=	510	489	181	778	189	6	61	202	170

Chi-square***
The values written cursively indicate that the number of people into the given cell was considerably higher than what was expected in the case of random array.
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

It is very informative to examine the differences among the countries in the religious practice of different denominations and it provides further proof of the separate religious climate of the countries. State borders, no matter how open they are, serve as major barriers with regard to communal religious practice. In accordance with our nationwide statistics, one sixth of the Hungarian sample students go to church, and so do over half of the Romanian students and almost two thirds of the small Ukrainian sub-sample. Although each denomination's requirements

regarding the religious practice reach beyond borders, it is interesting to observe that in Hungary, the Catholics are more active regular churchgoers than the Reformed, whereas in the Romanian sub-sample, the Reformed, the Catholic and the Orthodox students are equally active, with half of each group going to church regularly, and even so, they are still behind the activity rate of other Protestant denominations.

Frequent churchgoing is not only a useful indicator of religiosity, but it can also be regarded as a sign of belonging to a relationship network. Membership means that with the help of one's fellow-members one has access to information and receives and does favors. This has an outstanding relevance to our subject as such networks are sources of voluntary work: firstly, because the condition of taking part in church-organized charity events represents access to the information that spreads within a community; secondly, because through the community membership one establishes a lot of loose relationships that offer opportunities for good deeds.

The analysis of the students' religious self-classification provides further information. Earlier research in the region showed that almost every second student claimed to be religious in their own way, and about 14–16% claimed to be religious according to the teachings of the church, which indicated a higher degree of religious adherence than corresponding nationwide Hungarian data. Besides, the number of definitely non-religious students was also below the Hungarian national rate (Hámori & Rosta 2011).

Religiosity according to the teachings of the church means that someone is following the instructions of the Church. Considering the above patterns of personal and communal religious practice it is no wonder that only 12% of the Hungarian students classified themselves as such. In contrast, the rate of adherence to a church among the students in Romania and Ukraine is over one third. It is noteworthy that the percentage of hesitant individuals and students who are religious in their own way is more or less similar in each country and the only significant difference is among the rates of non-religious students, which is the highest in Hungary.

Table 6: Self-categorized religious identity of students by countries (%)

	Hungary	Romania	Ukraine	Total
Religious according to the teachings of the church	12.5	37.4	38.9	25.8
Religious in their own way	43.9	45.9	49.1	45.1
Do not know	8.6	9.4	5.6	8.9
Not religious	26.7	4.3	3.7	14.8
Explicitly not religious	8.2	3.0	2.8	5.4
Count=	1275	1213	108	2596

Chi-square***
The values written cursively indicate that the number of people into the given cell was considerably higher than what was to be expected in the case of random array.
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

We analyzed the correlations between denominations and religious self-categorization first in two, then in three dimensions. It occurred to us that it is not the members of the traditional historical denominations who are the most loyal to their churches, but new Protestant denominations that have been rapidly gaining ground recently. As for the Catholics and the Reformed, only one fifth-one fourth of their members can be classified as religious according to the teachings of the church (this rate is somewhat higher among Orthodox students), and about every second of them is religious in their own way. The religious mobility of the latter group is diverse (Gereben 1997). Some of them are disappointed believers distanced from their churches, others select parts from

dogmas and regulations according to their own judgment. This distanced attitude is not at all typical for members of the Neo-Protestant and other new communities.

Table 7: Self-categorized religious identity of students by confessions (%)

	Orthodox	Catholic	Greek catholic	Reformed	Other protestant	Jew	Other	No confession	No answer
Religious according to the teachings of the church	28.8	20.1	25.7	21.2	75.7	16.7	75.4	1.0	13.7
Religious in their own way	52.9	54.4	54.6	54.2	15.1	66.7	13.1	12.8	25.1
Do not know	12.6	8.9	6.6	9.8	2.2	16.7	3.3	3.9	10.9
Not religious	4.7	11.8	10.4	12.9	4.3	0	3.3	52.2	37.1
Explicitly not religious	1.0	4.9	2.7	1.9	2.7	0	4.9	30.0	13.1
Count=	183	784	6	493	185	507	61	203	175

Chi-square***
The values written cursively indicate that the number of people in the given cell was considerably higher than what was expected in the case of random array.
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

Whereas in Hungary, historical denominations can count on one sixth of their members at the most, as devout followers, in Romania and Ukraine, where there is a very strong competition among denominations, proclaiming one's adherence to a church and standing up for one's religious community have an increased value. In Romania 27–28% of Reformed, Catholic and Orthodox students claim to comply with the teachings of their churches, whereas in new Protestant communities an overwhelming majority of four fifths does so.

We must find an answer to what has led to such huge cultural gaps between countries in a region which, with respect to education, is so unified both in its past and prospective future, and within a generation that was born after the political transformation, uses the internet with ease and moves freely in the world. The state borders are no dividing lines regarding the degree of urbanization or technological modernization. The differences in religious climate can be attributed to the different nature of the former persecution of religion in each country. There was a systematic religious persecution in Romania and Ukraine (member of the Soviet Union at that time) until the very last decades, before the political transformation. However, religious socialization took place in the families and local communities, which tightened their ties and joined forces for the sake of survival. In Hungary, on the other hand, the so-called soft dictatorship loosened its vigilant control of religion in the 1970s and even seemed liberal or at least indifferent in that respect. The policy of that time offered the families hope of financial advancement and, as a result of the materialistic thinking and individualization, multigenerational families and local relationship networks, the traditional scenes of religious socialization, were either reorganized functionally or suffered important damage. It was already pointed out by the researchers of the time that the process led to "empty individualism" (Hankiss 1986) replacing the traditional-religious way of thinking, and it was even passed down to generations born after 1990.

Volunteering by countries

All in all 29.8% of students did voluntary activities during their studies in the Partium region, but there are some differences between the examined countries (see Table 8).

Table 8: Students' volunteering by countries, in the Partium region (%)

	RO	HU	UKR	Total
Did volunteering (%)	38.81	20.79	31.19	29.84
Not (%)	61.19	79.21	68.81	70.16
N	1242	1246	109	2597

Chi-square***
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

As we can see the Romanian students are the most active in volunteering, and Hungarian students are the least. This result is contrary to our previous results (see Fényes & Pusztai 2012), where we found that at the University of Debrecen only the more wealthy students can afford to do voluntary activities, due to the fact that the university is situated in the relatively underdeveloped region of Hungary. The financial situation of the Romanian and Ukrainian students is worse than that of the Hungarian students, so we can suppose that in these countries, the voluntary work will be less frequent than in Hungary. But our present data shows the opposite. The reason for this could be that as we have already seen, among the Romanian and Ukrainian students there are much more regular churchgoers, and based on the literature, we suppose that it is why voluntary activities are more popular among them.

Confessional composition and volunteering

Table 9: Students' volunteering by denomination in the Partium region (%)

	Did volunteering	Didn't do volunteering	Count
Orthodox	31.4	68.6	507
Catholic	26.9	73.1	480
Greek catholic	20.0	80.0	180
Reformed	27.1	72.9	764
Other protestant	60.5	39.5	177
Jew	50.0	50.0	4
Other confession	66.7	33.3	60
No confession	16.1	83.9	205
No answer	27.9	72.1	222

Chi-square ***
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

As we can see in Table 9, concerning the confessional composition and the students' volunteering, the other (not Reformed) Protestants and students belonging to another (not mentioned) confession do volunteering at a relatively high rate[3], as the active citizenship might be popular

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3   There were only four Jewish students so we did not examine their rate of volunteering.

among them. Reformed and Catholic students volunteer around the average and Orthodox students' rate is a little bit higher than the average (this last result is in accordance with our previous result, as students from Romania volunteer most frequently, and Orthodox confession is the most frequent among them as well). As we expected, the students that did not belong to any confession volunteer less frequently; Greek Catholic students volunteer as well under the average.

Volunteering and the dimensions of religiosity

In the theoretical part of our paper we have shown that churchgoing increases the voluntary activities more than the personal religious practice, but all in all, religiosity increases the volunteering of higher education students.

Table 10: Students' volunteering and self-categorization of religiosity in the Partium region (%)

	Churchly religious	On their own way	Do not know	Not religious	Explicitly not religious
Did volunteering	46.45	27.55	21.59	17.51	17.99
Didn't do volunteering	53.55	72.45	78.41	82.49	82.01
N	648	1129	227	377	139

Chi-square***
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2728

As it can be seen in Table 10, in accordance with the literature and our previous results, the religious students (churchly religious students and students religious in their own way) took part in volunteering actions in a higher rate (34%) than the overall average (30%), and volunteering of churchly religious students is much higher than the average (46%) which is in accordance with our previous results at the University of Debrecen. Students who are religious in their own way did voluntary activities under the average (27.5% compared to 30%), but this result is higher than the volunteering of non-religious students, and those students who do not know whether they are religious.

Further on we can compare the frequency of volunteering among regular prayers and regular churchgoers, and we can control the findings of the literature, that personal religious practice is less important concerning volunteering than churchgoing.

Table 11: Students' volunteering and personal religious practice in the Partium region (%)

	Praying daily	~~Didn't do volunteering~~
Did volunteering (%)	40.98	22.38
~~Not~~ (%)	59.02	77.62
N	1059	1443

Chi-square***
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

Table 12: Students' volunteering and regular churchgoing in the Partium region (%)

	Churchgoing weekly	~~Didn't do volunteering~~
Did volunteering (%)	49.84	23.5
~~Not~~ (%)	50.16	76.5
N	632	1877

Chi-square***
Source: HERD database 2012, Count 2728

As we can see in Tables 11 and 12, in accordance with the literature and our previous results, nearly 50% of those students who are regular churchgoers did voluntary work during their studies, but the effect of the personal religious practice (measured by the regularity of praying) is smaller: 41% of the regular prayers did voluntary work. But it can also be seen, that regular churchgoers and prayers did voluntary work at a higher rate than the average student (the overall average of volunteering is 30%).

Types and motivations of volunteering

For the first step, we created three clusters from the motivations of volunteering (see Table 13). Only the students who did volunteering were examined, and the examined question was why he/she did volunteering. The students could choose between six possible answers (see Table 13, 1: yes, 2: no), they could chose two or more answers at the same time, as well. As we can see, the cluster memberships are more or less similar, around one third of students participate in each cluster.

Table 13: Cluster centers (K-means clusters) according to students'motivations for volunteering in the Partium region (1: yes, 2: no) (only those who did volunteering)

	Clusters		
	1	2	3
To improve the CV	1.00	1.89	2.00
Work practice	1.03	1.65	1.05
Making friends	1.05	1.81	1.01
Helping others	1.09	1.22	1.05
Usefully spending leisure time	1.24	1.53	1.30
Learning languages	1.35	1.93	1.46
N	259	220	296

Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2728

The first cluster may be called volunteering with mixed motives (traditional and new), as all the six motives were important for them (the cluster centers are close to 1). The second cluster includes traditional volunteers, where helping others was the most important factor (the cluster center is around 1); while all other motives were much less important (the cluster centers around 2), only the spending leisure time in a useful manner` motive was more or less important to them. The third cluster may be called as mixed (traditional and new) motive for volunteering, but not résumé building volunteering, as they do not want to record the voluntary activity into their CV. It is interesting that clearly, a new type of volunteering was not found, as the motive of helping others was important for all of the volunteers, which is in accordance with the literature and with our previous findings.

As shown in Table 14 there are significant differences in the cluster memberships by countries. Among the Romanian students there were the largest proportion of students who did volunteering

during the studies and this could cause the fact that traditional volunteering among the Romanian volunteers is a little bit less frequent than in Hungary and Ukraine (the majority of Romanian volunteers have mixed motives). Among all the Romanian students (not just the volunteering) the traditional volunteering could be as frequent as in the other two countries.

Table 14: Cluster membership (%) by countries
(only those who did voluntary activity) (3 clusters)

Cluster membership	RO	HU	UKR
mixed all (1)	38.17	27.80	8.82
traditional (2)	25.31	33.59	32.35
mixed but not CV (3)	36.51	38.61	58.82
N	482 (100%)	259 (100%)	34 (100%)

Chi-square***
Source: HERD database 2012, Count=2728

In Romania and Hungary the distribution of the students is quite equal among the three clusters, but Ukraine shows different tendencies. Among Ukrainian students the mixed motives seem to be the most popular, without résumé building motive and the mixed attitudes with all motives are less popular. This result might be due to the fact that the employers in Ukraine possibly, do not account for voluntary work of the students, when they apply for jobs. Handy et al. (2010) found that in the US and Canada the students' volunteering is the most important positive signal for employers, but in other countries this is still less important. As in the Partium region, the most underdeveloped area is the Transcarpathian Region, for the employers, volunteering is not an important signal yet, and this could cause the young volunteers do not want to record this activity into their CV.[4]

In the theoretical part of our paper we have supposed that the traditional type of volunteering is more popular among religious students. But our further results show that between the different dimensions of religiosity (personal religious practice, churchgoing and self categorization of religiosity) and the motivations of volunteering (the cluster membership variables) there were no significant relationships. This can be due to the fact, that as we showed in our previous paper (Fényes & Pusztai 2012), among the value preferences, the preference of helping others increased the probability of volunteering among all students. Now, we have found quite similar result, as among the motives of volunteering helping others was important for all volunteers, irrespective of their religiosity. Furthermore, during our present research, the new type of volunteering could not be detected, and this might be another reason, why religious and non-religious students do not differ by motivation-cluster memberships. But it is still an interesting result that the traditional type of volunteering is not more popular among religious students.

In order to analyze this result more thoroughly, we have separately examined the six reasons for volunteering and the dimensions of religiosity, and this time we found certain significant relationships. Making friends as reason for volunteering is significantly more popular among non-religious students. This could be due to the fact, that religious students are linked to small and large religious communities considerably, they might have good friends within these communities, so for them it is not that important to make friends by means of volunteering.

Helping others as another reason for volunteering– not surprisingly – is significantly more popular among churchly religious volunteers, religious in their own way, among regular

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4   When we create only two clusters (one cluster was the traditional type of volunteering, as helping others was the most important motive and the other cluster could be characterized by mixed motives, as all motives were important) most of the Ukrainian volunteers belonged to the traditional type of volunteering, and Romanian and Hungarian students' distribution among the two clusters was more or less similar (in Romania the mixed type, and in Hungary the traditional type showed a slight advantage).

churchgoers and regular prayers in accordance with our previous results and the results of Bocsi & Tornyi (2012). But our results show as well, that it is more popular among explicitly non religious students. This can be due to the fact that the non-hesitating, explicitly non-religious students might prefer humanistic values, and helping others is important for them as well.

We have got quite similar results concerning spending leisure time usefully as reason for volunteering. It is significantly more popular among explicitly non-religious students and among regular churchgoers. They are the non-hesitating students; they have more concrete value preferences, with more consciousness. The churchgoers' attitude is not surprising, but the attitude of the explicitly non-religious students needs further explanation. Again, this group might prefer humanistic values, and due to this fact they might have a more active attitude in civil life. They might have stronger faith in democratic institutions, and for political reasons they are more active in civil life. But hesitating students (who do not know if they are religious or not, but not explicitly non-religious) can have more passive attitude.

SUMMARY

In the theoretical part we have examined the religiosity of the higher education students, the volunteering of students and the relationship between them. In what concerns the types of volunteering, we distinguished, based on the literature, between the traditional and the new type of volunteering, the motives for the first one being the desire to help others and belong to the community, while the motives for the second one could be for example the résumé building motive (to record the voluntary activity in the CV, work practice), making friends or spending leisure time usefully.

Concerning students' religiosity we found that regarding the religious practice, there are considerable differences among the surveyed student groups. The range of denominations is the widest in Romania; using the terminology of the religious market theory, religious competition is the fiercest there. Even members of those denominations that are quite passive in the other two countries have a more active religious practice and are bolder in expressing their religious identity.

However, compared to the members of the Orthodox Church, the small Protestant denominations are much more active in their religious practice. Although members of the Orthodox Church are also active, especially in going to church and praying, it is still noteworthy that far fewer of them define themselves as practicing their religion, according to the teachings of the church, whereas it is a general feature of small Protestant denominations.

Concerning the voluntary activity, our results show that in the Romanian and the Ukrainian part of the Partium region, students volunteer more frequently than in Hungary, which can be due to the fact, that regular churchgoing is more popular among them. This result drew our attention to the effect of religiosity on volunteering, which could be strong in the examined region. Based on the literature we have supposed, that personal religious practice is less important concerning volunteering than churchgoing, and this was actually reinforced, based on our data as well. It was also proved that in general, religiosity enlarges the possibility of volunteering. The hypothesis that religious students do traditional type of volunteering more frequently was not proved. When we created different clusters based on the students' motivation for volunteering, we did not find significant relationships between the different dimensions of religiosity and cluster memberships. But a thorough analysis has revealed that this could be due to the fact that helping others was important not only for religious students but also for the explicitly non-religious students, where we supposed, that humanistic value preferences of non-religious students could cause this situation.

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Nóra Veronika Németh & Magdolna Chrappán:

The Value Preferences of the Pre-service and In-service Teachers in the Pedagogical Activity

The situation of the teachers, their choice of career, continuing to teach or leaving have become altogether, a highlighted set of questions part of our national professional and civilian common talk in the last couple of years. Many analyses and research data deal with the general situation of different groups of teachers in national and international contexts alike. (Ceglédi 2011, Chrappán 2010, Horn 2010, Sági 2011, Varga 2010, 2011, Francis et al. 1999, OPEPRO 2000, OECD 2011)

Our present study aimes to deal with similar questions with the unconcealed intention of making the postgraduate teacher training, other training and in general, the content of a teacher training better fit the demands of the public educational system.

We shall present the research results of two different populations (pre-service and in-service teachers) in the following – hoping that the analysis and its conclusions will significantly contribute to the research literature of the theme, and that we will be able to create a more efficient and "student-friendly" adult training range for the teachers working in the direct area of the University of Debrecen. Unfortunately, it was not possible to compare the pre-service and in-service teachers, as the researches relied on different data bases. Thought we think that presenting the motivation and the attitude of these two population of teachers may add new information to the knowledge of the topic.

The examination of the pre-service teachers

In the first part of our study we present the results of a new research that was carried out among pre-service teachers (Pre-Service Teachers Database: *PSTD database*). Our research area is represented by the region of Partium. We collected in the database questionnaires from three countries: Hungary, Romania and Ukraine. We included seven institutions in our research sample, based on their fields of training. Our goal was to cover all three fields of teachers: training as kindergarten teacher, ISCED1 teachers and ISCED2 teachers. Therefore, the studied population included pre-service teachers from the University of Debrecen, the College of Nyíregyháza, the Teachers' training college in Debrecen, from the Faculty for Child and Adult Education of the University of Debrecen. The examination process of the Partium area, across the border, was carried out in two locations. We questioned the Hungarian pre service teachers at the University of Oradea, while in Satu Mare we surveyed the students of the Babeș-Bolyai University Branch (Educational Institution). Since the training for kindergarten teachers and ISCED1 teachers takes place simultaneously in Romania, we asked the students in Oradea to define themselves as practice ISCED1 teachers, while the students from Szatmárnémeti marked their field of training as kindergarten teachers. Our goal was represented by the comparability of the training fields. The respondents were distributed equally within the three fields of training, and therefore, we were able to carry out a comparative analysis (kindergarten teacher: 153 persons, ISCED1 teacher: 154 persons, ISCED2 teacher: 161 persons).

Tendencies regarding the career choice

In our examination we intended to see who chose teaching as career in our times. The career choice may be influenced by various factors; therefore the respondents had the possibility to mark more than one answer (Table 1). One of the major motivations was a conscious choice for becoming a teacher, the proportion of all answers was 82.9%. This is a delightful tendency since we can state that – indeed – we will have committed and ambitious kindergarten, ISCED1 and ISCED2 teachers in a couple of years.

Table 1: Motivations for the the career choice

	%	Std. deviation
Because I would like to work as a teacher	82	0.37686
My parents advised me to choose it	14	0.34842
Because of a significant teacher I had in my life	9	0.29803
Because I still do not know what I would like to choose in the future	9	0.29216
Because I did not have any other possibilities	5	0.22931
Because my parents are also teachers	3	0.18730
Because I did not want to work yet	2	0.17053
Because this is an easy major	1	0.13748
Because my boy/girlfriend also chose this major	1	0.12151

Source: PSTD database 2012, Count=468

It is also important, however, to check the rate of the answers given to the other options. The rate of those who still do not know what to do in their lives in the future is considerably high; those who chose this major as temporization represented 9.4%. The example of a parent (teacher parent) is less likely (3.6%), but a significant teacher example (9.8%) is more likely to lead to choosing such a career.

   However, the parents' influence strongly affects the youth, regardless of the parents' education and qualifications. 14.1% of the respondents admitted that their parents' advice influenced their choice of career. Interestingly, the rate of parental impact is neither connected to the parents' qualifications, nor to the fact of themselves being/not being teachers. The rate of those who chose this training merely as an escape or a temporization (did not have other options or did not want to work yet) is rather low. Only 1.9% admitted to having chosen this field because they considered this major as the easiest to complete of all. The determining role of the peer group cannot be considered as a dominant motivational option (1.5%).

   Teachers' career choice motivation can be compared to the data of other studies. Thus, we will find the slight lines of a breaking in either time or space. Firstly, we will compare our results to the data of an almost 20-year old research (Lőrincz & Vidra Szabó 1994). Specific comparison is not possible, as career choice motivation in the 20-year old study was examined with different question groups. The researchers asked what the respondent had intended to be as a child and whether he/she would like to work as a teacher. We can interpret the tendencies of the motivational change regarding career choice as the consequence of the value changes that have evolved as an outcome of the social changes of the past two decades. The research of Lőrincz & Vidra Szabó revealed that 38% of the questioned practice teachers, in Hungary, decided to become teachers in their childhood; this rate, however, was gradually greater (77%) in the case of the Transylvanian Hungarians. It is important to note –what the two authors stress as well – that school-teacher training in Hungarian language on tertiary level has only been present in Romania since the academic year of 1999/2000. Previously, there were four-year and, later, five-

year secondary-level "teacher training highschools" for school and kindergarten teacher training (Szabó-Thalmeiner 2009). This means that young students of 14–15 years of age had to decide if they wanted to be school teachers or kindergarten teachers. This structure is not operative today, since all respondents are university students who acquire the knowledge of the teacher profession in the framework of tertiary-level training. The educational system – or more exactly the modification in the training structure – must be considered for the data comparison.

Another important change in the higher education – and in the teacher training – is that since the adoption of the Bologna system in higher education, the youth can face decision making during two cycles. The word "can" is not reasonable, as school teacher and kindergarten teacher training has not been changed by the Bologna system; it remained a four-year, undivided training. However, in the case of teacher training, the young student is forced into a multiple decision-making process. To be able to obtain a Masters degree in education as a full-time student, he/she needs to choose first a major and a minor field in basic training (provided they are both apt for teaching). Beside the subjects related to their major and minor fields, the students have to acquire the necessary number of "credits" in the preparatory subjects of Pedagogy and Psychology – subjects that help acquiring the subjects of the Masters training. The student wishing to pursue a teaching career may get accepted for Masters training by undergoing an entrance examination process after having graduated from basic training. Here, the student can obtain a teacher's qualification for the two scientific areas they had studied during the basic training. The training lasts five semesters (four semesters of studying and one semester of comprehensive professional practice). This means that, in the case of the Masters students, the final decision may be postponed till the end of the basic training, as after taking up and completing the preparatory subjects, the students can decide if they would rather like to continue the Masters training in a disciplinary field.

However, in the case of the school and kindergarten teachers we can sense a strong commitment to their career, since these trainings are more specific, according to the profession while the training time being longer (eight semesters). Also, in case the student decides not to follow a teaching career (or if there are no available jobs) after graduation, he/she has to consider that there will be less possibilities while entering Masters training. Among the disciplinary Masters trainings, educational science can make the way for getting a higher-level degree, while, in teacher training, the school-teacher or kindergarten teacher can only obtain a Masters degree without separate training as a pedagogy teacher major.

Gender differences get more or less blurred when it comes to the career choice motivation as we found significant divergence in two areas. There were more women than men among those who chose teacher career as their real vocation.

This career choice is more characteristic to men. However, that he thinks there are no other choices – or that he does not know what to choose. The role of a special teacher as an example in a man's life has a much greater influence. The difference between the rates of genders is demonstrated in table 2. The presented data suggested that men were insecure when it came to committing themselves to a teaching career.

Table 2: The motivations of the career choice according to gender

	Proportion of all answerers	
	Men (%)	Women (%)
Because I would like to work as a teacher	60.0	86.3
My parents advised me to choose it	15.0	14
Because of a significant teacher I had in my life	16.7	8.8
Because I still do not know what I would like to choose in the future	13.4	8.8
Because I did not have any other possibilities	16.7	3.9
Because my parents are also teachers	1.7	3.9
Because I did not want to work yet	5.0	2.5
Because this is an easy major	3.3	1.7
Because my boy/girlfriend also chose this major	1.3	1.2

Source: PSTD database 2012, Count=468

Beyond the basic distribution of career choice motivations, we find it important to examine the differences according to the training areas, as well. Due to the change of the teacher training we can see that the youth prepare for this career consciously, i.e.: those choosing this field – regardless of training – intend indeed to work as teachers. There are no significant divergences between the fields of training. According to the data, kindergarten teachers seem to be the most committed (88.2%). They are followed by those choosing Masters training (82.6%). The rate of motivated (MA/MSc-level) teacher student majors is surprisingly high, which – in our opinion – is due to the Bologna-system teacher training. While, during the time of undivided training, the majority of the students completed all pedagogical and psychological courses needed for a teaching career (and the teaching practice), now (almost exclusively) this training is attended by those only who imagine themselves as future teachers.

The majority of the school-teachers (77.9%) are also conscious career-choosers but their rate is still lower compared to the other two fields of training.

According to our hypotheses, the cause of this can be found in the fact that – as opposed to kindergarten teacher training – school-teacher training proves to be a more general training area with a wider range of possibilities. Those "only wanting a degree" will choose school-teacher training and evade a major with basic training where the entrance process is harder. In order to discover this interrelation, we would have to examine the entrance process data of the students (if they applied to other institutions, their position on the list of successful applicants etc.) This examination, however, exceeds the length and the thematic limits of our study, and therefore we shall not elaborate on possible explanations and a deeper analysis.

The regional (Partium) data of the career choice motivations are worthy of being compared to the national data. Due to the efficient operation of the DPR,[1] we had the opportunity to see numerous published data in the field of teacher training. While comparing the subsamples[2] of teachers, Chrappán (2010) points out the tendency that the majority (73.1%) of teachers chose this vocation consciously. The analysis, using national results, unveiled data that partly differ from our research. Kindergarten and school-teachers appear almost in the same proportion, both in the

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1   DPR (Career-following system of graduates) was created in the framework of the "Társadalmi megújulás Operatív Program 4.1.3" (Social renewal operative program), as part of the special project of services in higher education on system level, lead by the Department for Higher Eduation of the Educatio Társadalmi Szolgáltató Nonprofit Ltd.

2   The author divided the teachers' group into further subsamples: (1) kindergarten teacher (2) school-teacher, special education teacher (3) teacher (4) technical trainer. Our study only compares the data of the first three subsamples with our results, noting that Chrappán included the special education teachers into the school-teacher category. By paying attention to the divergences, the comparison is not of full value/ entirely valid but, because of the tendencies, it may provide us with important details.

national sample and in the regional (partium) sample used in our study. In the teachers' case, we learned that the respondents of the national survey chose the teacher profession consciously in only 68% (Chrappán 2010 p. 269), while, in our study, this result was a percent of 82.6%.

It is important to note that we can learn the opinion of graduate students having a degree. The rate of the opinions of those already having a teacher's degree, thus, confirms our former hypothesis, according to which those studying in the undivided training did not always graduate as teachers because this was their primary goal, but because the teacher's qualification was easier to obtain, beside completing a disciplinary major. This does not often include a desire, an inner drive for a young graduate to be employed at school, yet it provided a sense of security as it generated the feeling of multiple opportunities. Often, parents also advise their children to complete a teacher training, even if it is not part of their future plans to start a teaching career. The rate of a conscious career choice we can find regarding the students enrolled in an educational Masters implies that – in 2012 – the youth studying in the Bologna system intended indeed to choose the teaching as profession.

The components of a teacher's role

What is it that makes a good teacher? What is a teacher's task? Is it to provide moral education, or to excel in sharing knowledge? The picture the practice teachers have in their minds of their future career is an important contribution to the image of teachers' culture. To what extent will the rate of theoretical and practical knowledge provided by the teacher training be useful in their future job? We can find an answer to this if we examine how the respondents think of the most important components of their future teacher life.

The respondents of the questionnaire had to choose three out of a nine set options. According to the votes, the forst position ws occupied by "confident professional knowledge" (53.4%), followed by good communicative ability (52.4%), the moral education of children (47.2%), the ability to make contacts easily (41%), continuous professional improvement (35.7%), the emotional development of children (34.6%) and an open, accepting attitude (31.8%). The priority list regarding the teacher's characteristics ended with "having a rich literary background and being cultured" (19.2%) and the thorough knowledge of professional literature (6.2%). This priority order has to be considered first. In the light of the results we can state that professional knowledge-experience and the (moral) educational attitude follow each other alternately. Nevertheless, we can find the "having read a lot and being cultured" option on a much lower priority position (both in the professional and in the more general sense). The image of the scholar teacher does not seem to be part of the practice teachers' future career concept. The neglect of reading on such great level will presumably be demonstrated by the cultural behavior and reading habits, as well. We shall discuss the analysis of this question later. For the sake of seeing a more nuanced picture, we compared the rates of the choices of teacher characteristics with other variables, as well.

Based on the variable of gender we only found a significant difference in one instance. Women chose continuous professional improvement as a priority in greater rates (37.5%) than men (23.3%). Women's leading can be explained, in this case, by their studying attitude and diligence. Fényes (2010) demonstrated the greater commitment of the female students – even generally speaking – already during the choosing of a career. Concerning our special examination population – the practice teachers – this tendency is even more traceable.

According to the place of residence (type of residence and its size), we noticed significant divergences in two cases. Compared to those living in great cities, practice teacher students who live in small towns consider emotional education more important. The data properly demonstrate the social effect characteristic of a micro-environment with less population: the importance of personal contact. In smaller communities or neighbourhoods, it is important to pay attention to and care for one another, which is one basic manifest areas of the arena of socialisation (Kozma

1996). Beside the significance of emotional education, we demonstrated another tendency in the function of the place of residence. For the students living in a larger residence environment, the communicative abilities are more important in the life of a teacher, compared to what practice teachers of smaller settlements think.

The influencing power of the parents' education can be significantly demonstrated in the case of one segment only: "having a rich literary background and being cultured" has a higher emphasis on the children whose fathers have a higher educational level than on the children whose fathers have a lower education. The parents' education, 'having a rich literary background and being cultured, has an emphatic role in a teacher's life, and they relate fundamentally to each other in his/her job. What is more surprising is that, based on mother's education, we did not find any provable relations, in numbers, regarding the evaluation of the tasks of the teaching career. All in all, we can state that father and mother's education certainly have a significant and (concerning our examination) determining power – although, as we can see, they are dominant in different areas. We can discover a strong connection between practice teachers in a moderate financial situation and the emphasis on a good ability to make contacts. While the students with average financial sources found this ability to be important for a teaching career to a rate of 51%. The students in a difficult financial situation marked this answer on the top of the priority list in 26.7%. Those students coming from extraordinarily wealthy families considered this element as essential (32.2%). We presume that students with a difficult financial situation are not fully aware of the significance of the relational capital and thus, of the importance of the ability to make contacts. For those in a better financial situation this fact is obvious, although they did not list it among the priorities.

Another important difference in opinion is connected to the financial situation: the view of the moral education of children. 60% of those practice teachers who consider themselves and their family poorer than the average, think that the moral education of children is very important in the future teaching career, while those in moderate or better financial situations also view this as important, but at lower rates.

In the case of the religious students, the emotional development of a child, having a rich literary background and being cultured have an emphatic role as attributes of a teacher. The percentage of answers stating that confident professional knowledge will have the most significant impact on their future teacher career was greater in the case of those rejecting religion or being insecure in their beliefs. Concerning the definition of the student's choices and priorities, we can certainly trace the differences between the more humane values of the religious attitude and the materialist point of view. We intend to demonstrate this by means of a normative approach and not by means of an approach based on value aspect.

We also compared the proportions of task and feature choice in regard to a teaching career with the academic results of students. We found there was a significant connection in the two cases. The percentage of the excellent students representing themselves is considerably high (77.2%) in regard to not considering the emotional development of children as teacher's most important task. In our opinion, the data may imply that the knowledge vs. moral education opposition is stronger in the case of those students who achieve outstanding academic results in higher education due to diligence or better abilities (or both).

In relation to the academic performance, we can highlight the importance of an open and accepting attitude. The data prove that the better the academic results are the more important is this teacher characteristic for the given student. We compared the academic results with the results of the previous semester. While in the case of the excellent students this is 44.6%, the average students consider this teacher characteristic inevitable (34.9%), while the number of students with poorer results who answered this represented 26%.

It has been shown, in the topic of talent development, that the basic features of the teachers who work in the field of talent care are the openness and the acceptance (Balogh, Bóta, & Dávid

1999). The students with a better performance also feel this and consider this teacher attitude to be important. Regarding this relation between higher intelligence, "more knowledge" and a more open and accepting attitude, the interrelation can be demonstrated even in a sample of such a narrow section.

The importance of the professional development was considered rather important by the Hungarian practice teachers from across the border. Romanian and Ukrainian (from the Transcarpathian Region) respondents chose this option as one of the most important in 44.8%, while native Hungarian practice teachers in 33.3%.

We intended to know how our list of teacher features and abilities characterize the different fields of training. The percentage distribution did not provide evidence of significant divergence in all cases, but because of the tendencies, we will demonstrate the results with the help of Table 3.

Table 3: The proportion of the features and abilities considered important
in the teaching career – according to the fields of training (%)

	Kindergarten teacher	ISCED1 Teacher	ISCED2 Teacher
Confident professional know-how	43.1	61.7	55.3
Ability to communicate well	53.6	42.9	60.2
Ability to make contacts easily	43.8	40.3	39.1
The emotional development of children	41.8	29.9	32.2
Continuous professional improvement	32.0	39.0	36.0
Having a rich literary background and being cultured	16.3	20.1	21.1
Open – accepting attitude	39.2	20.8	35.4
Thorough knowledge of professional literature	3.9	7.8	6.8
The moral education of children	44.4	50.0	47.2

Source: PSTD database 2012, Count 468

We learned of a more significant difference in the case of the confident professional knowledge, where 61.7% of the school teachers considered this sort of knowledge as an unnecessary part of a teaching career. Interestingly enough, good communicative ability was emphasized by the students enroled in an educational Masters (60.2%), while an open, accepting attitude was the dominant feature in the case of kindergarten practice teachers (39.2%). The students who considered the open attitude as foundational in the life of a teacher scored only 20.8% in the case of the school teachers, and 35.4% in the case of those enrolled in an educational Masters.

Summarizing our experience, we can state that the image the students have regarding the teaching as profession differs mostly according to the different training types.

The difference between genders, the parents' education and the family's cultural capital do not influence in a very significant way the future teachers' attitude. Nevertheless, there are traceable divergences regarding the religiousness and the academic results.

The analysis of the in-service teachers sample

We carried out a questionnaire-based research in November 2011 amongst the in-service teachers working in the public education field – with regards to the interrelations of the educational values/teacher characteristics considered as important and the existing and planned postgraduate trainings. The teacher sample of 602 persons working in the primary and secondary schools of the Tiszántúl region divided by fields of profession:

Table 4: The sample of practicing teachers

	Altogether		Men		Women	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
ISCED1 teacher (primary school; grade 1—4)	181	31.3	6	6.2	166	36.0
ISCED2 teacher (primary school; grade 5—8)	183	31.7	27	27.8	152	33.0
ISCED3 teacher (secondary school)	201	34.8	59	60.8	135	29.3
Secondary vocational school teacher	13	2.2	5	5.2	8	1.7
Total	578	100	97	100.0	461	100.0

24 persons did not respond, and the data were not available in the case of 20 persons
Source: TÁMOP-4.1.2.B research database 2011, Count 78

In the analyses, these two parameters demonstrated an existing interrelation with the educational value categories; the duration of the career and the age were less determining as compared to the former two. We found it irrelevant to examine the career motivation in the case of this sample, as we were dealing with professionals whose carrers span over years or decades – whose original motives have certainly been covered by experience which may have restructured or deformed their original motivation regarding this career choice. It is presumable that we have a sample that may be identified with the examination data from the early 90s, as the average age of the sample is 44.5 years (there is no difference between the genders), i.e. people who decided to choose this career 20–25 years ago.

In the fundamentally normative world of a teacher's career, the ordinary teacher practice and experience is determined by personal value premises and professional convictions (often: beliefs) that are formed/reformed during the continuous professional maintenance (in-job training) and teacher's professional preparation (teacher training). We presume that these correlate with each other, i.e. personal professional views determine the direction of postgraduate trainings and the willingness for continuous learning.

As a first step, we shall give an overview of the educational value pattern by analyzing the features and the correlations seen according to diverse profession groups and genders. The data of the analysis demonstrate that sometimes the answers suggest an embarrassing level of inconsistency, and there are hardly any deep and characteristic correlations to find by means of factor or cluster analysis (these examinations exceed our study framework, and therefore we shall omit the presentation of these details.) Researchers of the teaching profession regularly notice this phenomenon: the ELTE work group drew this conclusion regarding the congruence between the teachers' admitted value system and the practical procedures examined in a different context (Golnhofer & Nahalka 2001). Also, in a recent research, Horn (2010) draws our attention to the inconsistency of answers. There, the peculiar results originated in the comparing analyses of overload-data and efficiency.

Before the relevance of the researches in respect to the teachers proved utterly questionable, we haste to point out that – beside incongruence (i.e. when teachers respond to questions according to the actual normative demands or professional trends and deeper statistic analyses bring inner

controversies on the surface) – there are diverse explanations to these phenomena. One of the most probable explanations is the terminological discrepancy: when the interpretation of concepts differs in the minds of the researchers and the respondents.

Moreover, because of the "soft" definitions of pedagogy, the interpretation of concepts not only depends on personal convictions but is strongly affected by the context.

In spite of this, and concerning some question sets, the examination data reveals quite informative results whose further study carries consequences regarding content and attitude for the teacher and postgraduate training.

Teachers' task priority list

We intended to demonstrate – in two dimensions – the pedagogical values, as elements determining the practice. Instead of concrete questions, we employed the indirect definitions with task-analysis applied in order to study the scope of the activities (role set) and with the characteristics (features) – extended by various metaphor analyses and the examination of the technological elements and methods of the process). In the following, we introduced the task priority lists according to genders and profession groups. The respondents had to evaluate the listed tasks on a seven-degree scale: how much did they treat the listed tasks as their own.

When it came to compiling the elements, we arranged the listed sub-tasks according to five bigger task sets, role types: 1. educational/teaching tasks in the narrower sense; 2. tasks that put moral educational goals in the focus (according to our presumption these are the strongest value markers); 3. tasks focusing on the systematic operation of the pedagogical process (e.g. interpersonal relationships, reflectivity); 4. child-centred tasks (activities responding to children's needs and emotional condition); 5. special tasks related to age and school type (e.g. development of basic abilities, free-time activities, arts, physical education). The original order of the tasks was random. Because of the great number of the set, there was high content redundancy and because of the further correlation examinations, we considered important to note this.

We may notice that the averages are in the upper third of the value range almost without an exception – with hard to find trends, as teachers consider all listed tasks as their own.

If we take a closer look at the table, we will notice the differences leading to important statements about the pedagogical practice. One of them is that, on the top of the priority list, are placed the tasks of cognitive development: From 1 to10 there are 5 elements specifically related to the quantity of knowledge and the efficiency of teaching. There are no significant divergences according to gender. Men placed the "helping the students understand the world" task in the first ten as well, which can also be considered as a content/cognitive element. It would be interesting to discover why the "preparing the students for their further studies" task (which earlier was part of the lead group for all similar type of priority analyses) dropped to place 20. Presumably, it does not sound as great as it did, because of this and some other similar elements, the priorities of the education policies of recent years, its pedagogical innovative efforts and the alternative pedagogical procedures. We can view the actual transformation of the pedagogical aspect as an immeasurable effect. However, in this case, the "socialization", "adapting to the educational needs of students", "discussing the evaluation with students" or "the subsequent evaluation of teaching lessons" task elements should occupy a much higher place on the priority list, since these are the content twins of the elements in the top 10.

In the distribution, according to different variables, we can discover but very subtle distinctions. A statement that seems well-founded is that men tend to be a bit less sensitive to the emotional-spiritual aspects of the teacher tasks (this is revealed when comparing the lists of men and women). This sample affirms the understanding of the traditional man's role / father figure. However, it is more important than the priority list that men graded all elements (except for one: "training for the hardships of life") lower (with an average of 0.52) than women. It is rather hard

to define whether this is due to the stricter, more rational grading of men or the reason is a lower involvement in the career.

Table 5: Importance values as marked by teachers referring to tasks
(average values on a 7-degree scale)

	Total	By gender		By groups of profession			
		Man	Woman	ISCED1 teacher	ISCED2 teacher	ISCED 3 teacher	Secondary vocational school teacher
1. awakening thirst for knowledge	6.54	6.27	6.60	6.72	6.57	6.37	6.63
2. developing correct behavioural norms	6.48	6.11	6.57	6.75	6.52	6.29	6.50
3. personality development	6.47	6.11	6.54	6.70	6.55	6.22	6.38
4. maintaining good contact with the colleagues	6.39	6.06	6.47	6.52	6.45	6.26	6.38
5. moral education	6.37	6.15	6.43	6.51	6.42	6.27	6.38
6. developing the communication of students	6.32	5.72	6.45	6.61	6.41	6.05	5.88
7. intelligence development	6.31	6.16	6.35	6.42	6.34	6.24	6.50
8. sharing all the possible knowledge to students	6.22	6.00	6.27	6.41	6.20	6.06	7.00
9. the regular evaluation of students	6.19	5.76	6.29	6.52	6.11	6.03	6.13
10. increasing theoretical knowledge	6.13	5.89	6.20	6.10	6.20	6.10	6.38
11. the spiritual support of students	6.12	5.59	6.25	6.52	6.21	5.77	6.50
12. getting to know the personal problems of students	6.09	5.59	6.19	6.60	6.06	5.74	6.13
13. keeping in contact with the parents	6.01	5.25	6.19	6.57	6.13	5.59	5.86
14. differentiating the requirements for students	6.01	5.37	6.16	6.45	6.18	5.56	6.25
15. the constant stimulation of the students for activities	5.99	5.50	6.09	6.39	5.93	5.72	5.75
16. helping the students understand the world	5.97	5.92	5.98	5.94	5.98	6.06	6.13
17. the emotional understanding of students	5.94	5.24	6.10	6.56	6.02	5.42	6.00
18. preparing the students for contests, competitions	5.92	5.51	6.03	5.99	6.20	5.71	6.38
19. developing basic abilities (writing, reading, counting)	5.88	4.95	6.07	6.88	6.07	5.03	4.00
20. preparing students for their further studies	5.83	5.64	5.87	4.98	6.30	6.22	6.00
21. applying as many educational methods as possible	5.80	5.32	5.93	6.19	5.72	5.69	5.63
22. socialization	5.77	5.30	5.86	6.28	5.74	5.39	5.63
23. adapting to the educational needs of the students	5.76	5.13	5.90	6.33	5.67	5.45	5.25
24. preparing the students for the adult life	5.75	5.70	5.77	5.51	5.90	5.85	6.25
25. sustaining motivation by all means possible	5.72	5.29	5.82	6.07	5.67	5.51	5.88
26. discussing the evaluation with students	5.71	5.35	5.78	6.03	5.69	5.51	5.63
27. constantly following the pedagogical novelties	5.64	5.11	5.77	6.06	5.62	5.38	4.75
28. the subsequent evaluation of the teaching lessons	5.54	5.12	5.66	5.93	5.52	5.26	5.75
29. civics - education	5.53	5.38	5.57	5.64	5.59	5.46	5.50
30. training for the hardships of life	5.53	5.56	5.52	5.68	5.47	5.48	5.88
31. attending In-job trainings	5.34	4.71	5.48	5.82	5.27	5.03	5.38
32. free-time activities	5.06	4.44	5.19	5.87	5.14	4.48	4.50
33. helping physical development	4.99	4.49	5.07	6.02	5.08	4.10	5.25
34. artistic education	4.82	4.05	5.01	5.70	4.84	4.22	4.38

Source: TÁMOP-4.1.2.B research database 2011, Count 602

For the profession group division, the situation is similar – the priority list shows fewer differences, but we can identify a consequent "decrease of importance" regarding the ISCED1, ISCED2 and ISCED3 school teachers' direction (teachers in engineering cannot be considered a relevant subsample due to the small number). The major explanation to this is the composition of the sample: the rate of men increases considerably in this direction (ISCED1 teachers: 3.5%, ISCED2 teachers: 15.1%, ISCED3 teachers: 30.4%).

Teachers' feature priority list

Another tool mapping the value patterns of the teachers is the priority evaluation of certain personality features. We presume that the way teachers understand their role (including only the identification of personal and professional competence they deemed important) does not only demonstrate their personal value system, but also their professional role performance, therefore, the chances of their personal efficiency. The comparison of the teachers' professional self-image thus formed, with the social and local (even at institution-level) expectations may represent a diagnostic value in respect to the education policy and the teacher and postgraduate training system, as it can establish the directions and the desired intensity of the training development. In our research, we assembled a list of features involving 20 items for measuring the agreement and disagreement of the respondents on a seven-degree attitude scale. The list involved elements of personal, social and professional competence.

The conclusions we can deduct are similar to the former table: it is less the comparisons and more the hierarchy itself that seems more important in what concerns our present analysis. The majority of the social competences and relating features (vindicating one's interests, manager's abilities and authority) descended in the last third on the list, which is especially surprising since the ability to lead and being determined were placed at the top of the list. Interestingly enough, the ability to cooperate and lead received high averages, while good presence and address is exactly in the middle of the hierarchy list. We can trace the already mentioned inconsistency to these data (the more detailed correlation examinations verify this, as well), which is partly due to terminological and presumably preconceived answers (authority is not but good presence and address or the ability to lead are acceptable definitions of almost the same concept).

It is remarkable (and worthy of a more detailed analysis) that the top of the list includes such personal competences as patience, the love of children, flexible thinking and creativity, which predict a reflective, adaptive pedagogical behaviour, while self-knowledge, self-criticism and talent – which would be prerequisites of the former ones – can only be found in the second half of the list. Naturally, we cannot draw grand/important conclusions based on this, since the differences of priority numbers are rather little in certain places. Still, the results serve as a serious sign in a sample of this size. The data, however, are consistent with regards to the fact that the differences between genders and profession groups are identical to what we found in the hierarchy of tasks: men represent lower values in general, and the attitude values tend to decrease in the direction of the ISCED1 teachers, ISCED2 teachers, ISCED3 teachers. There is but one exception to this – where this direction is reversed: the ability to vindicate one's interests.

Table 6: The averages of the attitude value according to gender and profession groups
(average values on a 7-degree Likert-scale: -3-+3)

	Total of average	By gender		By group of profession			
		Man	Woman	ISCED1 teacher	ISCED2 teacher	ISCED3 teacher	Seconddary vocational school teacher
1. patience	2.90	2.82	2.91	2.93	2.94	2.84	2.88
2. love of children	2.85	2.56	2.91	2.98	2.90	2.72	2.88
3. being determined	2.80	2.70	2.82	2.83	2.77	2.77	3.00
4. willingness to cooperate	2.77	2.56	2.82	2.89	2.81	2.66	2.88
5. flexible way of thinking	2.69	2.47	2.73	2.86	2.69	2.52	2.75
6. creativity	2.67	2.53	2.69	2.82	2.68	2.51	2.50
7. outstanding professional knowledge	2.67	2.51	2.70	2.73	2.67	2.61	2.75
8. the ability to lead	2.64	2.40	2.68	2.84	2.62	2.46	2.88
9. firm set of values	2.63	2.37	2.68	2.71	2.68	2.51	2.63
10. good presence and address	2.59	2.50	2.60	2.71	2.57	2.50	2.75
11. self-criticism	2.59	2.26	2.65	2.79	2.63	2.37	2.75
12. self-understanding	2.55	2.23	2.62	2.72	2.58	2.37	2.63
13. sense of humour	2.52	2.41	2.53	2.56	2.56	2.47	2.50
14. authority	2.42	2.32	2.43	2.41	2.48	2.35	2.63
15. own pedagogical concept	2.34	2.05	2.40	2.51	2.37	2.19	2.38
16. high public esteem	2.33	2.25	2.34	2.33	2.43	2.28	2.13
17. talent	2.27	1.95	2.33	2.44	2.25	2.14	2.63
18. ability to vindicate one's interests	1.63	1.48	1.67	1.57	1.64	1.72	0.71
19. manager's abilities	1.02	0.41	1.17	1.21	1.09	0.80	1.00
20. having the right contacts	0.53	0.05	0.64	0.55	0.65	0.47	0.25

Source: TÁMOP-4.1.2.B research database 2011, Count=565

The direction of development – self-development: possibilities of postgraduate training

It would be a logical and rational hypothesis to presume that teachers attend In-job trainings according to their own value and attitude systems, even though the requirements or demands at the workplace may overwrite one's inner drive for these. We also presumed that non-formal trainings are less characteristic, since most of the time, energy and financial sources are consumed with compulsory professional postgraduate trainings. For the mapping of the postgraduate training conditions, the questionnaire examined the content of the trainings, the type and the professional commitment of the training organizations – placing all this in time (asking about past events and future intentions) and obtaining information regarding the dynamics of the postgraduate training processes, as well.

Basically, we examined two training categories: the so-called, organized postgraduate trainings with strong professional relevance designed for teachers and the courses which may not necessarily be connected to a teacher's profession, have a shorter cycle and may serve the purposes of personal interest, self-realization, mental maintenance and recreation, i.e. are not necessarily formal trainings.

Participation in organized postgraduate trainings

A teaching career involves continuous mandatory postgraduate training the form and time span of which are colourful/diverse and flexible: it may vary from short trainings at the workplace to four-semester long professional trainings at tertiary-level institutions, or the acquisition of another degree. By our joining the EU, the postgraduate training system experienced a previously unseen resource increase. Nevertheless, the colourful/diverse nature of the content drifted the system in the appropriate directions for the priorities of the European and Hungarian educational and social policy. The fact is indeed demonstrable by the data, as the preferred professional directions teachers followed due to inner motivation or institutional expectations can easily be identified. Table 7 shows the number of participants in various trainings, by comparing past trainings to short-term plans:

The pedagogical priorities of the recent years can be well identified according to the Table 7, but once we compare them to the list of important tasks and personality features, we obtain only weak correlations. This is especially true in the field of pedagogical evaluation-survey since neither the highly evaluated tasks nor the important personality features include (or do it so only sporadically) the elements of the student performance evaluation or self-evaluation on such a high place.

The same is true in the case of the pedagogy development or cooperative techniques, writing applications, leadership and quality assurance trainings. The latter typically occupied the bottom of the feature list written by the teachers (See also Table 7).

We can also state that beside the disappearance or drastic decrease of pedagogical campaign movements (e.g. non-classified training), there is a firm place for major subject trainings. This is partially a relieving piece of data. On the other hand, the success of the pedagogical developments does not depend fundamentally on this.

Table 7: Frequency of participation in organized postgraduate trainings (counts)

Specialization	past 5 years (Count=548)	next 2 years (Count=359)
Pedagogical survey-evaluation	341	25
Developmental pedagogy	296	33
Subject major	174	135
Cooperative techniques	116	43
Non-classified training	87	5
Personality-developing	81	43
Writing applications	58	13
Leadership	45	19
Competence-based education	44	78
Other, namely*	30	7
Quality assurance	29	n.d.
Not decided yet	-	122

*The majority named talent development, the use of digital board and final exam chairman trainings.
Source: TÁMOP-4.1.2.B research database 2011

However, the key question is the financing of the relatively long-term trainings. The following table demonstrates that financing, which relies on the own sources of the teacher, happens in only 2.3%. In all other cases, we can find outer financers or mixed financing forms created.

Table 8: Who financed the training?

	%
The person him/herself	2.3
The school	26.7
The maintainer	7.3
Mixed type of financing	33.7
Application	19.1
Other	0.2
Missing	10.6
Total	100.0

Count=548
Source: TÁMOP-4.1.2.B research database 2011

The market of the postgraduate training for teachers – the signs tell – is unviable without continuous outer support and we can assert that it is maintained by the state and its operation is not determined by the market processes but by the nationalist intentions. Thus, as part of the operation regulation – beside the contents to be supported – the composition of the institutional network is also determined by central regulations. According to the present situation – as it is shown in Table 9 – the greatest segment of the market of postgraduate trainings is represented by the pedagogical service providers.

Regarding the postgraduate training market, there are (would be) unexploited possibilities for institutions of higher education providing teacher training, in case they were capable of providing flexible and practical knowledge that rooted in the public education and which can be successfully applied. This can only be accomplished with certain restrictions; partly due to the load of workers in higher education and the distance from praxis (the academic requirements do not help educators in respect to practice).

Table 9: The mentioning frequency of the organizations that carried out
postgraduate training in the past 5 years (counts)

College	44
University	62
Institution doing pedagogical service	384
Enterprise	86
Institution abroad	9
Other*	31

* 27 out of 31 named their own or another institution of public education
Source: TÁMOP-4.1.2.B research database 2011,
N = 548

Course trainings as fields of self-development

According to our hypothesis, course training has a much lower significance than the organized and mainly compulsory postgraduate trainings. However, Table 10 confirms this only partially. Here, we do not see such remarkable data as the postgraduate trainings (with 300 categories). Regardless of this, teachers complete a considerable number of courses. On top of the list we can find a balanced presence of informatics, foreign languages, sports, lifestyle/health maintenance, communication and arts as fields for further trainings. We have to notice the planned progress of the business-related courses as this element is a symptom that teachers find it more and more necessary to be prepared in fields that may mean an existential loophole in the case of a possible career change.

Our study highlighted the moments of the value and motivational system of teachers by means of the peculiar method of comparing the views of practice teachers and practicing, experienced teachers on moral education and on the teacher's role. Experience gained during the career, naturally, leaves its mark on all teachers, and it polishes, refines and transforms the dynamism of their younger years to be lifelike: the primary importance of confident professional knowledge is exchanged with the love of children, while the significance of an open, accepting attitude also changes to some extent. Nevertheless, the majority of the most important convictions stand firm, even though the talent or the solid moral value system will have a different meaning for more experienced teachers.

Table 10: Frequency of participation in courses (counts)

Type of course	past 5 years (Count=347)	next 2 years (Count=286)
Informatics, computer usage	152	72
Foreign language course	77	129
Sports	38	32
Lifestyle, health maintenance	30	36
Driving	25	14
Communicational	19	29
Arts, handicrafts	10	25
Business development (accounting, tax counselling)	5	13
DIY, housework	1	6
Other, namely	8	6

Source: TÁMOP-4.1.2.B research database 2011

This is important to know not only because the determination of the actual situation will define the tendencies of the future – as a sort of pedagogical prognosis – but also because knowledge centres, such as universities, have a major significance and responsibility regarding the teacher and the postgraduate training. Therefore, for the creation of efficient training programs in the future, it is imperative to know the attitudes and the motivations of teachers.

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Gyöngyi Bujdosó:

The Influence of the Generation Y Gender Factor on Students' Electronic Learning Styles

Introduction

The exploration of gender differences in learning methods has a great relevance in the information society of the 21st century. The differences in learning styles need further analysis because the electronic learning method requires new skills from both genders. The electronic learning and the method involved are very important in higher education, and require special skills from students: they have to use computers to gather and process the information in a self-directed way. The teachers in higher education have only assumptions about the way students acquire information. They have particularly numerous presumptions concerning the skills and the behavior of these students. This generation is called Generation Y, or Net Generation, and its members are "digital natives" (Prensky 2001) and entered higher education some years ago (Tari 2010). There are many surveys on the digital native students' methods of accessing, gathering and processing information. Teachers use the results of these surveys in order to determine and elaborate their teaching methods.

One factor that may cause a problem is that today's higher education teachers are members of the earlier generations, who can only be "digital immigrants" in the information society. They make efforts to gather information regarding their "digital native" students, using the information and the communication technology (ICT) on an appropriate level and trying to integrate the new technologies into their teaching methods. They attempt to fit their teaching methods and the applied technological environments to the needs of their "digital native" students. Teachers have strong assumptions about the learning styles of their digital native students which are based mainly on the literature. These presumptions are the reference points for the development of the curricula and for the adjustment of the teaching methods.

Sometimes teachers find out that the new teaching methods do not provide the required results. The working styles of students are not as effective as the teachers expect.

Here the results of our cross-border comparative survey are presented. We deal with the aspects of the gap between the styles of electronic learning, pursued by the students of generation Y, and the one the teachers assumed. We examine the influence of the gender factor and the general features of the electronic learning methods of the generation Y. The results may provide an opportunity for teachers to adapt their teaching methods to students' learning styles in a more effective way.

GENERAL FEATURES AND GENDER FACTORS OF LEARNING STYLES OF THE GENERATION Y

As Tatarinceva (2009) summarized in her work, learning styles vary according to gender, age, global versus analytic brain processing, achievement level, and culture. In some researchers' opinion three fifths of the learning style are biologically determined (Thies 1979). We do not agree with it. In our opinion the biology gives only an outline, the social patterns can determine it basically. Because electronic learning requires new skills, we have to investigate the gender differences in this field.

An important aspect for designing teaching methods in higher education is that generation Y is already there. The members of this generation had contact with the computers since their early childhood. These young people, members of the "Net Generation", are digital natives, familiar with computers and other digital gadgets, and speaking the language of computers being connected to the World Wide Web culture (they are members of social networks, use several ICT tools and the Web for their personal communications, etc.). Their learning habits and information processing behavior differ from that of the previous generations. Differences can be seen in almost all areas of the learning process – gathering and processing information, social communication, and many other social attitudes (Kovács 2010; McCrindle 2002). The traditional chalk-and-talk teaching is not efficient, new methods have to be developed in order to achieve aneffective communication (McCrindle & Wolfinger 2010).

The same considerations are found in the field of knowledge; digital natives consider other competencies, skills, knowledge, fields of information than the previous generations. Generally speaking, they have different methods of information processing in general (Horváth & Könczöl 2005).

In learning styles, self-directed learning has been identified as an important skill for today's graduate students. The competency of self-directed learning is emphatically important because the lifelong learning and life-wide learning (which requires this skill) are inevitable during the overall carrier of the members of this generation.

There are some phenomena within the higher education that teachers can experience, but they do not pay proper attention to them. For example, teachers perceive sometimes that students do not use the Internet consciously (Koznowska et al. 2011), or do not want to learn even if they feel they do not know enough in a certain field (cf. Bujdosó 2012).

Our primary hypothesis is that an important problem regarding the effectiveness of learning in higher education is caused partly by the gap between the learning methods assumed by the teachers and those used by the students. We have to examine the gender component of this problem because it relates to those skills which have gender features.

In Table 1, some of the main issues of teachers' assumptions, based on the literature, may be seen. These statements[1] show the typical features of the generation Y whose members use Web 2.0 and those of their teachers who are socialized through the paradigm of the industrial society (Bessenyei 2007). This table shows well the wide gap between the habits of the students and those of the teachers in the higher education these days.

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1 These statements quoted by Bessenyei (2007) are part of a survey report done by the Apple Education portal (www.apple.com/au/education/digitalkids/disconnect/landscape.html). This report quotes a work by Ian Jukes and Anita Dosaj, The InfoSavvy Group, February 2003.

Table 1: Cultural differences between digital native learners and digital immigrant teachers.
Results of a survey of Apple Education

Digital Native Learners	Digital Immigrant Teachers
Prefer receiving information quickly from multiple multimedia sources	Prefer slow and controlled release of information from limited sources
Prefer parallel processing and multitasking	Prefer singular processing and single or limited tasking
Prefer processing pictures, sounds and video before text	Prefer to provide text before pictures, sounds and video
Prefer random access to hyper linked multimedia information	Prefer to provide information linearly, logically and sequentially
Prefer to interact/network simultaneously with many others	Prefer students to work independently rather than network and interact
Prefer to learn "just-in-time"	Prefer to teach "just-in-case" (it is in the exam)
Prefer instant gratification and instant rewards	Prefer deferred gratification and deferred rewards
Prefer learning what is relevant, instantly useful and fun	Prefer to teach according to the curriculum guide and standardized tests

Source: Bessenyei 2007

One of the implications of these results is that students like the self-directed ways of learning. The self-directedness is discussed in the literature from 1926 (Brookfield 1984). Keeping in view the students' perspectives, self-directed learning is most essential in every profession within the information society. Malcom Knowles (1975) defined the self-directed learning as being "a process in which individuals take the initiative, with or without the help of others, in diagnosing their learning needs, formulating learning goals, identifying human and material resources for learning, choosing and implementing appropriate learning strategies, and evaluating learning outcomes."

Applying this to their students, teachers imply that students prefer the self-directed learning methods. They endeavour to learn the methods and the technology in order to provide the students with the possibilities to apply self-directed methods in their learning processes.

Gender factors are more important in the information age. As we mentioned above, three fifths of the learning style are biologically determined. Thus, we have to explore and emphasize the differences between the learning methods of female and male students. For effective learning in higher education, the goals and needs of female and male students have to be appropriately diagnosed and prescribed (Tatarinceva 2009).

Many researches deal with the gender differences regarding the digital natives' on-line behaviour (cf. Johnson 2011). We can conclude that there is a gap in the information gathering methods of the female and male students and it is more significant than earlier (see, e.g., Eurydice 2009). Concerning the information processing method, we can distinguish two main styles of learning by gender (see, e.g., Bray et al. 1997; Wehrwein et al. 2007; Choudhary 2011; Clark 2011; Bujdosó et al. 2011). The differences in these learning styles are based on basic skills and a way of thinking that is natural to most females and males.

Students who belong to the first group – which we can call feminine – are better in languages, cooperation and communication fields (Hyde 2005); they are tactical and concentrate on the task to come. These students accommodate themselves to the existing systems/schemes easily, read the curricula before filling the self-checking tests and stick to monotony. Girls of this generation have been more likely to be registered in on-line communities (Lee & Chae 2007).

Mainly, men belong to the other group we can donominate as masculine. They are good when it comes to visual-spatial reasoning, competitiveness (Hyde 2005), orientation, mathematics and logical thinking maturing with the years; this is even more true about university students (c.f. Bae et al. 2000; Delfos 2004; Bereczkei 2003). They are strategists and interested in global interrelation. The typical members of this group prefer to create new systems, and to find information just after trying to fill the self-checking test. They are interested in structures and technical details and typically do not stand for monotony. Concerning the on-line behavior, boys spent less time on individual pages than girls; and clicked more links per minute (Large et al. 2002).

The aim of our research was to examine and analyze some aspects regarding the behaviour of the students belonging to generation Y.

THE SURVEY AND THE HYPOTHESES

In our analysis we used as background factors:
- Sociological parameters, such as the domiciliation, countries and places.
- Cultural parameters: variables that belong to the cultural capital of the family, students' cultural habits: the parents' education, reading, going to places such as movies and theatres.
- Some parameters from ICT consumption: how many hours they spend at the computer, what types of activity they carry out on computers and on the Internet (mainly on the Web).

In this study we name the region where this survey was carried out as *region*, which marks those students who study in this region. The acronyms RO, UKR and HU denote the students who study in Romania, Ukraine and Hungary.

In this research we assumed that
- an average student of generation Y uses computers between two and four hours per day;
- there are no differences between the parts of the region;
- there are no gender differences regarding the computer usage time;
- male students spend more time at the computer;
- students prefer modern media for learning;
- there are no differences among the parts of the region concerning media preference;
- there are more men who prefer learning from modern media than women;
- there are more women who prefer learning from books than there are men;
- students prefer self-directed learning styles;
- there are more men who prefer the exploring learning methods than women.

RESULTS

We examined the gender aspects of some target variables. The variables of our research are as follows:
- How students like to prepare for their exams: connected to the printed or electronic curriculum
- Whether they like communicating with other people during the learning process: with or without the help of computers.

Duration of computer usage

First we have to deal with the distribution of computer use, because it can be a corner-stone in understanding students' behaviour.

Table 2: Computer usage time (hours/day) depends on gender

Gender	Mean of hours/day	Count	Std. Deviation
Men	2.597 ***	800	2.3630
Women	1.875 ***	1542	1.4687
Total	2.122	2342	1.8554

ANOVA was applied
The significance level: *** p<0.001
Source: HERD database 2012

We assumed that an average student of this generation uses computers between 2 and 4 hours per day. This time is enough for answering e-mails, keeping relationships and using computers (and the Web) in the learning processes. We got the average of computer use as 2.1 hours and that fulfils our expectations (see Table 2).

As we can see in Table 2, the difference between the two genders, concerning the duration of computer use, is significant (p=0.00). The average time concerning the female and the male students is established toward the lower bound of our hypothesis. The mean of the males is 2.6 hours thus, fulfilling our expectations. But the average time for females is 1.9 hours, which is slightly less than we expected. We have to investigate more factors in order to determine the reasons (see below).

Table 3: Computer usage time

	Means of computer usage (hours/day)	
Parts of the region in	Men	Women
RO	2.450	1.732
HU	2.817	2.039
UKR	2.286	1.599
ANOVA	NS	***

The significance level of *** p<0.001.
Concerning the male respondents, the differences were not significant (p = 0.08), but regarding the female students, the data were significantly different in the three part of the region (p<0.001)
Source: HERD database 2012

We made a comparison within both gender groups. The obtained data (see Table 3) show that women use computers less in each country. In Hungary, the average time for women exceeded the lower bound of the expected time-interval with some minutes. As we can notice, based on the data, the students studying in Hungary use more the computer. But because the average of women is on a lower level, compared with the overall average, the computer usage time of the female students studying in Ukraine and Romania is below our expectations.

The reason could be the different ICT background in the three countries. This can be an indicator of the digital development of schools and students in Hungary, development that took place some years ago and provided more access to computers and the Internet. These differences can be the results of the competency based learning, introduced and used in the Hungarian schools during the last decade.

The low level of the overall average is suggestive for the teacher in the planning of his/her teaching methods.

Learning Styles

The first question examined was in respect to the manner students are wont to learn for their exams. Students could select several learning methods from the possible answers.

The methods we name *"traditional"* use the traditional learning way without computer, such us learning from printed books or printed material (even printed from the Internet), searching information in printed books and trying to find appropriate printed books in bookshops or in libraries.

We call *"modern"* the learning style methods that use ICT media during learning, i.e., learning from curricula that students have to read on the computer screen, or look for and digest the information on the Web.

Another aspect was to determine how students like the self-directed way. That aspect is very important in view of the increasing amount of e-learning and other electronic learning material. From this point of view we distinguished two groups of answers:

We use the *"teacher directed"* denomination for those learning styles based on the students getting the exact material, not having to digest the information or be motivated for gathering information. They only have to learn the materials they receive from the teachers.

For the other group of answers called "*self-directed*", student's work has to be presumed. In order to be prepared, they have to search, digest, collect and organize the information. This method supposes self-supporting learning, thinking and information processing.

Based on the analysis of the contingency tables and the chi-square statistics, the results we obtained are shown in Table 4. In the second column of the table the number of students who selected that learning style can be seen together with the percentage of the overall number of students. The third column indicates the person directing the learning style. The fourth column contains the labels indicating if the learning media is modern or traditional. The last column shows the orientation of the students: 'Yes' if at least 50%, and 'No' if less than 50% of students chose it.

Based on the data of this table, we can conclude that students prefer the traditional media for learning. The most popular learning style was learning from a book, provided the teachers give the correct page interval for learning (80.8%). The second most popular learning style was a similar way of learning: when students can print the curricula they have to learn (73.0%). Students prefer hard copy books. Students like to read in hard copy the learning material, rather than on a computer screen (57.2%, which is very close to the 50%).

These are good news for those who have fears about the future of books, but sad results for teachers who want to build their curricula on e-learning materials that cannot be printed and have to be read on screen. For teachers, this means they have to provide a printable format for every learning material if their want that today's students learn effectively.

The other aspect is the direction of learning. As we mentioned above, the assumption is that digital native students prefer to work in a self-directed way and like to explore and digest the information on the Web. Based on the data we have obtained, we can see the opposite results. Students prefer the teacher to direct, and do not like the self-directed methods. This contradicts our hypotheses.

Table 4: Student's approach to learning methods

How students like to prepare for exams	Counts, %	Learning styles Direction	Media type	Like it?
Getting the books and intervals of pages	2110, 80.8%	Teacher-directed	Traditional	Yes
Printing the curricula	1877, 73.0%	Teacher-directed	Traditional	Yes
Learning and reading on a computer screen	1469, 57.2%	–	Modern	Yes
Looking for and digesting the information on the Web	1027, 40.3%	Self-directed	Modern	No
Exploring the curricula with the help of given books	910, 35.4%	Self-directed	Traditional	No
Looking for books in libraries and book shops	810, 31.5%	Self-directed	Traditional	No

These results show that students prefer the completely teacher-directed method. All self-directed ways of learning are far below 50% of the absolutely conducted way. Students prefer traditional media for learning
(Count=2572) *Source*: HERD database 2012

Table 5: The significant differences in learning methods in the three parts of the region.

How students like to prepare for exams	RO Counts (%)	HU Counts (%)	UKR Counts (%)	Signifi-cance
Getting the book and the interval of the pages	998 (77.8%)	1035 (84.6%)	77 (73.3%)	***
Exploring the curricula with the help of given books	489 (38.7%)	374 (31.0%)	47 (45.2%)	***
Looking for books in libraries and book shops	551 (43.8%)	229 (18.9%)	30 (28.8%)	***
Printing the curricula …	874 (69.5%)	928 (76.8%)	75 (72.1%)	***
Learning and reading on a computer screen	839 (66.5%)	574 (*47.7%*)	56 (53.8%)	***
Looking for and digesting the information on the Web	601 (48.2%)	368 (30.7%)	58 (55.8%)	***
Count	1259	1209	104	

In each row we denoted the highest rates in bold and the lowest rates in italics.
All of these differences are on p = 0.00 level
The significance level of the Pearson chi-square: *** p < 0.001
Source: HERD database 2012

The lower rates of the results of the Hungarian subsamples, concerning both questions, (cf. Chart 1A and 1B) can be caused by several factors. One of the reasons can be that those students who are in the Hungarian higher education met the competence based learning too late and thus, they cannot change their learning style to the self-directed, exploring style. Those students having met the competence based learning in their childhood have not reached the higher education yet. Another reason can be that competence based learning – that would help build up students' self-reliance – did not provide the appropriate results. The low rate of the Ukrainian subsample on the first Chart can be caused by the lack of new professional books in libraries or bookshops. Further research is required regarding this field.

Chart 1: Comparative charts on students' learning preferences
in different parts of the region
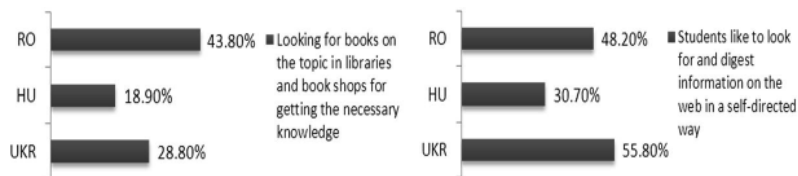
A) Students do not like to look for information – that can help understand the curricula – in libraries and book shops, in general. We can see dif¬ferent student habits in the three parts of the re¬gion and this is significant*** (Count=2572, p<0.001).

B) Contrary to our hypothesis, students do not like to digest the internet for information. The difference between the results of the parts of the region is significant*** (Count=2549, p<0.001)

Source: HERD database 2012

These results should be taken into consideration by the teachers who develop course material for pure e-learning or blended learning courses. They have to use more special and modern techniques in the curricula in order to motivate the students more towards the self-directed electronic learning.

Table 6: Gender differences in learning styles.

How students like to prepare for exams	Women Counts (%)	Men Counts (%)	Method	Media	Significance	Like it more
Given books with page intervals	1403 (83.5%)	670 (76.1%)	TD	Trad.	***	Women
Exploring the curricula with the help of given books	567 (34.1%)	325 (37.6%)	SD	Trad.	NS	
Looking for books in libraries and shops	500 (30.2%)	292 (33.8%)	SD	Trad.	NS	
Printing the curricula	1190 (71.8%)	646 (75.0%)	TD	Trad.	NS	
Learning on a computer screen	872 (52.7%)	576 (66.6%)	–	Modern	***	Men
Looking for and digesting information on the Web	612 (37.2%)	396 (46.4%)	SD	Modern	***	Men
Count	1680	880				

Here we can see how many of the female and male students prefer the various learning methods. In each row we denoted the higher rates in bold. The three methods are not significant (NS). Women prefer the teacher-directed method (TD) more, while men prefer the use of the modern media, in both cases. (Count=2560),
The significance level of the Pearson chi-square: *** p<0.001
Source: HERD database 2012

The most popular learning style for both genders was learning from a book, provided the teachers give the correct page interval (Table 6). Women like this learning style – that uses traditional

media for learning – significantly more than men, fact that converges with our hypothesis. The following three learning styles do not differ significantly by gender. Students of both genders like to learn by reading printed material, even if they have to print it from an electronic material; 71.8% of women and 75% of men like this method. Only 34.1% of women and 37.6% of men like to explore the curricula with the help of given books. Only 20.2% of women and 33.8% of men like to search for a book to gather information on a topic, in libraries and book shops.

There are significant differences in the usage of modern media in learning. Men like to use modern media for learning significantly more. We can say that both genders like to learn by reading on a computer screen, but the result we got for women is slightly more than fifty percent (52.7%), although, for men it is 66.6%. The situation is worse concerning digesting the Web for information. The benefit for men is significant. The segment of women who like to search the information on the Web is just 37.2%. They have a significantly bigger handicap in this field than men (46.4%).

As we can see, based on these results, and like we supposed, women prefer the more traditional ways of learning which means that the members of the generation Y, as defined in the literature, have not yet reached the level of higher education. They will do so in a few years.

Teachers in higher education have to pay attention to these fields. Graduated students will need to learn during their whole life. They have to train themselves and have to have the capability to find what they do not know or to gather information to decrease their handicap in a given field. They have to learn how to learn without the help of any human being.

CONCLUSIONS

In general we have found that students use computers less than we thought. The average is just 2.1 hours/day. Men's computer usage time is higher. Students in Hungary use computers more.

Both genders, in the entire region, prefer the self-directed ways of learning. Comparing the three parts of the region, we can conclude that this way of learning is most preferred by the students studying in Romania; the students in Hungary prefer less this way of learning.

Students like to use traditional media for learning, prefering books over computers for reading. Both men and women in Hungary prefer traditional media more than the other students.

Compared to women there are more men who prefer to explore learning methods, but less than 50% of men have chosen any of these methods. So, we can conclude that fewer women favour this learning method, while the students, in general, do not. Comparing the three parts of the region we can see that this method is mostly preferred by the students studying in Romania and Ukraine.

Based on these results, the learning methods have to be adjusted according to students' learning habits. The members of the Generation Y would not want to use the modern media for learning, as we estimated before we have received our actual and final data. Women use computers less (in a temporal context) and prefer to learn by reading printed materials. We can say that in order to make electronic teaching effective for female students, we have to give them a chance to print their studying material. Men also prefer to learn by reading printed material, but they have more affinity to digest the necessary learning material from the Web. They like it more, than the women, to explore the data provided by books. These results mean that if the teachers integrate such methods into their electronic teaching and provide the possibility for exploration, some part of the male students (and maybe a certain part of the female students) will like to use these methods because they can develop their learning techniques into self-directed real electronic learning. The projects which can help the students to learn and get used to self-directed and self-supported learning styles have to be developed. This is very important regarding the higher education because students need to be taught how to train themselves without the directions of the teachers. This requires more effort from the part of the women, because they are in a different

relationship with the ICT; they have to change the face-to-face personal communication with a technical one, and they have to learn how to train themselves in a self-directed way.

These new challenges (for both, teachers and students) of the information society have a great relevance in helping the Generation Y reach that kind of learning behaviour the earlier generations have supposed and required of them. More investigations have to be carried out in this field, among the Generation Y students who will enter higher education in the next years.

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Emese Belényi:

Students with Disabilities in Higher Education

Introduction

As it results from the recent international studies (Dupre 2003), the occupation rate among the persons with disabilities is significantly lower than the general rate in all European Union Members States. In Ireland, for instance, less than one third of the people with disabilities are employed, while in case of Poland (a country formerly under communist rule) this proportion is even smaller, only 20%. The occupation rate is much higher in the Northern countries, reaching 52–54% in Finland and Denmark and is also comparatively high in Luxemburg, Switzerland (50%) Norway, United Kingdom and the Netherlands (45%).[1] In Romania, according to a research conducted in 2009, only 12.7% of disabled people aged between 18–55 are employed, which represents 57 percentual points lower than the general occupational rate of the same age group. In addition, the unemployment rate is twice higher within the population segment living with disabilities (SAR 2009).

Research conducted in various countries demonstrates that the disadvantaged situation of persons with disabilities presents a strong correlation with several other factors, and particularly with their educational marginality. In Romania, which is a particularly relevant example in this regard, the proportion of persons with disabilities who never attended any kind of school is seven times higher than in the case of the general population. Abandon after the first four years of primary school occurs twice more often in the case of the disabled pupils. The educational disadvantage linked with disability is clearly identifiable up to the level of secondary education. Only 17.5% of the disabled persons graduated from high school compared to a national average of 31% (SAR 2009).

At the higher education level, however, differences tend to become smaller. The share of university graduates among the social category of disabled is as high as 8.3%, compared to 9% within the general population The lower is educational attainment, the smaller are the chances of a person living with disabilities to find a job. The persons with diabilities who graduated from university are ten times more likely to obtain employment compared to their peers without university education (SAR 2009).

In what ways are the students with disabilities different from their non-disabled peers and from those disabled young people who do not enrol for university studies? Are they exceptional in any regard? Based on the results of qualitative interviews conducted in Oradea, Romania, this paper aims to study the circumstances connected to this 'hypothesis of exceptionality', discussing the implications of personal history, family background, social networks and internal university settings for the wellbeing and the professional prospects of the students living with physical disabilities.

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1 Successive studies conducted by OECD, each analysing groups of 3-4 countries:

OECD (2006). Sickness, Disability and Work: Breaking the Barriers. Vol 1: Norway, Poland and Switzerland, Paris

OECD (2007). Sickness, Disability and Work: Breaking the Barriers. Vol 2: Australia, Luxembourg, Spain and the United Kingdom, Paris.

OECD (2008). Sickness, Disability and Work: Breaking the Barriers. Vol 3: Denmark, Finland, Ireland and the Netherlands, Paris

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Until the last few decades the failure of the disabled individuals to find paid employment or to attain higher degrees of upward mobility used to be explained basically in terms of *lack of personal capability*. Functional 'incapacity' has been used as a basis for a wider classification as (an) invalid. Once the persons with impairments have been categorised in this way, the 'disability' has become their defining characteristic and their incapacity has been generalised. This forms the basis of a 'personal tragedy' approach, where the individual is regarded as a victim, and as someone who is in need of 'care and attention'and dependent on others – a perspective which has been at the heart of the contemporary social welfare policies designed to help disabled people to cope with 'their disability' (Oliver 1990, 1996).

The personal tragedy approach was organically linked with the medical model, which claimed that disability is a medical condition for which medical expertise (educational, psychological and social) is the answer. Consequently, disability existed within a framework of state, legal, economic and biomedical insititutions. As the result of this process of institutionalisation, national legislations provided the impairment with an existence and a consistency it never had before: definition, criteria, and degrees of severity (Ingstad & Whyte 1995 p. 179*)*.

This has been the dominant scientific and policy trend concerning disability until the late 1960s, when under the influence of a new interpretation of the concept of equality and of a new type of human rights centred approach characteristic to the emerging "welfare state", a first change of paradigm occured. The key words to this new discourse came to be *integration* and *normalisation:* integration meaning that disabled people should participate in society on their own premises and on an equal basis, normalisation meaning the various measures that would enable them to participate in normal work and social life (Ingstad & Whyte 1995, p. 179*).* The proponents of this model shared the view that the roots of the marginal situation of disabled people are laying in the negative social attitudes towards them, rather than in their physical incapacity or medical condition.

According to this model, it is still the disabled person's problem that requires explanation, but the explanatory structure is no longer linked to the individual; rather, answers are sought in the belief-system of the whole society (Finkelstein & French, 2004 p. 31) However, the main problem faced by the adepts of the "normalisation' model was how to make the notion of equal rights for the disabled operational. In practice, the implementation of rights generally depends not just on the existence of certain constitutional and legal norms, and on people's attitudes towards disability, but it is also contingent in large extent of the available means and opportunities to exercising those rights in practice. In the case of persons who have special physical and sensorial characteristics, certain rights are simply meaningless in the absence of special technical solutions necessary for their implementation (Barnes et al. 1999 p. 5).

On the other hand, the inherent assumption of the normalisation discourse is that disabled people want to be other than they are, even though this would mean a rejection of identity (Swain &French 2004 p. 31). To this, one should add that the emphasis on 'normality' tends to obscure the need for change. In a society organized around the needs of a 'non-disabled' majority, disabled people are consequently viewed as 'abnormal'. Moreover, 'if disabled people are viewed as 'normal', than there is little need for policies to bring about a society free of disablism (Barnes 1992 p. 38).

These are the main reasons, why beginning with the end of the eighties a new shift of paradigm took place and the so called *social model*, sometimes also referred to as the *inclusive model*, which argues that "disability is a social state" (Oliver 1990), is gradually gaining ground. In order to have a clearer understanding of what marginality means in case of the disabled people and how it is caused, it is necessary to shift the analysis from the individual and micro levels to the societal level. One should look to the way power and resources are distributed between social

groups having competing interests.Social disadvantage and discrimination of the disabled should be analysed in this wider context (Flora 2001).

According to the schemes of explanation connected to the social model, the explanation for disabled persons' marginality requires a careful research and assesment of the marginalising factors and exclusionary effects connected to the characteristics of the larger social environment. If, for instance, the overall rate of unemployment for disabled people is much higher than the population average, this suggests a structural discrimination in the sphere of the employment against disabled people, in possible connection with other disabling barriers (Barnes et al. 1999 p. 13).

This paper methodologically grounded in the analysis and interpretation of nine structural interviews within recent university graduates in Oradea, living with various kinds of physical disability, is epistemologically built around the main explanatory schemes enounced in the *social* model of disability. In the same time, in analysing the outcome of the interviews, one of my research tasks has been to investigate the degree of the influence of each of the three presented models of disability in shaping the perceptions and attitudes of the students with disabilities. I started from the supposition that "social life is possible because of communication and shared meanings, and the central task is to understand how people present themselves and negotiate social situations" (Barnes 1999 p. 32). I aimed therefore "to hear the story" from the point of view of each of the students being studied.

PERSONAL IDENTITY AND 'NORMALITY'

The first key question to be discussed in analysing the interview results is that of the *personal identity*. People with disabilities can be characterised with a distinct peculiarity, as they have a double self-image: as injured beings and as citizens/workers like everyone else (Stiker 1982 p. 149). In this regard, my study aims to reveal, on the one hand, the kind of combination of the two facets occuring in the way students define themselves and on the other hand, the extent to which the main explanatory models of disability, already outlined above, are influencing the self-perception and the identity of the disabled students.

The first important finding is that the graduates clearly reject the personal tragedy model, emphasising, in contrast, *normality* in their life and their aspiration to be – and to be treated – like anyone else. That is why they are, by all means, stressing the aspects of normality in their personal history:

> "I had a normal childhood, I did not attend a special kindergarten and I didn't need special aid.I have the same memories as any healthy children, and my parents educated me in this spirit, despite my impairment."   (F.K)

> "In school I was rather an active child, I liked very much my lady teacher, because she treated all children on an equal footing. My schoolmates also behaved normally towards me, I was not excluded from the community. In spite of the fact that my situation would have required less physical effort, I attended physical education classes like all the others, although I had the right to be exempted. I don't have much negative memories from my school years. I was treated as all the other children." (.K.F)

> "I would characterise my childhood as a healthy one. I didn't feel, at least I don't remember any occasion when I suffered a disadvantage, I didn't feel being treated unfairly, my parents and grandparents took always care that no such things would ever happen." (K.H.)

"I see myself as an ordinary student at the university, like anybody else." (H.K.)

Normality is viewed by graduates first of all as the absence of negative discrimination. What they particularly appreciate is, on the one hand, the opportunity to live in a stigma-free environment and, on the other hand, to receive, in all occasions, a non-discriminatory treatment, "without regard to otherness."

"I had a teacher, at the university, who realised my impairement only after graduating, when we, former students and our former professors went together on a trip. We played basketball and I 'refused' to catch the ball with my both hands. Shouldn't it be easier with two hands? – my professor asked me. I replied that indeed it would be easier; just it didn't work in my case. In that moment he understood. So, I think that my disability caused no additional difficulty during my university studies." (A.D.)

"The teachers always had a positive attitude to me, I never had any problem with anyone, they all liked me and respected me very much, no one made me to feel my otherness." (F.K.)

This discourse of 'normality' is so pervasive in configuring students' self image, that they not only reject negative discrimination, but also tend to view critically those past occurences of *positive* discrimination connected to their medical condition (impairement) which they perceive as having an offending connototation, making them to feel themselves "less valuable" than others.

"One of my most disappointing experiences was when my teacher of physical education did not want to let me play basketball, when my classmates engaged in a game. I left with the unpleasant impression that he considered I would have destroyed the chances of my team to win if I had been allowed to play." (H.K.)

"At a later stage of my childhood I observed that my parents are assigning more tasks to my sister, just to <spare> me. I didn't like this and my sister didn't appreciate it either." (K.H.)

"The lady educators in the kindergarten offered me special treatment, they offered me exagerated fondness, for which, looking back now, I do not feel very grateful." (D.A.)

While acknowledgeing their impairement as a fact which cannot be changed, the students are inclined to reject any potential "undeserved" advantages which they might obtain on the ground of their "special situation." In contrast, what they are emphasizing more are their personal qualities *not* linked to disability.

"What would have happened if...? That's the way it is, I always had an impairement and this cannot ever be changed." (T.P.)

"During my life as a disabled person I learned that it would be simple to hide behind my disability, but it would not be rewarding. The external appearence is really not that important." (A.D.)

It should be mentioned, on the other hand, that some graduate opinions are going even beyond the standard self-image of a "normal human being like anyone else", towards a perception where "normality" is combined with the acknowledgement and positive valuation of the alterity, viewed as a culturally enriching difference.

"I saw myself at the university as any other student, only a little bit different, more interesting in appearence, limping, always running, always in a hurry." (P.T.)

"I have a rather an open minded personality, so I was interested in many things. I liked literature, history, grammar, and the classes where we discussed about media or about multiculturalism. To sum up, I was interested in everything." (F.K.)

Such views seem to confirm – at least in case of our research target population– the valability of the assertion that "today disabled people are more and more often creating positive images of themselves and are demanding the right to be the way they are - to be equal but different. In recognising a positive view of disability, it is essential that this is set in the context of the social model of disability and the oppression and discrimination faced by disabled people. Our argument is that, even in a disabling society, disabled people have directly challenged the personal tragedy theory of disability" (Swain & French 2004 p. 12).

PERSONAL AUTONOMY AND RESOURCES OF SUPPORT

A particularly important question concerning the adaptation strategies of disabled students refers to the social networks and community resources they are using in their effort to achieve fulfillment both in their professional and their personal life. The special significance of these resources is derivable from the fact that while autonomy and dependence are universal aspects of all social relationships, dependency is a problem that all disabled people must confront (Ingstad & Whyte 1995 p. 11).

Similarly to the debates around the identity problems related to disability, the theoretical discussions around the issue of personal autonomy also result in divergent positions, primarily connected to the different explanatory models of disability According to the functional capacity model, the disabled person is expected to make every effort to improve their situation by *individual* adjustment and coping strategies. The individual model presumes that the 'impairment' takes over the individual's identity and constraints 'unrealistic' hopes and ambitions (Barnes et al 1999 p. 27).

In an attempt to overcome the shortcomings of the view that disability is a predominantly medical condition, the proponents of the 'normalization and integration model' identified the main potential obstacles faced by disabled people in the psychological consequences of negative or inadequate social attitudes they encounter in virtually every stage of their life. In this respect, Beatrice Wright has pointed out that the disabled people are affected by the so called 'spread' phenomenon, when loss of one's ability is perceived as leading to defects in other physical functions as well. This not only affects additional physical areas, but also involves social abilities and events as well (Wright 1987*)* Sharing the same kind of theoretical presuppositions, Irving Zola speaks of the invalidation and infantilization of disabled people: one's validity as a full person is denied. Being different means being less (Zola 1982 quoted in: Ingstad & Whyte 1995 p. 10*).*

While accepting the pertinence of these assertions in particular contexts, the social model of disability is also stressing the importance of establishing a familal, socio-insitutional and local community *network of support* for people living with disabilities. The main task would be to offer them the chance to organize their relationships in a way to sucessfully incorporate the principles of equality and difference, beyond mere 'normality'. As Carolyn Ells points out, "the possibility and the condition of independence depends not on separation from others but on particular and extensive sorts of interconnections with others and with the social and political fabric of one's community. Access to social spaces and services and empowering relationships makes autonomy possible." (Ells 2001 p. 599*)*

The analysis of the graduates' attitudes reveals the fact that they tend to assign a positive value to social networks in consolidating personal autonomy and self esteem, clearly rejecting the sort of unilateral dependence induced by the functional capacity model and partially even the variants of dependence implicitly presented within the "normalization" paradigm. In contrast with those interpretations, they define their own i*ndependence* as the ability to make choices and to help others.

"I did not request and didn't receive any help during the university admissions; I was treated like any other candidate." (A.D.)

"What I would need is much more time, that is my eternal problem… jokes aside, I do not feel that I would need any particular help in phyisical terms, I can solve everything myself. (K.H.)

I am never asking for help and I never receive help. I am not at all a person, who would like to make a living based on charity. Anyway, nowadays people are offering help rather scarcely, even if they are in the position to do so. This is the spirit of time and we can do nothing about it." (H.Zs.)

If I can help others, I am not dependent on others' help and this is a good feeling. (P.I.)

Although our interviewees do mention the difficulties they encountered, they tend to regard these obstacles as secondary in importance, and to large extent as already overcame.

"Usually, I am becoming quickly relaxed and I am feeling easy and comfortable in my human contacts. I am trying now to 'take revenge' for what I missed during my childhood, when I felt that I was less worthy than others and therefore I deserved less." (P.I)

Among the important spiritual and social network resources on which they relied in overcoming the difficulties of the past, the graduates are emphasizing the supportive role of the family, school peers and of teachers and close friends. The first place in this factor ranking is undoubtedly occupied by their families of origin, which they characterize as being *supportive*, rather than just *protective*. What students appreciate mostly in their parents' attitude is that parents always encouraged them to act independently, to make their own choices and follow them relentlessly.

"I followed my dream, and my parents supported me in doing so. They did not try to exert an influence upon me, to influence my choices, but rather, they offered and are still offering me their support in achieving my goals." (F.K)

"My parents assured me that they would help me financially if I chose a university where I would have to pay a tuition fee, I was the one who insistedin taking advantage of a tuition fee free study opportunity." (A.D.)

The values and the life orientation received during early family socialisation, from parents and in some cases also from the grandparents are regarded by students as having had a decisive role in obtaining their personal achievements.

"My parents educated me to respect everyone. I try to keep to this principle even today and even in my relationships with people who have different views than I have. I am thankful to my parents for many things, I learned from them to acknowledge my limits and how to behave in certain circumstances." (F.K.)

"I learned more from my grandparents. As I always desired to be accepted by others, I regard the acceptance and the respect of others as the highest values. My grandparents shared the same values." (P.I.)

"The most important values I learned from my parents are confidence in life, perseverence, love of fellow human beings, the capacity to go forward in spite of difficulties." (P.T)

While all graduates agree that the positive function of their family (parents, grandparents) as the primary scene of their socialisation was crucial, the role of school communities and particularly of their non-disabled peers is perceived in a more contradictory manner. On the one hand, they remember the members of the closer school community, especially classmates, as a resource of friendship and spiritual warmth.

"My school-mates got used with me, they protected me, loved me, defended me against other children attending the same school, but in different classes." (F.K.)

"I have pleasant memories of my classmates; they did not exclude me, although they had to come to terms with the fact that I couldn't use both of my hands during games. I did not feel disadvantaged and had a good mutual understanding with my classmates. Teachers also had a correct attitude towards me as well as towards the whole class." (K.H.)

"Lots of positive impressions, very well prepared, kind and benevolent lady teacher, who helped me a lot in coping with class requirements." (T.P.)

On the other hand, however, some members of the school community, of the same age than our subjects, usually not classmates, are remembered as those who made their lives harder. The main difficulties mentioned in this regard are represented by the bullying, the feeling of inferiority induced by others and by the self-perception of their own impairment. Still, students are able to identify positive effects regarding their personality development even of such experiences.

"Children from other classes often bullied me and sometimes even beat me in the bathroom. For this reason I liked to stay only in my classroom and I didn't go out in the corridor or in the schoolyard unless I was obliged to do so." (T.P.)

"I had the first big disappointment during the second grade of the primary school, when no one of my girl schoolmates wanted to be friends with me, with 'the lame'. At that time I thought that all girls were like this, only later I realized that there was also a generational aspect of their rejecting attitude." (H.ZS.)

"As my brain is usually working more effective than average, I always managed to have the right reply to the offending words addressed to me, and so after a while I had no more

enemies, but not many friends either. I did not have regrets about this situation.   I learned how to cope with problems myself, without asking support from others." (H.Zs.)

Friendships are regarded as important in overcoming difficulties and in shaping one's own future by offering them the opportunity of a strong an equal human partnership.

"When I applied to the university, I discussed it with my best friend and took the decision together. It was a great help for me that she joined me and advised me in making my choice." (F.K.)

University years are perceived by the graduates both in their continuity and discontinuity with the previous high school period, as a stage of life characterized by important achievements both in terms of intellectual and personal development. The main personality trait they emphasize as a key factor of success is personal excellence, particularly intellectual abilities and willpower. They are all well aware of the fact that they have to demonstrate more than others and have to win additional obstacles in order to succeed.

"I am a maximalist; I always try to get the maximum out of me and of the circumstances." (P.T.)

"I liked the university and beyond studying I also did paid work. Relying exclusively on my own forces, I found part time working opportunities (department secretary, baby sitter, journalist) very good; they did not interfere in any respect with my studies." (A.D.)

"At the university I was a successful and happy student, satisfied both in terms of my studies and in terms of my human relationships." (H.Zs.)

"University was a huge success for me. I always belonged to the group of most successful students. Finally, I was in the position to do what I liked and what interested me." (A.D.)

 "Teachers always had a positive attitude towards me, I never had any problem with any of them, they all liked me and respected me, and no one made me feel my otherness." (F.K.)

Still, during their university years, the graduates perceived acutely in their everyday life the additional difficulty of being not just a student like anyone else, but one living with a physical disability. What they are complaining about, however, does not concerns their individual human relationships – with their colleagues and teachers – which they regard as rather satisfactory. The main disadvantage they perceive is located at an institutional level, in the existence of physical obstacles, such as stairs, within the university building and, even more, the lack of special arrangements and the perceived insufficient preoccupation of the university officials to attenuate the negative effects of those barriers.

"Whether it is more difficult to enrol for the university studies for a disabed person I think it depends on the characteristics of his/her disability. In my case the biggest problems were the stairs and the moving from one place to another. An elevator or a special arrangement of the classrooms to be used would have made things much easier." (F.K.)

"Yes, it was much more difficult for me during the university years, because we had each class in a different room, and I was always forced to run from one location to another. Many times I had to spend the recreation period between two classes running from the basement to the mansard." (H.Zs.)

"The university buildings are not suitable to host students in wheelchairs and even to me, as a student with physical disability, moving from one floor to the other meant a great deal of effort to me. In spite of the fact that I requested that my study group be allowed to have classes only in th first floor, still I was assigned classes in the upper floor." (P.T.)

"On two occasions there was an opportunity to apply for an occasional financial support designated to cronically ill people, which I requested and which was approved for me. I didn't ask for any other kind of support because there wasn't any other chance." (H.Zs.)

While rejecting the kind of help which would put them in the humiliating position of accepting "undeserved advantages", the students are nevertheless inclined to accept and even to welcome certain kinds of compensatory special assistance which they feel does not imply such offending connotations.

UNIVERSITY GRADUATES AND THE LABOUR MARKET

Similarly to the other main aspects of disability already touched upon, the problem of accessing the labour market by disabled persons has been discussed from different perspectives depending on the divergent theoretical perspectives. In the works of authors linked to the functional incapacity model the typical emphasis has been on helping individuals to pass through a grieving process associated with their 'complex of losses.' This sets aside the influence of social or material factors, including social policies, in helping an individual, a disabled person to better 'cope', or to become more independent. (Barnes et al 1999, p. 27) Such views considered disabled people primarily as subjects of social policies and as passive receivers of help, rather than as active participants and competitors in the economy and in the labour market.

The possibility and indeed the necessity for the disabled people to assume such an active role was affirmed for the first time within the framework of the 'normalisation and integration' model, which predominantly focused on the individual and micro-social barriers faced by persons with disabilities in obtaining employment. Since the 1960s, within the general approach of symbolic interactionism, analytical issues have emerged, such as the notion of stigma and the ways in which this is negotiated in the social interaction (Goffman 1963). Another instrumental concept is that of "career". It is used to describe the ascription of a social role band identity to a "deviant" individual. One of the points of the labelling theory is that the identification of a singularity by social agencies has consequences for the subsequent career of the disabled person; primary deviance, once labelled, is encompassed by secondary deviance that is socially determined (Scheff 1966, Scott 1970 quoted in: Ingstad & Whyte 1995, p. 18–19, 54–55).

This has been an important step towards the analysis of the *macro-social* factors affecting the chances of the disabled in respect to the labour market, which occurred and gradually gained ground beginning from the seventies, within the explanatory framework of the social model of disability. One important dimension which had to be considered in this context has been the technological and economic modernisation which affected the employment opportunities available to people with impairments. The main emerging questions in this respect concerned the way in which the organizational structure of the society, the organisation of production and the degree of specialisation incorporate people with impairments and influence the degree to which

people with impairments are able to participate in the contemporary division of labour (Ingstad & Whyte 1995, p. 15).

The other main dimension of the problem goes beyond the technical and organisational obstacles inherent to the way modern economy works, and concerns the inequality of chances deriving from the inequitable power structures which characterise contemporary social-political settings. As suggestively formulated for the first time at international level by the Union of Physically People Against Segregation, "it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society" (UPIAS, 1976,p. 14). Once defined as a disabled person, the individual is stigmatized, and social expectations about the way people with impairment should behave, or about the things they are capable of doing, exert an influence independent of their impairment.

From the analysis of my interviews it results that the students with disability are, in spite of the obstacles they faced, or may be even as a reaction to those obstacles, achievement and performance oriented, and also centred on professional career tasks, with ambition and perseverance beyond average.

> "I work for a cultural-religious organization for young people. I started my work as a part time voluntary worker, then I became a voluntary coordinator and finally a full time collaborator, programme organizer. I fell in love with this institution. It is full of challenges and also provides me with the freedom I need." (A.D.)

On the one hand, my subjects share "realistic" professional options and are aware of their functional limitations caused by their physical impairments and recognize the legitimacy of limitations in accessing labour market which are directly and clearly originating from those impairments. However, on the other hand, they tend to reject those barriers in the labour market which they think that are artificially imposed and linked with the negative and restrictive social perceptions of disability still prevalent today, rather than with the unavoidable consequences of their physical limitations.

> "Of course, my choice was influenced by my disability. As I have limited physical abilities, physical work is impossible for me. I must sit while working and I am capable only of intellectual work." (H.Zs.)

> "I would like to obtain some sort of clerical work, as working in an office would be most suitable to me. I am looking for a job as anyone else, only that my disability makes this task harder." (A.D.)

> "I initially wanted to have a profession where both hands were necessary, so I was forced to switch to another study programme." (K.H.)

> "I have currently found a suitable job. As social worker I deal with children and elderly people. It is a job which involves human contact and is not a monotonous one, which is an important aspect." (H. K.)

> In life history narratives of the graduates, the professional and further study options they made often appear as "positive choices", which occurred in certain points of their early life periods under the influence of interesting and stimulating events they had the opportunity to participate in, such as travel to foreign countries.

"When I was 14 years old, I spent two months in Bristol, in the UK, and afterwards my desire was to begin studies at the university in the field of English language and literature." (F.K.)

"In the year 2000 I arrived for the first time in Berlin, where I had a first-hand chance to experience what opportunities young people with disabilities have in that city and how the rest of society behaves towards them. As the result of my extremely favourable impressions, I decided to study further in order to achieve something in my life. I learned German language with a private teacher then I applied to high school and subsequently to university." (P.T.)

In spite of the strong pursuit for personal excellence and the huge confidence my subjects have in their strength, those among them who still did not find a job in line with their professional aspirations are not necessarily optimistic in their forecasts. The perceived discrimination in the labour market, which affects people with disabilities in spite of their intellectual abilities and achievements, and the lack of an adequate supporting social network to help them out of this situation appear as recurrent themes in the graduates' narratives.

"Well, the hardest thing is to find employment. As I am a linguist and I speak several languages, I applied to many positions, but I felt that often my disability prevented me from obtainig the job I applied for. After several years of such experience, I can tell you that it is extremely difficult to get an opportunity." (F.K.)

"Had I not been a disabled person, today perhaps I would have had my own flat. It is a huge disadvantage, because people always have prejudices, and this situation will not change any soon." (K.H.)

"To get employment in the intellectual field, nowadays, it would require to have influent friends and unfortunately I don't have such friends." (H.ZS.)

"The most difficult is to become integrated in your work environment, but if your mates are accepting you as you really are, things are becoming easier. If you are rejected, however, everything gets upside down. In that situation, you are likely to loose your initiative and your working abilities become diminished or remain hidden." (P. I.)

What university graduates living with disabilities who are still not engaged in work are wishing most ardently is to be offered a chance, to find an employer and/or a friendly working community which would help them in breaking the vicious circle of prejudice and lack of trust. In case of their peers who found "the job of their dreams" exactly this is what happened.

"It would not be a hard task to keep any job which my impairment allowed me to fulfill, because the key factors here would be motivation and perseverance, and I am not lacking any of these qualities. But the first and foremost thing would be that a door would open somewhere, one of the many doors disabled people are knockin at. Just one chance to emerge for me too, so that I can finally prove: I do not deserve less, and may be I deserve more than many of the workers without any disability. " (F.K.)

"To keep the job once you already got it might not prove more difficult than for others, after all. If I am given a chance, I am sure I will do my utmost to show that the confidence invested in me was not in vain." (K.F)

From this perspective, university graduates, beyond their professional career, aspire to "the fullness of life", including family life and parenthood, viewed as essential spiritual resources.

> "The first and most important thing to a woman is to have children, because the absence of maternal role cannot be compensated by anything else. All the other things are coming in addition. A woman cannot rely only on external resources, it is very important to have a plenty of internal resources too. Just like that, we have to find those resources and to learn how to use them." (P.I.)

CONCLUSIONS

Higher education offers to students with disabilities an important opportunity to overcome – partially or totally - the negative effects of structural discrimination in the labour market and a channel of mobility able to attenuate the exclusionary effects of the marginal social status linked with disability.

In the self-image and mental projections of the students living with physical disabilities, higher education studies appear as their unique life chance to escape the negative social consequences of impairment. Their belief that they are or might become happy exceptions to the rule that disability, inevitably, leads to marginality, provides students with important internal spiritual resources.

In their pursuit of personal excellence, normality and integration are key concepts in shaping students self-image and their attitudes towards their own impairment/disability. Being aware of their own functional limitations, they are striving for social arrangements and support networks which can help them to achieve their aspiration for "equality in diversity".

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