RÉGIÓ ÉS OKTATÁS IV.

RELIGION AND VALUES IN EDUCATION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

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Religion and Values in Education in Central and Eastern Europe

Edited by Gabriella Pusztai

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FOREWORD

As we, in the frame of REVACERN project undertook to build relationships among the researchers who are interested in the field of "religions in education," we have to answer some important questions. Question number one: which are the most essential hypotheses in connection with religions in education accepted by the wider scientific public? Social function of religions in education, respectively the religious instruction and denominational schools can be approached from the point of view of particular religious groups. In this case, the question is: what the educational aims of religious groups are. According to the main internal interpretation of purposes, the aims of religious education can be to supply the religious community, to preserve traditions, and to spread religious views and ideology. According to the typical external observant or to the member of any other religious groups in multi-religious society, these aims are not interpretable and not important because they do not share these views and they do not consider them to be serving general interests.

In the last third of the 20th century the archerian paradigm was the most popular scientific interpretation regarding religions in education. According to Archer, the church and the state have been rivals since the very beginning, and in the past two centuries, different interest groups have been competing for the control over the educational system. Regarding the position of religions in education, the streamline of European educational policy-making focused on the right to belief and religion, but the educational policymakers of most EU countries distinguished religious communities from other groups. Their privileged position can be shown by the fact that denominational schools at funding – considering the value-preserving and community-creating roles – did not have to prove that "their activity is of public interest." The last decade has brought changes in educational politics. While the special literature states that the great effect of various new agents of socialization moderate the influence of schools, new demands appeared in connection with schools, and policy makers expect more and more tasks. In the middle of the nineties the issue of the educational system was considered as a national, sometimes local issue in the EU, however, after the millennium, education started to play a key role in strengthening Europe in the global competition, and solving some global troubles. These new challenges seem to be about mediating values, norms and behavior patterns rather than teaching knowledge.

What are these new educational challenges? There is a new phenomenon in educational policy that the social embeddedness of individuals, mental condition, learning and working attitudes are not merely part of private domain. In order to increase the participation in the labor

market and help students integrate in society, schools should foster some abilities and competences. They prepare individuals not only for the jobs, but make them capable of handling social relationships, preserving their mental health and developing favorable attitudes towards work.

All modern countries struggle with the declining political activity (fewer young people vote) and low-level civil engagement in youth cohorts and decreased concern with certain collectivist values. This growing democratic deficit is in association with the low level of trust in public institutions and discredit of the calculability of the surrounding society and future. That phenomenon causes skepticism in norms and laws, and at least anomie. According to the current educational politics, schools should build civil engagement, encourage the voluntary activity in local and school communities to raise general trust in society.

The third type of these social demands aim at strengthening social cohesion. For different reasons (through the migration and the unemployment) the proportion of disadvantaged social groups whose culture and religiosity differ from the school cultures and the mainstream cultures, is becoming larger. The well popularized "tolerance" became inappropriate to handle these troubles, for it resulted in indifference in practice. According to new demands, schools should take care of these groups with active solidarity and personal attention, and not only as representatives of out-groups.

These demands expanded the function of schools by developing not only the cultural capital, but the social capital as well. These expectations of schools could enhance and moreover overwrite the traditional function of religions in schools. These expectations of education could enhance and moreover overwrite the traditional function of religions in schools. When we investigate religious education and the church maintained educational institutes and search for the suitable hypotheses, it is worth taking the above mentioned approaches into account. According to some new researches in our region, religious instruction and denominational schools have the opportunity (and sometimes better opportunity than the public ones) to mediate these messages.

Let us have a look at just a few examples. As for the well-being of human resources, religious instruction and denominational schools can be influential in two ways: partly through the ideological, cognitive and affective dimensions of religiosity and partly through the value systems and norms of the school communities. The ideological dimension of religion puts the individual's life into a larger context. It makes the individual responsible for his deeds, and conscious of his way of living. It also leads to a future-oriented attitude, which is compatible with the value system of determining social institutes, e.g., schools. Religious communities can contribute to the prevention of deviant behavior and promotion of good achievement.

As for the positive attitudes towards socially useful work, we have more empirical evidence among denominational students. Our researches showed that former students from denominational schools are determined to take up a job. According to findings, ex-denominational pupils can be outstandingly characterized by altruist attitude towards work. They have a coherent image of work, where the central elements are responsibility, helping others, social usefulness, dealing with people and team work. Students from other school sectors, however, consider advancement in career, prospects for promotion and high salary important.

Some research revealed that any type of religious education (whether in the family or at school) can strengthen the interest in public life. Students from denominational schools consider the wider communities (such as nation and people of the world) important, as well as the micro level of relationships (that is family and friends).

While the educational policy searched solution to the unequal distribution of children with different socio-economic backgrounds among schools, it turned out that denominational schools admit pupils from disadvantaged region and from the larger families. The social composition of denominational schools shows that these schools can better integrate pupils with lower socio-economic backgrounds. Non-denominational schools turned out to be socially very closed and segmented, compared to their denominational counterparts. According to our experience, if a school is organized on a cultural or religious basis, identification with the given culture overwrites vertical social status in recruiting pupils.

As for the out-groups in schools, students in denominational schools answered in larger rate that they are willing to sit besides a student from a different out-groups. On top of it all, they highlighted that "it is the person who is important rather than the out-group."

All in all, we suggest considering these functional points of view to interpret the role of religions in education. That means that the essential hypothesis is that religion in education is capable of meeting some new European educational challenges. It is suggested not to interpret the issue from the inner approach of one religious group, nor from the inner approach of other challenging groups but according to the needs of the more or less secularized society, loaded with unanswered existential and social questions. As members of the conference organized by the Center for Higher Educational Research and Development in Debrecen, 2007, we tried to interpret the role of religions in education by searching for their social function or common social utility.

GABRIELLA PUSZTAI

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RELIGION AND VALUES IN COMPULSORY EDUCATION

GABRIELLA KISS

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NEW TRENDS OF SOCIALIZATION AND THE RESULTS OF DIFFERENTIATED (EDUCATIONAL) TASKS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Motto: The traditional socializational interpretations in classical sociology have to be re-evaluated.

In the first section of this paper, the old and new socializational trends and models are being dealt with, only referring to the processes creating their bases and the changes taking place in the situation of young people (see Kálmán Gábor's works). After that references will be made to the relationship between the rebirth of socialization and the differentiated results of (educational) tasks in denominational schools. The following issues will be discussed concerning the topic: what possibilities do the inner school/religious socializational peculiarities provide for the individual models, how do they have to adapt to the new models, in part, as a consequence of their socializatonal effectiveness, how are the denominational schools able to avoid the negative consequences of the new tendencies.

The tasks accomplished by the denominational schools and also their effectiveness are not only manifest in certain grades of certificates or the results of different competitions and entrance exams but also by their educational results and socializational results. The maintainer of the school, the parents and the whole society expects this from the churches and denominational schools, and value this in first place. This result – adapting to the schools religious concept – is maintained also by many inner support but it cannot be achieved without adapting to the external world. It has to pay attention to social changes and the changed socializatonal circumstances of the youth and to the changed socializational features as well.

According to Gorz (2000) a cultural (value, attitude, etc.) change has already finished by today, which dramatically changed and modified the processes of integration, identity and socialization, especially concerning the youth. New socialization scenes appeared besides the traditional ones (family, school), the socialization role of the age group, the media, plaza, etc., increases. The "third place" is the place and time of free time activities, which gains a significant socializational function in the young age-period that became longer. It seems that the traditional socializational interpretations present in classical sociology have to be re-evaluated.

Socialization research and the new socializanional trends – especially in the case of young people

It is obvious that the renewing of socialization in modern society has been present from the beginning in all dimensions of socialization, but it is fully developed only today, and what is important to emphasize is that its faster and more radical forms will be characteristic of the youth. The societies of postmodern era that can be indicated by different metaphoric names like "learning society," "risk society," "experience society," "project society," etc., – as the telling names show – create a new socializational world and they ask for a new type of socialization.

Socialization is the basic element of society; it can be referred to as society's constant basic category. The reason for this is the fact that preserving the changes, adopting to the circumstances and renewing for the new changes, it obtains a historical meaning construction, whose knowledge is necessary to understand the processes and phenomena in society. This is the same concerning the Hungarian society and youth as well. Despite of this fact, there are less researchers dealing with this problem in Hungary, however, it is a common matter regarding its connection to other issues, it is one of the most mentioned phenomenon among the problems concerned (Somlai 1997:19). Socialization, as a frame of analysis, as an explanatory factor, is rather fashionable, it hardly has to compete with alternatives.

Examining the interpretations of socialization, a phenomenon could be noticed that as opposed to other categories where the scientific usage is hard as a result of the heterogenic concept, in the case of socialization the problem is rather that they deal with schematic concepts, they interpret it as a one-dimensional, non-dynamic "adaptation to society," emphasizing primarily the change of social environment, and they are less focused on the modification of socialization's character itself.

In the study of socialization, the historical and the changing concept apply themselves obviously, however, we may have the feeling that this issue is less dealt with, and many times only the description of its "ever green" functions and results (forming the personality, being a mature part of the society) are focused on. Regarding the change, they are the most visible changes of socializational ways: the analyzed effects of the age group and media, and some socializational deviances are emphasized by some specialized branches of sociology (sociology of family affairs, deviance sociology), and the issue of political socialization that can be useful and interesting also for politics, are in the focus of interest.

Somlai Péter outstands from Hungarian researchers (his book written in 1997 is still among the basic special literature), and Gábor Kálmán who

examines youth groups and the issue from many points of view. The current renewing of the study of social theory (Kovách 2006) – when the structuralist-functionalist analysis is replaced by new concepts and theories – requires, and hopefully creates the wider conceptual interest and the renewing of theories of socialization.

The first step to cover this question is to consider the current models. The models are eventually ideal-constructions in a weberian sense, they do not apply themselves clearly, their differences are visible only through comparisons, and they are not alternatives that exclude one another. Especially the "reconstruction model" – in its parts and dynamically necessary functions – cannot be issued inflexible, for the maintenance of the social continuity, the social integration is a social need.

Two main significant types of socializational theories could be emphasized: the "reconstruction model" and the "constructional" or "interaction model" (Somlai 1997). Both models are "interaction models" in a certain way. These are completed currently – especially concerning the youth – by the "model of experimental socialization" (Galland 2004) that expresses the most characteristic, self-destructive (see postmodern and post-postmodern conditions) side (the questioning of "ready made" identity and the constant desire for creating something new, the need to become someone or something else) of modernity. M. Foucault, the examiner of modernity (1994) claims that "the goal nowadays is perhaps not to discover what we are but rather to reject what we are."

The "reconstruction model"

According to the reconstruction model, the aim of socialization is the creation of cultural continuity, the re-creation of society by acquiring former cultural and behavioral patterns and values, to provide safety in which it is a means of assimilation and deviance is a result of bad socialization. Socialization integrates into society, it connects to the community. The main value is social and cultural integration that requires identification, acquiring behavior and rules, control, and the following of a value system. Its basis is the formation of personality – as becoming an individual of society – through social interactions. The finding of personal identity happens through the adaptation to and the identification with the rules of our environment.

This "reconstruction model" or "integrational model" was basically formulated after Durkheim and Parsons' concept of society, to the primary value of social integratedness. One of the dangers of this concept is over-socialization and over-integration that – under changing circumstances (like modernity) – may lead to the inability to assimilate, to rigidity, to

hopelessness, and to anomie. It favors basically the "society character led from inside" which is adaptable to less mobile circumstances, and it is not by chance that D. Riesman (1973) characterizes our age not with this but with the type of "character led from outside."

The "reconstruction concept" considers adaptation, reaching the goal, assimilation, and firm identity as values. Its spreading and popularity even after the political change in 1990 in Hungary can be recognized by examining the working of two sub-systems of society: politics and economy.

Its popularity is strengthened by the researchers' focusing on political socialization maintained by politics itself, where the starting point is the ideal civilian: one with a politically correct behavior, who is interested, usually voting, paying taxes, tolerant, etc., who is capable of adopting, and not critical, and is not the representative of civil disobedience or of an alternative culture, and is not only a "radical un-assimilative" and even the politically neutral behavior is considered under-socialized.

The "reconstruction model" is the one that is still valid – obtaining problems and contraries – also in the socialization into work (Kiss 1997). The current crisis of work-society carries the problem of socialization into work according to the "adult pattern." Work-society socializes to the "normal work situation," to be a responsible adult, to accept being a blue collar worker, to interiorization, to experience it as a natural phenomenon, to create a politically and economically "ideal citizen." This became the socializational pattern offered for the youth which nowadays is not really accepted. The older generation organized its life and provided meaning to its entire life or a part of it according to the old cultural code and work paradigm. It socialized for work and for "normal work circumstances," and ethically it denied the unemployment. The comparison of different ethoses shows generational differences, the divergence between the lives and experiences of the older generations and the work ethos of the younger generation. The new generation has a different perspective regarding work, unemployment, free time and free time activities. The problem is that work as a form of socialization and meaning of life loses its former functional value, and it is not replaced by anything that would have the same emphasis. In the youth standing without the meaningful cultural code, the custom and importance of spending free time in a useful way has not been developed, as they are situated in a social-cultural space that does not socialize either to work or to spend free time in a meaningful way.

The "critical aspects" carry the criticism of the "reconstruction model." These critical aspects show by the features of authority that assimilation is system dependent and it is connected to the phenomenon of class or symbolic violation. It distinguishes and uses the different sociological

terms of system and social integration (Lookwood). Regarding "perfect socialization" as a "perfect crime" – that is the ending of not only the resistance but also the personality – Orwell describes it in a quite sensible way: "We are not satisfied with negative obedience. [...] If you finally give up yourself to us, it has to happen out of your own will." (Orwell 1989:281).

The "constructional" or "interaction model"

After realizing the restricted validity and problems of the "reconstruction model," a new model was born with new emphases in theory and empiric (as a result of social changes that can be well analyzed by sociology). Compared to the former one, the difference is in the explanation of the role of the individual: in what way is the individual the deterministic agent and creative maker of its own socializational process. The "interaction model" – effected by phenomenological sociology – emphasizes the more individual, more active and more creative character of socialization instead of a passive sampling. Concerning the sampling, the roles and importance of explaining methods grow; interaction in this model creates a larger space for the individual. However, interaction is never a symmetric relation, thus in this model power relations are more visible, and it can reflect to the criticism of critical theories.

If we take the dimension of age into consideration regarding socialization, it could be noticed that the younger the social actors may be, the less passive recipients they will be, and they are rather active personality formers, identity creators who use new ways of approach, social innovators (Mannheim 2000). Permanent socialization instead of finished socialization, the dynamics of "socialization to socialization" is important in today's "flexible society," in "project society," in "lifelong socialization" with lifelong learning or in permanent socialization, because the individual many times has to start something new, s/he has to re-create his/her personality and identity.

Lifelong learning has to be completed by lifelong socialization in a natural way. This aspect is not even considered today. In the actionalist model of socialization the importance of the "primary," the "secondary," and the "former socialization" grows, as well as the experiences, the subjective analysis of environmental and social effects, the dynamics of the "reactive" and "built up" individual (Mead, G).

The interactionalist model is present in the analysis of the socialization of the youth even when the effects of the age group and media are considered in a special way.

The "experimental socialization"

The above mentioned two models can be also called "identification models," since the socializational aim is basically – even if with different dynamics in the two theories and in their appliance – integration, assimilation, the acquirements of accepted patterns, the creation of stable identity, identification.

Recently – primarily concerning the youth – a new type of socialization – the "experimental socialization – has started to spread, which was of course present even before, but it has strengthened by the effect of certain processes. During the change of socialization the "identification model" has been shattered and not replaced by the "experimental model." The "identification model" works under relatively stable circumstances, it means the acquirement and it means the identification with the parental status, the linear way of life, roles and values and also the passing down of these from generation to generation. The "experimental socialization," which exceeds the old model, provides the socially active with more activity, tradition has less importance in self-construction, it is characterized by trials and failures, change and re-start, risk and uncertainty. (Obviously, we need to be aware of the fact that the proportion of issues maintaining change, re-start, and rational risk is unequal, even in the case of youth, thus the opportunities are uneven regarding especially the correcting techniques and strategies.)

The change of the youth's external circumstances of life leads to the change of socializational trends and types. It is the reason and the consequence at the same time of the changed and longer life period of the youth becoming more autonomous, of the intention to lengthen the years of youth as much as possible. The road of status becomes more open and unsure, and more risky. There are lots of opportunities for a carrier. The traditional tools of socialization concerned in classic sociology – from Durkheim to Bourdieu – today need to be re-evaluated: according to the traditional model, the youth socialize through the internalization of the system's norms and values. Dubet claims that today the individual meets lots of possible ways: during the integration process, the individual becomes a part of a group, during the strategic path it competes with others, and the subjective way provides the opportunity to shove off the self through the culture. These cannot be adopted at the same time, and they are needed to be handled in the light of the individual's own social experiences. This destructs the whole of the social structure and affects especially the youth" (Azzopardi 2003:233).

In anomic society, the lack of authority's respect and commitment, the breaking of normative frame, the growing generational gap, the weakening of

social institutions – family, church, school, and other institutions –, the disappearance of collective rites that once marked the way for the youth's life in society, all help the spread of the model. "Everybody is left alone, the individual is responsible for his own success and failures, and for the solving of identity problems. The "new individualism" goes together with the multiplying of identities, the fragmentation of identity, the creation of co-identities that is often visible by criminal demands, in the "loud demand of recognition" concerning the young generation (Azzopardi 2003:233).

According to some authors (Beck 2005) the shock of the transition from one modernity into another – finally – can be inspiring, as it can force to examine the basic dynamics, the answers to challenges (Arend, H. has the same idea). Such answers can be the "experimental cultures" that are represented by the youth: "individualization can mean many things, but not the loss of values that is advertised everywhere, but rather the development of these values and the need and natural presence and importance of personal autonomy. Individualization also means that the cultural sources of risk taking and creativity are created" (Beck 2005:158.). The self-seeking generation is born. The significance of experiment, individual experience and gaining of experience is increasing.

Though these phenomena are double-faced, they also carry positive opportunities within themselves, however, it is worth paying more attention to the negative social expenses of social change and to those dangers that may come to surface regarding different youth groups. In the individualized postmodern family the complex process of socialization is less affected by the issues within the family itself, on the contrary, the negative effects of external (peer group) relations and institutions (media, plaza) are often strengthened. The culture of the youth is created quite early, making a distinction from the adult's culture. The "loud demand" of their acceptance, the "spectacle forms of style" as "subcultural capitols" provide their answers to the dominant manifestations of adult society within the risk- and experience society. The spread of new social forms and illegitimate life styles (use of drugs, crime, etc.), "the ethic of going out becomes the ethic of life," where education is also a form of entertainment for the youth (Bauman 1993). Young people are socialized to weak normsystem, the creative and developing use of the increased, many a times unwillingly increased free time. The generational withdrawal of works's obligation-ethic, the quest for adventure and excitement, the testing of the borders of abilities and the search for risk increase the danger of the youth. Endangeredness grows especially concerning at least three fields of the life of "divided youth of divided society": education, free time, and work – among the so called "loser" adolescents. The "empty time" of the youth increases and they spend it in a destructive way, they are looking for experiences, there are more addictions,

risk-seeking life styles, deviant behaviors and subcultures (Rácz 2002). The criminalization of problems and solving strategies are observable, accompanied by medicalization, psychiatrization, and the manifest or latent forms of repressive control. This will result in the increase of the different types of marginalization. The marginalized youth obtain too much negative free time, identity and individualism (Castel 1998:403), aggressive reactions – these are the only capitol for them. Hatred is the only reaction to the problem for which they do not find solution, as it can be seen in the case of the "lost generations of banlieues," the spread of sport aggression (Kiss 1977, Baudlillard 1995). The social scientists report about the yawning youth of a generation "invaluable in society." They do not need the society and society does not need them. There is frustration and loss of identity behind their uninterestedness. According to Castel, the crisis of the future is signed by the possibility of a society where old people trust the future more than the young generation does (Castel 1998).

Every institution whose socializational activity is able to cut back, provide defense against and reduce the processes that endangers the young generation, obtains an important role within society. Denominational schools are such.

The Differentiated Task Results of Denominational Schools

Differentiated task means the double role of education and indirect socialization. The role of education and educational institutions are well-known in socialization and even in religious socialization, which are reflected by the competitions for the institutions seemingly following the thought that "who has the school will have the students."

Although there are some who try to narrow down the results of denominational institutions – from the kindergarten to higher education – to educational success that can be easily represented by numbers: grades, data of entrance exams, results of competitions, etc., but the denominational institutions show the characteristic that besides teaching, they regard the role of personality formation and socialization to be a very important issue. Thus this is one of the reasons for the importance of examining socialization. The other is that the effective educational process adds to educational success, it is its pillar. As a result, there are multiple reasons for examining education and socialization: (1) according to its own value (the aim and function of the school), the denominational schools have more important and (2) subordinated (applied) roles: because of their contribution to the success of educational effectiveness considered in a restricted way.

The issue of socialization needs to be observed from this point of view, whose most important scene (even more important than family) is the school. Denominational schools are also the scenes of general and religious socialization that cannot be separated from each other. School is a source of opportunity and danger at the same time for (even for religious) socialization.

The socializational importance of the school is provided by: (1) it socializes for everything; (2) it is the first institution representing external (state, social, religious) expectations; (3) thus it is a secondary place of socialization, therefore it has an important role in the strengthening of the primary socialization (family) or in re-socialization.

The highly effective socializational activities of denominational schools obtain three sources: (1) own internal effect: the strength of values, norms, and patterns of behaviour. (2) control/prisma role to avoid the ruining external effects, e.g., media, peer group, places and ways of entertainment (plaza, disco, internet, etc.). (3) stronger integration of communities (into a religious community, family, school, friends, etc.).

The Validity of Socializational Models in Denominational Schools

Without doubt, in spite of the changes, the "identification models" are valid in schools today.

Mollenhauer claims in his experiments in the sixties true to western countries that the value orientations, educational values preferred by the teachers and parents value the characteristics that help social assimilation, for instance good behavior, being sincere, obedient, and responsible, etc. In the case of rare value orientations "[...] western countries show similar tendencies in international comparisons. Parents consider curiosity and thirst for knowledge less valuable compared to the previously mentioned characteristics: the same applies to bravery, entertainment, happiness, and creativity. According to the study, curiosity and obedience exclude each other; curiosity and happiness are interdependent elements. This shows that originality and creativity are not considered as valuable, and they prefer conformism over non-conformism. There is not much room left for individualism concerning the educational value system" (Moolenhauer 2003:133).

Is there a change towards rare values that corresponds more to "experimental socialization" since the examinations?

The "identification models" that requests the identification with the denominational values represented by the school, and also the positive

relationship with traditions, stand the closest to the socialization trends of denominational schools.

If the future means a new trend of socialization, then the conditions of experiment, creativity, and rational risk-taking have to be created in the family and the school. Researches have clearly shown that creative behavior as well as risk-taking and autonomous behavior are socializational ways in which order and rule have less role, independence is more valuable than obedience, and the child in early childhood is highly defended and free. [...] It can be shown that the previously mentioned behaviors are less valuable by teachers, and these are of great importance with teenagers. Many studies reflect that the teachers tend to value the students with general abilities more than the students with special skills. They do not like the creative students even if their grades are the best. The external and also the internal structure of the school provide a hindrance for the creation of original personality and behavior, just as much as the education focusing on convergent thinking and information learnt by heart. The school in this way strengthens the socializational tendencies that are dominant today" (Mollenhauer 2003:104-141).

We can only hope that since the publication of this study these conditions have changed and that there is a move towards the socialization requiring innovation, creativity, and risk-taking behavior. These have to be revealed in further researches.

The opportunities of "experimental socialization" in denominational schools are dependent on: (1) the general incidence of the model; (2) the intention and ability of churches for renewal; (3) the opportunities of "identification models," that is the popularity of old models restricts the development of new trends; (4) religious trends that effects the belief system of the young population (effected primarily by religious individualism and pluralism).

We would like to refer to some religious trends that increase the role of the new socializational model – or can be mentioned as its appearance: (1) the decrease of "church religiousness," and the increase of the view of "I am religious in my own way," which is more individual and more personal, but more eclectic, "created" belief. (2) the widening of the religion market by pluralism, the appearance of new religions and religious communities, the strengthening of the birth of new sects, the peculiarities of the new age movement, etc. (3) the appearance of info-communicational systems that reshapes the religious system especially that of the youth.

Denominational schools are perhaps less ready for experimentation, though there are good initiations. Opening up is important for them, the winning of the youth, the search for new ways, the experimentations with new opportunities defend the students from the negative inputs and

dangerous irrational risks. These phenomena should be considered seriously, and they should be understood and reflected to. The churches, to renew, to be able to fill their roles, have to be more open towards new socializational trends, and to be prepared to avoid external dangers is also as significant an issue.

The Safety Net and Protective Role of Denominational Schools

Some elements of denominational schools are already protective: (1) homogenious value system (concerning educational values for instance, the values of the families and schools). (2) being more closed. (3) more selective and directed effect. (4) emotional education impregnated with faith. (4) the positive freedom of the prohibition "do not take away but give," etc.

As it was already mentioned before, denominational schools are not only able to assimilate to the new socializational trends but they also build a stronger protective net, and they represent more safety against experimental and risk-taking behavior as well as their consequences.

The dangers for the youth, as a result of their life conditions, are the use of legal and illegal drugs, the negative influence of the media, and the deviant ways of spending free time, etc.

In Gabriella Pusztai's dissertation examining denominational high schools, and also in her study published she, besides the grades of students in denominational high schools, examined the dangers of extra-curricular activities of students and the protective function of denominational schools, "[...] to what extent do social problems that pluralize and endanger students most come to surface, and what issues endanger and help them most effectively in finding their ways among these problems. Among denominational schools, as opposed to non-denominational ones, the prescriptive and also the restrictive norms work somewhat more effectively. The students of denominational schools seemed to be more tolerant towards ethnic groups, while students from non-denominational schools show the opposite. Individual belief and practice of religion obviously increases the creation of a more tolerant attitude. The similar value system and norms of the peer group, along with the religious youth groups help the improvement of tolerant attitude among high school students of denominational schools. There are less students in denominational schools with drug-taking experiences. The factors increasing the risk of drug-taking cannot be influential forces in this environment. Instead, among the factors decreasing the taking of drugs, the influence of individual religiosity and the social capitol created by the peer groups surrounding the student are more emphasized.

Among the issues helping the work of norms are the intra-generational nets, in which there are children behaving according to the same norms and as they can see each other's behavior it can be a serious source for them" (Pusztai 2004:299).

The issue of using drugs is considered to be the most central social problem, also the young people agreed with that, thus the restraining role of denominational schools are very important. Drug taking by young people can be defined as a risk-taking life style; among the reasons for drug-taking are curiosity and experimentation, so it represents the negative consequences of the "socializational model." As opposed to this, the denominational school protects because it integrates as it strictly controls, it provides an other pattern of behavior, and it represents another value system. The students of denominational schools – especially females – gain experience later and usually they do not go above the level of try. These schools protect also against the use of legal drugs e.g., alcohol and cigarettes.

Another chief issue concerning the youth is sexual behavior, an area where there have been lots of changes in the recent decades. The former generation's moral and sexual change has three main characteristics: the secularization of moral attitudes, the liberalism of behavior and way of thinking as well as the respect for social, cultural, and sexual pluralism. These tendencies influenced churches to a smaller extent, thus it is not surprising that in denominational schools or in the company of such, a successful socialization based on conservative religious moral could be detected; the number of non-conformists is less among these people.

Theoretically, the examination of the explanatory power of the"„integrational hypothesis" and the "cultural theory" are fruitful and interesting. According to the "structural-integrational" theory, the interpersonal relationships and integration decrease the risk of deviance unconditionally and without regard to their concrete value system. According to the "cultural theory," relationships can be either good or useful, depending on the values provided and behavioral patterns. Through Durkheim' work it is well-known that against deviant behavior the integration into a religious community can be protective (Durkheim 2000). Coleman's theory of social capital claims that this source is provided by close relation structures based on effective norms (Pusztai 2004:286). Pusztai's study of denominational schools claims that the social capital produced by the close family relationships is less effective than friendships. This is corresponds to the general tendency that the age group is more effective than the family. (Among the factors restricting the risk the most important is the closedness of the group of friends, along with the community effects of religious youth groups, and the personal religious life.)

All these match up with Moksony's research in which he reconsiders Durkheim's "integration theory." Moksony thinks that (the Catholic) religiosity is a protecting element against suicide, and it is provided not only by the stronger integration but rather from its special value system." "[...] The results draw attention to the fact that to understand social relations it is not enough to focus on the role that these relationships have in strengthening integration and weakening individualism, but also the role has to be considered that they have in the giving of values, norms and patterns of behavior (Moksony & Hegedűs 2006:4). We should emphasize not only the social help and integration but also the function in socialization, the acquired value system and norms, the special traits of acquired behaviour norms. In the case of strong integration deviant behavior may also occur – e.g., deviant integration into a (religious) subculture.

In denominational schools, the closedness of the school and friends, the harmonic relationship between the family and the school assumes strong integration and a common system of values and norms. Thus they strengthen each other and provide a more intensive socialization and a more effective protection.

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JUDIT EMESE TORGYIK & JÁNOS TIBOR KARLOVITZ

RELIGIOUS ISSUES IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The source of specialized literature of multicultural education usually deals with religious issues, too, besides gender, ethnicity, age, exceptionality, language, class differences, etc. For example, it was well-known all over Europe that religious symbols were prohibited in French schools. At the same time, it was a serious social and political question.

Schools experience demographic changes that reflect not only racial and ethnic growth, but also religious diversity (Haynes 1990). In addition to Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths, a number of other religions now are represented in schools. This religious diversity requires teacher candidates to understand religious practices that are different from their own ones. Teachers have to be aware of religious diversity and the influence of religion in the community which they work for (Gollnick & Chinn 2002). When teacher candidates read about multicultural literature and religious diversity, they broaden their knowledge about the experiences of different religious groups all over the world today.

Certain religious practices are usually adapted in schools of European countries in everyday life, like cultural elements in celebrating religious holidays, in educational activities or schools menus, etc. In European countries there are few central regulations concerned with possible adaptations to the organisation of their daily life at school in recognition of religion. Adjustment of this kind most commonly occurs at the discretion of the school itself, or may be made by education providers, such as municipalities, in the event of broader local demand. The ways in which arrangements and practice of this kind are implemented again vary widely from one country to the other. Some examples of formal adaptation with respect, first of all, to *religious holidays* are not referred to the school calendar or timetable that is cited in the national contributions. For example:

> "In *Belgium*, legislation provides for absence from school for the 'celebration of festivals constituting an inherent element of a pupil's philosophical beliefs if recognised by the Constitution.' Recognised religions or denominations are Anglicanism, Islam, Judaism, Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Protestantism. In *Italy*, Jewish pupils may refrain from attending school on Saturday if it is a day in the school timetable. This arrangement has been established under an agreement between the Italian government

> and the *Unione della Comunitá ebraiche* (Union of Italian Jewish Communities). However, there are no agreements of a similar kind with other religious communities. In *Germany,* pupils may obtain permission from the school supervisory authorities not to attend classes on religious holidays. The situation is similar in *Sweden*, in which agreements on how many days of leave may be granted to pupils are reached at local level. In neither case is there any indication as to which religions qualify for this kind of leave. The situation is similar in *Latvia*, in which religious holidays are observed where necessary in state and municipal educational institutions. In *Norway*, pupils who belong to a religious community outside the Church of Norway may on application be granted leave of absence from school on holidays for the community concerned." (*Integrating*… 2004:54).

A few similar examples of adjustment are in the *educational activities*, like in adaptation of group activities, such as *sports* and *music*. In *Germany*, compulsory physical education is usually taught in groups including both sexes. However, if immigrant parents require schools offer teaching boys and girls separately. In *Sweden* compulsory physical education and health care are usually taught in groups including both sexes, but schools can offer teaching boys and girls separately, particularly in the case of Muslims. In *Finland* it is generally possible for pupils to be exempted from involvement in sports (especially in swimming), music lessons, and school festivals.

> "Schools do not serve *meals* in all countries. In some countries, pupils are expected to provide their own meals, so schools are not necessarily faced with any need to adapt in this respect. In countries in which meals are served on school premises, there is scope for adaptation. However the level of the decision and the approach adopted vary. For example, several Autonomous Communities in *Spain* have taken steps to adapt canteen menus to the religious and cultural precepts of immigrant pupils and, in both *France* and *Luxembourg*, school menus take account of the customary preferences of immigrant families. In *Finland* and *Sweden*, adaptation of the school menu in recognition of cultural or religious precepts is often possible and approached in the same way as changes on dietary grounds in the case of vegetarianism, allergies, diabetes, etc." (*Integrating*... 2004:55)

Some books deal with religions all over the world, religions like Buddhism, Judaism, Catholicism, Islam, and Protestantism. Other themes are: individual religious identity, religion and culture, religion and way of life, religious diversity etc.

Nevertheless, in Hungary, the religious diversity is not as important as in the USA or in Western-European countries. There was a long time of socialism in Hungary when atheism was obligatory in our schools. This effect is present in Hungary in everyday life. Nowadays people do not speak about religion issues with pleasure, although the effects of religions can be seen in literature (novels, poems), arts, buildings, churches, in our festivals (Christmas, Easter, Whitsun), in the abbreviation of the time: B.C. and A.D. (before Christ and Anno Domini), in traditions, in values, sometimes in eating habits, too etc.

When I organized a special course named Multicultural Education last time, at the end of the course I asked my students, what the best and the worst themes were during the semester. At that time we had a great quarrel: half of the group argued that religious issues were the worst; others protected these themes, they really enjoyed them. In that seminar group there were not only Hungarian but three Erasmus-students, as well. One of them arrived from Turkey and she was Muslim (but her mother was Armenian Christian). Another student was Slovak by nationality but he had Czech identity – and he was Jewish by religion. The third one was Finnish and her situation was very simple because in Finland most of the inhabitants are Protestant. Hungarian students were atheists, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics and Protestants by religion (but it was not a question in the lessons). It is interesting that one of my students probably belonged to Jehovah's Witnesses.

It seems that the religious issues are quite sensitive questions in Hungary, even nowadays. When we asked questions from teachers in elementary and secondary schools, we met similar obtuseness: Why are these questions? Why is it interesting? It is a personal affair...

We think that personal faith is a private business, of course. Religions at the same time have their own special and colourful values. They have cultural images in literature, in fine arts and in everyday life.

Last year we asked (with the help of our students) 92 teachers about multicultural educational themes. These teachers teach in elementary and secondary schools. In elementary schools they teach upper classes, from classes 5 to 8. 62 of them work in the North Hungarian Region and another 30 of them work in the Central Transdanubian Region.

Our research method was the *structured interview*. It contained 50 questions, but only four questions were about religious issues. Our questions were around seven main themes: (1) gender (from this point of view of society, biology, identity); (2) exceptionality (disabilities; individuals with mental retardation, with visual or hearing, physical and health impairments, etc.); (3) language (in terms of differences in the class among Hungarian students, dialects, nonverbal communication, bilingual education); (4)

ethnicity (ethnic identity); (5) class differences in the classroom (class structure, social stratification, socioeconomic status; poverty); (6) religion (from the point of view of culture, pluralism); (7) age (with a view to adult education, senior education).

This time, the only interesting point of our research work is the theme of religion. Our first question was, how the teacher should organize an outdoor activity, especially a school outing. On an excursion the students visit churches, cathedrals, synagogues. How should the teachers prepare their students for these programmes?

Most of the teachers told that only students made preparations about the towns they visited. Of course, every place has one or more churches, but they will visit them only if they have particular values, if they are old or beautiful or special in a way. In the churches, they were interested in architecture and fine arts. Only literature, history and art teachers remind their students of the interesting issues of civilization and culture-history.

Few educators said they gave detailed explanations to their students about how to behave in a church or a cathedral or a synagogue: they should be in silence, should not touch anything (for example candles, icons) like in a museum, boys should wear trousers and girls skirts or kerchiefs, special hats (kipa) in a synagogue for men, etc. Only a few teachers made it clear to respect sentiments of believers. We are afraid that not every educator knows where people should enter a church. (In a Protestant temple anywhere, but in a Catholic basilica only in the nave or aisle; in a Greek Orthodox or Eastern Orthodox chapel it is advisable to stop at the back; the synagogues have their special ordinances, too.) In general, teachers do not pay special attention to religious buildings, except for naturally denominational schools.

Another question was how teachers should manage the problem, when *parents, due to religious reasons, forbid* their children to participate in school activities.

The main troubles for them are those pupils, who are from families that belong to the believers of Jehovah's Witnesses. Most of the teachers, especially in the North Hungarian Region and partly in the Central Transdanubian Region, do not understand them and complain about this denomination. The parents of this religion forbid their children to attend shows, festivals, national celebrations and church ceremonies (Christmas, Easter), commemorations at schools (name-day, birth-day among pupils, too). The teachers cannot explain to the other students why the believers of Jehovah's Witnesses do not stand up while singing the Hungarian Anthem. It is quite uncomfortable when a father or mother takes home his or her son or daughter from a school programme because it is in his/her opinion irreconcilable with their belief. A teacher told us that her director had a

conversation with parents who were Jehovah's Witnesses of how their children behaved in the school and that the children and the family needed to adapt to the rules and formulas of the school – but it was mentioned only in one case.

Our third question was in connection with the educators' school experience: Are there any problems in connection with religious issues? – Among students, there are not any strained relations connected with religious themes in Hungarian schools, except for in the North Hungarian Region where pupils sometimes do not understand why some of their classmates do not stand up when singing or playing the Hungarian Anthem or why they behave in this extraordinary manner...

We think that the most interesting thing in connection with *religious education in the schools* is how educators handle situations. In general, teachers think that it is a good thing if the pupils learn about the stories of the Bible or if they could get special religious education in their parents' house and they exactly know that most of the students never have such influence.

Religious education classes in some elementary schools are included in the timetable – they are usually the last lessons – or in the afternoon activities. It depends on the kind of church: Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran or – in one case – Greek Orthodox. It is interesting that in a few schools there were RE classes previously, but nowadays there are no religious lessons, classes. In secondary schools religious education classes put in the timetable or in the afternoon activities are not very common. (Denominational schools are in another situation, of course. There are regular services for them, and it is obligatory to attend the services every day or every Sunday.) A number of educators know nothing about religious education in his/her school.

Only one teacher mentioned that she had a Muslim pupil, but it was not a problem. When they had time, they dealt with the history of his country, its cultural specialities and habits – and his religion. He took symbols and emblems of Muslim religion to school, for example their holy book (Koran), a book of prayers, a rug for prayers, etc. In Austria, there is Muslim religious education in the schools – in Hungary the parents have not requested it yet, since in our country there are not too many Muslims.

Teachers support getting religious education in the parents' house because they hope there will be less suffering, drug-using, alcohol-problem among the young; they hope that good communities prevent them from sins.

We think that in Hungary there is not any intolerance about religious questions in everyday life, but more tolerance is needed from the teachers at schools, especially in the managing of smaller denominations. We need to

have more knowledge about religions, meet representatives of several churches, and know the role of religious organisations in the history and in the culture. The moral teaching of (historical) churches contains a lot of human and philanthropist ideas, which make the life of mankind better. Not only for religious tourism or charity, religious education is important in schools nowadays in Hungary.

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN POLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL IN MULTICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF CIESZYN SILESIA

Christian religion and church membership have played a central role in Poland's history and culture. Poland, being a multicultural and multi-religious country, prides itself in its tolerance traditions and the acceptance of different points of view. Foreigners are often not aware how a varied and contrasting country Poland is geographically, ethnically and culturally. This research was arranged in a part of a large region called Silesia, which lies in Poland and the Czech Republic, in its borderland part it is called Śląsk Cieszyński and Těšínsko, respectively in Polish and Czech. It is a region with distinct religious culture, where ecumenical traditions are present among Roman Catholics, Lutherans and other Protestant denominations. No other Polish territory has similar long lasting inter-denominational cohabitation as Silesia.

Religious education in Poland was taught in church buildings until 1990, when the Ministry of National Education in a special decree allowed religious education to become one of school subjects in state schools. This started a debate about the place of religion and religious education in state institutions and demanded some legal clarifications. In 1991, the board of constitution experts agreed that religious education in Polish state schools is legal and possible. Thus, a new chapter of state funded religious education in public schools began. However, it had taken five years of legal debates with many appeals and regulations till 1997, when, in the new Polish Constitution, article 53. § 4. allowed religious education in state schools for every church or religious group as long as it does not violate the freedom of conscience of other people. Naturally, there was soon another debate about the words used in the constitution because some people argued that allowed does not imply compulsory religious education but just its possibility. Today, religious education in state schools is regulated according to the decree of the Ministry of National Education of 14 April, 1992, and also later amendments[1]; it puts the decision of attending religious education into parents' hands but students who are 18 and above can decide for themselves. The decree imposes (on schools) to have a written statement of agreement which first must be filled out and signed by parents, but the school practice is different because it asks

[1] Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 14 kwietnia 1992 r. w sprawie warunków i sposobu organizowania nauki religii w szkołach publicznych (Dz. U. 1992 r. nr 36, poz. 155, Dz. U. 1993 r. Nr 83, poz 390, z późń. zm.: Dz. U. 1999 r. nr 67, poz. 753).

for the written statement only from those who do not want to participate in religious education.

In the country where Roman Catholicism is such a deep-rooted phenomenon, the attendance of both church and religious lessons is high, and public debate on religious education is rather a mass media fact, rarely discussed among wide population. A current public opinion survey[2] shows that 72% of the people asked support the presence of religious education in the state school curriculum, while 24% of surveyed Poles were against it (4% with no opinion).

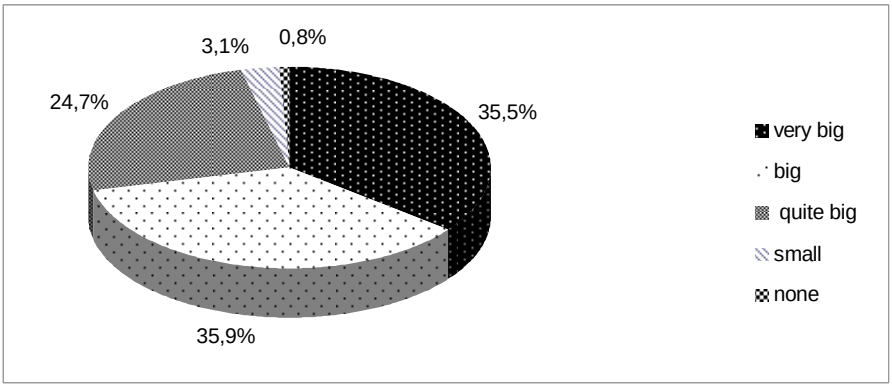
In the present research a group of teachers were asked who belonged to the core of educational process besides pupils and parents. As a professional group, they have some kind of moral right to share their opinions on religious education which they also watch live in specific conditions and situations. These Silesian teachers find themselves in pragmatic inter-denominational and multicultural educational challenges every day and certainly have to work out their philosophies concerning the place of religious education and morals in the school context. It is a noteworthy fact that teachers from Poland, probably as their colleagues from other post-communist countries, must learn some quite new democratic ideas such as pluralism, globalism or consumerism, and must approach them as an educational challenge, too.

In the study an attempt was made to find out teachers' opinions on their attitude, perception and evaluation of religious education and on some problems and solutions they suggest as well as their possible contribution to it. In addition to these, a larger educational (pedagogical) perspective of teachers' competences of religious (multicultural) education as a part of curriculum has been analyzed. The research covers a group of 259 teachers from Cieszyn schools coming from the whole area of the Silesian county, among them 29 pre-school teachers, 118 primary school teachers, 46 teachers from the lower-secondary schools and 66 teachers from upper-secondary schools.

At first, the surveyed teachers were asked about the role of religion in their lives. The majority of them (71.4%) defined the role of religion as important – with some nuances about the extent of the importance. Only for 3.1% of the respondents was religion of minimal or no (0.8%) importance.

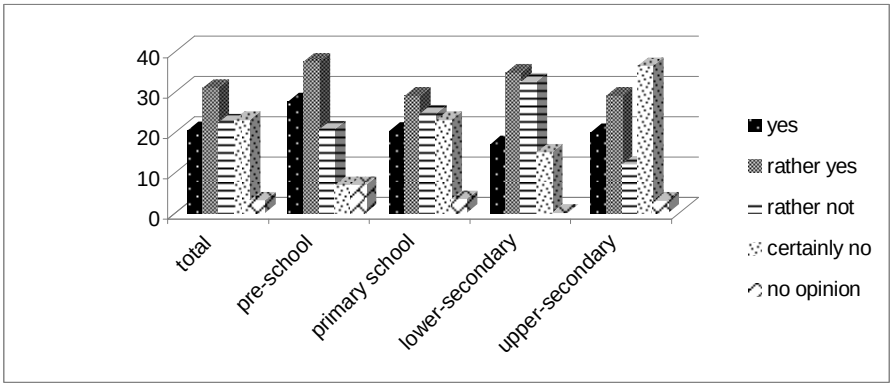
[2] CBOS (Centre of Public Opinions Research) from 7 July 2007.

Figure 1: Role of religion in teachers' lives



Generally the surveyed teachers represent a social group whose approach towards religion is positive, therefore we can expect that their attitudes to religious education should be supportive. Surprisingly, the study of the data of the next question proves something different. When the same teachers were asked to give their opinions about legitimacy of religious education in schools, the answers varied significantly. A slight majority (51.7%) of the surveyed supported the presence of religious education in schools, 45.2% of them were against the presence of religious education in state schools. It seems interesting to look carefully at different groups of teachers from different levels (stages) of education.

Figure 2: Legitimacy of religious education in schools (teachers' opinions)



In consequence, teachers were asked to give their reasons why religious education is included in school curriculum. The given opinions vary significantly according to the level of schools the teachers represent. The

general impression is that teachers see religious education as a useful subject which can support their teaching of a particular subject.

Table 1: Reasons for including religious education (RE) into school curriculum

Category	Pre-school teachers	Primary school teachers	Lower-secondary teachers	Upper-secondary teachers	Total
	N=29	N=118	N=46	N=66	N=259
RE is useful to understand history, tradition and symbolism	20.7%	23.7%	47.8%	36.4%	30.9%
RE is necessary in decoding sense and meaning of symbols	13.8%	42.4%	30.4%	51.5%	39.4%
RE is useful to learn about Christianity and other world religions	69.0%	31.4%	39.1%	45.4%	40.5%
RE helps forming attitudes of tolerance and inter-religious dialogue	20.7%	44.1%	34.8%	50.0%	41.3%
RE is an educational inspiration for a person living in our age	17.2%	30.5%	17.4%	27.3%	25.9%
RE is useless at school	13.8%	25.4%	26.1%	36.4%	13.9%

Remark: The teachers asked could make more than one choice, therefore per cents do not sum up to 100%.

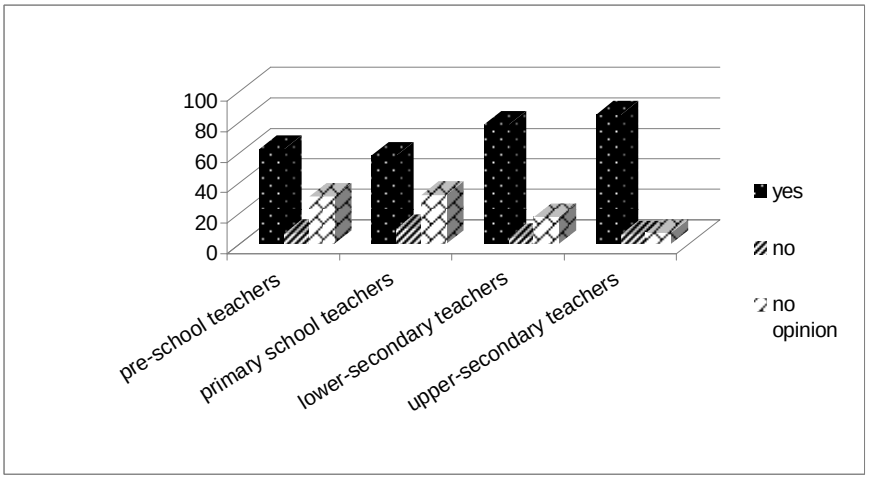
Although the main objective of religious education is forming attitudes of faith, it nevertheless also should include forming of religious culture, understood as the development of open outlooks and social interrelations suitable for inter-religious and multicultural cohabitation[3]. Religious education as it is practiced nowadays in state schools provides unilateral, mono-religious view of religious experience. The teachers examined perceive religious education in their schools more as catechization than learning the **religious fact**. Nowadays, there is a need to broaden the knowledge about other religious experiences outside pupils' own religious tradition. The teachers are aware of this and their opinions reflect it.

In the following question the teachers were asked to give their opinions on religious education as a part of interdisciplinary syllabus. In

[3] A. Różańska (2007): Religious education at school in multicultural society in the context of Clifford Geertz's interpretative theory of culture. In: T. Lewowicki & B. Grabowska & A. Szczurek-Boruta (eds.): *Intercultural Education: Theory and Practice.* Toruń 2007, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 68-77.

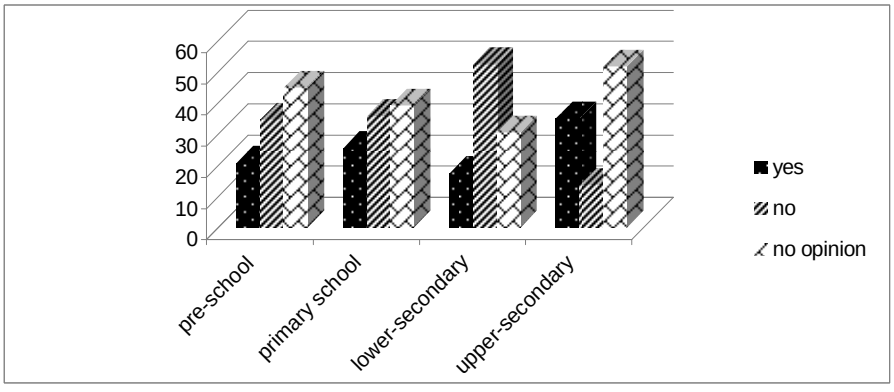
search of interdisciplinary harmony, contemporary school attempts to integrate different subjects under one objective and religion should be a part of it. The majority of teachers (68.7%) agreed on that, mostly from the lower-secondary and upper-secondary schools. Christianity and religious topics are still part of the subject-matter taught on most art lessons and, therefore, needed and necessary for adequate understanding of culture.

Figure 3: Religious education as an interdisciplinary subject (teachers' opinions in percentage)



Current practice of religious education should take into account, at least, some elements of multiculturalism in the curricula. Every day young people are bombarded by problems and attitudes which are totally different from their own traditions. Teachers are qualified to meet these dilemmas of young people in their education. Are multi-religious aspects present in current school education?

Figure 4: Presence of multi-religious aspects in RE subject-matter (in percentage)



A significant percentage of the teachers examined (41.3%) could not give a definite answer to this question; 32.8% of them said that religious education does not cover problems about other beliefs; 25.9% of the respondents confirmed the presence of such topics. Teachers' opinions on the multi-denominational aspects in religious education vary significantly according to school levels, which is well illustrated by the graph.

Religious education which prepares for meeting, learning and understanding the religious otherness and which educates in the spirit of tolerance and supports the forming of pupils' culture is an integral part of inter-cultural education[4]. The fundamental principle of such inter-faith education is not only learning about home religion of the pupil but also understanding the essence of the religiosity of the others; in the class context, this is learning about classmates' beliefs and religious roots; understanding the role of religion in their lives and how it conditions their behavior and lifestyles.

More than half of the teachers (54.4%) agree that religious education in school with multicultural background supports inter-cultural educational process.

Table 2: Religious education (RE) as an area of multicultural education (ME)

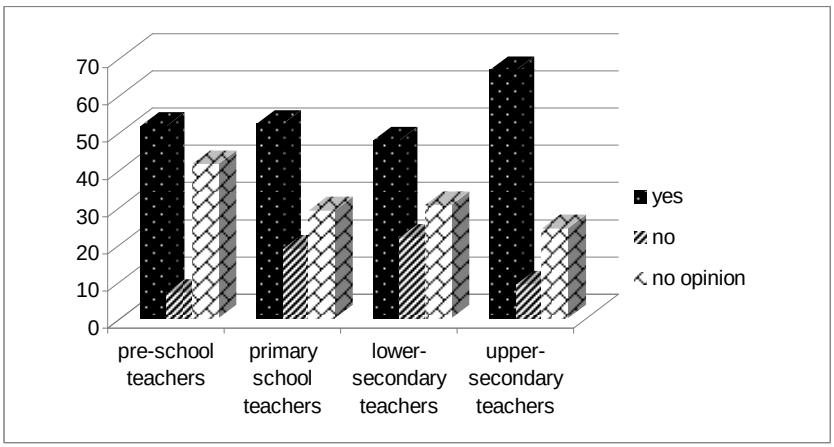
Category	**Pre-school teachers**	**Primary school teachers**	**Lower-secondary teachers**	**Upper-secondary teachers**	**Total**
	N=29	**N=118**	**N=46**	**N=66**	**N=259**
RE inscribes in ME	20.7%	20.3%	26.1%	24.2	**22.4%**
RE rather inscribes in ME	10.3%	26.3%	37.0%	48.5%	**32.0%**
RE rather does not inscribe in ME	34.5%	32.2%	21.7%	3.0%	23.2%
RE does not inscribe in ME	20.7%	10.2%	13.0%	9.1%	11.6%
No answer	13.8%	11.0%	2.2%	15.2%	10.8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Religious education in inter-cultural perspective relates to new challenges for the teachers, and as a result points at the need for changes in curricula and school practice. The process of growing religious pluralism makes a demand for critical and reflective thinking (about our own religion and about some

[4] R. Jackson (2005): Rethinking Religious Education and Plurality. *Issues in diversity and pedagogy*. London and New York, RoutledgeFalmer, 121-131.

negative aspects within religion, e.g., cults, stereotypes, prejudices) and for the religious education directed to self-evaluation, forming open attitudes towards other religions and confessions and their otherness. The research shows religious education in the centre of teachers' care for adequate moral education of young people. There are some aspects of current educational models in religious education which they are sensitive and postulating about; their claims have not been specified but the need for change and shift in religious education is expressed by 55.2% of the respondents; noteworthy, only 15.4% of them did not see reasons for some changes in religious education; the high percentage of teachers who could not give their opinions on the question is also remarkable.

Figure 5: The need for changes in school religious education (in percentage)



Conclusions

Religion and religiosity traditionally belong to the sphere of private life, nonetheless some sociologists include it in public sphere too. In everyday experience religion and religious education are attributed as a private matter limited to personal, family and parish area. Many surveyed teachers see them as a church concern and when religious education is present at school it, as they think, must be like catechesis and should be led by the clergy. Naturally, some teachers look at the clergy critically, but their suggestions for changes focus rather on new programs and didactic solutions. Teachers see the role of religious education as an introduction of young people into social life through the development and forming attitudes inspired by faith and Christian beliefs. Young people's needs should be answered to a larger extent than so far, and should contain some socio-cultural content and be integrated into educational system. Religious education is also an invitation for teachers to a life-long journey full of uneasy choices, decisions, and also full of respect for the

choices and decisions of the others in the spirit of tolerance and understanding.

The results of the survey reflect the current state of hot debates about the future of religious education which, by the way, is going to be an optional subject in Polish final leaving exams in upper-secondary schools. On one hand, there in a conservative pro-church fraction which opts for catechesis-like religious education; on the other hand, there is a fraction which opts for pro-multi-faith religious education open to new socio-cultural phenomena. The final shape of religious education remains a big enigma. Possibly, it will turn out to be a compromise between traditional and modern view on the role of religious education. There is one more thing that is absolutely positive – it is the fact that in Polish schools religious education will remain as an integral part of general education.

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STANKO GERJOLJ & ROMAN GLOBOKAR & ANDREJA VIDMAR

CREATING GOOD CLASS COMMUNITY AS THE KEY TO SUCCESSFUL LEARNING

The entire school and staff are undoubtedly responsible for creating positive work atmosphere. However, people are capable of forming and also living a limited number of intensive relationships. Therefore, from this point of view the community which contributes the most to creating collective work atmosphere and identity is class. Students meet there on a daily basis, spend a lot of time together and through mutual cooperation tie bonds, with which a thorough cooperation of their class teacher strengthen their feeling of belonging to the group and create a strong feeling of »us«.

Forming collective identity cannot be done shallowly. Growing up is full of intensive and deep experiencing. It is in this life period that seemingly unimportant situations or events are highly dramatic and complicated. Therefore, it is of great importance that class communication develops through personal relationships rather than »business« relationships. Students in class are not colleagues but friends. The main class teacher-role in the class is not solving problems and managing the class but encouraging life and work in it. On the one hand, young people need a lot of opportunities for sharing personal experiences and feelings, on the other hand, it is exactly in this area that they feel powerless and incompetent, thus tend to escape from such challenges and avoid them. A class teacher's mastery is to set up opportunities for personal communication, to develop and upgrade it with team work atmosphere. On the personal communication level students learn how to understand and accept each other, while in common projects they use these personal and other differences for constructive and inventive cooperation.

Character, Anxiety and Community

In his book Grundformen der Angst (Basic Types of Anxiety), Fritz Riemann states four types of anxious personalities. Each of them can lead to uncontrolled emotional outbursts which are not only disturbing for himself/herself but also for their environment. That is why striving for positive atmosphere and good communication in class is of utmost importance, especially in the adolescence.

The first group consists of people with mostly schizoid characteristics, who aim at independence and autonomy (Riemann 2003:20). Being able to hide and control their personal emotional life in everyday situations is typical of them. They are keen on talking about general issues, but they lack words in

personal conversations. It is believed, they »run« from permanent personal relationships because they are afraid of losing their own freedom and uniqueness (Riemann 2003:26). They are usually very diligent and good organizers. They are popular with their peers, although they are rather shallow when it comes to personal relationships. They have many friends with whom they share equal relationships. Flirting is an option, but they do not want permanent bonds with anybody.

The second group consists of people with the characteristics of depression.[5] They yearn for closeness and wish to be »utterly« accepted. Wishing to depend, they are forgetting about their »self« and about the other »self« (Riemann 2003:68), thus they know very well how to »subtly« burden themselves and others with moaning, jealousy and judgement. At first, they are accepted and comforted in the group but gradually people turn their backs on them, avoiding them, which bring additional sadness to their lives. Such people sometimes wish to change their group, and if they do it, the same thing repeats all over again.

In the third group are compulsive personalities who fear changes. If these nevertheless occur, they usually take sides. Their typical characteristics are obedience and discipline. Fearing changes and uncertainty forces them to create »absolute« order and permanent discipline, where creativity cannot exist. This characteristic comes out in partnerships in adulthood as well. Such people more or less "function", they do not love (Riemann 2003:120). When they get older, these characteristics, especially with religious people, tend to grow into scrupulousness. The root of such behaviour is the lack of self-assurance; therefore, such people need strict rules, discipline and routine.[6] Such people do not stand out in a group; their typical response is »what the others will say«. They lose their temper only when a certain change upsets them.

»Artists« who belong to the fourth group do not stand continuity and do not follow consequent connections. Possessing hysterical characteristics they often lose direction and connection with real life, and like to risk more than the circumstances allow them (Riemann 2003:158). They come up with several suggestions in their group but have difficulty in realising them.[7] What they like best, is when they suggest and others work. They find routine and

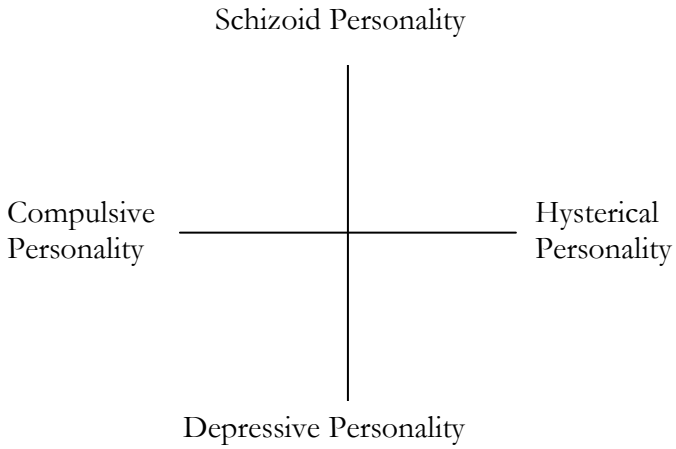
[5] Depression mentioned here is not a disease, it is a character trait.

[6] The first signs of such behaviour are noticed when a need for a frequent control of our acts appears. Sometimes we »must« double check if we have locked the door, switched the light off, etc. At the same time, any disorder annoys us, we go to bed and get up at the same time regardless of circumstances.

[7] Unlike compulsive individuals those with hysterical characteristics constantly talk about wanting to get up early and not being late, they always tidy their apartment, which is far from being clean, etc.

negotiations boring, therefore they occasionally »must« argue, even without any reason. They work and learn at a moment's notice, functioning according to the womb principle, which is an explanation for the Greek word hysteria. However, in crucial moments they can exceed others' expectations.

The four types of personalities in a systematically view:



The above mentioned characteristics moulded by our »ratio« do not appear so »clear« in practice (Riemann 2003:209). They are, however, present a great deal in different shades in all the groups.

These characteristics are certainly not merely negative and oppressive, but offer a lot of positive and creative life situations. Depressed personalities for instance make the whole group a lot more sensitive towards people in trouble. Schizoid individuals run from pain, trying to avoid it, the depressed ones focus on it and see it where it does not exist at all. Thus schizoid personalities learn sensibility and empathy from them, the depressed ones on the other hand can learn from the schizoids how to avoid getting overrun by problems and troubles but accept them. Without depressed personalities, a particular class can become a union of colleagues, good at setting clear aims but capable of hurting people when reaching them. Depressed individuals can on the other hand turn into a club of moaners, who shut everybody down and are drown in their own problems. It is exactly depressed personalities who help a society acquire the characteristics of a community. Schizoid individuals, however, take care that the class sets goals and works.

A similar creative tension is formed by the other two types of personality, compulsive and hysterical personalities. The first one takes care of order, discipline and routine, at the same time people belonging into this group are diligent and effective. Hysterical personalities can always guarantee there is no boredom in the classroom. Even though they can be quiet, usually

staying in the background, they are capable of »exploding« in a decisive moment and work in the favour of the whole class when others do not dare to do it. In normal circumstances that can also be the schizoids' domain, although they do not want anybody to hold a grudge against them. Hysterical personalities on the other hand like taking risks and do not fear the conflict situations, sometimes they even enjoy them. They would expect a group/a class to protect them, which usually happens.

A diversity of the mentioned personality traits can become a treasure in the class of students who can communicate well and nourish intensive relationships towards each other. Nonetheless, verbal communication is not enough. Young people are becoming more and more visual and less verbal in terms of communication, therefore the mastery of creating community lies in searching as much various forms of communication as possible. This is especially true in cases when young people have to live and work with unprocessed emotions, feelings and experience in their early childhood which are awakened in the dramatic adolescence and therefore influence their performance at school. The fast pace of life and the intensity of susceptibility as well as processing their events and emotions from childhood often results in aggressive reactions which are nothing else than the students' outcry to be taken seriously by us-adults, and their plea to help them build healthy, genuine and sincere relationships.

Emotional Intelligence and Social Learning in Building Good Class Community

"Motivation, emotion, and cognition" are three fundamental mental operations.[8] All three of them are connected to the emotional intelligence and emotional learning processes.

Emotional intelligence can be defined as "the ability to perceive and express emotion, assimilate emotion in thought, understand and reason with emotion, and regulate emotion in the self and others" (Mayer & Salovey 1997:27). Whether we will love or hate a particular "object" is not dependent upon only the object itself but also upon the way we "see it" (Nussbaum 2001:28).

Neuropsychology teaches that emotional activity uses at least five brain centres. The visual perception first lands in Thalamus, which "translates" it into the language of the brain and then sends it on toward the visual cortex which disperses to the other interested centres. A great deal of information involved with emotional perception stops in "Amygdala," the centre as well as a type of warehouse for emotional experiences. If the visual

[8] Some psychologists speak of four main mental operations and add conscience to the three above-mentioned ones (Mayer & Salovey & Caruso 2000:397).

perception is emotionally strong and pressures for a fast reaction, a part of the perception information travels by shortcut from Thalamus to Amygdala (Jensen 2005:16), which means that this information by-passed the visual cortex. Accordingly, Amygdala received not translated information and thus sensed an "unusual condition" or rather unusual danger. In such situations, a person reacts first, before he knows the "why and how" of a better way to proceed. Information which Amygdala receives via shortcut, gives rise to a rather possessed state and these precognitive emotions force a person to react within a moment. Because the information is not modified, the reactions are quick, but also unthinking and often imprecise.[9] Undoubtedly, it is possible, that precognitive emotions overwhelm us and bring us to a state where "we do not know what we are doing."

Amygdala is also the place of remembering emotions. When we learn deliberate emotional management, Amygdala sends emotional signals to the "frontal cortex," where there are two brain centres named the "prefrontal lobes," which work to further translate emotional experiences. On the basis of these transformed emotional signals, we make decisions and shape emotional experiences. In the right "prefrontal lobe" the negative emotional signals are gathered,[10] the left "prefrontal lobe," is intended to control negative feelings and to master them, in other words, to prevent their "eruptions" (Goleman 1997:47). The cooperation of these two centres fulfils the role of "manager" of the emotions and their mastery.

As the storehouse of emotional memories, Amygdala many times uses the experiences of early childhood. If we combine the possibility of uncontrolled emotional outbursts as the result of the traveling of information from Talamus to Amygdala, with the role of no-verbalized and unmodified emotional experiences from early childhood, many catastrophic acts of violence by a child, youth or adult becomes quite clear.[11] It goes simply to the moment when not translated negative emotional information floods Amygdala, and then – in some type of tangling of the fear of an infant, bestial strength and technical cognitive abilities – "I do not know what I am doing."[12] In private schools where moral education is usually paid more

[9] Thus one can be similarly startled by a coiled rope as by a snake and can similarly »recoil« or »attack«.

[10] The whole right brain hemisphere tends to think integrally and to process information in random order (Jensen 2005:14). Probably man is stronger affected by negative and painful emotions, therefore it is understandable that – considering the role and the way of operation – t e right prefrontal lobe is more emotional than the left one.

[11] Modern neuropsychological research confirms that autism, super-activity and many other conspicuous reactions are undoubtedly connected to social education and thereby also to emotional and moral education (Kihlstrom & Cantor 2000:374).

[12] If in the emotionally exceptionally active adolescence I am bullied by a teacher (or somebody else), this information subconsciously reminds of the feelings of impotence from

attention to, rather than in public schools, instead of showing external aggressiveness in such stressful situations students tend to feel depressed, which can even lead to suicidal thoughts.

Contemporary knowledge is rather encouraging in that emotional life is not as dependent upon early childhood as was long thought. Although, it is true that in addition to traumatic consequences, emotional abuse also causes intellectual damage in other, definitely cognitive areas: abused children or those exposed to stressful situations use the energy intended for learning and (even biological) development of the operation of the brain to put up with pressures and to survive emotionally (Jensen 2005:23). With intense work on himself, a person even in his adult years, is capable of repairing his relationship with himself and of regulating his emotional life (Showers 2000:284). Especially in connection with social intelligence throughout life moral and ethical as well as spiritual and religious learning take care of the challenges which a person needs for the formation and development of emotional intelligence. Religion and spirituality namely reflect life through the glasses of the final meaning of life and so imagine emotional feeling and activity too. (Coles 1999:148-149). Sometimes we are faced with a moral dilemma for the solution of which cognitive abilities alone are insufficient; but we need abilities which enable us to make the right decisions before we thoroughly understand the question.

The previously mentioned cooperation between the left and right "prefrontal lobes' forms a unique intersection where emotional and cognitive thinking meet *(*Goleman 1997:48-49*)*. Right here then decisions tied to emotions are formed. Many psychologists and pedagogues see the school-perspective as an increasingly accepted standpoint from which in the processes of learning a symbiosis of cognition and emotionality will grow (Forgas 2000:388-389). This is the direction suggesting the prospects of integral teaching and learning. As we know, emotional intelligence does not defend the uncontrolled expression of emotions, but it rather strongly and creatively, though briefly, supports thus fashioned emotional expression, life, and action that serves life in the arrangement of its "final" meaning.

In Slovenia, students start attending grammar school at the age of 15 (this is a secondary school that lasts for four years, and is completed by students taking the matura exam – an external exam which enables students to proceed their studies at university) after nine years of compulsory primary

early childhood. This negative information floods Amygdala, and I react according to the same logic as I did while still an infant. However, since today I am stronger and can shoot, I use this knowledge and "kill" – without thinking.

school.[13] On the one hand, being 15 means growing up intensively, on the other hand, starting grammar school means a new beginning as well as new life challenges for students. Therefore, processing emotional experiences, also those from childhood, develops according to special rules, where each year of schooling has its own unique characteristics.

In the first year, students get to know each other and start forming the class community. All the character traits can be well noticed in this period; therefore, it is important to pay a lot of attention to communication with one another. Students face first limitations, for the programme in grammar schools is more demanding than in primary school. Due to the new environment and new challenges, they are emotionally calmer. The main emotional problems are linked to occasional despondence which is caused by potential failure.

In the second year, the students already know each other, the environment is familiar. They are not the youngest ones anymore, and by emphasizing their adjustment, they try to show teachers that they have a certain role at school and need to be taken seriously. At this point, they function like a union, well acquainted with their rights, yet forgetting their duties. Such attitude can easily get them into trouble, so from this point of view, the second year is the most demanding of them all. It is in these conflict situations that students open emotionally and therefore need the most attention in terms of communication. In the last part of the article, it is shown that conflicts have their roots outside classrooms, often in events from childhood that have not been processed yet. Thereby, students in the second year need the deepest communication and effective processing of emotional experience, which usually deepens their relationships and consequently creates real class community. If adolescents' emotional dimension is neglected at this point, it is likely that a class will divide into subgroups consisting of egocentric individualists.

Efficient work in the first two years enables a development of the well shaped class community in the third year; therefore we can focus on the growth of an individual. In this context, students need more opportunities for their personal growth, and tend to get overemotional. They speak openly about the unprocessed problems from the previous year, and want to face them in a class community.

In the fourth year students are more or less adult whose most important aim is the matura exam. This challenge often causes stressful situations, so they can get more conflictive than expected. A particular

[13] In recent years children have started attending primary school at the age of 6 instead of 7, which has added another year to it.

oppressed problem from the past might occur, as well as a feeling that a class or an individual have missed out on something in the recent years and need to make up for lost time. Excursions can therefore be exhausting, although the problems of this kind are more likely to happen in the first three years. It is vital for the fourth year that the matura exam as a maturity exam is a common project of students, the class teacher and other teachers. Consequently, students are motivated, cooperative, and at the same time willing to find time for a special, optional project.

These characteristics are general and can in some cases of course, differ from the one mentioned above. Besides, one needs to be aware of the fact that students are »problematic«, as long as they are healthy.

Integral Learning Builds Positive Class Atmosphere

The best way of managing problems is integral learning which includes all dimensions of life – not only cognitive learning but also body, emotionality, spirituality, and religion. One of the important ways of the integrative learning processes is presented by H. Gardner in his theory about Multiple Intelligences. He understands intelligence as a family concept where each "member of the family" has its own place and role and his own method of processing.

In his groundbreaking work, Gardner presents the connectedness of five intelligences (verbal-linguistic, mathematical-logical, spatial-visual, musical-rhythmic and bodily-kinesthetic intelligence) which are important for cognitive learning. In the same work, Gardner also presents two "personal intelligences" which regulate communication (Gardner 1993:238-239). He names in accordance with the method of communication as intrapersonal and interpersonal intelligence. The first is concerned with communication within the self, the second with communication between people. Both intelligences are strongly socially oriented and they largely correspond to the criteria considered by some psychologists as characteristic of »social intelligence« (Kihilstrom & Cantor 2000:364-365).[14] Even though, according to Gardner's theory, each intelligence has its own unique methods of operation, they are, from the viewpoint of learning processes, complementary and strongly interconnected (Kihlstrom & Cantor 2000:364).

Such integral teaching encourages communication and learning. Contemporary neurobiology has found that everything we experience through relationships is transmitted into biological signals by our brains, which

[14] In his newer works he adds, as having equal value, "naturalistic intelligence", which places us in context with the environment especially with nature and her laws, and enables us to "understand" the dynamic of this context and to work with it (Gardner 1999:48-52).

influence our abilities and behaviour, which yet again results in communication (Bauer 2007:15-16). This means positive communication, strengthens our abilities which train us for better relationships. Negative communication and bad relationships numb our learning, working abilities, which additionally weakens communication skills. Stress, fear of failure and humiliation are all »the killers of learning« (Bauer 2007:37). There are three types of neurobiological signals which are of vital importance for learning and working. This »genius threesome« consists of dopamine, which gives zest for work, persistence and strain, opioide hormones, which assure we feel physically and emotionally well, and oxytozine, which motivates us to like being among people and feeling connected to others (Bauer 2007:19).

Although the first task of grammar school teachers is teaching, the methods of teaching as well as communication are of crucial importance. And last but not least, helping students feel well in the class community is not to be ignored either. The examples described below do not only show the importance of these, but they also give us a vision of what can be done in this field. They are by no means the only good models. Yet, they possess optimism telling us it is worth trying and doing something good.

Class Community as a Place for Education at the Diocesan Classical Grammar School (Ljubljana)

Some basic facts about the Diocesan Classical Grammar School (Ljubljana)

The Diocesan Classical Grammar School at St. Stanislav's Institution is one of the four Catholic schools in Slovenia. It was founded by the Bishop of Ljubljana, Anton Bonaventura Jeglič in 1905, and is of great importance for the Slovene educational system and the history of our nation as well, for it was the first Slovene grammar school. During the Communist reign, the building was used as barracks for the Yugoslav Army, while the school was officially closed (abolished). After the democratic changes, the school started its mission again in the renovated Institution in the autumn of 1993.

In this school year, there are 707 students (boys and girls between the ages 15 and 19) in four grade levels divided into 22 parallel classes. About a third of them reside in the boarding school of St. Stanislav's Institution. Since 1997, 1531 students have already taken the matura exams.

The school is open to everyone regardless of religious belief. Although, before enrolling, parents and students commit themselves to the Christian orientation of the school and its rules. Regular lessons are financed by the state, additional program by the parents themselves with a monthly

contribution and material costs by the owner, e.g. the Archdiocese of Ljubljana.

In all the fourteen years of renewed work, our school has become recognized in the sphere of the Slovene Educational System. The results of the matura exams have placed us among the best ones in Slovenia from the very beginning.

	DCGS	Slovenia
MATURA 1997 A	**21,5**	**18,21**
MATURA 1998 A	**23,34**	**18,66**
MATURA 1999 A	**22,86**	**18,63**
MATURA 2000 A	**22,82**	**18,65**
MATURA 2001 A	**23,19**	**18,76**
MATURA 2002 A	**23,60**	**19,28**
MATURA 2003 A	**21,20**	**18,94**
MATURA 2004 A	**23,44**	**19,22**
MATURA 2005 A	**22,87**	**19,33**
MATURA 2006 A	**24,66**	**19,90**

A remarkable success has been achieved also in various national and international competitions.

There are some important activities of the Diocesan Classical Grammar School, among which choir singing has become the most important one. There are five choirs, in which almost half of our students participate. Choir singing has a long tradition in Slovenia and it supports the pedagogical direction of our school. Since singing in the choir is a very specific activity that embraces rehearsals and performances on stage, it is easier for children to join and adjust themselves to the group. Moreover, their sense of socialization is developed better as well as the feeling of belonging to the group. As a result, they have high standards of moral values. It has been proven that children are healthier and the atmosphere at school is more pleasant, since children are more disciplined. They cherish and develop the sense of aesthetics and beauty, patience and concentration can be passed on to them. It is also proven that they are more successful when it comes to common educational subjects and they have a feeling of one's own value. Our choirs

regularly receive the first prizes whenever they take part in competitions in Slovenia.

Our students can participate in different sports clubs, the School of Fine Arts or drama groups and various free time activities.

The importance of Class Community

In the 14 years of development of the Diocesan Classical Grammar School the Class Community has become the central place of our educational program. Lessons are mainly organized in the way that the whole class attends them, with an exception of the 4th classes, which are formed according to the subjects chosen for matura exams. Once a week each class has a so called class meeting with a class teacher. It is intended for the exchange of information and suggestions with enough space for various topics connected with upbringing. Such issues can be prepared by the students themselves, by the school counselor or class teacher and sometimes by invited guests. This kind of meeting gives the opportunity to solve the conflicts among students or between students and teachers. The main role in such a debate is of course in the hands of the class teacher.

In the field of spiritual life, the class community also carries a central role. A spiritual thought (or prayer) is read at the beginning and end of the school day. Spiritual retreats are organized for each class once a year. It takes place in natural surroundings and lasts for three days. A class comes closer during this time, any tension that may exist is sorted out, the students have the opportunity to look into themselves. Spiritual retreats are led by the teachers of religious education, accompanied by class teachers. We start the Advent with liturgy in classes, while during the whole period, students plan to set up class Christmas crib based on a certain motto chosen by the priests responsible for the spiritual guidance. They show their creativity which is often a result of their amazing imagination, students come together and their original ideas are gradually accepted by everyone in the class. In most cases, students themselves carry out different tasks; sometimes they need some help from their class teacher. In Advent and Lent classes attend services (masses) before lessons in the school chapel. It is not obligatory to attend them, but students like to come, as they can participate by singing, intercessions and introductions. The idea of class services is to create a common praying community and awareness that we are a gift to one another and therefore also responsible for one another.

To be creative in the field of arts is also a strong element that binds class communities together. (We have already mentioned the Christmas cribs of the class). A singing festival takes place each year and several class

communities enter the competition. The participation of class communities is above 90%. Classes are formed into choirs and the student from a class takes the role of the conductor. In this way, they gain the skills necessary for organizing and carrying out common projects. The students also carry out a drama festival, where they compete in performing on stage. The participation of students is lower, but nevertheless half of all classes participate. Different sports competitions between classes are organized as well. They carry through the matches and organize cheering to support the teams.

Socializing plays an important part when it comes to formation of class communities, where trust and the concept of giving are of great importance. Each year, the school organizes class excursions abroad, they are not important only because of their educational role but even more because they enable students to come closer personally. First-year students visit North Italy, second-year students go to Vienna (3 days), and third-year students spend seven days in France, Spain, Greece, Germany or Denmark, depending on which second foreign language they learn. The fourth-year students go to Rome (6 days) before graduating. There is also a final excursion at the end of the school year for each class separately and of course the excursion after the matura exams, whose destination could be chosen by the students.

Experience show that establishing good relationships, evoking trust in one another, stimulating help and solidarity can also represent a basis for intellectual growth in the period of their secondary schooling. A school is not only responsible for providing knowledge in the best possible manner, but it should also establish a pleasant atmosphere to help young people during the period of their intensive personal growth. We are more and more convinced that school community is a suitable place for exceeding the contemporary tendencies of individualism, for stimulating students' creativity, team work and the sense of responsibility and solidarity. If we strive to achieve better personal relationships, good results are sure to come also in the sphere of intellectual work.

Plans for the Future

The key person in binding a class together is of course the class teacher. He/she has a fulltime obligation as a teacher teaching his/her own subject, and taking care of a class represents an additional obligation. We are trying to find a better way to help them. Therefore, we plan to train the teachers who have an active role in classes in the next school year. We shall also mention a project of personal development My Way, in which every student will have her/his personal file. The purpose of this kind of project is to help students organize their daily work at school, to keep a record of their achievements as they go along and plan their future work. My Way should

help students to gain self-confidence and better self-image. The class teacher is going to play an important role when it comes to making this file, for he or she is going to have a brief individual meeting with each student, in which they will set the student's plans for the future concerning education and personal growth in the period of schooling.

Class Community at the Diocesan Grammar School A. M. Slomšek (Maribor) – A Fieldwork Diary

The Diocesan Grammar School A. M. Slomšek, founded by the Maribor diocese, is celebrating its tenth anniversary this year, and is one of the four Catholic schools for students between 15 and 18 in Slovenia. It shares more or less the same programme with the other three Catholic schools, paying a lot of attention to class community and putting effort into building a positive class atmosphere.

According to the recent survey conducted at all four Catholic schools, the number of students who are non-believers is the highest at our school. Besides, it is the only Catholic school located in the north-eastern part of Slovenia.

At first sight, differences that students as well as teachers face at school seem to be a gap that cannot be bridged easily. However, from the viewpoint of diversity they offer precious and numerous opportunities for learning, learning from each other, teaching each other as well as learning how to cohabit, to coexist and thus work on problems students will certainly have to cope with in their future life, too. And this is exactly what I personally find extremely important when working with teenagers.

Applying Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Intelligences to Class Meetings

In his book Multiple Intelligences in the Classroom, Thomas Armstrong quotes Howard Gardner: "It is of outmost importance that we all recognize and nurture all the varied human intelligences, and all of the combinations of the intelligences. We are all so different, largely because we all have different combinations of intelligences. If we recognize this, I think we will have at least a better chance of dealing appropriately with the many problems that we face in the world" (Armstrong 1997:1).

As an English teacher, I try to take into consideration all seven intelligences when teaching. Implementing them in my teaching methods I therefore wish to encourage students to get to know their talents, see their strengths, be aware of their weaknesses and consequently develop their potential and improve their performance at school.

Should all the intelligences have more or less an equally important role in any teaching, it is vital to search for ways to develop them in ourselves. Thomas Armstrong explains how important it is that before we apply any model of learning in a classroom environment, we should first apply it to ourselves as educators and adult learners. Therefore, it will become apparent how our particular fluency in each of seven intelligences affects our competence in various roles we have as educators (Armstrong 1997:16).

Being aware that my stronger intelligences as a teacher are the interpersonal and the intrapersonal ones, which undoubtedly affects my teaching, I have seen the opportunity to develop my learning and teaching by applying these two intelligences to my work in the so called class meetings which take place once a week.

One can easily be tempted to use the class meeting as a "bureaucratic" lesson dealing with sick notes, unauthorised absences or never ending discussions on appropriate behaviour and ways of punishment if rules are not followed. Of course, for a class teacher, these tasks are unavoidable, but can be done much more efficiently provided he/she is dealing with the class' "demands" on a different level.

The Importance of Class Meetings in the Second Year

The class 2C consists of 27 students in their second year of schooling. It embodies a wide range of personalities. At first sight, and also from what I see as their English teacher, the class is loud, active, they cannot sit still for a very long time and the students get highly motivated when bodily-kinaesthetic or spatial activities take place. The students are innovative and, if given support and encouragement, usually successful at realizing their ideas. Some students get in conflict with teachers, they dare to express their own opinion and give comments, regardless of the consequences. Strict rules do not work with them, therefore they tend to be unruly, especially if the lessons are not interesting and the methods not varied enough. In seeking attention, some students' reactions result in outbursts, provocative behaviour, wanting to be in the centre of attention at any price or silence. With such attitude, they tend to upset some teachers who feel they have lost control, but in general, due to their willingness to work, they are quite popular with teachers. By regularly meeting their parents, I got well acquainted with their family background situations. Among them, there are students coming from dysfunctional families, families where parents are divorced or separated, or single parent families. Some are only children; some come from families with three, four or even five children. Those needing special attention face abuse and violence within their own families. A student suffering from muscular dystrophy needs constant help provided by students themselves or his personal assistant.

All these characteristics and the students' wish for the subgroups (which apparently started forming) in which they would get to know each other better initiated my decision that it was the right time and the opportunity to do something in terms of communication and their relationships towards each other. Also, I noticed a great deal of inconsiderate, even intolerant behaviour, which made the classroom community atmosphere frequently tense. Some felt superior, others felt neglected. Bunking-off and breaking school rules increased. The tension and stress probably contributed to some students' poorer performance at school. Still, the students did not stop arguing, which in my view usually serves as a good starting point for solving problems. All these contributed to the idea that something "has to be done" or better something "is possible to be done."

A set of 20 class meeting lessons were carried out in order to improve class community atmosphere and to build, rebuild or deepen students' relationships with one another. The methods I used focused on students' processing events in their past and current situations in their families. In the following paragraphs the steps, the methods and the content of these meetings are described. One lesson is 45 minutes long, so in my opinion a double lesson or several consecutive lessons are the best option for such work.

Lesson: 1

Time: 45 minutes
Aim: To introduce the activity, to visualise a tree through guided meditation
Procedure: Make space in the classroom, placing all the desks and chairs to the sides. Prepare blank sheets of paper and instrumental music. Tell the students to find the most comfortable place in the classroom.

Students sit on the floor. While music is played, students follow guided meditation read by the teacher. They either visualise it with their eyes closed or move their bodies in accordance with what they see in their mind.

Considering that my students are comfortable using body movements I chose the second option. This particular meditation focused on the growing of a tree the in four seasons; on changes, challenges, difficulties this tree has to go through in every season. The text I used is described below.

"You are walking, feeling the softness of the grass beneath your feet. Listen carefully, you might hear the stream. Watch the trees you see and go closer to the one you find most appealing. Touch it, perhaps hold it and ask it what it has already gone through, what it has experienced… Picture yourself being its seed which is blown into the soil by the wind. There you can fall into a deep sleep. You don't know what is going on around you…

You are wakened up by the moisture of the soil; you feel the urgent need to live. Feeling something moving inside, the seed starts to grow. There is ease and optimism inside you which helps you grow and find the way towards the light. The spring gayness and warmth give you strength, leaves pop up… You grow into a strong tree playing with the breeze. When you grow up, you find out that the sun brings heat and drought. It's difficult and painful to endure and withstand thirst and to feel dried up roots. My branches and the crown must cope with these as well…

In autumn storms occur. I have to face strong winds which threaten my stability. I feel rain can turn into painful hail sometimes, hitting and hurting me…

But now winter comes… I can still fight coldness, but feel I'm losing power. The best way of coping with snow and chill is dozing off. Luckily, spring is coming again. Everything in me will wake up. Again, my leaves, branches and fruits start growing… I give the seeds to the wind which takes them to a new beginning…"

Lesson: 2

Time: 45 minutes
Aim: To draw the tree they visualised
Procedure: Hand out blank sheets of paper to each student, and make crayons available for everybody. Students choose a tree they remember the most from meditation and draw a picture of it. They take time, use as many colours as possible and try not to talk to each other. They take as much time as they need, and decide when to finish individually. Music is played again. Students took the drawing seriously, some putting more effort into it than others.

Lesson: 3

Time: 30-45 minutes
Aim: To make groups in which pictures will be discussed
Procedure: Arrange chairs in three circles. Invite students to sit down in one circle and decide whether they feel comfortable or not. Do three "rounds" giving the student the opportunity to change their mind.

In our lesson one group ended up having more members than the other two (I did not want them to feel being pushed into a group they did not feel comfortable with). Since I wanted the students to get to know each other better, after the first session, the members of each group were randomly mixed.

Lessons: 4-16

Time: Each group spends 3-4 lessons together
Aim: To work with pictures, to get to know oneself better, to get to know and understand each other better
Procedure:

1. The students sit in a circle. A volunteer puts his/her drawing in the middle of it.

2. The first question everybody including the author answers is "What do you see?" Make sure everybody concentrates on what they see (a big tree, colourful leaves, a hole in the trunk, no roots, falling leaves, dry wigs, the sun, clouds, rain, snow, etc.) and do not interpret it (you cannot see love, happiness, etc.) at this point.

3. The second sentence each has to complete is "If I were this particular part of the tree (e.g., the branch, the trunk, the leaves, the animal… in this picture), I would feel…" A variation that I used in some cases was: "I would feel well if I were (this item in the picture), I would feel bad if I were (this item in the picture)." Students usually commented on why they would feel like that.

4. During the third step, the titles each member of the group gives to the drawing are gathered . The author of the picture gives his/her title as well and at the end chooses the title he/she likes best.

5. Working with the picture concludes with the wishes every member of the group tells to the particular tree, picture.

6. With most of the groups, I ended the lesson by reflecting on what we have been doing. The students completed the sentence "If I look back, I have found out/I have realised/I know…"

All the questions answered and sentences completed took place in no previously arranged order. They decided when they were ready to give their comments.

The students were actively engaged, committed, probably because they were all aware of the fact that it was their pictures, themselves and their lives, concerns, fears, pain, joy that were "discussed." They were spontaneous in giving their responses; they listened attentively, used their sense of humour and listened to each other. I was there to guide them; some of the groups wanted to listen to my comments on the pictures as well. One important piece of advice I gave them was that everything was allowed to be said about one's picture, yet it was up to them to decide what to pay attention to and what to ignore. The most common comments they gave when finishing the sentence "If I look back I have realised…" were: "… *how different we are, how important it is not to judge before you get to know the person, ... that everybody is entitled to their own opinion, … that the picture represents my characteristics, … you saw what I didn't see at all, … sometimes we have to face the same problems, … I was surprised what you could see, … I exposed myself in this picture, … I want to be too perfect, … my tree has no roots, … my tree has no leaves, … the wind has made a mess in my picture, … there is no sun in my picture, … there is only a seed in his picture, … I didn't know she could draw so well …."*

Lessons: 17, 18

Time: 60-90 minutes
Aim: To reflect on the work with the entire class
Procedure:

1. Students sit in a big circle with their pictures in front of them. They finish the following sentence: 'If I look back at the course of the lessons dealing with our pictures I will never forget…" Again, students speak in no particular order. Some comments were touching, I was surprised what they remembered and paid attention to. Some gave humorous remarks which reminded us all of having enjoyed the time spent together.

2. Students are told to go out in nature and try to find a "symbol," an item (a flower, a plant, a cone, a stone, a piece of wood…), symbolizing themselves in terms of what their picture represents and what they are willing to do in the future. They also pick an item for a school mate (I told them who to pick it for).

3. Students present the symbols and explain why they have chosen them. They give them to their school mates.

It was obvious that some students were very perceptive. The symbols spoke for themselves; trees without leaves or roots received fruits for instance, dry soil got water, trees got fruit, animals, blossoms…etc. I had the feeling that they were proud of having found out something about themselves or each other they did not know before.

Lessons: 19, 20

Time: 60 minutes

Aim: To attend Mass, to conclude work, to add a religious dimension

The service took place in the same classroom we worked in. A priest teaching Religion and Culture held the service. We incorporated our work and the pictures in some parts of the service. In context with the penitential rite, students were asked to complete the following sentence: "I acknowledge…" By looking at their picture, they found or remembered fears, dilemmas, and worries, painful events they acknowledged, and then articulated them. They did not need to be specific when using words as long as they knew what they had in mind (e.g., if they acknowledged they were hurting, they would say I acknowledge a branch that was cut from the tree). After saying it out loud, the students placed his/her picture in front of the altar. After each acknowledgement, the students would reply Lord, have mercy.

For general intercessions, the students thought of their own intercessions connected to the individual pictures or the class community in general. Some of the most interesting ones were: "*I wish all the trees would get water to grow, I wish the sun wouldn't be crying but smiling, I wish the sun wouldn't burn the trees, I wish strong roots for one tree, I wish the foliage to host birds, I wish our class could survive the rain and the heat."* After each intercession we would reply Lord, hear our prayer.

After communion students were asked to finish the sentence I am thankful for/to... Again, they could thank for a particular feature in their own picture, event, others' pictures or a person they had got closer to in the process.

Although, I somehow thought the students who are not religious would be reluctant to take part in the mass, the whole "event" turned out well. The students entered it with respect towards each other and cooperated actively, not only passively in the "common" parts. After all, it was something they had created themselves.

Class Community and Class Meetings Open the Door to Personal Growth

The goal of the class meetings I described was to make students understand each other better by getting to know what it is that they posses and feel inside themselves. I believe personal relationships with people we live and work will help us discover who we really are. The students I worked with did not become best friends after the activities we went through. That was not my intention in the first place. What they were offered was the opportunity to empathize with their school mates, relate to them and their lives and try to understand where their (own) reactions come from. In our class meetings they might have faced fears and their own vulnerabilities; they might have been exposed in their insecurity, failure or faultlessness, but were nevertheless not judged or mocked. They felt they could be respected for characteristics they possess.

However, it is not only the students who can benefit from the class meetings. I have learnt from students that relationships are not about winning or losing, they are not flawless or to be taken for granted either. They are about giving and gaining. It is exactly the students and our relationships that have helped me greatly not only to grow as a teacher but also to grow as a person.

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FLORICA ORȚAN

PEDAGOGICAL AND MANAGERIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PART OF ROMANIA

Spiritual education, one of the most important concepts of contemporary pedagogy, can be defined in relation to moral and intellectual education, and to Christian values and ideals.

After a profound analysis of the content and aspects of religious education in Romania, Constantin Cucoş (1999) notes that the essence of education is based on the religious values, drawing the attention of young people to being a good Christian.

We need to emphasize, in this context, the pedagogical influence of the Church, as a religious institution, completing the educational impact starting with the family education and that of the initiation in nature study. According to Constantin Cucoş, the church and spiritual education represents an alternative and a completion of the family education: "the church completes the educational process initiated by the parents and proves to be a complementary method to school in spiritual, moral education and in active civic training" (Cucoş 1996:12).

We can appreciate in this context that religion provides the young generation with a set of ideals, principles and values which can offer them a better guidance in life, which can be spiritually fortifying. Religious education enables faith cultivation, finding a spiritual meaning, way above the clichés and banality of everyday life. Through his nature, a human being cannot be content just by the material values and profane processes of life. The young generation continuously aspires to something transcendent and this aspiration must be systematically supported and sustained by a competent, qualified person, a priest or a teacher for example. The same author, trying to establish the basic characteristics of the religious education, states that "Christian education is maintaining the communion between man and God, a communion which requires man's permanent seeking for purification of sins and a growth in virtue" (Cucoş 1999:145).

Religiously stimulated educational models and motifs, consequences of the religious values are emphasized in this context, correlated with moral and intellectual aspects, having, as a result, a certain strategy of religious approach in schools.

Trying to create a limit in the theory of education in pedagogy, Elena Macavei underlines the importance of spiritual and religious education.

Religious education is connected to the Christian moral system of values. Christian moral virtues, the educational potential of temperance, compassion, devoutness, meekness, religiousity baesd wisdom, courage, sincerity and especially faith are underlined and emphasized in this context. It is appreciated that faith and hope "engages the human perception completely unconsciously and subconsciously at an intellectual and emotional level" (Macavei 2002:91). From this perspective, Elena Macavei concludes that religious education is a complex training, guiding process of the youth within the moral-religious system of values so that they can know and contemplate God.

From a larger historical and pedagogical point of view, Ioan Nicola notes that religion and religious education are as old as human community, because the ferment of human culture have crystallized in this region. "Religious education is the basic element of the entire formative approach and consequently, the essence of religious education in school consists of generating and maintaining an inner spiritual state of mind, helping human beings to transcend reality and relate himself to absolute" (Nicola 2003:242).

The progress containing the elaborate concept of religious education, including its methods of implementation in school life, is illustrated by the preoccupation related to pedagogical research in the field of religious education. Resuming G.G. Antonescu and Mihail Bulacu's traditions, Musata Bocos, Monica and Dorin Opriş underline the importance of pedagogical research in this field.

Inter-curricular and cross-curricular aspects and their ethical implications are revealed in this context. An answer to a difficult question is being sought: "To what extent can we assume and, possibly, adopt general methodological indications and directions in a precise research in religious education?" (Opris, M. & Opris, D. & Bocos 2004:60). Opris and Bocos recommend the method of a systematic observation, including observation as a participant, experiment and interview, but especially the questionnaire survey method. Under a different context, the same authors propose action-research models in religious and moral education. For example, proposing the didactic use of the icon, the authors engage research from the hypothesis that "initiating students in icon analysis referring to the events in Jesus' and the saints' lives studied in the 6th grade, increases students` knowledge acquisition level and forms an auspicious, free willed attitude to respect and honor religious objects and things"(Bocos & Opris, D. & Opris, M. 2006:244).

Although very closely connected to moral and civic education, we can distinguish some specific characteristics of religious education: (1) it is the oldest form of education, from which arises, at a given moment, the intellectual-philosophic, moral and scientific type of education. (2) it has a

larger content, much larger than civic and moral education, philosophy or history, as it concerns man's role, mission in the world, his aspiration to transcendent. (3) implanting faith in God itself represents an excellent educational ferment capable to stimulate not only moral and civic education, but also other domains, such as professional and aesthetic education. (4) religious education is characterized by an increased permeability to problem solving and research, being at the sometime, an excellent and osmotic method between intellectual, moral education on one hand, and professional, aesthetic and scientific education on the other hand.

As it is known, before 1989 in Romania, as well as in other former communist countries, religious education was achieved only within the church, not being included in the curriculum of public schools.

The political events in 1989, under the imperative demand and necessity of a democratic society, created a new perspective. All responsible political parties voted for introducing and teaching religion in schools.

It was stated that "in addition to the many aspects concerning the instruction reform and legislation, almost merely technical and professional ones, some new coordinates should be included and stressed, as a pleading for the strict necessity and utility of religious instruction and education, for its implementation with equal rights in the educational system" (Stoleru 1993:31).

It was insisted that religious instruction should be officially re-introduced, refusing rigid and univocal atheism. One can notice that the whole of Romanian culture is impregnated with orthodox values, their being responsive to the influences of Western Christianity. It was underlined that the problems of Romanian nation, consists in changing what was chaotically built, was possible by appealing to the Christian roots. It was also emphasized that besides school, the church represents a real spiritual ferment and fuel "capable to assure the necessary moral force to democratize the Romanian society" (Stoleru 1993).

The representatives of the Orthodox Church and other religious denominations worried about the youths' distraction, temptation and tendency of libertinism and violence. They revealed the convincing and penetrating capacity of religious education, its imperative necessity even at primary school level.

One of the first orders of the Ministry of Instruction and Science was to re-introduce religion as an optional and supplementary school subject, in primary and secondary school.

Managerial problems arose especially concerning the teaching methods and qualified staff; consequently Instruction Law 84/1995 brings

some important notifications. It was specified that religion is compulsory in primary school, optional in secondary school and supplementary in high school. More precisely, paragraph 9 of this law denotes that religion is a school subject, a part of the school curriculum, "primary, secondary, high school and professional school curriculum include religion as a school subject" (Law 4/1995 § 9).

Continuing this notification activity, Law 489/2006 specifies that the teaching staff is established by the corresponding religious denomination. At the beginning, because of the lack of professionals, religion was taught by priests, but gradually the number of teachers of religion has increased to 10514 in 2003-2004; 2987 are professors, 783 have didactic degree II, 165 teachers have didactic degree I.

In Bihor country, in the 2003/2004 academic year, 160 teachers taught religion, 154 secular and 6 priests. Most of the secular ones attended theological university studies (152) and only 2 teachers had high school studies. We can notice that in the same school year, 91 were professors, 60 had definitive degree, 14 didactic degree II, and 1 teacher had didactic degree I. After 2 years, in the 2005/2006 academic year, the situation changed. The number of professors in average increases to 100, teachers with didactic degree II to 20, 2 have didactic degree I. Unfortunately, the number of teachers with definitive degree decreased to 53. During this academic school year we can notice an increase in the number of priests from 6 to 12. Most teachers of religion in public schools have continuous aspirations to get different didactic degrees in order to acquire thorough methodological skills and abilities.

The problem with teaching religion in school as compulsory, is related to the distribution of population according to religion and nationality. Most of Romania's population, 86.67% were Orthodox in 2002 and only 4.73% Roman-Catholic, 3.21% Reformed, 1.52% Pentecostal and 0.9% Greek-Catholic, 0.59% Baptist and 0.44% Adventist. There are Evangelics, Muslims, and Jews, but these groups are relatively small in number.

In 2002 there were only 66846 Unitarians (0.3%), 67.566 Muslims (0.31%), 39485 Old ritual Christians (0.10%), and 6199 Jews (0.02%) in Romania.

In north-west Romania, contrary to other regions (Moldavia, Oltenia), although most of the population is Orthodox, there are relatively compact groups of citizens adherent to the Roman-Catholic and Lutheran Church. The relative confessional heterogeneity of the population, the high degree of dispersion of the members belonging to a certain religious denomination trigger serious managerial problems in teaching religion in school.

Some leaders made an attempt to pay attention to the students' religion in school, Law 489/2006 stating that "by request, when the school council cannot provide specialized teachers of a certain religion to which the students belong to, their parents can prove the study of that religion by a certificate from the church whose members they are" (Law 489/2006). Most students and their parents prefer to study the orthodox religion. The compact distribution of Roman-Catholic, Lutheran, Greek-Catholic and Pentecostal population in the north-western part of the country made it possible to teach these religions by creating special classes. (Law 489/2006)

In other cases, some denominations, especially Neo-Protestant, Lutheran and Catholic ones have founded their own schools and religious curricula. (Law 489/2006)

We can also mention that the number of atheist students is insignificant, and the lack of classes for minority denominations are due exclusively to their small number and insufficient funding, and some schools just cannot afford to pay a teacher for 1 or 2 students belonging to a minority denominations.

Introducing teaching religion at all school levels generated a lot of managerial problems. Not having a professional managerial specialization, the Orthodox hierarchic leaders became responsive to all problems and succeeded in solving them in a relatively short period of time. The interest in teaching religion in school was revealed at the Teachers' Conference at Iasi in July 2002, organized by his High Reverence Daniel, Bishop of Moldavia and Bucovina. At this conference, they tried to finalize the school curricula for all 3 (primary, secondary and high school) levels, including the curriculum for schools with the theological profile as well.

Religion, as a school subject, is a part of the 'Man and Society' curriculum, and it is one class per week according to this curriculum, both at primary and secondary school level. This school subject is taught at all high school and training profiles.

The teaching objectives, goals, aims, purposes have been accurately established. The Orthodox Church representatives, responsible for the problems, concluded that the main objective of teaching religion is forming students' personality in accordance with Christian values, integrating these values into the system of Christian moral attitudes, and applying what they have learnt in everyday life.

The curricular documents for teaching religion are structured according to six different standards: (a) to describe his/her own faith as well as his/her relation to other religions. (b) to describe the events and their results, consequences for a faithful life and for the existential problem of man

presented in Holy Books. (c) to explain religious notions, concepts, values which stand for a model attitude and behavior worth following. (d) to integrate knowledge obtained with other school subjects into his/her religious knowledge acquired during religion lessons. (e) to identify moral knowledge at other non-theological school subjects. (f) to apply religious knowledge in solving personal and community problems (Religion, Orthodox Church, Curricula approved by the order of the Ministry of Instruction/Education 4469/25.10.1999:98).

We can notice a pertinent managerial and modeling effort in the above presented standards. With the help of specialists in pedagogical sciences, authorities tried and succeeded to a certain extent, to elaborate a modern curriculum for teaching religion in schools – not only transmitting knowledge but also emphasizing the moral values. Above all, these standards refer to the direct application of religious knowledge in both personal and community life. The inter-curricular point of view, excellently modeled, improves and stresses the importance of this curriculum.

The curriculum for teaching religion in primary and secondary school is meant to respond to students' desire, thirst to know the ideals of the Orthodox Church, to form students according to true moral faith. Authorities aim at a systematic assurance of a high level of religious and moral education necessary, indispensable in modernizing our society. Perennial values like affection, friendship, peace, harmony, understanding, mutual assistance among people, are cultivated and educated.

The curricular documents for teaching religion in 1st – 8th grades contain 5 objectives. As we can see, the educational curriculum concerning teaching religion, has both cognitive objectives of familiarizing students with the religious language, with the text of the Holy Scriptures, and affective ones, guiding and directing youth towards moral values in order to consolidate moral-religious habits and behavior. The standards of the European Committee are also respected, including the stimulation of a tolerant attitude towards other religious beliefs.

At the 1st grade, the objective "knowing and loving God," implies as a direct objective "to form abilities to find out about God's existence," this objective, being achieved by observing and contemplating our environment, world. This can be done by using a set of religious illustrations and by interactive dialogues about God's existence.

As example for the above mentioned objectives we can make a general presentation of Christian religion, faith, texts from the Old and New Testament, for example the creation of the world and mankind or Jesus' childhood. Reading religious texts, learning carols and poems are recommended.

Although the main objectives are generally the same as in the primary school, the direct objectives are significantly different in the 5th grade. Knowing and loving God, at this age, refers to the following objectives: "Students will be able to understand God's role from the texts studied in this grade," and this means not only observing and discussing some religious illustrations but also comparing the human and divine duties.

The main objective "educating values of acceptance, understanding and having respect for other religious beliefs" is correlated to the direct objective: students have to accept moral religious values from other religious beliefs. As a learning activity for this objective, can be case study, team work, group discussion, in order to solve problem situations and even the initiation of a mutual assistance activity, helping those in need who belong to another denominations.

We can meet the same modern vision in high school curriculum as well. This one has in view the key competence established by the European Committee. To learn how to learn implies abilities, skills and attitudes. The abilities refer to the formation of one's religious identity and attitude. The interpersonal, intercultural, social and civic competence refers to knowledge, abilities and attitudes. Among the abilities the most important is assuming and admitting one's religious identity.

Christian morality prefers, first of all, to the youth's moral responsibilities for God and for himself. Spirituality and sense of duty implies man's aspiration to be like Gods own image[15] and his call towards Christian missionary.

The visible progress in conceiving and elaborating the educational curricula made possible the elaboration of alternative religion textbooks for all grades. In the north-western counties of Romania the following textbooks are used:

The National Evaluation and Examination Service issue many methodological guides for teachers of religion. These guides contain tests, different types of objective and subjective items. As a method of evaluation, systematic observation of students' activities and behavior is recommended. These evaluation materials and guides should correlate with the teaching materials at hand, but especially with the main and referable objectives.

Introducing religion in schools generated inedited pedagogical and managerial problems. The most interesting and difficult to approach is the verification of students' application forms to join a religious community, the creation of religiously homogenous classes and groups. The situation is simple

[15] „God created man in his own image." Genesis: 1, 27.

if all students from a class request to study the same orthodox religion. It is not complicated even if there are cases when students demand other religion, because they can be grouped in a certain class in large schools. Distributing students in classes according to their requests for a certain religion implies the collaboration of teachers and managers, and the result is the elaboration of distinct programs and timetables for students' placement to other schools and the formation of new groups.

This collaboration, despite the difficulties it brings about, assures interactivity, cooperation among schools, which is a positive effect. Both managers and teachers of religion are more and more interested in arranging specialized, equipped classrooms. They provide adequate, proper teaching materials, textbooks, books with religious texts, songs, poems, icons, computers, videos on religious themes. In the case of large schools, inevitably, timetable problems arise because of the planning difficulties and problems of using rooms.

Teachers and managers are concerned about knowing the alternative textbooks and publishing new ones. Methodological and didactic discussions are very useful and helpful in this respect. The teachers are evaluated by the board of directors to get pertinent decisions. Organizing common activities between more schools are very important too: inviting priests, lectures for parents, methodological discussions with specialists in educational sciences from the University of Oradea.

Introducing religion in the public school curriculum has brought about important changes, most of them obviously positive ones, stimulating a qualitative change and renewal of the educational system.

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KATINKA BACSKAI

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS IN DEBRECEN

Most of us have vivid memories of the school we attended, or about the teachers who taught us. We cannot forget the walls, the entrance, the rooms, the teachers – who taught us Biology, History, foreign languages or Mathematics. You may also experience that you could form an opinion about an institution just a quarter of an hour after entering one of the buildings of a grammar school, even if you had not had any previous contact with it. In the first part of this study we try to put into scientific terms what we have all experienced and felt during the school years. We refer to especially American and German authors in the special literature and we use their terminology.

In the second part of the study we present our findings of the survey we conducted in secondary schools of Debrecen, in the spring of 2005. We deal with those two parts of the abundant data in details which we consider the most interesting. We hope that it will take the reader closer to the world of grammar schools run by different maintainers.

Theoretical framework

All schools have a holistic image that is shown to the outside world and can also be perceived inside. This image is formed by many components (e.g., indicators of efficiency, students' appearance, parents' social status) the most important of which is school climate. Former researches concentrated mainly on legislations of school life like schedules, administrational regulations, and organizational structures and so on. The aim on one hand was to deduct what the social functions are of particular educational processes at school, and on the other hand, to examine their consequences from the viewpoint of a school's social selectivity or efficiency. What actually happens in a school was not emphasized in this case (Fend 1977). However, the notion of organizational atmosphere applied to particular schools or used in general has remained at the centre of attention. It is also present in everyday language that a school's atmosphere is perceived and defined by outside observers as 'distressing,' 'vibrant,' 'inflexible' (Halpin & Croft 1963) or 'open' versus 'closed.'

Studies of school surroundings show rather controversial results. It is quite an old hypothesis that all the different organizations have a special atmosphere and this atmosphere has an important effect on the results and the processes taking place within the organizations. Applying this notion to

schools goes back to the beginning of the 60s, when Halpin and Croft first tried to define and measure school climate systematically. A decade after these pioneer studies, researches of surroundings took a prominent place in educational studies; for example Educational Administration Quarterly[16] made several such analyses in the 70s. However, the notion as a means of analysis has fallen into the background, presumably due to conceptual confusions on one hand, and because of empirical researches on the other hand, which have questioned its validity. As far as the latter is concerned, surveys applying the method of Halpin and Croft often in practice failed to prove a causal link supposed to be present between school climate and other school factors such as discipline problems and equality among pupils (Nursery & Haller 1995).

In Hungary, researches concerning the inner life of schools started in the 1980s, which examined the relationship between efficiency and school life (Halász 1980, Kozéki 1991, Halász & Kozma 1993).

It may be confusing for the reader that we used several notions to describe more or less the same phenomenon that is the particular school experience of teachers and pupils. In fact, we could use several different notions to describe the complex surroundings of teaching and studying. As we noticed, in common language, and in the special literature, we speak about school surroundings, socializational relations, school 'spirit' or school atmosphere, school living-space or, in certain cases, school living-world (Dann et al. 1975). All attempts to define the phenomenon show that it is easy to see its effects but difficult to put it into words.

For our analysis we chose *the notion of school climate* or its Hungarian equivalent, *school atmosphere*. By this, we mean social and informal relations which are determined in the institutional framework and which form from outside and inside (Fend 1977). There is a great variety of elements that we take into consideration in our survey. It is essential to examine the physical condition of the school, for example the school building, equipment and facilities; plus we have to deal with the relationship between teachers and pupils, the several school societies, the teachers' attitude, their professed values and the nature of management.

The word "climate" originated from meteorology and got into the researches of organization as a synonymous expression of atmosphere, and it means a kind of environmental factor. Made up of several constituents, climate is an influence that has an effect on the participants living in the

[16] University Council of Educational Administration Quarterly (EAQ) is an association which has been working in the USA since 1965. They collect official data about American education, which they report about and publish four times a year. Most of the studies are available with retroactive effect in the archives and can also be found on the Internet http:\\eaq.sagepub.com.

organization. However, it is true the other way round as well: the participants can also form and change the climate. Researchers use so-called climate dimensions in accordance with their own investigative purposes or individual conceptions to perceive this complex effect mechanism from several directions.

The research of school climate separated from a wider domain of research: the research of organizational climate. Since there is no general definition for school atmosphere, many means and plans are used to measure it. Arter (1987) gives a good summary of the methods available at present. Generally the researchers of school climate examine both the atmosphere of the whole school and the atmosphere of the individual classes. School climate cannot be measured by absolute standards, no matter which method is used. Most methods can only allow a general perception of conditions. Most questionnaires concerning atmosphere ask participants to evaluate certain areas of the environment on the basis of their experience. Usually the questions do not inquire into how often certain things take place in an institution (e.g., 'How often are there school programs?') Instead participants are asked to evaluate phenomena (e.g., 'What do you think about Christmas celebration?')

The reason why we are interested in school climate is that, according to studies (Poredes & Frazer 1992), it is in close relationship with school efficiency.

Survey in Debrecen

I am reporting about the findings of a survey of school climate. We interviewed 48 students from 8 secondary schools with the help of a structured questionnaire (see Appendix). The aim of the survey was to better understand the atmosphere or school climate of different institutions with the help of interviews. We did not aim at choosing a representative sample. Interviewees were expected to have been studying in the particular grammar school for at least three months. We chose the same number of boys and girls in order to discover the opinion of both genders equally.

As our primary goal was to compare the two sectors (denominational and public sector), we formed school-pairs on the basis of indicators of efficiency and students' social background (Horn & Neuwirt 2005).[17]

[17] In the study mentioned here, the input and output data of almost all secondary school students in Hungary can be inspected. Therefore we can compare pupils who gained admission to different secondary schools in the county on the basis of their marks in the 8th form, their parents` educational records, the status of their permanent address, and also, the rate of acceptance into higher education or the number of language exams in the 12th form.

Debrecen's four denominational schools were chosen and a non-denominational counterpart for each. The idea was that both schools in a pair should have the same rank in the hierarchy of schools in the county, and both schools should have pupils whose parents' qualifications were more or less the same. The aim was to compare schools with similar student-material. As denominational schools in Debrecen are both favoured and successful, we can say that the pupils in our sample are from leading secondary schools. 85-95% of the pupils from all the schools in question get into universities or colleges.

Three of the chosen secondary schools are maintained by the local government, one is financed by the national government and four are church-run. The schools maintained by the local government work with a lot of pupils and with several faculties. Two of them have independent art training as well. The nationally financed institution is the grammar school of the university, where there are also several classes in each form. Among the denominational schools, there is a reformed school with a great past, and another reformed school, which was reorganized not long ago; the other two schools are non-co-educational Catholic grammar schools. The interviews were taped and were elaborated on by content analysis; examining and grouping the key words and ideas in the first place.

Hypotheses

We supposed that in both types of schools the collective methods of transferring values and norms are similar as regards to form. Collective value transferring happens when the school mediates values to all the pupils at the same time, more or less in a spontaneous way. Thus, it means that the teacher acting as a mouth-piece for the school's values, expressing his ideas about an ideal human character day by day or occasionally, is not included in this definition. We expected on the basis of Coleman and Hoffer's findings (1987) that traditions and school programs played an essential role in each school. We believed these were important parts of school life emphasized by the pupils as well. We supposed that this form would be present in both school types but the mediated values would be different.

As the schools in question are of the first rank, students strive for higher education, we thought that the main values in schools from the public sector would be knowledge, and individualism with competitive spirit idealized; while denominational schools would put emphasis on both Christian values and knowledge.

Findings

We examined our hypotheses by analyzing factual questions.[18] Inspecting our first hypothesis, we concentrated on the answers to the following questions: *'What kinds of traditions are there in your school?'*, *'What school programs are there in your school?'*. We also analyzed here all the remarks occurring in the interviews that are in connection with this topic.

It became obvious from the interviews that pupils' lives are determined by very similar frames. We could verify our hypothesis, as interviewees named the same traditions, programs and school events in both school types.

On the basis of these, the symbols or symbolic acts of collective value-transfer are the following (1) school programs, traditions; (2) the symbol, the coat of arms of the school; (3) working days without teaching; (4) uniforms.

School programs and traditions can mostly be connected to the denominator of the school; traditions are kept on these days, which are partly or entirely spent without teaching. There are collective programs in the whole school, partly ceremonial and partly entertaining. The content varies by school: it is sport in one school or presentation of talents in another that is highlighted. The primary goal of these school festivals is to entertain and/or to recharge batteries. These days have an extraordinary importance in all grammar schools. In the schools where we obtained a detailed description of the exact course of the festival's events,[19] it turned out that the framework of special activities is usually constant, it is the same every year, and only minor elements vary. In an anthropological sense, we can call these occasions ceremonies. All in all, these events not only promote entertainment, recollection and respect, but also school identity and studying.

There are elaborate preparations everywhere for the programs commemorating national holidays. Schools take great efforts to make commemorations of a high standard. This special occasion is also marked by the cancelled periods throughout the day, or at least part of it.

[18] It is characteristic of an interview that an interviewee speaks about the same topic answering different questions, so it can happen when we present our findings that we refer to answers given to questions that were not included in the original set of questions.

[19] We had to make this distinction, because it often happened that the interviewees were not talkative on this topic: they wanted to talk about it only superficially or they could not give a detailed description of the events. Besides, one third of the interviewees had spent only two years at most in the given school, so they could not have enough experience.

One of the pupils from the art faculty says the following about these events: *'It is always assigned which class is responsible for the program. This year it was our class that prepared for March 15th; well, it was not good, because everybody was absolutely nervous, otherwise it is good, because periods are cancelled and things like that.'*

In denominational schools, students put denominational holidays (e.g., the day of the Reformation or some saints' commemorative days in Catholic schools) on the list of school traditions as well.

All the eight schools have a coat of arms, which pupils know well and wear on their formal clothes (badges or 'Ady'-scarf). Students are aware of the meaning and the origin of these symbols. We can conclude that the coat of arms of the school, which is its 'logo' or icon, is significant to school life.

It is not compulsory to wear uniforms on weekdays, with the exception of a Catholic school, where both the teachers and the pupils traditionally wear a gown over their clothes. On festivals or ceremonies, however, students in all schools are expected to be dressed in the same way. It is either a complete uniform or dark skirt/trousers with a white blouse/shirt. There is no difference between denominational and non-denominational schools in this respect.

We tried to prove the second hypothesis concerning the differences of transferred values with the help of the following questions:

"How well does your school train you for life?'

"What can you owe to your teachers?'

"What is your school's mentality like?'

"What is an ideal human character like according to your school?'

"How would you introduce your school to a stranger?'

We could establish 23 different educational values during the analysis in accordance with the special literature (Füstös & Szabados 1998).

We can see in Table 1 the number of interviewees mentioning the given values and also, the differences between maintainers. I would like to illustrate the results with the help of three sentences quoted from the interviews. In denominational schools we got answers compatible with our hypothesis in almost all cases. The most often mentioned values beside knowledge and zeal are the classical Christian values like religious faith, loyalty, unselfishness, honesty, patience and courtesy. Students regard these values as their own, even if they realize that the society prefers norms which are different from these.

E.g., *Interviewer: How well does your school train you for life?*

Interviewee: It doesn't train me for real but for normal, regular life, but it is good because it gives me courage to be able to lead such a *life.*

It occurred several times in the interviews made in denominational schools that pupils talked about a change in their world conception and they perceived it in a positive way.

Table 1: Educational values mentioned in the interviews[20]

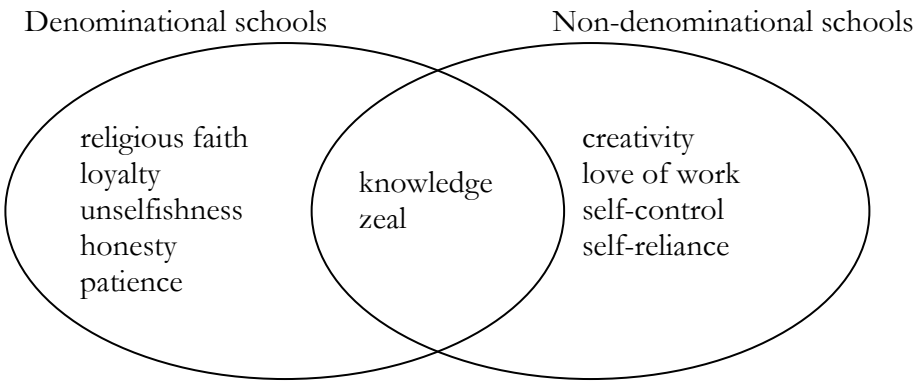
Value	***Number of reference non-denominational***	***Number of reference denominational***
Knowledge of high quality	**20**	***17***
Obedience	***3***	***6***
Clean and tidy appearance	***5***	***5***
Zeal	***18***	***17***
Reliability	***9***	***6***
Self-control	***0***	***2***
Right enforcement of interests	***4***	***0***
Courtesy	***4***	***11***
Self-reliance	***6***	***3***
Love of work	***10***	***4***
Honesty	***3***	***9***
Sense of responsibility	***4***	***3***
Patience	***0***	***6***
Creative power, imagination	***2***	***1***
Respect for others, tolerance	***2***	***3***
Leading power	***2***	***0***
Self-discipline	***0***	***1***
Economy	***0***	***0***
Determination	***6***	***4***
Religious faith	***0***	***24***
Unselfishness	***2***	***12***
Dutifulness	***8***	***14***
Faithfulness, loyalty	***3***	***8***

[20] The maximum value in both columns can be 24, because 24 interviews were made altogether in the different school types.

Pupils of non-denominational schools also mentioned knowledge foremost as was expected.

"…later we will live from what we have learnt now,' they say. So, what the school can mainly give is knowledge and erudition. Besides, most of the students mentioned some other values like zeal, creativity and love of work, which would be very useful later in the world of work. Let us think over what difference this fact makes between the two types of schools. Actually, it means modern individualistic values as opposed to Christian values. We could not investigate in our researches whether these values are realized in pupils' lives, and if they are, to what extent. We could also only superficially understand how these values are present in the everyday life of the school. On the basis of students' reports, schools seem to fully reach their educational goals, as they make it obvious what they consider important.

Figure 1:



In non-denominational schools, knowledge of high standard and zeal are mentioned most often, and love of work appears in the third place. In denominational schools, religious faith is mentioned by all the pupils as an educational value, then comes knowledge of high standard and zeal. Mariann Buda states that school can integrate mainly those values that help to increase the efficiency of education in the strict sense of the word, and not the values that influence the young person's whole personality (Buda 1999). This statement is mainly true for schools from the public sector.

All in all, on the basis of the narratives, the desired values in denominational schools are conservative, humanistic, and Christian, which are recognized, acknowledged and considered relevant to their own lives by the interviewees, while in non-denominational schools the main values are centred around work either by the preparation for the labour market or by

making good use of their knowledge there. During our research, we could also state that the school's or the parents' scales of values are close to each other, according to the students. Generally, we received an assertive answer to the question: 'Do your teachers think the same about education as your parents?' Students think that more or less the same values appear at home as at school. If this is so, school and home can mutually reinforce each other. This question, however, needs to be examined more thoroughly.

Summary

When parents with their children choose a secondary school or the children themselves decide which school they would like to attend, they take a lot of things into consideration: the reputation of the school, the probable chances for higher education, the location and accessibility of the school, and so on. Teachers' humanity and the educational influence of the school can also be important criteria for a number of parents. In our world, which changes fast and sets high expectations for the young, it really matters how much pupils can 'charge up' for life in school. As grammar school years act as a decisive stage of growing up, while studying and collecting experiences, the atmosphere and impressions obtained here are ever-lasting.

The climate of schools depends on a lot of factors, which we categorized in three climate dimensions on the basis of special literature and our research experience, furthermore, we also formulated them as actual cycles of questions:

Dimension 1: The teacher as an expert. This factor contains the questions concerning work atmosphere, management and working conditions.

Dimension 2: Students' goals for studying. This group of questions deals with the conditions promoting studying and results.

Dimension 3: The management and guidance of the school. This group of questions primarily deals with pupils' behaviour.

Further analyses can bring more findings about the schools under survey along these three dimensions.

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SUPPLEMENT

Draft of an interview for students

A qualitative interview

The interviewee is always from a secondary school chosen in advance: a boy and a girl /with the exception of Svetits and Szent József/.
We have to ask all the questions below from the interviewee unless he or she has already answered it properly. Let us follow the steps of the planned interview if it is possible. However, we can divert if it is necessary.
The plan does not contain all the questions we have to ask, because the actual questions depend on the situation. Consequently, having the aim of the interview in mind, we should make the interviewee speak about a given topic by prompting questions, too. The brackets are for our own use, we do not have to read them aloud.
The interview lasts for at least 60 minutes. It is recorded by a dictaphone.

Introduction:

Introduce yourself in a few sentences, please.

Where do you live? What kind of settlement is it?

Who do you live with?

How many brothers or sisters have you got?

What are your parents' qualifications? What do they do?

How would you judge your financial situation?

How long have you been attending this school? (For how many years?)

How well do you study?

What are you planning to do after secondary school?

About school:

What do you think about the building of the school and its surroundings?

What would you change if you could?

What traditions are there in your school?

Has your school got a coat of arms or any symbols?

What kind of school programs are there in your school? Have you got working days without teaching? (e.g., students' day or programs at weekends)

Is there any kind of uniform at festivals?

What kind of faculties or specialized classes are there in your school?

What did you choose from these? What are they like?

How many classes have you got a week? Any private lessons?

How well can you evolve your talents?

What kind of extra-curricular activities are there? In which do you take part?

How would you evaluate the educational standard in this school?

What do other people think of your school?

How well do you think your school is equipped?

How would you describe the mentality of your school? (What is the ideal human character like in your school?)

How much do you feel, or are you aware of the fact that you are a student from, say, Csokonai or the Reformed College etc., and not from another school?

What does attending this school mean to you?

How strong is team spirit in your school?

Of what school communities are you a member?

Do you get together with your school mates after school? With whom, how often, and what do you do?

What is the atmosphere like in your school? (democratic, autocratic etc.?)

What is the dominant mood like in your school?

Speak about school life.

Why did you apply for this school?

Who influenced you in your decision?

Do you regret it?

How well does your school train you for life?

What would you change in your school?

What things do you consider positive and negative in your school?

How would you introduce your school to a stranger?

What advice would you give to a new pupil in your class?

Teachers:

How would you evaluate your teachers' work?

What is your opinion about their professional knowledge?

How would you evaluate their teaching methods?

How would you evaluate the level of teachers' requirements?

How much do your teachers help you prepare for lessons, exams, competitions, etc.?

What team-developing methods do your teachers use?

What role does your form master have in forming your class community?

What is your teachers' teaching style like?

How much do your teachers promote evolving individual talents?

How much does the teacher's personality influence your attitude to his subject?

How much do your grades influence your studying?

What other things do your teachers give you apart from imparting their knowledge?

How much do you consider your teachers' behaviour exemplary?

What is the relationship between teachers and pupils like in your school? How do teachers behave with pupils?

As for you personally, what is your relationship with teachers like?

Who are the teachers that you would keep in touch with even after the final exams?

How would you describe a good teacher? How many such teachers have you got?

Have you got a teacher who is regarded expressly bad by the community? Why?

Who do you consider a bad teacher? What is (s)he like?

What can you owe to your teachers?

Have you got a teacher who pays personal attention to your life? /This is a very important question, ask what they talk about! If the interviewee does not talk to anyone, you should get to know the reason why not./

How much free time do you spend with your teachers? /after classes, during optional classes, etc./

What is the relationship between your parents and your teachers like? /How often should they meet and how often do they actually meet, with whom do your parents have appointment: only the form master, or other teachers as well?/

Do your teachers think the same about education as your parents?

What is the atmosphere within the staff like?

How enthusiastically do you think your teachers do their job?

HAJNALKA FÉNYES

BOYS AND GIRLS WITHIN DENOMINATIONAL, RESPECTIVELY NON-DENOMINATIONAL HIGH-SCHOOLS IN A BORDERLAND REGION

Characteristics of the data base

Sampling took place among pupils attending the 11th and 12th year of some Hungarian-language based high-schools within a borderland region (Partium)[21]. Schools have been chosen in a special manner: within similar localities we've chosen pairs of schools (denominational and non-denominational) which – according to several input variables (number of the population within the locality, educational level of parents, rate of unemployed parents, type of the localities pupils are from, rate of those pupils receiving school allowance) – have shown a number of common features. In choosing pairs of schools we've aimed at providing a comprehensive inter-sectoral (denominational, respectively non-denominational) comparison in case of every school among pupils with similar backgrounds[22]. Our sample comprises N=1446 cases, from which 676 pupils attend denominational, respectively other 770 pupils attend non-denominational schools. Field-research took place in the spring of 2006 and was conducted by Gabriella Pusztai (for a detailed description see Pusztai 2007.)[23] . In the present paper we undertook a research concerning gender- and sector-based differences.

Theoretical background and hypotheses

Based on the facts which revealed that boys are less present within colleges and universities (Fényes 2006, Fényes & Pusztai 2006, Róbert 2000, Székelyi et. al.1998), we've assumed they would be less present within the high-schools (secondary schools, vocational schools[24]) as well. The

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[21] In the research titled „Középiskolások továbbtanulási tervei egy határmenti régióban" and financed by OTKA (T048820). The survey here included high-schools from Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties, respectively from Transylvania and Sub-Carpathia.

[22] Beside inter-sectoral comparison, the research investigated the impact of relational/social capital on pupils' successfulness, and also thoroughly investigated pupils' religiosity.

[23] Here I express my thanks towards Gabriella Pusztai for letting me use the data base.

[24] The chosen data base, in connection with secondary and vocational schools, does not represent the object of the analysis right here, albeit in a further analysis we plan to investigate gender differences in this regard as well.

background for such a fact is that boys in a great number usually continue their education in industrial/trade schools. Unfortunately, this fact could be regarded as a blind alley, since the sector does not fit the labor market, and also because the sector lacks the possibility for a further education. According to our hypothesis (the hypothesis of male disadvantage), those boys who manage to study in secondary grammar schooly and vocational schools (respectively higher education) have to show more cultural and economic resources than girls do. While girls, in spite of the fact that their cultural and economic backgrounds are less promising, have chosen to continue their education within a secondary or a vocational school (and usually they have braver plans concerning their university education[25]), boys with worse cultural and economic backgrounds tend to choose industrial/trade-schools.

One can also use an alternative hypotheses, following Bukodi (1999, 2000) who - based on data from KSH Ifjúsági - has assessed that a kind of rational choice (the hypothesis of the rational choice model) can be detected among males concerning their further education (educational future), while females show patterns of the so-called cultural reproduction model. Such findings in case of our research mean that boys choose secondary and vocational schools with a greater economic capital, while girls arrive in secondary and vocational schools with a greater cultural capital that they bring from home.

We've formulated a hypothesis concerning the regional character of the sample as well. Former research (e.g., Fényes 2006) revealed that within higher educational schools from this region, women are overrepresented compared to men, and this finding is in line with national-level data. A further result indicated that boys and girls attending the educational institutions abroad (the borderland region) do not show radically different characters compared to pupils from Hungary. Based on such data, we've assumed that data concerning pupils from the researched region will not dramatically differ – concerning gender differences – from the national level data in connection with high-school students, so that our results at least are able to signal the national trends of Hungary in this aspect.

The next hypothesis concerned the sector-effect. Our former research (Fényes & Pusztai 2004) revealed that both a strongly religious peer-group and the school atmosphere of a denominational school have a decisive effect concerning pupils' desire to study further („school effect" Coleman 1988). According to our hypothesis, immediately after graduating from primary school, these boys are going to apply for or attend a denominational school, present braver plans concerning their further education (due to the influence of religion, respectively to the school's atmosphere), and they will have more

[25] Our research will test this hypothesis too.

chances during their religious education to initiate contacts with scholars and intellectuals who have a stimulating effect both on pupils and their parents regarding the plans for further education. Thus, we think that within denominational schools we are able to find more equal gender proportion, than in non-denominational schools. Another hypothesis – in line with the former – deals with the fact that boys attending a denominational school have braver plans than girls concerning their future studies in higher education, compared to boys from non-denominational schools.

Our last hypothesis is based on Di Maggio's American research. According to DiMaggio (1982) cultural capital of girls attending high-schools is significantly higher than boys, so we expect the same result (**hypothesis of one's own (proper) cultural capital**). We could say that the school system was designed to serve girls, as far as girls are more hard working and more successful than boys. We've hypothesized that within high- schools of both sectors, girls read more, have more language certificates, participate in more competitions, have better school results than boys, and in most cases they also plan to continue – and for a longer time – their education in a university.

Previous research, research problem

The Regionális Egyetem research was a precedent of this one which was undertaken in the same region. Investigation took place among the AISZF (two years education after high- school graduation) and higher education (university, college) institutions on a sample of 1000-1500 cases between the years 2003-2006. Regarding gender differences, the investigation had the following results (Fényes 2006): 54 % of girls participated within AISZF-instruction, respectively 67% within higher education. Concerning AISZF-instruction, in the first year of higher education the male disadvantage hypothesis was fulfilled (boys arrive into a post secondary school education with better economic and cultural backgrounds than girls), however data-base concerning the fourth year of higher education revealed that boys were better situated than girls only regarding their economic background, so that – one can assume – the rational choice model was more appropriate in this regard[26]. Thus, the main question of the present research is how – concerning the probably under represented boys from denominational and non-denominational schools – the male disadvantage, respectively rational choice hypothesis is fulfilled. Meanwhile, we test also the sector influence, in other words one's own (proper) cultural capital hypothesis.

[26] In case of the fourth year students representing a previous generation (who entered the university in the first period of higher educational explosion) there were not any differences between the two genders regarding cultural background (parents' education) (for explanations see Fényes 2006).

Investigated variables

First of all, we investigated the decomposed data of the gender proportions according to school-types, then we turned towards investigating the socio-professional categories parents belong to. The latter is an important indicator of the cultural background of the parents' school qualifications, and – in spite of the missing data (25-30%) – we did investigations both in accordance with gender and school-type. It was followed by indicators of the so called "high culture", pupils' and their parents' reading habits[27] and then - after considering the type of locality of the permanent residence – we turned towards investigating the economic backgrounds. Economic background was measured with three indicators: the number of sisters/brothers; with a composite index concerning home-equipping with durable goods (this index measures the objective economic wealth: whether the family owns a private house, a car, a holiday home, a patch, a computer, DVD- and CD-players, Hi-Fi, mobile phone, or a dish-washer); and the third indicator (a subjective indicator) dealt with the fact whether the family lived better now than ten years before. The personal (proper) cultural capital – besides reading habits – was measured also through some success-indicators (language certificates, participation in several competitions, plans concerning further education, school achievements (averages)).

Results

Table 1: Gender-proportion, according to type of school

	Boys	Girls	N
Non-denominational	39.7%	**60.3%**	763
Denominational	40.4 %	**59.6%**	671

In this and further tables values in bold represent significantly higher values.

The relationship between gender and the type of school is not significant (Chi-square=0.794), meaning that there is no different boy-girl portion in the two sectors. Girls are over represented (60%) than boys within both schools, which means that the more religious attitude of those attending the denominational school, and the school atmosphere (Coleman 1988) did not make boys more daring; they do not apply for or attend denominational schools in a greater percentage. (So our hypothesis was not fulfilled.)[28] [29]

[27] We measure cultural background – according to Bourdieu (1998) – by the participation in "high culture" too.

[28] The 60% female majority is between the values brought by Regionális Egyetem research: AISZF –type education, and the university-type education (54% and 67%).

Parents' socio-professional status

Regarding the socio-professional status of fathers, as well as mothers', there is no significant difference between the boys' and girls', whether we are talking about denominational or non-denominational schools (we do not show data now)[30], and socio-professional status of parents from denominational and non-denominational schools (for details see Pusztai 2007).

Cultural capital

Firstly we took into consideration the school qualifications of the parents, which are important cultural variables. Because fathers' qualifications did not differ significantly according to the pupils' gender, in the following we present data concerning only the mothers' school qualifications[31].

Table 2: Mothers' education according to pupils' gender and type of school (%)

Mothers' education	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
Primary school	9.1%	7.4%	5.8%	9.7%
Industrial/trade school	16.8%	**24.5%**	19.1%	15%
Gymnasium	**26.8%**	21.2%	21.3%	21.9%
Vocational/technical school	20.9%	**28.8%**	28.9%	32.6%
College	**12.3%**	9.1%	11.6%	10.7%
University	**14.1%**	9.1%	13.3%	10%
N	220	364	225	319

Chi-square in the case of non-denominational schools at * level is significant (0.016), while in the case of denominational school is insignificant.

Regarding gender differences there was a single case when a significant difference was recognized: in the case of non-denominational girls,

[29] Here we do not investigate the gender based differences among pupils attending denominational common schools.

[30] Fathers and mothers differ regarding their occupation; among mothers there are more intellectuals, while among fathers there are more entrepreneurs and skilled workers.

[31] Parents' education according to sectors does not show significant difference, due to the fact that sampling took place according to some input variables which were similar (for details see Pusztai 2007).

mothers were less educated than in the case of non-denominational boys (according to the male disadvantage hypothesis). Among girls' mothers, there were mothers in a greater number who graduated only from an industrial/trade school or a vocational school, while in the case of boys' mothers, more of them have graduated from a secondary school, a college or a university. However, in the case of fathers there was no such significant difference. Thus, in relation to non-denominational schools, the male disadvantage hypothesis was partly fulfilled, but the cultural background of denominational pupils (parents' education) did not differ significantly regarding gender, so from this perspective the hypothesis was not valid.

Participation in "high culture" was measured through reading habits, both among pupils and their parents. As far as fathers' reading habits were concerned, they did not signal any significant difference in pupils' gender. Therefore only the reading habits of pupils and their mothers are presented below.

Table 3: Reading habits among pupils, according to gender and type of school (%)

Does he/she read	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
No	**14.5%**	2.7%	**15.2%**	4.3%
Very rare	**26.9%**	17%	**27.1%**	13.6%
Sometimes	37%	39.1%	38.3%	**45.1%**
Frequently	21.5%	**41.2%**	19.3%	**37%**
N	297	447	269	397

Chi-square in both cases at *** level (0.000) is significant.

Table 4: Reading habits among mothers, according to gender and type of school (%)

Does she read	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
No	5.8%	4.3%	3.8%	7%
Very rare	16.9%	18.9%	18.8%	18.3%
Sometimes	35.6%	**43.3%**	35.3%	37.4%
Frequently	**41.7%**	33.5%	42.1%	37.4%
N	295	439	266	388

Chi-square in the case of non-denominational schools is almost significant (0.074), in the case of denominational schools is insignificant.

Research revealed that mothers read more than fathers, while those who read the most were the pupils themselves – such a finding is analogous with previous research (regarding those attending higher education- see Fényes 2006); according to sectors there was not a great difference regarding the reading habits (see also Pusztai 2007).

Girls – in the case of both school types – read the most, according to other previous findings (e.g., Regionális Egyetem research – Fényes 2006, Kórodi & Herczegh 2006; Ifjúság 2000 research - Bauer & Tibori 2002). If we take a look at the average value of the considered variable[32], there is only a very little divergence in gender-differences in connection with school types. That means that girls in both sectors - in similar percentage - significantly read more. The hypothesis of one's own (proper) cultural capital in the case of reading habits was thus fulfilled.

Among parents there was a single significant difference in the case of gender: mothers of non-denominational boys read more, so non-denominational boys had a stronger cultural background (accordingly to the male disadvantage hypothesis). However, when considering fathers there was no difference. Such a finding was also instructive in other ways: the mothers of non-denominational boys were more educated.

[32] The averages (1: no, 2: very rare, 3: sometimes, 4: frequently): in the case of non-denominational boys is 2.66; non-denominational girls is 3.19; denominational boys is 2.62; denominational girls is 3.15.

Locality type of the place of residence

Table 5: Locality type of the permanent residence, according to gender and type of school (%)

Type of the locality	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
Capital city	1%	0.4%	0%	0.8%
County town	32.1%	32.1%	**37%**	25.6%
Town	32.1%	29.9%	20%	22.3%
Village	26.2%	27.5%	30.7%	**38.1%**
Homestead	8.6%	10%	12.2%	13.3%
N	302	458	270	399

Chi-square in the case of non-denominational schools is insignificant, in the case of non-denominational schools at * level (0.017) is significant.

Girls attending denominational schools predominantly lived in villages, while boys lived mostly in county towns (from this viewpoint the male disadvantage hypothesis seemed valid in the case of denominational schools). Boys attending denominational schools thus came from more favorable locality types and compared to girls they had to show more. However, in the case of non-denominational schools, as far as gender was concerned, there was not registered any significant difference in this regard.

Economic background

The first variable which measured the economic well-being was the number of brothers/sisters pupils had. Such aspect could have a great influence on the families' economic wealth.

Table 6: Number of brothers/sisters, according to pupils' gender and type of school

	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
Number of brothers/sisters (average)	2.07	2.19	2.14	**2.37**
N	264	406	244	358

The ANOVA test in the case of non-denominational pupils is not significant, while in the case of denominational pupils at **level (0.002) is significant.

Denominational girls had more brothers/sisters than denominational boys (the male disadvantage hypothesis was fulfilled), so a better economic wealth regarding these boys could be assumed; as long as boys had less brothers/sisters they did not have to share goods. Concerning non-denominational schools there was not a significant difference in the number of brothers/sisters when relying on pupils' gender.

Another indicator of the economic wealth was the one that considered whether families owned or not some durable goods (the variable could take values between 0-11 and represented the composite index of the families' possessions such as a car, a holiday home, a computer, etc.)

Table 7: The average values of the composite index concerning the ownership of several durable goods, according to gender and type of school

	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
Properties (average)	6.53	6.26	**6.58**	6.09
N	303	460	271	400

The ANOVA test in the case of non-denominational pupils is not significant, while in the case of denominational pupils at **level (0.003) is significant.

From this data, it was clear that denominational boys had a better objective economic well-being than denominational girls (the male disadvantage hypothesis was fulfilled), however in the case of non-denominational schools such a difference could not be detected.

A third indicator considered the subjective well-being of pupils (whether – based on evaluations carried out on parents– the family lived better now than 10 years ago).

Table 8: Average values of the variable 'Are you living better now, than 10 years ago?', according to gender and school types

	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
Subjective well-being indicator (average)	2.33	2.3	**2.32**	2.16
N	281	433	264	391

The ANOVA test in the case of non-denominational pupils is not significant, while in the case of denominational pupils at **level (0.007) is significant.

The subjective economic well-being variable's values showed a similar pattern to the indicators of objective well-being; denominational boys with a better objective well-being perceived their subjective wealth accordingly. In the case of non-denominational schools, both genders' subjective well-being – in line with the objective indicators – was similar.

Generally speaking, denominational boys had a significantly better economic background than girls, no matter if we were talking about subjective or objective indicators.

Successfulness (other indicators of personal (proper) cultural capital)

Other ways to measure cultural capital consist of the ownership of a language certificate, the participation in school competitions, the school results and plans concerning educational future. At the same time all these aspects are indicators of successfulness. Data in relation to gender, respectively school sectors are shown below:

Table 9: At least one language certificate, according to gender and type of school (%)

	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
Has a language certificate (%)	28.4 %	27.6%	24.4 %	31%
Does not have a language certificate (%)	71.6 %	72.4 %	75.6 %	69%
N	303	460	271	400

Chi-square in the case of denominational schools is almost significant (0.06), in the case of non-denominational schools is not significant.

Table 10: Participation in school competitions, according to gender and type of school (%)

	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
Has participated (%)	57.4 %	67.4 %	65.7 %	65 %
Has not participated (%)	42.6 %	32.6 %	34.3 %	35 %
N	303	460	271	400

Chi-square in the case of non-denominational schools at **level (0.005) is significant, in the case of denominational schools is not significant

It appears that girls had an advantage when language certificates and participation in school competitions were considered. In the case of denominational schools more girls than boys had a language certificate, while in the case of non-denominational schools more girls than boys participated in school competitions. Considering other aspects in this regard, there were not significant differences between the two genders[33]. The hypothesis concerning the greater cultural capital owned by girls was fulfilled.

Let's take a look now at pupils' plans regarding their further education:

Table 11: Plans regarding further education (educational future) according to gender and type of school

	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denominational boy	Denominational girl
Would like to attend higher education (%)	68.3 %	**84.1 %**	83.4 %	87.8 %
Does not have any plans (%)	31.7 %	15.9 %	16.6 %	12.3 %
Educational time at higher levels (average years)	2.89	**3.46**	3.57	3.52
N	303	460	271	400

Chi-square in the case of non-denominational pupils at ***level (0.000) is significant, while in the case of denominational schools is not significant. Considering the average years pupils plan to spend in higher education, the ANOVA test was not significant in the case of denominational pupils, while in the case of non-denominational pupils at ***level (0.000) it was significant; the value was 0, if pupils did not want to continue their education.

It seems like in the case of non-denominational schools girls had braver plans, more girls than boys wanted to continue their education, and also wanted to study in higher education for a longer period of time than boys. In the case of denominational schools, however, boys were more ambitious and their plans tended to equal with the plans of the girls. In other words, on this level of research the hypothesis considering sector-effect became valid, meaning that denominational schools appeared as some kind of pulling forces for boys concerning their plans to continue their education.

[33] The somewhat high averages were due to the fact that pupils from abroad were more active in participating in school competitions.

Let's take a look at school results (the average achievements in marks).

Table 12: Average school achievements (at the end of the 2004/2005 school year, respectively at the end of the first part of 2005/2006 school year), according to gender and type of school

	Non-denominational boy	Non-denominational girl	Denomination al boy	Denomination al girl
2004/2005 (average)	5.43	**5.74**	5.64	**6.2**
N	283	429	260	381
2005/2006 (average)	5.39	**5.8**	5.63	**6.06**
N	279	425	255	378

ANOVA tests at *level are significant.

The average school achievements, along the whole period considered, in the case of girls were significantly better than in the case of boys, appreciatively in the same manner within the two sectors (girls' average school achievements were forty percent better than boys'). (It is important to note is the fact that, in the regions outside of Hungary, school marks move between 1-10, and the final average is bigger than 5!).

Generally speaking - considering the whole range of the above mentioned successfulness indicators – girls were more successful than boys, so the school system looks as if it was 'designed for girls'.

Conclusions

In the following we will summarize the main results of our research (NS means the fact that according to gender the value of variables is insignificant).

Background variables	**Denominational schools**	***Non-denominational schools***
Parents' occupation	NS	*NS*
Cultural capital		
Father's education	NS	*NS*
Mother's education	NS	*Boys' mothers have higher education*
Does he/she read?	Girls read more	*Girls read more*
Does the father read?	NS	*NS*
Does the mother read?	NS	*Boys' mothers read more*
Locality type of the place of residence	Boys live in better localities	*NS*
Economic capital		
Number of brothers/ sisters	Boys have less brothers/sisters	*NS*
Property	Boys own more	*NS*
Subjective economic background	Boys have better subjective economic background	*NS*
Successfulness (cultural capital 2)		
Language certificate	More girls	*NS*
School competition	NS	*More girls*
Plans concerning further education	NS	*More girls*
Time spent in higher education	NS	*More girls*
School achievement (averages)	*Girls' is better*	*Girls' is better*

Results indicate that boys attending denominational schools have better economic backgrounds, live in better locality types than girls, while considering cultural backgrounds there are no differences according to gender. Albeit – in line with our hypothesis – regarding some indicators of one's own cultural capital (reading habits, language certificate, school

achievement (averages)) girls show better results than boys. In general, in the case of pupils from this sector, the male disadvantage hypothesis is only partially fulfilled (in the case of economic background it is fulfilled, however in the case of cultural background it is not fulfilled). It appears that boys attending denominational schools tend to behave rather analogous with the rational choice model, meaning that boys in minority (compared to girls) – even at secondary levels of education – if they arrive into a secondary or vocational school, have to show more than girls regarding their economic background; and those boys will continue their education who are better situated economically. (Girls, on the contrary, even with a worse economic background tend to continue their education within a secondary or vocational school.). As we've already assessed in a number of previous publications (Fényes 2006, Fényes & Pusztai 2006), these results are due to the fact that those boys with worse economic backgrounds compared to girls' continue their education in other educational institutes (industrial/trade schools), and unfortunately this fact constitutes a kind of blind alley regarding their educational future. Similar results were obtained in a previous research (Regionális Egyetem research – for results see Fényes 2006) in the case of fourth year university and college students, where boys also behaved according to the rational choice model.

In non-denominational schools, however, the situation is different. Here boys' mothers are better educated and read more than the mothers of girls, albeit there is not such a gender-based difference on the basis of economic backgrounds. The highly educated mothers probably encouraged their sons to enter (non-denominational) high-schools. The male disadvantage hypothesis is exactly the reverse that in the case of denominational schools: it can be proved that in the case of cultural background boys have to show more educated parents, however, it can not be proved in the case of economic background. Within non-denominational schools, minority boys have better cultural backgrounds than girls, however their economic backgrounds are similar to girls. Non-denominational schools stand as a case for a specific type of male disadvantage hypothesis – which was not signaled previously within the Regionális Egyetem research. In the present case the cultural reproduction model seems to be valid in relation to boys, differently from Bukodi's (1999, 2000) results, where such a phenomenon occurred only in relation to girls.

A further result concerns the fact that girls' cultural resources (reading habits), and some indicators of successfulness are significantly better than that of the boys (similarly with the findings of DiMaggio 1982 concerning the American case) both in the case of denominational and non-denominational high schools, as well as in the case of Regionális Egyetem research. Based on

such findings one could say that it seems the whole 'educational system had been designed for girls'.

The next hypothesis dealt with the sector-effect, according to which denominational schools' atmosphere exercises a kind of pulling effect on the minority boys from such schools (Coleman 1988), taking into consideration the fact that those applying to such a school are in general more religious (see Pusztai & Fényes (2004), will determine braver plans concerning further education from the part of denominational boys. Our research has not confirmed the hypothesis, boys from both sectors appreciatively with 40% were in minority among pupils. Denominational boys' economic backgrounds are better than girls, and along some aspects of cultural capital gender differences are more equalized within such schools compared to non-denominational ones. The sector –effect however is only valid regarding a single aspect: in the case of denominational schools girls' advantage regarding their plans for further education is not valid anymore, here boys are braver than in non-denominational schools and they want to continue their education in the same proportion and with similar time-spending activities as girls do, so that school has a kind of pulling effect in this regard.

Finally, regarding regionalism, we assume that **results** concerning gender-differences mentioned above can be generalized on the whole country. On the other hand, in some cases, it is expected that foreign institutions behave differently. Albeit such investigations are part of a different research.

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JÓZSEF PETE

SOME ASPECTS ON CHOICE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH-WESTERN REGION OF HUNGARY – CASE STUDY[34]

Bases

The study – with the appropriation of the statistical data of Nagy Lajos Secondary School of the Cistercian Order (Pécs) – tries to reveal some regional and social aspects of denominational education and to survey them from a geographical point of view on the turn of the millennium.[35]

Cultural Geography, Geography of Education, Geography of Religion

Education – and within this denominational education – is part of culture. The geographical aspects of it are studied by Cultural Geography. "It is unnecessary to study the systems of relationship of religion and culture, but it is important to examine how the single religions affect culture" (Trócsányi & Tóth 2002:75-76). In this respect, the most significant role lies on the school maintenance activity of the single denominations. Also as the continuation of historical traditions of more centuries, by the year of 2002, 5% of the educational institutions have been maintained by churches and denominations. The number of students educated there was about 8% (Trócsányi & Tóth 2002). This is true for our days as well. Out of the 7240 educational institutes there are only 354 denominational schools, which means 4.88% (KIR, 2007).

From the view point of Geography of Education we can state that churches and denominations have not become significant role players of the market of school maintainers at any areas of the country. The rate of the denominational schools is the highest in Pest, Bács-Kiskun and Békés counties and in Budapest. This is also in connection with religious heterogeneity (Császár 2004, Pusztai 2004).

Examining the problem from the aspect of Geography of Religion we can see that only 10% of the more than 130 registered churches and

[34] I owe thanks to Peter Pava school director for his help to make this study. He gave me free run of statistical and entrance questioners' data.

[35] Data without source come from official school statistics and questionnaire results. See downward.

denominations maintain schools. This is the reason why the rates of denominations and the schools maintained by churches differ in a significant sense – both on the level of country and counties (see Table 1). However, the analysis of this is not the task of this study.

Table 1: The rate of educational institutions by counties, 2007 (%)

County	**Catholic**	**Reformed**	**Evangelical**	**Other**	***Altogether***
Bács-Kiskun	45.83	45.83	4.17	4.17	7.64
Baranya	71.43	14.29	0.00	14.29	4.78
Békés	31.25	31.25	37.50	0.00	6.58
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	54.17	37.50	4.17	4.17	4.36
Csongrád	46.15	53.85	0.00	0.00	4.78
Fejér	50.00	40.00	10.00	0.00	3.25
Győr-Moson-Sopron	70.59	0.00	23.53	5.88	4.47
Hajdú-Bihar	23.53	70.59	0.00	5.88	5.00
Heves	90.91	9.09	0.00	0.00	3.94
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	15.38	84.62	0.00	0.00	5.75
Komárom-Esztergom	90.91	9.09	0.00	0.00	4.20
Nógrád	80.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	2.75
Pest	52.83	33.96	11.32	1.89	7.03
Somogy	66.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	3.15
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	50.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	3.50
Tolna	66.67	16.67	16.67	0.00	4.05
Vas	76.92	0.00	23.08	0.00	5.26
Veszprém	66.67	20.00	13.33	0.00	5.08
Zala	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.71
Budapest	54.10	19.67	9.84	16.39	5.16
Whole	*55.65*	*29.38*	*9.89*	*5.08*	*4.89*

(KIR, 2007)

Some features of education in the research area

Concerning the educational institution endowment in the South-Western region of Hungary – it is seemingly in a bad position: at the end of the row. According to the number of educational institutions per thousand inhabitants we get a value above average. (This must be due to the structure of settlements in this region.) (KSH 2007, KIR 2007) As for the denominational education, the situation is somewhat different: the rate of denominational schools is 4%, which does not reach the nationwide rate (which is 4.8%) (KIR 2007).

At the beginning of the 2000s, 41% of the secondary schools were in Baranya, 32% in Somogy and 27% in Tolna (Reisz 2005). Today we can find 39% of the secondary schools in Baranya, 34% in Somogy and 27% in Tolna. 16% of the secondary schools are maintained by churches and denominations, which rate equals with the nationwide ones (KIR 2007). In the 1990s the number of secondary schools increased with 57% nationwide. In this region this tendency could be observed especially in Baranya (see Table 2). In spite of this, the rate of students going to secondary schools overran the nationwide rate only in Baranya. The demand and supply of secondary education in Baranya is higher than the nationwide rate. This means that students coming from other counties are welcome in the secondary schools of Baranya, which is in accordance with the high rate of students who live in students' hostels (Császár 2004). On the basis of all the above mentioned, it is perhaps not surprising that the educational qualification of the habitants of this region is under the average.

Table 2: Some indexes of secondary school education in the South-Western region of Hungary, 1995-2001

Area	Number of Secondary Schools		Number of Secondary School Students	
	1995/96	2000/01	1995/96	2000/01
Baranya	*18*	*20*	*5879*	*7850*
Somogy	*14*	*19*	*3657*	*4530*
Tolna	*12*	*16*	*3082*	*4260*
South- Western region of Hungary	*44*	*55*	*12898*	*16640*
Hungary	*475*	*615*	*164203*	*178500*

(Csernyák & Csizmazi & Süpöl & Olbrich 2004)

Some features of the educational situation of Baranya

As the educational scope of secondary schools is on county level, from the point of view of the study, to show some features of the educational situation of Baranya was found practical, too.

In the county there were 292 educational institutions in 2007. From these, 14 (4.79%) were maintained by churches and denominations. In Pécs there were 89 institutions (34% of the educational institutions of the county). From these, 7 (7.8%) were of denominational schools (KIR 2007).

The number of secondary schools in the county increased from 43 to 81 between 1990 and 2003. In Pécs the number of secondary schools increased from 31 to 59. Concerning the secondary schools which offer final exams, the number of them in the county increased from 30 to 62 between 1988 and 2003, in the meantime their number increased from 23 to 46 in Pécs. In spite of this the rate of schools in Pécs decreased from 76% to 74%. In the same period, the rate of the students who learned in institutions offering final exams increased from 55% to 75% (Reisz 2005). We have to note, however, that the schools maintained by funds and denominations "could not really change the composition of maintainers. That is to say the emergence of the so called alternative kind of schools made a more pluralistic school structure, but the spread of the schools maintained by funds and denominations does not reach such a high level that it could significantly form the extant school network" (Reisz 2005:28).

The territorial and social background of the students of Nagy Lajos Secondary School of the Cistercian Order

Starting point, hypotheses, methods

The school – which stands under the authority of the Abbey of Zirc of the Cistercian Order officially from 1993 – is the largest denominational educational institution in the South-Western region of Hungary. This is why it can be convenient to model some aspects of the denominational educational processes of the South-Western region of Hungary. In the present study the following hypotheses were examined: (1) In the last few years the territorial features of the students changed, the rate of the out-of-town students increased. (2) Parallel with that, the social composition of the students changed, too. (3) Subsequently, the institution opens a mobilization channel also for the disadvantaged students.

Through the survey two types of data sources were used. One is the habitation lists from the school year of 1995/96, 2000/01 and 2005/06. The

other is the in-advance schooling data of the school year of 2007 (a questionnaire made by the school for entering students). The selection of the time-sections is due to the following factors: the beginning date represents almost the whole cross section of the denominational school; the five year intervals decrease the distortion to the minimum coming from the overlaps of each student. The mainstream of the schooling data comes from the personal questionnaires of the applying students. As for defending personal data, the names from both sources of data were dropped out.

The results of the territorial survey

The territorial distribution of the students showed a strong concentration in the last decade. On the level of region and county this meant the doubtless dominance of South-Western region of Hungary and within it, that of Baranya (see Table 3).

At the level of small area we can see similar tendencies. In the beginning, the dominant areas were the Pécs, Mohács and Szekszárd area. From further regions came those students who lived in larger settlements. According to the rate of inhabitants, Pécs leads, then come Tamási and Pécsvárad, and after them are Mohács and Sellye (see Table 4).

Table 3: The county-wide distribution of the student between the school years of 1995/1996 and 2005/2006

Area	*The number of the students*			*The rate of the students (%)*		
	1995/96	*2000/01*	*2005/06*	*1995/96*	*2000/01*	*2005/06*
Baranya	463	616	680	82.09	88.25	88.54
Somogy	23	30	30	4.08	4.30	3.91
Tolna	71	42	41	12.59	6.02	5.34
Dél-Dunántúl	557	688	751	98.76	98.57	97.79
Bács-Kiskun	3	5	5	0.53	0.72	0.65
Fejér	1	1	10	0.18	0.14	1.30
Zala	2	3	1	0.35	0.43	0.13
Other	1	1	1	0.18	0.14	0.13
Whole	*564*	*698*	*768*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*

The picture changed a bit in the school year of 2000/01. After Pécs, Mohács and Siklós came Pécsvárad and Komló. The leader role of Baranya and Pécs was more unambiguous. According to the rate of the inhabitants

among students, Pécsvárad and Sellye, then Tamási and Mohács less overrepresented than Pécs (see Table 5).

In the school year of 2005/06 the sequence is: Pécs, Mohács, Szigetvár, Pécsvárad, Komló. According to the rate of the inhabitants: Pécsvárad (!), Pécs, Mohács, Sásd, Szigetvár, Tamási (see Table 6).

According to the size of the settlements – after Pécs, which represents the city in every time-section – the categories of large village (most of them obtained the rank of city) and small village are the most significant in accordance with the settlement structure of the territory (see Figure 1 in Appendix). The number of the settlements is relatively stable (117 or 118). They are of 206 settlements of the region.

The rate of city Pécs constantly decreased: from 53% to 51% and then to 48%. In parallel with this the rate of the day-boys and those who live in students' hostels increased. This tendency in not unknown, it coincides with general processes. The development strategy of the schools of the county center aims at the raising of the number of students from the rural areas (Reisz 2005). The interest of the rural area, however, concerning the new towns, is antagonistic.

From the above data we can draw the conclusion that this secondary school is becoming open to rural areas, and so it fills a kind of culture-mission. But can we view this whole procedure as the "smaller version" of brain-drain in a global sense, during which the institution attracts the children of more enterprising and innovative social strata? The answer can be given by the following sociological surveys.

Table 4: Rate numbers of students by small areas in the school year of 1995/96

		BY THE RATE OF THE INHABITANTS		
		high	***middle***	***low***
PERCENT	***high***	*Pécs, Mohács, Tamási, Sásd*	*Szekszárd, Siklós*	
	middle	*Pécsvárad, Sellye*	*Komló, Szigetvár, Bonyhád, Dombóvár, Barcs, Siófok, Paks*	
	low		*Lengyeltóti, Nagyatád*	*Baja, Kalocsa, Dunaújváros, Csurgó, Fonyód, Kaposvár, Tab, Keszthely, Zalaszentgrót*

Table 5: Rate numbers of students by small areas in the school year of 2000/01

		BY THE RATE OF THE INHABITANTS		
		high	***middle***	***low***
PERCENT	***high***	*Pécs, Mohács, Siklós, Pécsvárad, Sellye, Szigetvár*	*Komló, Bonyhád*	
	middle	*Sásd, Tamási*	*Fonyód*	*Szekszárd*
	low	*Lengyeltóti*	*Barcs, Marcali, Nagyatád*	*Baja, Jánoshalma, Kalocsa, Békéscsaba, Dunaújváros, Siófok, Dombóvár, Paks, Keszthely, Nagykanizsa*

Table 6: Rate numbers of students by small areas in the school year of 2005/06

		BY THE RATE OF THE INHABITANTS		
		high	***middle***	***low***
PERCENT	***high***	*Pécs, Mohács, Szigetvár, Pécsvárad, Komló, Sásd*	*Dombóvár, Siklós*	
	middle	*Tamási, Sellye*	*Barcs, Sárbogárd, Bonyhád*	
	low		*Csurgó, Fonyód, Marcali, Nagyatád*	*Baja, Mór, Siófok, Paks, Szekszárd, Zirc, Keszthely*

Social composition of the students

The examination of the social situation of the students was based on a secondary analysis of 109 applicant students' questionnaires. The sample is not complete, however, on a macro level it represents the main territorial rates well (88% are from Baranya, 98% are from South-Western region of Hungary). At the level of small areas, the sample does not seem to be representative. 39% of the sample are boys, 47% of them have a close relative (parent, grandparent or sibling) who went to this secondary school some years ago. The denominational distribution does not follow the nationwide rates. 91% of them are Catholic, 6% are Reformed, 2% are Evangelical and 1% belongs to other Christian denomination. There are no applicants who do not belong to any denominations. Perhaps this shows more of the choice of the applicants than that of the school.

With the help of the questionnaire the social background of the applicants were examined in three dimensions: by the profession and the qualification of the parents, and the size of the family.

6.7% of the fathers and 10.1% of the mothers had no professions – due to different reasons (death, pension, unemployment or being "professional mothers"). 55% of the men and 90% of the women who had jobs worked in the third sector.[36]

[36] Inside the whole population this was 42% and 73% in 2001.

6.2% of the fathers and 85% of the mothers graduated from high school. This is in accordance with the nationwide data of 2000.[37] By nominal sense, however, it exceeds and will exceed the nationwide rate (Imre 2006). 44% of the fathers and 53% of the mothers had college or university degrees.

8% of the applicants had no brothers or sisters, 38% of them, however, lived in big families (Pusztai 2004). Regarding the entire population, the number of children per woman is 1.48, in this sample it is 2.52.[38]

Instead of a summary

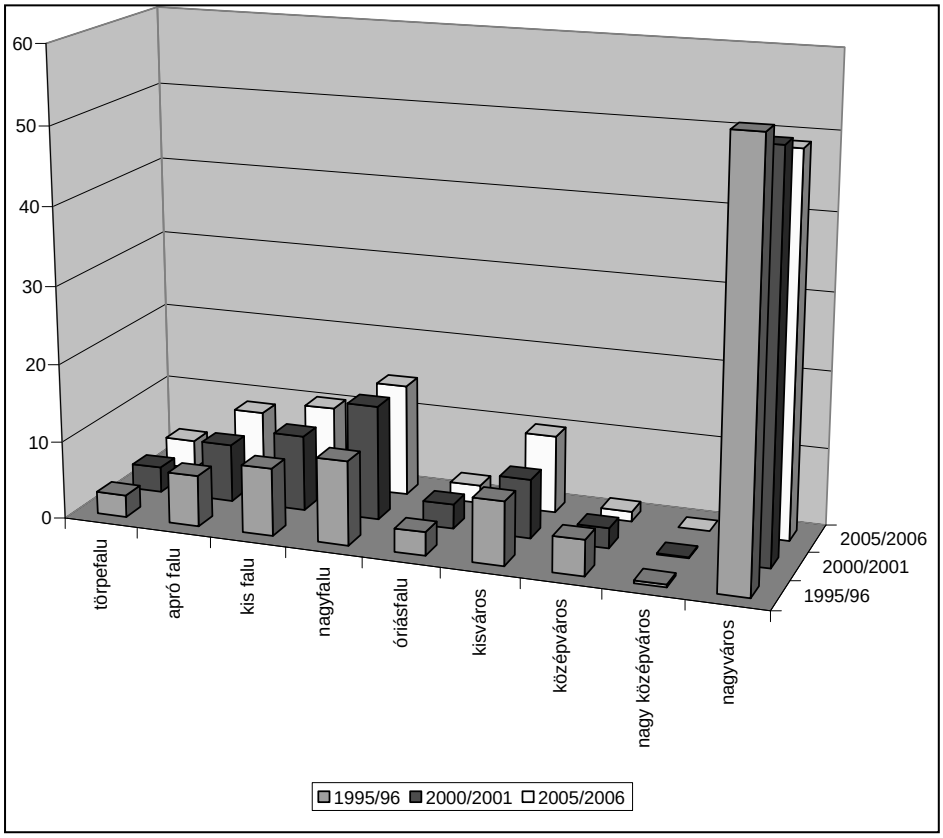
On the basis of the above incomplete data, we cannot draw far-reaching consequences concerning the students' social background. The indexes seem to confirm that the investigated school, similarly to other secondary schools, offer education for the children of those parents who are well-trained and have a higher social status. It is still not clear what sorts of mobility are offered for the inhabitants of the disadvantaged small areas. However, it is obvious that in the last one and a half decades there was a change in the markings of the students' habitations into the direction of the rural students. This resulted in the change of the social composition of the students as well. All in all, we can state that the investigated denominational institution dominantly takes pupils from rural, Catholic milieus and from big families, which means that these pupils are probably disadvantaged from a local and economic point of view.

[37] In 2000 59.7% of the fathers and 70.9% of the mothers of secondary school students had at least final exams (Imre 2006).

[38] The questionnaire asked only the number of brothers and sisters. It did not ask the half- and the stepbrothers or the dead brothers.

APPENDIX

Figure 1: The rate of students by the size of settlements from the school year 1995/96 to 2005/06 (%)



"Törpefalu": small village with less than 500 inhabitants

"Aprófalu": small village with less than 1000 inhabitants

"Kisfalu": small village with about 1000-2000 inhabitants

"Nagyfalu": large village with 2000-5000 inhabitants

"Óriásfalu": large village with 5000-10000 inhabitants

"Kisváros": small town with 10000-25000 inhabitants

"Középváros": "middle town" with 25000-50000 inhabitants

"Nagy középváros": "large middle town": 50000-100000 inhabitants

"Nagyváros": city with 100000-250000 inhabitants

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JUDIT SZEMKEŐ

EDUCATION IN SOME DENOMINATIONAL VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOLS IN HUNGARY

Several articles can be read about the problems of vocational training and about the situation of the pupils attending these schools. On the other hand, there must be a vision on protecting pupils against the dangers of drugs and crime. Can a new structure of vocational training system result in an appropriate change by creating new training centers in the regions? Can the pupils have better professional results by attending schools for a longer time?

We must face the causes of the problems that can be met in the field of vocational training. One of the most important questions is whether the young people can get enough help for developing values and character of their own or not. When the adult world does not provide meaningful markers, young people tend to create their own. In many schools it happens that the oldest students intimidate and bully the younger ones. Some other current youth-created markers include joining a gang, doing drugs, binge drinking, dropping out of school, teenage pregnancy, breaking the law and spending time in jail (Elbot 2002:62.). Some features of the Denver situation can be seen already in Hungary (Bauer & Szabó 2004), first of all in the vocational training schools, as many students of these institutes start with cumulative disadvantages. In spite of the problems mentioned above, it is very important that - according to the researches on the wishes of the young people in Hungary (Bauer & Szabó 2004, Kopp & Skrabski 1995) – on the top of the list for young people are: to have a family of their own, to have children and a job.

The disadvantages of the students of vocational training schools are rooted in the fruitless years spent in the family before attending school. The vocational training schools must meet the fact that they are at the bottom of the social hierarchy, that there is loss of value in the field of respecting professions, and the rate of unemployment is increasing (Liskó 2001). The schools reproduce the social handicap even if they do their best (Bourdieu 2006). Teachers must face the growing expectation of the global economy and the decreasing knowledge and interest of their students of the training schools, students with emotional and social baggage that militates against a focus on learning. At their best, schools have the capacity to enhance success in transitions to adulthood through the acquisition of literacy in a commonly spoken language, the transmission of knowledge, means to sustain health, pro-social values, citizenship knowledge and skills adding to the vocational

skills. The schools usually do not have enough possibilities for character and moral education, as they are neutral institutes, and the schools have no common and declared norms which could be demanded.

We try to show a special possibility of character education in some denominational vocational training schools in Hungary. These schools were founded by the Kolping Association in Hungary after 1990. They have a mission to help the young people with disadvantages and to give them both character education and skills. We have made interviews in all the schools (Szemkeő 2005). These schools are in Szekszárd, Pét, Esztergom, Gyöngyös, Nagybajom. All these schools were investigated by the Catholic Pedagogic Institute. We could use the results of the complex control. Two of these schools have given us the statistics of their own, based on the questionnaires filled out by their students. The statements on denominational vocational training schools of this article are based on these documents and interviews.

Where do the students of these denominational schools come from?

About 5% of the parents have a degree from a university. About one third of the parents (father or mother) are entrepreneurs from lower strata, who want to avoid unemployment. About 11% of the students do not want to say anything about the mother, 19% do not know the educational level of the father. The unemployment rate among the parents is very high. About one third of the fathers are unemployed, another 40-45% has no permanent possibility for work. It seems that these families are victims of the changes in Hungary after 1990. Only a few families have more than 100 books. About two thirds of the students live together with their parents, about one third of them have no traditional family background. Comparing the family backgrounds to the ones of the non-denominational vocational training schools, there are no special features in the statistics.

What marks are important in the work of denominational vocational training schools?

Schools, mostly vocational training schools are more involved than ever in the consequences of children who appear to be without direction and without hope. Denominational vocational training schools we have examined, aim to provide goals, faith and direction to their students. These denominational schools try to give a soulful education to satisfy the spiritual hunger of their students. Based on their spiritual and emotional hunger of the students, the teachers invite them to a journey from securing social acceptance in early adolescence to developing authentic identity by late adolescence. First of all, they try to give them opportunities for success, success in their inside social life and in practice. Teachers, the trainers of practice have a special and very important role in these schools. They can build out relationships with the students best. They have the opportunity for

discussing with them even the problems of everyday life during the practice. These trainers receive special trainings, special meetings to get to know new methods. These schools have recognized that the duty of socio-emotional development of adolescents can have negative impact on educators not trained to help facilitate the development of healthy adolescent and young identities. Usually, twice a year, the teachers, trainers of these schools can meet, they take part in trainings and have possibility for interchanging ideas. They can really invite the students to a journey where the individual gradually moves from the gratification of social approval to the more enduring satisfaction of self-approval by results in practice and human connections.

School community plays a more important role in the life and social-emotional development of the students with disadvantages. The spiritual surroundings have simple but unambiguous marks, for instance, in one of the schools the practice room, where the students are mostly handicapped has the name, "our treasury." The name of the students' hostel is "House to get familiarized." They help to explore the relationship between ritual, spirit and community. The teachers try to find new forms for supporting and problem solving. Christian faith plays a very important role on human dignity, it educates the character of the students. Some features which are very important for the employers too, are in the middle of character education in these schools. These are trustfulness, punctuality, responsibility and discipline. These features help them even to find a job.

There are also gipsy students in these schools. No one asks them of their ethnic origin. These schools have very good results in helping gipsy students to get a certificate, to even attend a university. It corresponds with the results of another research conducted in Budapest. In the research, pupils were asked about their nationality and the minority they belong to. Some of the gipsy pupils answered: "I am a Catholic," instead of "I'm a gipsy pupil." "It could be a good possibility to decrease the strained relations between the Hungarian people and the gipsy minority if the Church could play an active role in it" (Forray & Hegedűs 2003:209).

School system, even the vocational training system reflects the structure of the social system. It is a very important tool in reproducing social structures. This way, we can try to apply the theories on the social structures for the school system as well. To compare the denominational and other vocational training schools, we can examine the role of education and the results in this field. One of the models of the reproduction of social structures was described by Luhmann and further developed by Habermas (Habermas 2000). This theory underlines the necessity of consensus even in the field of educational orientation. According to this theory, the lack of orientation results in anomy, joining gangs, psychoneuroses, the orientation based on

consensus results man of poise, give resources of authentic living. The special role of denominational schools is the possibility of having declared orientation, which is a good tool for education in case the students accept the goals based on the orientation.

Denominational schools have receptive features (Pusztai 2004) in Hungary, thus they can play a very important role even in character education, which is typically the province of elementary and middle schools (Elbot 2002) satisfying the spiritual hunger of the youth with disadvantages, if they could accept the aims and goals of these schools. The importance of educating the teachers to take part in the process of supporting and problem solving, and real community in schools must be emphasized.

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ÁGNES BARTA

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE UKRAINIAN CHILD CARE SYSTEM AFTER THE TRANSITION

This article reviews the progress of child welfare reforms in Ukraine, more precisely in Transcarpathia. It is a well-known fact that after the fall of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, changes have taken place in the political, social and economic structure of each country. In this transition the child care system was also inevitably affected by socio-economic developments. In Ukraine, just as in all neighbouring post-socialist countries, the social changes and transformations that took place at the beginning of the 1990s, also led to changes in the social situation of children, setting new challenges to child welfare systems.

In broad terms, child protection has in its scope those children that are in an endangered situation because of their social, emotional or any other deprivations, needing a higher degree of financial aid, attention and help.

There are very different and manifold levels in the child welfare system, altogether known in Western literature as 'the ecology of child welfare.' This broad term refers to the different levels of the natural and social environment, culture, community, family, interpersonal and intrapersonal relations.

Based on UNO's Declaration of Children's Rights, child protection can be split into two big fields:

Preventive child welfare: the goal of prevention is to help the child's family and then the child within its own family. It means quick reaction in case of upcoming problems, fact-finding and setting of alarm signals, so that intervention and help can be delivered in time and the child would not suffer any losses.

Problem-solving child welfare: with this term we refer to the point in time when the child is for some reason taken out of its family and transferred into institutionalised child protection of some sort (Strauszné 1997).

There are also so-called secondary preventive measures, which are meant to prevent serious cases in which the child has to be separated from its family.

By child welfare we mean those social-political measures that are an expression of society's common responsibility for the bringing up of children.

Social responsibility plays a major role in the context of the decentralised restructuring of child welfare: here we are talking about splitting up the former centralised, exclusively state-funded and state-managed institutional system and setting up new forms of provision and care. The notion of decentralisation, as used in present study, also includes another element of the change that is taking place in child protection, i.e., a change in the system's supporting structure – the appearance in the social political subsystem of what is broadly called 'non-governmental organisations.'

Research methods

(1) Analysing documents (documents at different levels of regulation, statistics, foundation documents, etc); (2) Examining the Ukrainian special literature used in training courses. (3) Fieldwork, studies and interviews with institute managers, helpers, child welfare experts. (4) Data comprised within a very recent survey of the UNICEF's Innocenti Research Centre, called Innocenti Social Monitor. It is the third annual Social Monitor and it was published on 2004. We also took some more detailed information from the Yearbooks of the Ukrainian Central Statistical Offices.

For the analysis of our chosen topic, we relied on specialised literature, on statistical data and on our professional experience in child welfare institutions, thus using not only secondary findings but also our own research material.

In our study we would like to explore a less known field of interest, i.e., the role of the church in the protection of children's rights and the church social security system. Our aim is to emphasize some relevant points of the child welfare system and of the protection of children's rights. Furthermore, we will investigate the structure of state and church-funded child care institutions, respectively.

Present study reviews the current state of institutional child care in the region, and analyzes the effects of decentralisation on the child welfare system after the fall of Communism. Decentralisation in this form has two important aspects. First it means that the state-managed children's homes are closed. The second aspect of decentralisation is that the non-governmental actors appear in the child welfare system. The role of the churches is most important in Transcarpathia following the change of regime in 1989, since the first ten years of political transition were characterised by a restructuring of the economy accompanied by crisis periods. At the beginning of the 1990s, the child protection system in Ukraine was one of the worst in Eastern Europe. At this juncture the first missionary organisation started their work in the region.

The social and political changes led to the reform of social policy on various levels, both in Ukraine and Transcarpathia. On the one hand this was a reaction to the deficiencies of the system, on the other hand it was caused by the new social problems arising parallel to the change of regime and also by the changes connected to the economic reform and the new labour market. The crisis in social policy influenced its sub-sets as well and led to a new attitude to child welfare, resulting in its sudden development. The countries joining the UNO Declaration of Children's Rights started to make efforts to decentralise the state-governed child welfare system. It is widely known that until 1989 the state had played an important role in the regulation of the whole system, in social programmes, in administration and also in services. In the division of labour that had historically developed in social policy there had also been church and civil organisations taking various important roles in providing social services in the first half of the 20th century. Now the change of regime made it possible again for the organisations in this region to take an active part in reviving their activities interrupted for several decades. After 15 years following the fall of the communist regime we can finally say that the reform of the child welfare system does not depend on the state exclusively, though, there are still great demands on the state. However, locals, non-profit organisations, churches, national and international organisations are assuming more and more responsibility in this process of change.

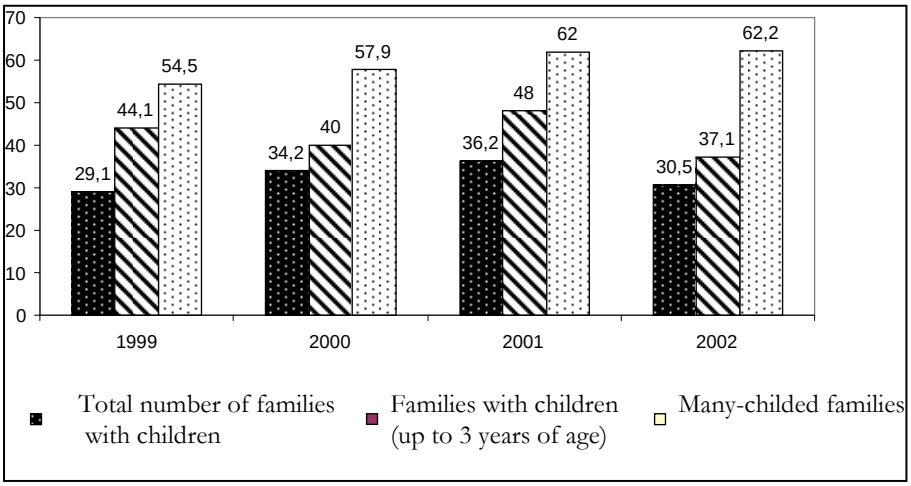
The new legal framework allows for the development of the pluralist child welfare system. However, there are serious problems caused by the introduction of new services because according to research the number of children growing up separated from their families is extremely high. Thus social policy and family welfare policy play a special role in developing basic services to prevent children from being transferred into specialised institutions.

Ukraine, as one of the successor states of the USSR, shows individual development as regards its social policy. The change of regime in the early 1990s also brought democracy for Ukraine. The reconstruction of social organisations, the activity of churches and other non-profit organisations is a good example of the change. As civil organisations generally aim at solving problems or social needs, there is really great need for these organisations in the new social, economic and political situation.

Research carried out among Ukraine's population in 2002 shows that the level of poverty has decreesed in all types of families except in those with many children. Many-childed families are the ones most seriously threatened by poverty. 94% of these families live below the poverty line, in 1/3 of them

the daily calory intake remains below 2100. Thus this family type is most intensively in need of state support.

Chart 1: The extent of poverty in different family types



Aid for children of many-childed families takes the form of donations in kind, in the first place (free meals, clothing, school stationery, free admittance to cultural and sports facilities) (Makarova 2004)

The want in state funding and the degrading of the protective function of the social netting has urged the state to look upon families with children as prioritised social target groups. As a result, support of families with children has increased between 1992 and 2002 as regards its nominal value and also on the basis of price calculations from 1999 (data taken from social security organisations). The average amount per individual has more than doubled in this period.

Nowadays, research on social tendencies clearly shows that the most vulnerable social group is that of children. Here are some of the facts that underline this tendency:

(1) There is an increase in diseases and mortality within the child population, and a tendency toward degradation of their health. According to research carried out by Zavgorodnya T.K., Lisenko N.V., Mazsec D.K. and Stuparik B.M., 2002., around 60% of pre-school-aged children in Ukraine suffer from somatic and psychic diseases. Most striking of these are instances of psycho-neurotic diseases (328.800) and illnesses of the neurotic and sense organ systems (1.3 million). Approximately 10% of school-aged children are not fit for the school.

(2) Poverty of families belonging to the lower social strata, mostly the many-childed families and those with handicapped children.

(3) The situation of orphans has been an ever-increasing social problem. There are around 90.000 children who were either orphaned or transferred into institutionalised child care as a result of lacking parental support. Approx. 7% of these children are fully orphaned (Zavgorodnya T.K. & Lisenko N.V. & Mazsec D.K. & Stuparik B.M., 2002). In order to solve this problem, the Ukrainian government has drafted a bill targeting a decrease in the number of social orphans, the biggest challenge facing the social security system of the country now being the huge number of children living off the streets. These children are taken to state foster homes that can hardly live up the/their roles as socially protective institutions. This is why the state would like to prioritise on strengthening basic child welfare services that would work as preventive actions aimed at helping children under age being brought up within their families.

(4) The increase in criminality among minors largely due to the difficult financial situation of families, due to lacking parental support, or other factors such as alcohol, tobacco or drug misuse.

(5) The quality of children's education has deteriorated greatly.

The problems outlined above can largely be attributed to the social-economic crisis facing Ukraine. Providing for children's and families' welfare has become a serious issue since the change of regime of 1989. Thus the problem of children's social and legal protection is one of the biggest priorities of Ukrainian politics.

Child welfare in Ukraine

Topic: The role of historical churches in the Transcarpathian child welfare system

In this research we aim at drawing a picture of the child welfare system in Transcarpathia, focusing on the role taken up by the different historical churches.

Laws regulating the churches' child welfare activity

The Ukrainian Constitution (Article 35)

Article 35 of the Constitution clearly states: "The Church and religious organisations in Ukraine are separated from the State, and the school from the Church. No religion shall be recognised by the State as mandatory."

The Law on Conscience and Freedom of Religion (Paragraph 5)

All religions and religious organisations are equal before the law. It is prohibited by law to favour one or the other religion or religious organisation over the others. Educational work in schools is independent of the influence of any social or religious institution.

The proposal entitled 'Meeting people' (passed on 02/04/2005)

The State has to cooperate with religious organisations, but at the same time be independent of the church. The State has to guarantee for equal possibilities for all churches. Churches cannot be insulted upon or discriminated against. It is the State's mission to make the historical churches interested in taking up activity in the social sector."

Law 2402/III on child welfare passed in 2001 and its ammendment of 25/03/2005

The child welfare system incorporates state and non-governmental organisations set up to protect children in order to grant a fully-lived life for them, provide them with many-sided education, help their physical, moral and mental development, and work for the protection of their rights. Besides the state, civil organisations, charities, religious organisations, citizens can also take part in child protection, if their utmost aim is to improve the situation of children. A further goal is building a complex child protection system, tutoring the children and young people left in the care of the state, and developing a foster parent network. The State undertakes to help the work of civil and religious organisations, of individuals working in child welfare, and grant them benefits within legal limits, e.g. through tax and customs allowances.

The legal regulation of the Ukrainian non-governmental sector can in its present state be described as follows:

Positive features: (1) Has broadened the responsibility of local authorities in the development of local social policies, thus working toward the setting up of child welfare and other social institutions in the third sector. (2) Has declared the responsibility of individuals, families and local communities. (3) Makes it possible for religious organisations to enter the non-governmental social provision system, thus breaking with the theory and practice of previous decades.

Negative features: (1) Parallel to the principle of sector neutrality, there is a lack of state normative; without this, it is highly questionable how many percent of civil organisations can actively partake in assuming duties normally performed by the state. (2) Legal regulation is not complex enough; there have been no cumulative laws passed on social security, child protection and non-profit-

making activity either. The Constitution and different laws treat the topic separately.

Preliminaries to the research

Research of the Transcarpathian child welfare system in 2000/2001 and 2005/2006.

Part of the research constitutes: (1) Analysis of the Ukrainian child welfare system relying on special literature and statistical data. (2) Introduction to the legal background connected to the topic (3) Field work (in 8 institutions maintained by the state and 5 institutions maintained by the church)

Experiences gained during field work

(1) State institutions

The state-maintained child welfare system is facing serious malfunctions both in Ukraine and in Transcarpathia: (1) These institutions were established 50 or 60 years ago, thus they need to be reformed as they cannot fulfill their function any longer. (2) The conditions of privacy cannot be met because of the over-crowdedness in these institutions. (3) Looking after children with special needs is the most critical point. (4) The institutions are closed, difficult to access even because of their geographical position. (5) There is a lack of specialists.

(2) Children's homes maintained by the church

(1) Financial support from abroad makes it possible to supply the personnel and the means of activity. (2) The institutions are modern. (3) Children's interests are highlighted. (3) There has been a change of attitude toward handicapped children.

The present child welfare activities of the different historical churches in Transcarpathia

(1) The child welfare activities of the Roman Catholic Church

Founding of 8 nursery schools, 11 Caritas centres, 5 children's homes, one rehabilitation centre for children and 5 community centres by the Franciscan Mission, starting the 'Families for Families' movement and organising the 'Light and Faith' community. (a) Organising training courses in order to prevent the formation of any deviancy, running of information services. (b) Founding of social centres, dressmaker's salons and mini bakeries to promote social development. (c) Providing free meals, medication and clothes on a regular basis

(2) The activities taken up by the Reformed Church in the area

(a) Children's homes and centres established together with the help of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands. (b) Efficient cooperation with civil organisations (e.g. Dorcas Foundation). (c) Supporting many-childed families and families with handicapped children. (d) Establishing a network of foster parents

The main activities of child welfare supported/ maintained by the church

(1) Facilities supplied in preventive child welfare

(a) Strenghtening the creche and nursery school system. (b) Providing help aimed at preventing families from getting endangered (e.g. family allowance, keeping in touch with families at a disadvantage, free time activities, organising day nurseries) and providing special facilities (e.g. childcare at home)

(2) Facilities supplied in problem-solving child welfare

(a) Network of foster parents. (b) Establishing residential homes. (c) Special children's homes. (d) Early Development Centres (e) Following care

In our presentation we have examined the role of the Transcarpathian historical churches in the field of child welfare by getting acquainted with the system and exploring it. By presenting the situation in Transcarpathia we have also shown that of Ukraine in general by taking a brief look at the legal foundations that make it possible for churches to act and help in this field.

Conclusion

In present paper we have analysed the decentralisation processes in the Ukrainian child protection systems.

When dealing with the situation in Ukraine, emphasis was laid on the situation of children lacking parental support. Communist ideology had grossly underestimated the role of underprivileged families in the bringing up of children and had in turn overestimated the state's capability of "rescuing" these children. As a consequence of this principle, centres trying to tackle children's situation at the root, i.e., in families were neglected and disregarded, while attention was focused on the development of care institutions. This was the biggest fault of the Social system of help, which in turn has left its mark on the quality and quantity of the support provided. At the beginning of the 1990, the situation of children being brought up outside their families raised concerns both on national and international level.

The situation in Transcarpathia is similar to the child welfare system in Hungary and Romania probably because of their nearby geographical

location. The image greatly reminds us of the dramatic situation in Eastern Hungary. The state is to abandon all fields of social services and childcare by taking less and less responsibility in health care, culture and education, while there is a new situation in children's rights which is highly supported by the civil sphere.

In 1990, Transcarpatia church activities were aimed at emergency aid. As time was passing and the conditions in most institutions failed to improve, more and more NGOs realised that all the efforts they made were actually encouraging the changing of the institutionalised system.

The activity of the historical churches in the Transcarpathian child welfare system also contributes to strengthening children's national and religious identity. Ukrainian authorities support these goals, thus more and more Hungarian child protection centres are being set up. The most important trait that sets church-funded institutions apart is the role they play in serving the national identities of religious and ethnic groups, more so in Transcarpathia where religious leaders have declared this as one of the key elements of their mission.

The present Ukrainian child welfare system is similar to that of Hungary in the 1990s. Given the present social and economic possibilities, Ukraine is making every effort to follow the example of the more developed countries. We can feel a kind of a positive move in the whole system, but it lacks an overall, complex vision of reforms and the legal regulations needed to furnish a basis for change and development.

As a conclusion it can be stated that by the turn of the century it has become evident that the exclusivity of the state's role in social policy was no longer sustainable: an important role in this sphere was to be designated to civil, non-state-funded organisations and institutions that would react to social needs.

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LÁSZLÓNÉ KISS

KINDERGARTEN[39] EDUCATION AND MUSIC EDUCATION BASED ON CHRISTIAN VALUES; VIEW OF MAN IN CHRISTIAN PEDAGOGY[40]

A fundamental question of education has been how pedagogy views man. This view has changed throughout the centuries; consequently, a number of pedagogical views have evolved. Ferenc Pálhegyi divides the views on man and training into three main categories: "Some believe that people are (1) mechanical beings; others think (2) they are biological beings, meaning highly developed animals; and some others claim that (3) people are people – unique, and comparable to nothing else.

Based on the different views, Ferenc Pálhegyi (1997) differentiates between three different approaches in education:

(1) According to some (e.g., Descartes, Locke, Watson), education influences behavior. Based on philosophical anthropology, education is nothing else but a carefully planned environmental effect.

(2) Psychoanalysts think that education controls human instincts. (Education serves to satisfy needs.)

(3) Others who represent humanist pedagogy (e.g., Rousseau, Montessori, Rogers, Gordon, Waldorf), think you have to facilitate spontaneous development by providing a supportive environment. The greatest hindrance to this, they claim, is the authoritarian pedagogy.

The Christian pedagogy finds some truth in all three approaches, but creates a new interpretation that is based on how the Bible views man. The result is a new pedagogical approach.

The Christian pedagogy is unique in a sense that it sets out to convey everlasting values. When comparing it to the humanist pedagogy along with major points, you can see the differences (Pálhegyi 1997):

[39] In Hungary, kindergarten education is for children with ages 3-7. It is much more than daycare, because children take part in carefully and professionally planned activities that serve to foster the children's development. – translator's comment

[40] Translated by: Diana Bodonyi-Kovács

	Humanism	*Christianity*
Authority	*There is no authority over men.*	*Accepts God's authority over one's life because He is the Creator and Lord.*
Morals	*Man is responsible only to himself; he decides what is right or wrong from a moral perspective.*	*Morals are absolute and do not change because they are based on God's revelation.*
View on Man	*Man is autonomous and essentially good but may become bad in a particular social environment.*	*According to the Bible, man is not independent from his Creator, but has free will to decide whether to accept or not the atonement for his sins that Jesus offers.*
Education	*Once the right environment is given, human development means self-realization.*	*The Bible teaches that man needs a radical change in his value system; he needs a "new heart."*

In humanism the focus is always on man. In Christianity, God who takes care of His created ones is in the center. He created man in His own image; however, man sinned and got separated from God. Yet God reached down to man; "For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life"(John 3:16).

Role of Christian Pedagogy in Conveying Values

Before we embark on expanding the above topic, we have to clarify what values Christian education has conveyed for centuries and is still conveying today. "Value" means – both from psychological and educational point of view – that you prefer something to something else. People have different value systems; that means they rank different values differently. The more valuable something is for you, the more central position that thing has in your value system.

The Bible tells us how the apostle Paul converted and became a Christian. His conversion meant that his whole value system was turned upside down. We can read the following about this in the Bible: "But whatever was to my profit I now consider loss for the sake of Christ. What is more, I consider everything a loss compared to the surpassing greatness of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord" (Philippians 3:7-8). According to Jesus, God's kingdom is such a fine pearl that the merchant sells everything he has just to buy it (Matthew 13:46).

So the goal of Christian education is to help transform the value system to one where Christ is in the center. Now, one may ask what values the Bible conveys to us. Religious people are not the only ones who possess and proclaim these values. Rather, these values have become clear universal moral values for several millennia to govern general co-existence in societies. When teaching Christian values that are based on the Ten Commandments, we teach our children to love, to respect their parents, to protect human life, to tell the truth, and to respect personal property. These religious moral values enrich religious and non-religious people alike; God inscribed these values in human consciousness. Among the commandments, the first two are very special, because one of them requires loving God first and foremost. Jesus himself mentions this as the "great commandment", meaning, this should take the first place in our value system. "Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind" (Matthew 22:36). And the second is like it: 'Love your neighbor as yourself"' (Matthew 22:39).

Back to the hierarchy of values in a Christian person's value system: Christ must be in the center of a Christian person's life. We cannot teach children to love God unless we ourselves love the children with the love God pours into our lives. According to God, other important values are those that the Bible calls "the fruit of the Spirit", too, i.e., love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control (Galatians 5:22).

The presence of the above values creates a special atmosphere in the kindergarten. "The difference between a Christian kindergarten and a regular kindergarten is this spiritual atmosphere, which defines an educational milieu."[41] Those kindergarten teachers who have experienced the love of Christ in their lives can show the children how to tolerate others, how to sympathize with others, how to be understanding, and how to relate to others. Consequently, the community of the Christian kindergarten is characterized by love and peace.

The Current Situation; Opportunities and Challenges in a Changing Society

After the political change in Hungary[42], a new societal need for Christian education arose. We can rightly say that Christian education had been missing for several decades preceding the change, even though Christian education has deep roots in the history and traditions of Hungary. Faith-

[41] Kövér, Sándorné & Papp, Lászlóné & Váradi, Gáborné. (1998) A református óvodai nevelés keretprogramja. Budapest: Református Pedagógiai Intézet 12. [Framework for Reformed Kindergarten Education]

[42] The first free elections were held in 1990. – translator's comment

based education is still very relevant in the 21st century, since it gives answers to society's moral problems. It does so based on universal human values and the Christian faith.

It has been almost two decades since the first Christian kindergarten classes were set up in Hungary. These kindergartens have already gone through the difficulties of the early years, but there are some kindergartens that came into existence just the past year (e.g., Good Shepherd Reformed Kindergarten, Hajdúböszörmény). Currently, there are more than 100 Christian kindergartens in Hungary. The Roman Catholic Church and different monastic religious orders operate 65 kindergartens; there are 26 Reformed kindergartens, and 14 Lutheran kindergartens.

Let us examine the problems that our faith-based kindergartens had to face: (1) There were only few books available on what to teach, and how to teach in this "special" environment. (2) There was a lack of educational materials to aid music education in this young age group. (3) Materials, appropriate in content and spirituality for Christian literature education had to be collected. (4) Furthermore, physical distance between these kindergartens made it difficult to organize professional conferences and to keep in touch

In regards to my professional experience, I myself felt the lack of proper music material for Christian kindergarten education, too. Therefore, I embarked on publishing a book of song collections for kindergarten-aged children. The songbook of "Jézust áldja énekünk"[43] has been published, and is helping kindergarten teachers teach music and singing in Hungarian Christian kindergartens.

Christian Kindergarten Education

The Bible offers us guidance on how to raise children: "Sons are a heritage from the Lord, children a reward from him" (Psalms 127:3). "Train a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not turn from it" (Proverbs 22:6).

Children must be considered as gifts from God. He entrusted the children first of all to their families to be raised with responsibility; however, kindergarten teachers also help in the process. How to go about this nurturing process? It has to be done with wisdom received from above. Individual needs, the child's maturity have to be taken into consideration; and they have

[43] Kiss, Lászlóné (ed.) (2003) Jézust áldja énekünk – Gyermekénekek óvodásoknak. Budapest: Református Pedagógiai Intézet, [Our song blesses Jesus - Children's Songs for Kindergarten Children]

to be influenced by conscious educational effort, which will shape the child's developing character.

Christian education determines the everyday life of a kindergarten. This special kind of education can be recognized in the activities of the children, in their games, in their learning process; and of course it is there in the faith-based activities. Playing is the basic activity of a kindergarten-aged child. Children act out their experiences, including their religious ones. For instance, as part of a game, they may build a church building, or play away a baptism. Doing so, they relive these experiences. Besides playing, studying can also contain religious elements. When learning about the outside environment, children may view it as God's wonderful creation.

By artworks, they learn about aesthetics. Christian literature education includes presenting religious rhymes as well as animal stories that teach good morals. Moreover, there are great rhymes for children that relate to religious holidays.

Visual education includes much liked activities like drawing, modeling and other crafts. These offer opportunities to improved fantasy and self-expression. Children can create crafts for the holidays, e.g., gifts molded from clay, the advent wreath, and decorations for the Christmas tree. They can also draw or paint their experiences related to Bible stories.

An important part of the Christian education is the devotion or spiritual moments as well as faith-based activities that relate to learning Bible stories. Children can learn Bible stories that are appropriate for their maturity, and that help them experience God's love and His relationship with man. The role of the kindergarten teacher is just to sow the seed; it is God who makes their faith grow. In our faith-based kindergartens music and songs play a special role; therefore, we will talk about them in greater detail.

The Significance of Music Education in Faith-Based Kindergartens; Opportunities for Singing in Everyday Life

Songs are special in the lives of children in Christian kindergartens, because the songs are an essential part of Christian education. These songs are creeds and prayers put in an artistic form. There must be a close connection between what is said in church and what is said (sung) in the kindergarten. If children are familiar with religious songs, they may feel more comfortable in the community of believers. Religious songs build up the community; so singing together is a holy bond in the church's big family. Yet religious songs can also become very personal as they can comfort and strengthen us, and help to express joy and gratitude.

The years that children spend in the kindergarten are crucial in regards to building a foundation for their music skills. "If the soul stays fallow for the first seven years, nothing can grow in it that only previous years' cultivation could have sown."[44] So in these early years we can build a foundation for the child's Hungarian "music language" by teaching folk music, and for his or her religious "music language" to teach psalms and praises. Therefore, the kindergarten teacher should also sing songs in the kindergarten that may not be learnt, but that can touch the children emotionally, for instance psalms and praises in Reformed kindergartens, and liturgy songs in Catholic ones.

Opportunities for singing: It is important for singing and music to fill the whole day in faith-based kindergartens. To make this happen, we can attach singing to different activities besides devotions and quiet moments. We can sing songs at other regular activities/occasions like (1) start of the day, (2) start and close of devotions, (3) before and after the meal, (4) before and after taking a nap, (5) end of the day. Teaching Bible stories offers another opportunity. Moreover, when we are lead, we can sing songs as a prayer or praise any time of the day. Other spontaneous happenings (e.g., sound of bell in a church) may also encourage singing. Furthermore, we may sing with the children to calm them down when they have conflicts or have some disciplinary issues. We can also sing when someone is having his or her birthday and we want to give thanks or wish the person blessings.

When teaching or singing Christian songs, let us not do children's folk-play at the same time. We should have a separate time for these. When singing these faith-based songs, let us not concentrate on developing skills, either. Everyone should concentrate on the song's spiritual content.

We can naturally attach singing to other art-based activities, e.g., rhymes, staging Bible stories, and visual activities, too. We also want to mention here songs related to Christian holidays like Advent, Christmas, Eastern, and Pentecost, because through the songs children get prepared emotionally to have a meaningful experience of the holiday.

[44] Kodály, Zoltán (1982) Visszatekintés I., Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 94.

Jer mindnyájan örüljünk[45]

[Come, let us all rejoice, and let our hearts be glad, because the Lord Jesus has been born onto us!]

It is important for the kindergarten teacher to be able to sing these songs with conviction, belief and faith, because only then can the children embrace the songs. Teachers can make the singing a better and more vivid experience if they also play instruments (e.g., electronic organ, harmonium) with the songs - these instruments are used in the church, too. However, using instruments is not useful unless the children have already learnt the songs well, and consider having the instruments a privilege.

Factors to consider when selecting a song

We teach our would-be-kindergarten-teachers how to choose a song, what factors to consider. Based on different development characteristics of different age groups, we have to consider the following factors: range of voice, voices in the song, line of melody, rhythm, text, and what action goes with the song. We have to consider all this due to the differences in different age groups. The children's ability to sing is determined mostly by physiological characteristics like development of the vocal chords, and their hearing ability. These determine the range of voice the children can sing at, and the number of voices they can sing in a clear voice. Therefore, when teaching either children's folk-play or Christian children's songs, we have to take the range of voice and the voices in the song into consideration. It is well known that kindergarten-aged children can sing songs that have only a very limited range of voice in a clear voice. So it is desirable that the range of voice in a song does not exceed a major sixth.

[45] Református énekeskönyv. [Reformed Songbook] Budapest: Magyarországi Református Egyház, 1948. 318.

Following the above guidelines is quite easy when selecting and teaching songs that have some game attached to them, too. However, when it comes to choosing faith-based songs, it is hard to follow these guidelines, because most religious songs have a range of an octave. Nevertheless, we must take the factors mentioned above into consideration here, too.

When selecting and teaching songs, it is not enough just to think of the children's physiological characteristics. It is very important to consider the message of the song as well. Is the content in agreement with the central message of the Bible (John 3:16)? Is the text understandable for the children? Does the text evoke positive emotions; does it help the children feel more secure?

Songbooks that contain a variety of collections have their songs usually grouped by topic. When choosing a certain topic for young children, it is recommended that you select songs primarily with a content of praise, worship; or those that express child-like faith and confidence; or those that are related to religious holidays or Bible stories.

Bércet, rónaságot[46]

2. A nagy erdők fáját,
Mezők tarkaságát
Te adod nekünk,
Édes Istenünk.

3. Madárkát az ágon,
Gyümölcsöt a fákon
Te adod nekünk,
Édes Istenünk.

4. Földi életünket,
Napi kenyerünket
Te adod nekünk,
Édes Istenünk.

5. Drága szüleinket,
Jó testvéreinket
Te adod nekünk,
Édes Istenünk.

6. Fényes napvilágot,
Szemünkre az álmot
Te adod nekünk,
Édes Istenünk.

7. Szent igédnek fényét,
Lelkünk békességét
Te adod nekünk
Édes Istenünk.

H. Claudius nyomán
Rezessy László

[46] Draskóczy, Balázs (ed.) (1994) Harangszó. Budapest: Református Egyházzenészek munkaközössége. 21. [Ringing Songs for Children – Crag and Flat Country]

[1. Dear God, you have given us the crag, the flat country; and the whole world. 2. Dear God, you have given us the tree of the big forests and the colorfulness of the fields. 3. Dear God, you have given us the birdie on the branch, and the fruit on the trees. 4. Dear God, you have given us our earthly lives, and our daily bread. 5. Dear God, you have given us our dear parents, and our good siblings. 6. Dear God, you have given us the bright sun, and the sleep on our eyes. 7. Dear God, you have given us the light of your holy Word, and the peace of our souls.]

To continue with the list of factors to be considered when selecting a song, there are other things we have to mention. Kindergarten-aged children are primarily used to songs with metric rhythm. They can get some experience with more free-styled songs (parlando-rubato) only when the teacher presents them. On the other hand, songs sung in church represent a totally new "music style" to the children. We can show a slice of this to them, when we teach them these prayers that you can sing: „Könyörülj rajtunk Úr Isten…"[47] or „Uram irgalmazz…"[48]. To sing these well, let us sing each melodic line with one breath; the lines should not be broken.

[Be merciful to us, Lord God; and listen to our prayers!]

Moreover, when selecting songs, it is important that we examine whether the songs reflect the characteristics of the Hungarian language. Repeating a certain sound, having sequences, chords, or starting without stress on the first sound are all characteristic of German folk music. Although the song „Kis házad földi életed…"[49] is a masterpiece in regards to its content and form, it is good to know that it bears the characteristics of the German music style: repeating sounds, and starting melody lines without emphasis on the first syllable. Another song much sung in Christian circles, "Szívem csendben az Úrra figyel…"[50], also has some features that are foreign to

[47] Református énekeskönyv. Budapest: Magyarországi Református Egyház,. 1948:157 [Reformed Songbook - Have mercy on us, Lord God…]
[48] Görögkatolikus misén felhangzó ének [A liturgic song - My Lord, be merciful…]
[49] Draskóczy, Balázs (ed.) (1994) Harangszó. Budapest: Református Egyházzenészek munkaközössége. 25. sz. [Ringing Bell - Your small house, your earthly life…]
[50] Jertek énekeljünk – gyermekénekek. Budapest: Vasárnapi Iskolai Szövetség 1988:185 [Come, let us Sing – My heart listens to the Lord quietly…]

Hungarian language (structure of the melody, no emphasis on the first sound).

We have not talked about the rhythm and the melodic line of the songs yet. We know it from experience that it is more difficult to keep the right rhythm if the song has many crotchets or quavers following each other. For example, children have to pay more attention when singing the song: „Karácsony, karácsony drága ünnepünk"[51]; a number of quavers follow each other, and the melody displays a sequence in the third melody line.

It is even more challenging for little children, when the melody itself contains difficult parts. Here stand two examples: Two rhythms in the chorus of „Megszületett a Jézuska…"[52] may be difficult for children to sing as they contain an inclination and a stepping down fourth. The same can be found at the end of the song „Én Istenem jó Atyám…"[53]. The kindergarten teacher has to be prepared to handle and correct these hard spots as usual, since children tend to make more mistakes here.

In sum, when we select faith-based songs for kindergarten-aged children, we have to consider all the factors that are generally to be considered in kindergarten music education. However, here we also have to pay special attention to the text and message of the songs, since the text and its message are the ones that carry the message of the Bible as well as Christian values.

[51] Jertek énekeljünk-gyermekénekek. Budapest: Vasárnapi Iskolai Szövetség, 1988. 18. [Come, let us Sing – Children's Songs - Christmas, Christmas, our Dear Holiday…]

[52] Darabán, Géza (ed.) (1992) A kis Jézus aranyalma – dalgyűjtemény az óvodás és kisiskolás korú gyermekek vallásos neveléséhez.. Szarvas: Brunszvik Teréz Óvóképző Főiskola 18. [The Little Jesus ; Golden Apple - Little Jesus is born…]

[53] Draskóczy, Balázs (1994) Harangszó. Budapest: Református Egyházzenészek Munkaközössége 39. [Ringing Songs for Children - My God, my Good Father…]

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TAMÁS DEME

WORLD VIEW AND COMMUNITY VERSUS SOCIETAL DEFICIENCY

Our task concerns the examination of the contemporary role of the church in the education of our region in Europe. This explorative undertaking can be accomplished provided we can clarify first - among the substantive functions of the church - the functions of world view (or "weltanschauung") and religion and the connections of the two to education. In this endeavour, I suggest, the system of ideas of Sándor Karácsony's can help best to find our ways and orientation.

A specific situation came about in Hungary in 1990 when the denominations got their right back to run and maintain their own schools. As part of a church school system that was practically destroyed by force half a century earlier, the Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran, Israelite denominations got back their buildings in a deteriorated state. The money these churches could raise for renovation was hardly enough, not to talk about costs of regular maintenance. At the same time it was a challenge to build up respective pedagogic teams that suited to the new educational tasks.

With empty pockets beside freedom, the newly launched church schools took the opportunity of developing their ideological commitment. Today, it is exactly the ideological and world view commitment that distinguishes church school from state schools. Law prohibits ideological commitment in state schools, thus the exclusion of the religious world view imposes "ideological neutrality" on the state schools. It is necessary to stress, however, that "world view" is not identical with the "religion". A religious world view, nevertheless, is a natural property of church communities.

What is world view or weltanschauung?

World view reflects general world interpretations. In this assertion both objective scholarly knowledge and subjective beliefs, world interpretations, systems of values get integrated and accommodated. Therefore, we can take it as a working definition. The system of overall knowledge and certain explanations thereof (political ideology, philosophical views, system of beliefs or the combination of these) are called ideology by some popular formulations.

Most people do not have their own settled weltanschauung or even philosophy of life**,** and they may not have well-formulated and elaborate opinions of things which are not known to them. It is fairly common that people cling to a well-known, widely accepted ideology or they construct their own views of life from different ideologies while also adding to these constructs their own experiences.

The notion of world view in Christian philosophies covers the way people can see the reality. We can find a valuable function here. According to theological formulations world view and philosophy of life reflect the aspect of how we form a conception of the world. In this aspect there is a subjective momentum of evaluation. Ideology is quite important because in this form the question is the sense of life and the long term aim of life. According to the above philosophy of life, it is not identical with the system of values though it is under the influence of people's values, decisions, their conceptions created of themselves and others (Geisler 1999).

The notion "world concept"

It is worth discerning another category which seems to be evoking a similar cognate idea before we attempt to define the meaning of world view as a psychological, logico-philosophical notion. The term is "world concept". Although it is accommodated in philosophy of life, yet it is different. World concept (Weltbild) can be explained with similar categories as ideology, namely with pieces of knowledge that are entertained by individuals about the world at different times. In our days, not only books, ages, fashions, clothes, TV channels, etc. have their own world concepts but almost everything. World concept has become a vague expression, void of tangible meanings, which has lead to the loss of the meaning of this idea (Deme 2007).

Let me bring in here an example. When do people find a school building which they are looking for in an unexplored town easier: if they are presented with some photos of the building itself or if they are given a map on which they can identify their own position and see where North and South are and where the school is. They can find it earlier with the map, of course. The vital difference I am looking for can be found here. The knowledge, the descriptions, the impressions look like a photo album. World concept is like a photo album. It contains a set of experiences. As opposed to this idea, world view is not a stable and rigid conception, there is always a tendency, the dynamic aim.

Therefore, its metaphorical representation can be the notion of a map or that of a compass, or even the sports of orientation running. The latter idea is probably the most suitable to describe world view because it attaches

acting to orientation. Everyone has a view of life or world view, but not everybody has philosophy of life based on acts and orientation.

A possible definition of world view

A homogeneous system of "social interaction psychology", "social interaction logic", and "social interaction philosophy" was fully developed in the works of Sándor Karácsony (1891-1952). In his writings "world view" is a well-recognizable condition. In order to understand this problem I recapitulate here some of his concepts. The attitude or "the way of thinking", i.e. the cogitation itself, is always a kind of social interaction pshychology. World view is a relationship within social interaction pshychology. The Christian world view thinks about the spirit (the psyche) in a trichotomy just as the classical Greek and Jewish world view suggests. Accordingly, we are constituted from body (soma), soul (psyche) and spirit (pneuma). The psychic function, which is a specific tension between body and spirit, has several relationships. The most important among these are awareness of life, emotion, rationale, will and faith. These are individual spiritual categories. They are also able to function among collective relationships of social interaction psychology through law, art, science, society and religion. Faith belongs to the private soul, however, religion belongs to the social interactive psychic relationship. Religion cannot be a private matter. Yet faith is private. Religion is always a collective affair, a social and public matter. My own faith is my own business, nobody can intervene in it. Though if I confess faith and pass it on – my relationship becomes social, collective, interactive – that is religion, being part of a community.

World view refers to the fact that someone views the world in a certain way. Thus, world view means not only relationship but it means social interaction as well. It always has some kind of a task for a mission. It represents attitude and takes culture along. The way we look at the world means we fulfil our duties and live our lives.

Let us suppose there exists a certain world view only to be disseminated in school. A lot of people are dissatisfied. Why? Let us look at some voices and opinions in Hungary. "The Hungarian soul does not have religion, only ideology". The connections and functions of social interactive psychology describe all people. The point is different of each person. There is also the regularity of psychological development. Stresses change from age to age. World view takes a special place for the young. The young ones under normal conditions criticize and doubt everything. They carry on with an ideological struggle as they are looking at the world. This is natural for them. A young one can rely upon his ideology as it is his religion. Therefore, in

connection with Hungarian culture Karácsony says that we really have ideology (world view) and not yet religion.

World view is not the pneumatic substance, though it trains us for it. Education itself is a relationship belonging to world view. The idle category of ideological neutrality seems to be comical in education and in education policy. The lack of world view in school is said to be the lesser mistake. If teachers without any ideology educate students an even worse situation will characterize the whole educational system. The greater trouble is if a key is not given to understand the past, present and future.

Nowadays if students hear about the concept of God, they laugh at it, they think of swearing or shrug their shoulders uninterestedly. The situation is not better at the church schools either. The lack of world view and religion also exist in these schools, though they are in a hidden form. One problem at the entrance examination to church school is that the private worship and the communal nomination are not taken into consideration. The other problem is the lack of the mind of society and community. When the communist regime destroyed the communities in Hungary, ideological attitudes and the religious spirit were destroyed too. With a paraphrase of the famous French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu's statement, we can say that in our country the "social reproduction of the inequality of world view materialized". This is an inversion of the original sentence of Bourdieu, but true.

The lack of world view relates to the absence of community. Invalidness of world view is invalidness of society. The natural upbringing possesses, self-purifying regenerations, self-correcting thinking and world view are not missing in the basis relation. The educator possesses a spiritual map, a compass and the pupils learn how to use this map.

Education is teaching to lead and orient pupils to live a substantial life. That is why we can say education is demonstrably a relationship within world view. As it is beyond the intellect or will, we can find it at the level of religion and devotion. This is the most intensive category, which is at the same level as some other categories of Karácsony, such as love, mission, holy.

What is the education like in Central Europe?

The answer is political and sociological. The thorough exploration can expect psychological and philosophical analyses and further ideological questions. Nowadays, in the fist decades of the 21st century, despite some alternative world views, we can state that the school does not have a living philosophy of education. In the educational system of Hungary (and of Eastern and Central Europe) there is the Prussian and Soviet heritage, the education program of romantic nationalist, informative technocratic,

pragmatic, neoliberal, the forcible neoconservative. There is also the education program of moralizing Christian, dogmatic denominational and naive demonstrative in a way of eclectic confusing model. Domination and survival pedagogies appear. Among the bits of broken pedagogical complete there are the nuclei of living communities, the revaluating colleges. During the natural basis relation of education the culture of society pass the intellectual capacity of continuation to the young. One problem appears from the analysis of Karácsony if the young do not feel quite strong. The other problem is if they do not feel their fathers suitable rivals. In such a case they break off relations not only with their ancestors but their past and traditions. Students are only interested in nowadays technology which is exploited immediately.

No other education can exist, only the „convertible" one is tolerated. The position of an educator, as a leading character of educating connection, is a pivotal question from the point of solution. It is not the same what teacher what culture have attitude to their students with. A real teacher can influence the young. The authenticity of personality of a positive educator rises from his truthfulness, real acts and from his active love.

The Church and education or the current „orbis pictus"

Finally, let me recall some pictures from the relation of church and education in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. These pictures were taken on the basis of questioning, observation, reporting and they were not representative.

(1) Both church schools and state schools suffer from the lack of pedagogical philosophy. Church school (and ecumenical or foundational ones) make an effort to develop ideology, though they do not carry conviction.
The character of former church schools with strong spirituality has become lax for today (except for some monastic schools or protestant colleges). In the state schools there is a „required non-committal" ideology, which is eclectic mostly.
The neo-liberal attitude is a favourable field for spreading of indecency, the early sexuality and the use of drugs.

(2) The old-fashioned teaching style in front of the class, which is theoretically not acceptable for the real teachers, still prospers. The debates and oppositions of the problems of teaching and educating have become strained. On the one hand churches uphold those educational conceptions which are „value-centered".
On the other a synthesis is tried to form with conforming of special skills and developing of personality on the basis of religion morals.

(3) The disadvantages of society have increased on account of historical past and poor present. The right to modern learning has occurred wider between the poor and rich. Some parts of community have totally fallen behind from the mediation of knowledge. In several eastern European countries (in the Ukraine, in Transylvania) the trouble of joining up from distress and disadvantage falls to the church (Pusztai 2004). Monastic orders (like for example Franciscans), minor churches (Baptists, Calvinists, Unitarians) undertake several public tasks on the field of education (protection of minority, mental care).

(4) The modern technologies, the products of entertaining industry, the consumers' goods can reach everywhere. Besides this the expecting of society increases toward the clerical morals (from Ten Commandments to the everyday – ethics principles). Who else can we turn to? The aging society lays claim to have social work professions, nursing, old care, homeless hostels, drug and alcohol therapy institutions.

(5) There are some initiatives in Hungary which connect with education and church as well. Their source of power is in the civil volunteer ship.

(6) In the field of higher education the relationship of higher education the relationship of teachers' training and scholarly connection are developing. These connections refer to the Central and Eastern European countries and they mean inter-educational principles and inter-training of Catholic universities and colleges.

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BÉLA SZATHMÁRY

THE CONSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND FOR GOVERNMENTAL FINANCING OF THE CHURCH MAINTAINED INSTITUTIONS AND TEACHERS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION[54]

In Hungary, the connection between the State and Churches – in terms of the constitutional law – is determined by Section 60, paragraph 3 of the Constitution and its interpretation by the Hungarian Constitutional Court. According to the mentioned rules, the function of the State and the Churches is separated from each other. In accordance with the interpretation of the Hungarian Constitutional Court, the relation between the two entities must be formed by the neutrality of the State. The following facts emerge from the principle of disestablishment in accordance with the decision No.4/1993 (II.12.)AB: (1) The state systematically can not join neither the Churches in general, nor one of them. (2) The state does not subscribe to any of the Churches' teaching. (3) The state does not interfere in the Churches' internal affairs. (4) It especially cannot take sides in issues relating to faith. (5) The state must treat the churches as being equal[55].

Formally, this explanation meets the conditions of liberalism perfectly. According to liberalism, a neutral State has to treat all its citizens with equal respect, and also has to be concerned about their interest as equally important. This is called the principle of equal dignity by Kant and János Kis (1992). Thereafter, the question is if the interpretation fulfils the requirements set by liberalism, namely if it formulates a necessary and existing political moral basis which enables the application of the Constitutional rules in situations needing decision.

Constitutional background

Before presenting a Constitutional judicial point of view, it is necessary to examine the circumstances of moral principles, religious beliefs, ideological convictions and that of the individual of the society from politico-philosophical point of view. Let us turn again to the influential theoretician of Hungarian liberalism, János Kis. According to him, people do not relate to moral life-ideals, religious beliefs and ideological convictions as they do to

[54] Translated by: Füsti-Molnár, Petra. Proof reader: Dr. Szabó, Eszter.

[55] According to the reasoning of the Constitutional decision, this derives also from the Constitution's Section 70 of the Act.

consumer goods. We assort the latter according to the money we have, and the time needed for seeing about these things. We do all this with great flexibility because if we cannot afford these goods or we do not have time, we can do substitute them for other articles. But we do not choose our persuasions, beliefs, or moral principles. Our freedom in relation to them is not in the freedom of choice. We recognize, understand and accept the veracity of the moral, ideological and religious decisions[56]. Beliefs raised this way constitute the major part of our personality, and their modification can cause a thorough change of our personality. "For this reason – as János Kis states – the way the State treats the individuals is not independent from how the differences in their moral perception, faiths related to religion and ideological convictions are handled. If it requires from some of the citizens to give up the essence of their personality and go through basic conversion in order for the voluntary acceptance of the pressure of circumstances, then it does not consider all its citizens equal moral persons" (Kiss 1992:17). Considering this theme, the focus should be put on the process of forming views and on the circumstances in which our moral ideological and religious principles are consolidated. It must be revealed whether the State has – in the name of ensuring equal respect – obligations, in connection with the running of the educational institutions bearing quite an important role in their formation. Following this train of thought, the State should not only keep away from the aggressive alteration of views but has to ensure the free process of socialization in the midst of religious and ideological pluralism by juridical regulatory enactments. An appropriate educational system has to be attached to this free process of socialization. However, the basis of liberalism is the freedom of the individual, the free individual should be aware of the fact that freedom only lasts till the making use of it does not preclude the liberties of the other person. But this idea sets a quite high moral standard for each individual, and whether liberalism's idea-system becomes a realizable habit depends on the acquirement of this standard. For the individual to reach this standard, such an educational and pedagogical organizational system is needed which is able to first offer then pass on that knowledge and wisdom to the student being socialized, which having been acquired, she or he can form his or her own belief in a well-founded manner. However, this institutional system has to be of variegated for the sake of the possibility for all the valuable religions and moral views of life to appear which can increase that mass of information, which can help the society's improvement with their own special values. By doing so, the State will be able to ensure the conditions for the free development and enrichment of the individual

[56] Several occasions it can be confusing when we talk about the free choice of religion in relation to the freedom of religion's content component. Under this freedom not the freedom of choice but that of the conviction formation can be understood.

fulfilling its social usefulness time and also the promotion of public welfare after all.

The State's duty to organize the education is laid down by the Hungarian Constitutional Court's above mentioned decision in the following way:

(1) The State has to be neutral in religious and other issues concerning the constitution of conscience. From the right to freedom of religion derives the State's duty to ensure the possibility for creating one's own convictions. The separation of the church from the State does not mean that the State should ignore the characteristics of the religion and church.

(2) The public school must not be committed to any of the religions. The State has to guarantee the legal possibility to establish denominational schools but the State itself is not liable to found such schools. Where the State transfers the ownership of the public school's building to the church, the attendance of the public school has to be guaranteed for those not wishing to go to denominational schools in such a way that it does not mean an extra burden for them.

Referring to its several earlier decisions, the Hungarian Constitutional Court emphasizes that the right to human dignity as a 'general personal right' includes the right to the free unfolding of the personality. Furthermore, the Hungarian Constitutional Court also interprets the liberty of conscience as the right to the integrity of the personality. According to this interpretation the State must not put anyone into such a situation which would lead to coming into conflict with themselves, and which would not be compatible with one of the essential convictions that determines their personality. Liberty of conscience and freedom of religion as two separately existing rights which confirm that our conscientious convictions are part of our human quality, and the freedom for these rights is a condition for the right to the human personality's free development[57]. The State's duty for the "respect and protection"[58] of the basic rights regarding the freedom of religion must not be confined to the avoidance of violating the individual's rights, but rather has to see to the necessary conditions for the prevalence of the freedom of religion. With other words the defence of the values and circumstances related to the freedom of religion regardless of the individual's needs[59]. The State's neutrality convicted with the right to the freedom of religion does not mean passivity. The State's duty is to offer a scope for the practicing and the teaching of religious beliefs and the following of it in the way of living, and

[57] Decision No. 64/1991. (XII.17)AB, and No. 8/1990. (IV.25) AB.
[58] Constitution, Section 8 of the Act, paragraph 1,
[59] Decision No. 64/1991. (XII.17.) AB

the Churches' operation, just like the denial of religion and the silence about religious conviction need room for expression. In such a scope, different ways of thinking can be formed and developed making the free development of the individual's conviction possible.

According to Act IV of 1990 on the liberty of conscience, freedom of religion and Churches, the parents or the legal guardians have the right to make decisions about their children's moral and religious upbringing. Churches can manage pedagogical- educational work which the law reserves exclusively for the state. However, Hungary accepted much more obligations by signing international conventions. As the European Convention on Human Rights' first supplementary record's Article 2 says, "No person shall be denied the right to education. In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions." In accordance with The United Nations International Agreement on Civil an Political Rights, Article 18, point 4, the State's parties to the present Agreement commit to undertake to ensure respect for the liberty of the parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education for their children in conformity with their own convictions. The Convention on the Rights of the Child given in New York on 20 November, 1989[60] declares the child's right to freedom of thought, religion, and acknowledges the parents' right to lead the child to the enforcement of her or his right consistent with her or his maturity. (Article 14)

In the scope of the objective institution protection, the state is obliged to create the conditions of legal rule and organizational ones needed for the creation of some of the basic rights in such a way that it should consider its task related to other primary rights[61]. The conditions to assert the freedom of religion have to be harmonized with those primary rights which also have to prevail in the educational affairs. Above all, the State has to run primary schools free of charge and compulsory[62], and the parents and legal guardians are obliged to take care of their children's educational activity[63]. It is the parents' legal duty to decide their children's education[64]. The State has to respect and support the freedom of study and that of the teaching[65]. The parents have the right to make their children go to the school they choose,

[60] Declared by the law of LXIV, 1991
[61] Decision No. 64/1991. (XII.17) AB.
[62] Constitution, Section 70/F. of the Act, and the public education's law of LXXIX, 1993, and Section 3 of the Act, paragraph 3
[63] Constitution, Section 70/J. of the Act
[64] Constitution, Section 67 of the Act, paragraph 2
[65] Constitution, Section 70/G of the Act, paragraph 1

and not to send the children to such school which differs from their religious belief and conviction of their conscience. Parents and the children may choose public or denominational school, and for this reason the State cannot refuse the establishment of either religious or atheist schools.[66] The State is not obliged to found non-neutral schools. But if the church or the parents establish and run committed schools, the State has to support them according to the national task these institutions undertake since the operation of the public education's system is state-duty[67]. Therefore, the Hungarian Constitutional Court in the further decision[68] laid down the following as a constitutional demand: the State or the local government has to give, besides the similar budgetary support (normative support), such additional financial aid to the educational institutions run by legal people of the church as to the similar state or local governmental schools in accordance with the undertaken state or local governmental task of them.

The non-legal approaches

In this part of the publication the non-legal approaches regarding this theme will be studied, and the reason for financial obligation in sociological and economic respect. In our time of high-information society, the following question can be raised: whether the State wishes to have a part in the re-sharing of the culture and knowledge[69]. If the answer is 'no', then although the State's "total" neutrality comes to fruition, the State allows the functioning of the free market in regard to culture and knowledge production, and in this aspect the state functions as a market controller. The State introduces restrictions of time, space and procedure in the market of ideas, but trying to stay impartial, it does not control the tenor of the thoughts appearing at the market. It only controls the market's operational mechanism, but supports none of the views appearing at the market (Krystyna & Durham 1997). However, it involves the danger of the not supported values' loss, consequently one of the conditions of personal autonomy, namely the choice between a number of valuable objects in life and ways of living is constricted or discontinues[70]. If the answer is 'yes', the intensity and forms of the state's presence have to be looked into and those roles which the State wants to support. Moreover it also has to be investigated those areas that the State

[66] Law of Public Education Section 4 of the Act, paragraph 5
[67] Law of Public Education Section 2 of the Act, paragraph 3
[68] Decision No.22/1997.(IV.25) AB
[69] It is in this area where Pál Tamás examines the various intensity and forms of the State's presence in the "creative sector" emerged from the fusion of the artistic and information technological sphere parts and that of forming popular culture. (Tamás 2003).
[70] Therefore liberalism's trend favored by Joseph Raz rejects the requirement of neutrality. Raz, Joseph: The Morality of Freedom, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986. Quoted by Györfi

intends to change somewhat, for which it wants to ensure the crucial mass of people needed (Tamás 2003). In the case of an affirmative answer, the support of church education is the unquestionable form of the State's presence. Yes, it is the form of the State's presence since denominational schools are under state-control[71], where the material of knowledge ordered by the State is taught[72]. Nothing can be taken away from it, and nothing can be added to it. If the State stopped supporting the educational institutions financially, it could assert its claim with difficulty. That is why the State of the informational society can not withdraw from it. Those people who oppose the support of denominational schools handle the problem as a question of economics, and see the financial subsidization of such church actions which are not governmental tasks. As Polónyi says, the citizens' claim for governmental support coming from the right of choosing schools is not substantiated because the taxpayer does not dispose of her or his tax but confers this to the Parliament. Therefore if one does not choose a public service, one has to pay that service's special supply and quality indicators. Moreover, argues Polónyi, the obvious goal of the denominational identity, mission, is not a governmental task. Therefore the state pays for something which is not obliged to finance. The State then pays for something which does not have financial obligation for (Polónyi 2005). According to the above mentioned reasoning of the Hungarian Constitutional Court apart from the fact, the guarantee of the additional support is the State's duty based not only on the basic law framed by the Parliament but on the Constitution itself as well. None of the Churches attribute the ground of that to direct taxpaying disposal. Let us start solving the second half of the problem from far. If an affirmative answer is given to the question of whether the State's information politics forms social policy, it will be the State's interest to be more present at the brain factories, doing it by intensive support degree and methods. It can be reasonable especially when it considers the education in the schools, namely in denominational schools, perhaps indifferent (Polónyi 2006), or not up-to-date in their knowledge construction, their social usefulness can be questioned.

Looking into the question from a socio-political, education-political and economic point of view, we are faced with the fact that nowadays the structure of the sphere of knowledge production is necessarily undergoing a transformation in Hungary. In public education the State is not merely an

[71] According to the Law of Public Education's Section 92 of the Act, paragraph 2, the Educational Minister's competence of departmental arbiter covers all actions falling within the law irrespectively of the institution's maintainer.

[72] In the period of the establishment of the general culture, the contextual unity of schools' pedagogy and teaching, and the permeability between schools are ensured by the National Curriculum of Studies, Section 8 of the Act, paragraph 9.

institution maintainer but partly buys this service. It buys it for itself and for its citizens. It undertook the insurance of free education in the Constitution but did not take on to guarantee it explicitly in institutions financed by the State. Since the State is obliged to assure the conditions of the freedom of religion due to its duty undertaken in the Constitution, moreover it is bond to make it possible for the children and their parents to decide which school they choose. Doing so, the State can satisfy all the conditions by buying one of the services. If the denominational school imparts a greater stock of learning beside what is imposed by the State and which can be and is actually called to account by it, so adding the knowledge springing from its own scale of values, with which the society is enriched without having to pay for it[73]. With this, the society's knowledge grows richer contributing possibly to the creation of social peace in the lack of which its maintenance would force the state to heavy expenditure. One should give attention to the fact that here we meet a specific 'orderer-provider-customer' relation. The State is the 'orderer', the denominational school is the provider and the customer is the children studying at the school. The parent's interest is that their children 'buy' knowledge useful for them. It is not the State, not the governmental law and not even the church that directs the children to the denominational school, but it is their parents who have them enrolled. Thus the argument that the church considers or may consider its educational institutions basically an area of repayment can not be accepted. If the church did so, the circle of purchaser would soon drop away. Neither the State, nor the parents should be afraid of evangelization. Sociological inquiries prove all over the world that religious people's social profitableness is above the average. Max Weber's evaluation on the interrelation between protestant ethics and capitalist economy is well known (Weber 1905:2006). From today's inquiries Ákos Szalai points to the social effect from the utilities of religion consumption, according to which "due to the appropriately created stimulators (moral orders, other-worldly presents and punishments) the function of the churches decrease the cost of economic transaction greatly, contributes to the safety of property and the creation of trust in contracts and promises." Beside this he also emphasizes that "religion determines one's individual – uncontrollable by the other members of the community – deeds, where literature stresses religion's role of strengthening personal integrity: the believer experiences the violation of religious rules as the weakening of her or his own identity"[74]. On

[73] Even though István Polónyi does not see the calculation of the rate of return on education's economic yield attested, referring to Theodore W. Schultz admits that education regardless of its quality can forward and set back the improvement of a country (Polónyi & Timár 2006).

[74] Szalai (2005) made reference to the following work: Harry G. Frankfurt (1971): Freedom of Will and the Concept of a Person. Journal of Philosophy 68. 5-20., Amartya K. Sen (1977):

the basis of Iannaccone's research, Orsolya Lelkes claims that church institutions urges us to right behaviour, and use various methods of social control. Referring to Hull's and Bold's research, she says that denominational membership diverts from improper behaviour by strengthening the enforcement of proprietary rights. She points to Ellison's results and says that religion contributes to the subjective welfare in a positive way (Lelkes 2005)[75]. Summing up her own observation of scientific investigation, she highlights the following: "The active religious people give account of a higher experimental utilitarian (namely satisfactory) level on the average; their contentment is little influenced by the amount of money they have, and economic change did not affect them very much" (Lelkes 2005:87). If we accept this social usefulness, the state obtains a considerable profit (not necessarily measurable in cash) without surplus investment, thus – in agreement with Ákos Szalai – "it could really be in the government's interest to increase the number of the believers" (Szalai 2005:30).

Conclusions

According to the above explained facts, from the Constitutional point of view the existence of denominational schools and the financial obligation of the State cannot be doubted. Constitutionally, keeping to the subject of education, namely keeping the student's interest in first place[76], no difference can be made between the state schools and denominational schools. Proceeding in thinking of the issue, let us look into the question whether it is possible to make a difference constitutionally between the teachers of the state schools and those of the denominational schools. This question is also related to the financing of the public educational institutions maintained by the church.

As the regulation of the Law of Public Education for the educational-pedagogical institutions, a person can be employed who has high educational level (university or college) and qualifications established by the Law[77]. It results from this that the requirement is the same relating to the qualification and the material taught in the public institutions, whether they are state or

Rational Fools A Critique of the Behavioral Foundation of Economic Theory. Philosophy and Public Affairs 6. 317-344.

[75] Lelkes (2005) referred to: Laurence R. Iannaccone (1998) Introduction to the Economics of Religion Journal of Economic Literature 36. 3. 1465-1495; Brooks B. Hold-Frederick Bold (1995): Preaching Matters: Replication and Extension Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization 27. 143-149., Christopher G. Ellison (1991): Religious Involvement and Subjective Well-being. Journal of Health and S ocial Behavior 32. 1. 80-90.

[76] According to the Law of Public Education, Section 3 of the Act, (7), in the organization, management and actuation of public education the interest of the children is above all.

[77] Law of Public Education, Section 17 of the Act, paragraph 1.

denominational schools. This cannot be otherwise since the interest of the children, their equal judgment and the equal level education can only be accomplished this way. However, the teachers' payment set by the provision of law is defined differently by some churches. Consequently, last year several church educational schools did not give a 13th-month-salary to their workers. According to the Law of Public Education, provision concerned by the civil servants has to be applied for the payment of the number of teachers' weekly hours, overtime and extra holiday for the teachers employed by a non-state educational institution or not one financed by the local government. The teachers' salary and surplus payment cannot be less than the least proportion of the wage and compensation due for the civil workers doing the same job. On the basis of all those wages, which are to be paid to the teachers working at the local governmental educational institution are due to those working in the church educational institution as well. Since the salary of the 13th month is a kind of wage allotment, it has to be paid to the teachers employed in a church educational establishment. The source of this – as also in state and local governmental schools – is the normative and additional support. And if the church educational establishment is required to receive these, it cannot allude to the lack of source.

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RELIGION AD VALUES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

ZSANETT ÁGNES BICSÁK

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PUBLIC AND CHURCH-MAINTAINED UNIVERSITIES BASED ON THE STUDY OF MISSION STATEMENTS OF FIVE UNIVERSITIES IN POST-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A founding document contains goals, ideas and norms that shape the profile of a given institute provide information about how and why the institute came into being, what defines its upkeep and existence. In mission statements of universities, a definition of goals takes place, future plans, mission, ideas, norms are also defined, which is how the ars poetica of the institution is clarified. The founding document is the result of a series of common decisions, in which the directors and teachers outline the direction in which the university is going to go. The founding document is thus a motivational index as well, in which the university positions itself to show the areas where it wishes to achieve recognition is national and in international theatres, and also defines with which other institutions it has common characteristics.

Examining the mission statement of the given universities, the declared plans can be put into different categories: a shown system of plans, distinctive faith, place in society, service-market. However, the mission statements, besides showing a number of similarities in these points, also have a number of differences. In some cases a correlation can be discovered between public and church-maintained universities, whereas differences are clear as well, the distinctive profile that is characteristic of only public, or of only church-maintained universities.

The aim of the examination of the documents is to determine the key points the chosen universities think of as most important. We try to reveal set of values, norms, which utilise universities to identify themselves, point out their functions, and also detect which values they wish actually to convey.

The subject of the examination

The hierarchy of goals set by the universities in question is not homogenous, beside the same goals, the different universities find it important to convey different values. In the examination, a comparison of public and church-maintained universities had taken place. The basis of the comparison was the survey of the mission statement of the chosen

institutions, and the examination of the self-defining documents (informational sites, articles of association, etc.) One church-maintained and one public university from each of five post-socialist countries were selected. With public universities the choice was on one hand based on situation, as it was wished to show establishments in similar stance, on the other hand on status, as always from the most significant institutions of the given country are chosen. Religious universities are also a representative standard, even more so that in some cases, the country's one and only church-maintained university came to be the subject of the research. The selected universities from the five chosen countries are the Pázmány Péter Catholic University and the Eötvös Loránd University in Hungary; the Comenius University in Bratislava and the Catholic University in Ruzomberok in Slovakia; University of Klaipeda and the Vilnius University in Lithuania; the Catholic University of Lublin and the University of Warsaw in Poland and finally the University of Ingolstadt and Freie Universität in Germany.

As the examination has revealed it, on the basis of the examined texts, the church-maintained universities pay much more attention to defining the profile of the university than public universities do. Public universities do not always have a mission statement defining their missions. Freie and Eötvös Lóránt are good examples for this phenomenon. In these cases, the absence of the document itself can be declared to have a value, thus our conclusions were drawn from the documents connected to these universities, or documents shaping their system of rules.

Introduced set of goals

The most important distinctive feature of the public universities is that it is not the realisation and succession of humane values that is most important for them, but it is the market and economy that is becoming more and more dominant. In the examined public universities, the presentation of information requires the knowledge and establishment of practical proficiencies. Instead of the virtuous man, who sacrifices himself for the community, the ideal is the versatile man, who has general knowledge, and can find his way in the world greatly influenced by economy and information culture. Reacting to the changes in the world, the universities wish to train learned and competitive labour force. Here we can mention the mission statements (universities of Warsaw, Vilnius, and Comenius University) that were created by universities wishing to open new horizons in research. A further important feature of public universities: the question of democratic education. In the mission statement of the Comenius University one may find that it desires to be an institution that guarantees freedom, but not only inside the walls of the university, but in the outer regions as well. The CIVICUS

international research plan points out how education for citizenship and learning for society may be realised, and what difficulties may arise. The aim of the state is to prepare the students to always bear in mind the universal set of values. Responsible thinking and tolerance are also very important. Great words and daring dreams however became most problematic in Lithuania, where politicians were the most sensitive about the new requirements for universities: "The social commitment of universities […] is a real challenge especially in the post-Soviet reality, which inherited an abnormal relationship of universities and the community, of universities and the state. It prohibited critical thinking and forced education to use indoctrinated interpretations of education and personal development" (Juraite 2005: 58).

Thus it seems that because of the requirements of the European Union and because of the requirements of the world that keeps up a fast pace of change, many questions arise. How can we educate the students so that they will be flexible enough, will be able to react to social changes and changes in the market? The aim for them is to achieve these proficiencies while keeping the universal value system by their own free choice, and not by order.

The hierarchy of goals of the examined Catholic universities is sufficiently different: to educate people who can take a useful role in society, and who can show the way to the masses of puzzled, senseless people. Thus, they find it utmost important to enlighten their students about the state of the present society as precisely as possible. As it is written in the mission statement of the University of Lublin: to prepare the students for the enduring service of society, for the service of the people by God's will. The Church pays serious attention to higher education, and wishes to stress for teachers and students alike that faith and knowledge may not be separated.

"At the improvement of culture [...] Christian thinking will be present, the students of the Catholic institutions will become outstanding in terms of knowledge, and will prepare to take important roles in the life of society, and testify of faith in the world"(John Paul II. 1991).

The church views the Catholic university as the main theatre of this process. According to this, it is not surprising that the Catholic University of Ruzomberok stresses the importance of the preservation of the culture of our elders and of humane dignity.

The specifics of Christian Scientist training are as follows: the aim is not only the human filled with knowledge and understanding, but much more than that. It turns to the whole man, to the feeling, wanting, and knowing man, that is to the wholeness of human personality. The Catholic university "has moral, spiritual, and religious dimensions, and assumes the results of science in terms of the whole human personality." (John Paul II. 1991).

Distinctive belief

Even today, it is very difficult to realise the cooperation of the desires of the market and the general human values in public universities. Between the two poles there is a contradiction, the documenting of which would mean the same as the belief that the university is able to resolve this contradiction, and is also able to resolve the duality of these poles in the students too. The significance of the problem may indicate and explain the absence of mission statements in some public universities (Freie, Eötvös).

The basis of the moral education in state universities are the will to achieve ideological neutrality, the trusting of students with being able to create their own assumptions by conveying as much knowledge of ideology as possible. While getting to know different ideologies, hopefully a certain measure of tolerance spawns, along with the ability to think in an independent and autonomous way. These make the student reflect on himself/herself and on the world around him/her as well, at all times.

The Catholic university on the other hand, conveys a coherent set of beliefs and values, as well as a given set of ideology. When defining Catholic universities, the lead is provided by the apostle's orders of 1990. Church-maintained higher education institution try to be effective in maintaining the religious spirit in their activities, take it interest in teaching all sciences (research, education), and they are respected by the government. As the director of the University of Ingolstadt declares, this university is very different from any public university.

The distinctive feature of the church-maintained university seems to be clear: it unifies the two horizons of reality, searching and researching the truth, but on the other hand assuming that the truth is already known. This contradiction becomes resolvable at a Catholic university. It serves man by unifying faith and knowledge, it shows the covered face of humanity. It understands man in the society and culture created by man, but also ventures to fulfil man with love, hope, and faith. It is difficult to capture scientific improvement together with the power of the revelation, and to communicate these extremes in this manner.

In the declared goals of the Catholic University of Ruzomberok, a distinct place is given to the mission of evangelizing society, and to the conveys that of Christian and European spiritual culture. The Christian University of Klaipeda stresses the importance of the spiritual values connected to the life of Jesus Christ, a distinct significance is given to man's growth in truth. Following Christ becomes a living mission of real words and real deeds, Christian education gains back its real value. Through this, their

own values like human responsibility and dignity become clear for students, that is, they recognise man's aim and task.

The role of university in society

The role of universities in society is to improve the competences needed for social changes, and to convey knowledge. The universities of the chosen countries imagine their roles in society primarily on the basis of the requisites of the European Union. More devotion appears when the university discusses the system of goals and plans in a longer and detailed fashion. Thus the university becomes the basis of the change of society, the theatre of formal education. The University of Warsaw goes even further: the university declares itself as one of the most significant universities in Europe, and states that its presence is crucial in Europe. Taking the self-definition, we are talking about one of the most ambitious universities in the region, where people believe that the university may render historical and cultural differences, and a dialogue between Eastern and Western Europe may begin. The universities examined, as the most significant public universities in their countries, wish to gauge their results with the measures of Western Europe. They wish to create high quality research facilities, cooperate with companies, and investors, and provide equal conditions for each and every student in Central Europe who takes their preliminary examinations. The role of public universities in society becomes significant mainly because of their role in international communication, cooperation and permeability. The improvement of regional communities supports the necessary process of globalization. The mission statements of state universities provide the answers for the challenges of higher education.

The Catholic university on the other hand wishes to achieve a Christian presence in society, reacts to its ever growing base of knowledge and its present state. It also desires to solve the challenges raised by globalization in another way. The Catholic university provide Christian spiritual base, it is faithful to the message of the church, and it leads its people, since it has an institutional devotion towards society. The Catholic University of Lublin stresses that it wants to strengthen the Catholic ideology of the people in a modern world full of challenges. "[...] the Catholic university is affected by Catholic values, Catholic ideas, and the Catholic attitude." (John Paul II. 1991) Pázmány Péter Catholic University declares the need for keeping the Catholic spirit in the requisites for students as follows: "[...] the student whose behaviour does not match with Christian values at the university and outside the university, whose attitude conveys that s/he is not willing to create and maintain a good reputation of the university, commits a disciplinary fault" (Farkas 2008).

Thus, it seems that the Catholic university means a living community. As in every community, a higher idea can be found, which is not other than the Christian faith and love that can connect everyone with everyone else. This means the base for the Catholic University of Lublin when it tries to strengthen the Catholic values in the people in a modern world full of challenges. As the mission statement of the University of Klaipeda declares, the university is present in society as a value-community. The university tries to convey and maintain the tolerance, traditional values that were created within the university walls towards the wider community and society.

Service – market

We have seen the state universities' willingness to research and improve. The state universities wish to form their education so that it will be permeable. By providing uniform requisites and degrees, they create the situation of competition between universities. At the universities of Middle-Europe, an improving system of higher education is being formed following an American model. Similar to the American and English models, the new Middle-European system of education seeks to react to economic change. The difficulties of the innovative system of institutions are that the Middle-Eropean universities used to have completely different features. Thus, the individual and regional features were more emphasized, the individual countries' laws and features were more distinct. Changing the system of education is not a small task; it is an energy and financial resource-consuming venture, requiring a significant energy from the leadership and teachers of the university. The changing situation keeps the students of the universities in a state of uncertainty, thus the mission statement of public universities become more important, as they summarise the processes of improvement, goals, and provide a crutch.

Catholic universities wish to match to the requisites and scientific level in a similarly swift way (as the university of Lublin puts it, a university is first and foremost a university), and also want to fulfil the requisites of the Catholic feature.

Its scenes of research are willing to legitimate sciences, they are at the verge of human knowledge, and are unifying their results with the given goal, realised by the faith in Christ. Science confirms the existence of God, scientific research does not contradict the divine law. However, conscience is always superior to material knowledge, as God is to man. In church maintained universities it seems very important to transmit the moral contents of given sciences to the students. The most important ones of these moral contents are a global scientific view, recognition of the human personality, recognition of Christian and European culture, solidarity, attempts to

preserve the nation's traditions and values, love of the nation, and attempts to develop the nation. In conveying traditional values, great importance is given to the professors' personal relationship with the students. As the University of Ingolstadt put it, their education is based on individual, practice-oriented and scientific methods.

The Christian University of Klaipeda claims that artistic education, which affects so many aspects of life, is of great importance. It is to be noted, that a Catholic university doe not only use Catholic tenets as resources, but it also thinks that the moral message of the teaching is very important, and it wishes to nurture, and not only teach. It wants to convey the teachings so that the students get to love and understand them. To serve the understanding, the university set the training of learned people. To prove this, we only have to take a look at the training plan of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at a Catholic university (compared to the same faculties at other universities). We can see that the Pázmány Péter Catholic University wants to convey more detailed and deeper knowledge, while preserving the importance of moral education as well – as signalled by the philosophical and theological studies – and its optional courses are also more colourful compared to other universities. Theoretical knowledge is put into practice by the university parish, indicating the reality of belief in everyday life.

Beside the aims and specifics of PPCU, its mission statement also shows that the university fulfils every requirement of a Catholic university and of the realisation of Catholic ideals. It also ventures on the Catholic interpretation of human knowledge, and it stays faithful to the Christian message conveyed by the Church, that is, it is devoted to leading the people towards a transcendent goal. To fulfil this aim, the university conducts researches and publishes their results. It cooperates with national universities and institutions abroad, furthermore, it separates itself from all parties or political organizations. We must underline the importance of the Catholic mission again: to help the people, independent of any political party of faction.

Summary

The uniformization of European higher education seems to be clear. In the countries studied, the goals that will shape the future of training of intellectuals in Europe are visible. The requirement of permeability is one of the most important willingness in European universities, in accordance with the hope of a unified Europe. In terms of goals and values, one can discover significant difficulties according to the university being public or church-maintained. The differences are but differences in stress, as the aims of Catholic universities are the same as the ones specified by public ones, and

goals given by the state for its educational institutions converge to Christian values. Serving the community is not only a Christian feature, but it is a necessary aspect of state institutions. Teaching citizens also has the aim of educating in a moral fashion for the realisation of a responsible, and acting attitude. Community service is the goal of public universities as well, just like a critical, reflexive, thinking is important at a Catholic university.

A new requirement for universities is that they should not take themselves and their missions as separated, but they should see their own existence and goals in connection with the other, similar institutions and goals in other countries and at their own country as well. Also, they should not want to become or stay a separate world, but a university should create its own profeile based on society's needs. The competences taught at universities will enable the individual not only to place him/herself in the world of work, but to be a valuable member of a community. The chosen documents and mission statements were declared to be in accordance with the requirements of the European Union, and the Middle-European institutions of higher education also match to the global aim (Galambos & Kozma 2008).

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ENIKŐ SZŰCS

HOW DO GRADUATED MAJORS OF CHURCH-MAINTAINED HIGHER EDUCATION FIND EMPLOYMENT?

Being able to complete one's studies in one's mother tongue and more importantly, being able to study in the same language at the university is of crucial importance to Hungarian ethnics living in Romania. Studying in one's mother tongue is one of the best ways we can keep our national identity and a Hungarian language university has a most decisive role in this. After 1989, the downfall of communism in Romania, a freer political climate allowed for the question of education in Hungarian to come to the fore. This meant first of all, the restitution of the old Hungarian schools and the establishment of an independent Hungarian language university, namely the Bolyai University. Unfortunately not to this day has a viable solution been reached that would crown the efforts of the nearly 2 million Hungarian native–speakers with success.

Higher education in the Hungarian language in Nagyvarad/Oradea started in 1990, when the Istvan Sulyok Reformed College was established, the forerunner of Partium Christian University. The college was founded by the Reformed Diocese of Kiralyhagomellek/Piatra Craiului based on the resolution number 39/1990 signed on 19 May 1990. On the 19 May meeting the temporary members of the Council of the College were also established. The institution is named after Istvan Sulyok, the first bishop of the Diocese of Kiralyhagomellek/Piatra Craiului established in 1922. The name of the new establishment therefore reflects two of the missions the University envisages: to respect traditions and help youth form an identity in light of these traditions.

In the academic year of 1991-1992 education started on three double majors; each major was attended by 25 students. Religious and Moral Education Teacher training major was paired with Social Work Studies, Religious and Moral Education Teacher training major and German major, and Religious and Moral Education Teacher training major with Law. Students were mainly the wives of rural ministers, doctors, teachers and engineers. Other students were parishioners with only secondary school degrees. At the end of their five-year studies (10 semesters) 118 graduates received a Religious and Moral Education Teacher Certificate in 1995.

The choice of courses offered was determined by certain principles, on one hand, the conservation and shaping of regional identity, i.e. Partium identity. On the other hand, it was determined by the needs of the Hungarian

community, namely the lack of specialists in certain fields, a leftover of the past communist era. Finally, a third reason was the reduction of human recourses.

On 9 June 1998 an ecumenical congress was held in the hall of the Reformed Diocese of Kialyhagomellek/Piatra Craiului on the occasion of its successful legal retrieval. At the congress representatives of the denominations of Partium were present, as well as representatives of the civil society, local and county officials of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (DAHR), representatives of educational and cultural institutions and many other national and international personages devoted to the cause of education in the Hungarian language.

During this Congress the resolution was that the name of Istvan Sulyok Reformed College of Oradea/Nagyvárad should be changed into Partium Christian University since the College became an independent Hungarian higher educational establishment. The resolution was forwarded to the Ministry of Education with the assent and support of the ministry and the government to the establishment of the new educational institution. Any further decisions on the part of PCU were made in the light of the resolutions presented at the Congress.

According to the legal circumstances prevailing at that time the only way an independent Hungarian university could exist was by way of being funded by a foundation. For this reason in September 1999 the Pro Universitate Partium Foundation was established based on a judicial act of the Court of Bihar County. Undergraduates enrolled in the academic year of 1999-2000 were students of the Partium Christian University.

The purpose of this research is to present to what extent the training at PCU meets the exigencies of the market. It seemed important to closely watch to what extend graduates at our university managed to get a job and how graduates of a Christian university succeeded in life. Our research focused on the situation of graduates who majored in Reformed Religious Education and Social Work Studies. We have chosen these majors because they were among the first ones the University offered and because they met the needs of the labour market of the region.

The aim of the research

The aim of our research is on the one hand to present the professional career of graduates who majored in Reformed Religious Education and Social Work Studies and to evaluate how many of them have jobs that require university studies. Another important criterion was whether

the graduates preferred to work as teachers of Religious Education or as social workers.

A further important issue in this respect concerns with the training at the university. The research also focuses on the various problems our graduates had when employed or during their work either because of lack of knowledge or for any other reasons.

The hypothesis of the research

The hypothesis was that the training offered by the Reformed Religious Education teacher training and Social Work Studies would meet the requirements of the labour market and that our graduates would work in the fields they studied.

Another aspect of our hypothesis was that training received in one's mother tongue represented an advantage in finding an appropriate workplace. We need to have in mind that training in the mother tongue is essential since this is the medium through which the work is done, namely teaching reformed religion.

Finally, we supposed that graduates were able to use their practical and theoretical knowledge and the experiences gained during practice at university. This way, they can easily meet the difficulties at their workplaces.

The methods used

In order to do the research we employed two methods. The first one is a survey that we carried out among graduates of the Reformed Religious Education and Social Work Studies majors. The questionnaire can be divided into three sections.

(1) The first section contains information based on which we can identify the subjects. It also contains information pertaining to their studies, namely: (a) When they have started and finished their studies. (b) When they have taken their state examination. (c) Information about their second degrees or postgraduate studies.

(2) The second section contains information regarding their work. (a) Scope of activities. (b) Whether they intend to change jobs – if yes, for what reasons.

(3) The third part contains socio-demographic data. (a) Sex, age, address, income, marital status.

The second method we used in gathering data is the focus group interview. The subjects of the interview were the graduates who worked in the fields they studied. Separate interviews were done with those who worked as teachers of Religious Education and those who worked as social workers.

The results

In our research we used two methods. On the one hand, we had subjects fill out a questionnaire we ourself had compiled, and on the other hand, we conducted focus group interviews with those who graduated from the Reformed Religious Education teacher training and Social Work Studies majors at PCU from 1996 and onwards.

Since these majors began 260 students have received a degree in them. From these we managed to trace down 85 individuals. The survey we mentioned was done among them. 73 women and 12 men took part in the research.

The findings revealed that the age of the surveyed individuals ranged between 23 and 54 years. This means that the oldest person entered university in 1991 and finished his/her studies in 1996. The youngest individual entered university in 2001 and graduated in 2005. 13 of the surveyed people graduated in 1996, 18 in 2003 and 14 in 2005.

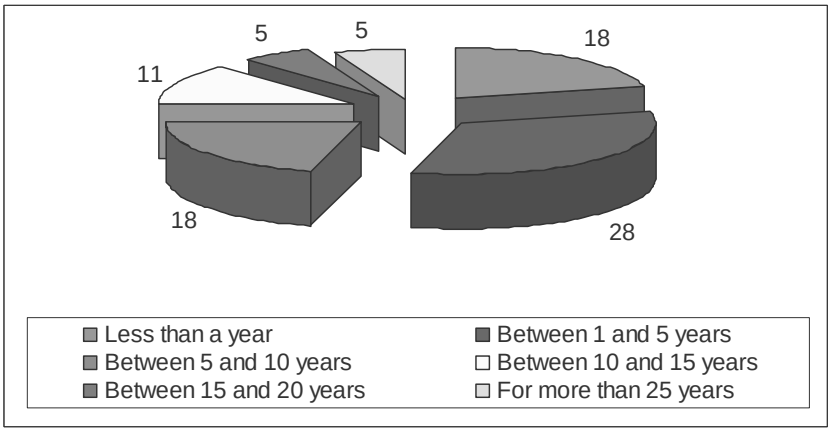
As far as the state exam is concerned, the data is somewhat different. Of the 85 people surveyed 11 did not take the exam in the year they finished their studies. Furthermore to this day, 7 of them do not even have a degree.

We thought it was important to know how many of the individuals attended any other form of education, since this proves to be important in getting a good job. It is also important whether they have any other university degrees because this may serve as an advantage in the labour market.

Among the surveyed individuals only four graduated in another major, (Roman Catholic Theology- English major, Psychology and Management) and 2 people did M.A. courses (Mental hygiene and Human Resources Management). Moreover, 11 individuals are presently attending some form of education: (1) Sociology – 3 individuals; (2) German major (at PCU) – 1 individual; (3) Psychology (Babes Bolyai University) – 1 individual; (4) Pharmaceutics – 1 individual; (5) Pedagogy – 2 individuals (at Goldis University); (6) M.A. studies / Ph.D. studies (University of Oradea, BBTE) – 3 individuals.

The most important part of the questionnaire contains the data regarding the career of graduates. The following figure shows us for how long the surveyed individuals have been working (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Number of years spent working



The figure above indicates that we can set up three important groups. The first group is made up of the people who have worked for less than a year. The second group contains the individuals who have been working for a period ranging between 5 and 10 years. Finally, the largest group is made up of those who have been working for a period ranging between 15 and 20 years.

During the years of employment the majority of the subjects have worked in the field of their studies in either one or two working places. The results of the survey illustrate that 29 individuals had only one job, 16 people had 2 jobs, 19 subjects worked in three different places, and 6 individuals worked in 4 different places. The rest, 15 people, had more than 4 jobs and only one of them worked in 9 different places.

The next questions in the survey refer to the career of the subjects. The answers show that 9 individuals had already worked in their field of studies even before they started their university studies, (7 respondents had worked as social workers, 2 as primary school teachers), and 2 respondents have since changed jobs. These individuals continued working in their original working places even after graduation, which indicates that they entered university and finished their studies in order to keep their jobs.

The results indicate how many people work at present in the fields they studied. 53 individuals are social workers, 20 people work as teachers of Reformed Religious Education, 10 people work in a different field and 2 of the surveyed individuals do not work anywhere cuuently.

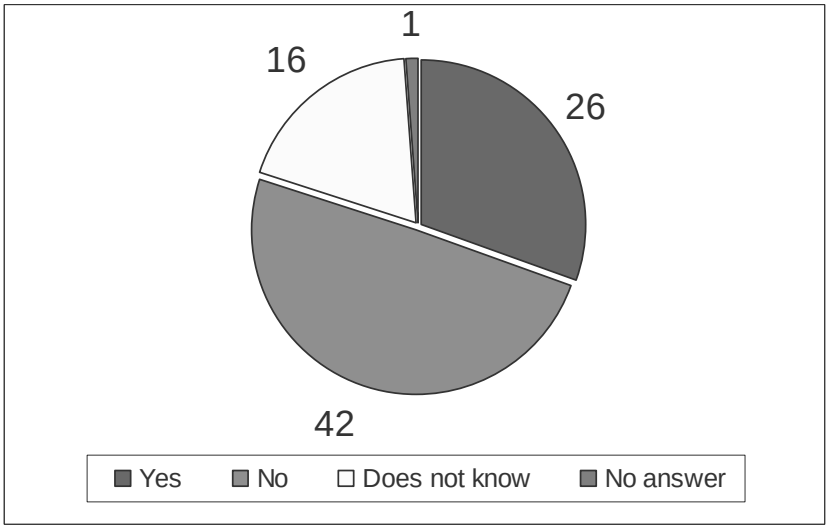
The following list shows what the scope of activities these people do is:

Social work	**Other fields**
Social workers – 28	Religious education teacher – 20
Manager/ assistant manger – 5	Secretary – 2
Rapporteur (secretary) – 5	Insurance agent – 2
Manager of a center/ Deputy - 5	Primary school teacher – 2
Counselor – 4	Pharmacist – 2
University instructor – 3	Salesman – 2
Rapporteur - 3	Unemployed - 2

Based on the results we can see that most of the people are employed as social workers, followed by teachers of Reformed Religious Education, which is not surprising since these subjects graduated in two majors. However, what is surprising is the fact that the graduates of a Christian university do not work in accordance with the Church. There are several reasons for this. First of all, Partium Christian University does not discriminate students as far as their religion is concerned. Therefore, it may be possible that students of religious denominations (other than the Reformed one) also enrolled in these courses. In this case, it may seem possible that the reason these individuals chose PCU is because they had the possibility of studying in Hungarian in a Christian environment.

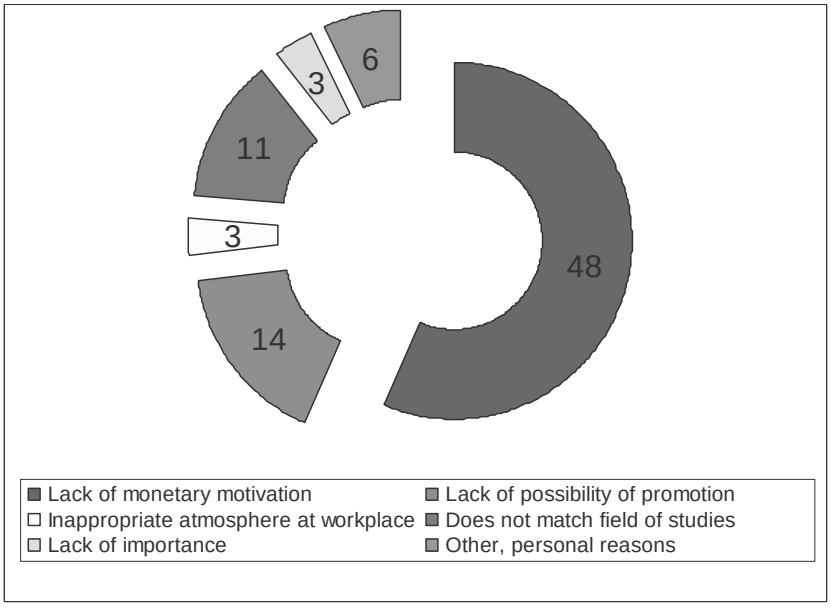
Figure 2 illustrates what the surveyed individuals think about changing workplaces and whether they are considering working in a different environment or not. The figure shows that less than half of the individuals we asked, 42 people, would not like to work somewhere else, 26 of them would like to have a different job, 16 does not yet know and 1 refrained from answering the question.

Figure 2: Intention of changing jobs



The question is why almost one third of the respondents would work in a different place. The survey answers this question as well. The following figure shows the reasons why the questioned people would change their places of work.

Figure 3: Reasons for changing workplace



The figure above indicates that more than half of the interrogated graduates would like to change their jobs because of the lack of financial motivation. A quarter of the individuals cannot develop their career. Some of them would like to change their jobs because they do not work in their fields of study. Yet another group thinks that the atmosphere at work is not beneficent. Last, but not least, some of the people consider changing their jobs because their work is not considered important or because of the constantly changing working conditions.

The other method used in the survey is that of the focus group interview. Two interviews were held. The first one had as its subjects the people who worked as social workers. While the second group focused on the teacher graduates of Religious Education.

10 graduates participated in the interview with the social workers. They work in 9 different social institutions either as leaders or as social workers.

The aim of the group interview was to highlight the positive and negative aspects of the training. We also wanted to find out the problems our graduates faced when they applied for a job.

The focus group interview started with a short introduction, followed by the participants' account on their jobs:

"…What I do? Everything! I am the manager of the foundation, I procure the material we need, I do the paperwork, employ new people, deal with clients, write projects, … I do everything."

"I work with orphans, elderly people, with impaired people, with homeless … and the list could go on!"

"Alcoholic, Romany, ill, handicapped, visually impaired, smart/less bright …. Does not matter. If there is a problem, I have to solve it."

The discussion revealed that these experts were in a most difficult situation since they were overloaded with work. The problem is that there are many issues to be solved and only very few experts to deal with these. Another difficulty they mentioned was the poor knowledge of the Romanian language, since the beginning of their university studies no one cared about learning the Romanian terminology and this later proved to be a disadvantage when applying for a job.

Yet another problem they faced was the fact that they could not practice the theoretical knowledge they acquired at university since everybody had studied only one field, but when they got a job that did not correspond with their previous studies.

The second focus group interview was held with 7 teachers of Religious Education. The aim of the group interview was also to highlight the positive and negative aspects of the training. We also wanted to find out the problems our graduate teachers faced when they applied for a job. The first problem occurred right at the beginning when introducing them. The subjects revealed that they had to teach in several schools of Nagyvarad/Oradea and in the surrounding schools because there were not enough classes in one school.

"I teach Religion in four different schools because otherwise I would not have a full-time job. I teach 1st graders and 12 graders as well."

"According to the curriculum, I am supposed to teach two grades, but there are not enough students to have two classes per week, so I have to draw the two classes together."

"Since I did not have enough classes at one school, I had to find another school as well… now I commute between Nagyvarad and the surrounding villages."

"Since I am only an interim teacher, I have to take examinations every year to get a job… I have been doing this for 5 years now. I'm slowly wearing out."

The interview shed light on some negative aspects we did not think about when we started our research. However, some positive aspects of this interview were also eminent.

All teachers had a good opinion about the double major system. This means that they have two degrees and they have more possibilities of finding more jobs than those who study only one major. They also thought that the Reformed Religious Education and Social Work Studies majors as such were a very good combination because these two fields had many things in common. Both of them aim at helping others, giving something to our peers and help our neighbours.

Throughout the interview some issues were emphasized about the way of getting into the labor market, such as: *Positive aspects:* (1) Improving the existing human relationships; (2) Making new relationships; (3) Improving professional skills and abilities. *Negative aspects*: (1) Experience absence; (2) Accommodation problems; (3) The problem of putting the theoretical knowledge into practice.

Conclusions

The aim of this research was to offer a comprehensive image about how the PCU met the requirements of the labour market. It seemed important to closely watch to what extend graduates at our university

managed to get a job and how graduates of a Christian university succeeded in life.

Our research focused on the situation of graduates of the Reformed Religious Education and Social Work Studies majors. Our aim was also to see how many of them managed to get a job in their fields of study. We also looked at data in connection with how many of them worked as teachers of Religious Education and how many of them worked as social workers.

The questionnaire revealed that out of 85 people 73 did what they had actually studied. 53 of them were social workers and 20 teachers of Religious education. We believe this is a very good proportion, even if we found out during the interviews that they were not satisfied with their jobs since their work was not well-paid at all in Romania.

Another fact was that our experts were in most cases overloaded with work, which however, did not mean that they conducted their jobs without passion.

The hypotheses of our research mainly proved to be true. Our first hypothesis was that Reformed Religious Education and Social Work Studies did meet the requirements of the labour market and that our graduates did get a job in accordance with their field of study. The data gathered from the questionnaire supported this.

Furthermore, we also assumed that students could use their theoretical knowledge and practical experiences, this way they did not have major problems when they applied for jobs and when they actually did their work. This hypothesis turned out to be wrong since the focus group interview revealed that many of the graduates were not able to put into practice what they had learned at university. Moreover, another problem that we originally did not even consider became relevant. What seemed a major advantage at first could at times become a disadvantage. One of the advantages of students at PCU was that they could study in Hungarian, but they should have also worked hard on acquiring the Romanian terminology as well. Lately, the curriculum has made that possible too.

We would like to end our research with a few thoughts that the interviewees wanted us to pass on to the newly graduates: they should familiarize with all fields of their study, work regularly as voluntaries, learn to handle their feelings, not mix their professional life with their personal one, learn from their own mistakes, be well-prepared both in theory and in practice. They should also strive to do their best in everything, plan their lessons and respect the people they work with.

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TAMARA TAKÁCS

DENOMINATIONAL STATUS AND MEDIA-RELATED ATTITUDES AMONG THE HUNGARIAN STUDENTS IN TRANSYLVANIA[78]

With a view to the fostering of the identity, the denominational status and the usage of publications also play an important role, besides the participation in the mother tongue education.

In this study the characteristics of the minority identity as well as the main components of the minority existence is examined along these two main dimensions. That is to say, how the national identity affects the denominational status and the characteristics of the media usage, and how the consumption of publications and religiousity reacts to identity, with regards to the preserving and confirming of it.

In this paper based on the experiences of earlier surveys minority identity also appears in the characteristics of the media usage and in the denominational status, quasi, it materializes and completes itself in them. Besides, we can also take notice of the self-supporting characteristics of the process, when examining the reversed process, because the consumption of the publications in the mother tongue and the denominational status strengthen and deepen the already existing minority identity even more.

Native minorities keep separate from the members of the majority nation, they do not want to be absorbed, to be assimilated (Pásztor 2005), and in order to express this and to preserve their identity, they mainly consume publications in the mother tongue (Magyar 2005). The news (Papp Z. 2002) published there and communicated through the system of reasons of the minority consciousness affect the minority consciousness in a way that confirms the identity.

The members of the minority will mainly become members of the denominations teaching in their mother tongue, and the majority of them are members of one of the denominations, because a strong religiousity can be observed among them (Tomka 1999). In the congregational communities they can meet people with minority identity belonging to their own mother tongue. Through the interactions occurring here there come a special atmosphere and community confirming each others identity into life on the breeding ground of the minority identity confirming the relatedness.

[78] Translated by: Kohl, János.

Results of earlier surveys in connection with the denominational status of the Hungarians in Transylvania

In the following, the results of the research as well as the consequencies are shown in the special literature in connection with the media-usage and religiousity of the Hungarians in Transylvania.

The results of the comparative surveys measuring the religious index show that the appearance of religious faith among the Transylvanian population is more intensive and more common than among the Hungarian population. Just after Poland, Romania is regarded to be the second most religious country in Europe, and in this respect it also keeps its leading position on the more extended international scale. This is also reflected by the Transylvanian landscape, which bears, in the form of wayside crosses and country chapels, its national and religious characteristics. "The rate of the people describing themselves as non-believers is 5% among the Hungarians in Transylvania, 3% among the Romanians, while 27% among the population of Hungary." (Tomka 1999:25). This tendency can be observed also in the worship: ceremonies, baptism, marriage in church, and burial are important for the Transylvanians and they are regarded as regular visitors of the church, as opposed to the practice in Hungary. The proportion of those praying regularly is 70% among the Hungarian population in Transylvania, while it is only 38% among the Hungarians in the motherland. Besides, religiousity has a special inner content and meaning for the Transylvanians, as it is the spiritual support and the source of happiness for them; it has a far more central and definitive significance in their daily lives (Tomka 1999). This chain of thought completes itself in the statement of Ferenc Gereben that states that the denominational status is an important mean for the fostering and preserving of the identity (Gereben 1998). "The importance of religiousity and worship is increased in a minority situation and plays an important role in the preserving of the private and collective identity" (Gereben 1999:18). It is especially so when the majority nation and the minority belong to different denominations. In this case, the Romanians belong to the orthodox denomination, and the Hungarians are mainly Reformed or Catholic. Although Gereben's statement can be disputed at the point that in Transylvania both Hungarians and Romanians are more religious than their western companions, what is more, the Romanian people living in majority has a somewhat stronger reliougesness than the Hungarians living in minority. It is possible, that the minority existence in itself will not lead to religious feelings, but the denominational status has an indispensable role in the preserving of the identity, and just because of this characteristic, we cannot override Gereben's statement.

Results of earlier surveys in connection with the media-consumption habits of the Hungarians in Transylvania

In the life of Hungarian minorities living in geographical dispersal out of Hungary, we can see an example for a specific self-organizing and for a community-building effect, capable of bridging the gap with the help of the Internet. In the life of the overseas Hungarian minorities, these websites go back to a further past, while the webpages created with the intention of fostering the Hungarian way of living on the areas disannexed from Hungary began to spread in 1998, and the use of Internet portals is the mostly developed and most advanced in Transylvania, in accordance with the numerical ratio of the Hungarians (Balázs D. 2006). Their objectives include the sharing the information, the building community and the encouraging of the communication of the Hungarians in minority, which factors play an indispensable role in the preserving and the expressing of the identity.

In 2003 and 2004, Tivadar Magyari took a survey of the media consumption habits of the Hungarians in Transylvania within the sub-areas of newspaper reading, consumption of radio and television. According to Magyari's results, the consumption of the domestic publications and first of all those published in the Hungarian language can be observed among the Hungarians in Transylvania in all three sub-areas. With reading newspaper, 87% of the Hungarians living in Romania choose by all means from among the written press organs published in Hungarian, and more than 50% of them choose a reading from local Hungarian newspapers. This latter group is mainly made up of the Hungarian middle-class in Romania, as the habits of newspaper reading are closely related to the language of the education and to their its qualification level (Magyari 2005). Also the Internet habits of the Hungarians in Romania are in accordance with these results, as they gather the information mainly from the webpages published in Hungarian (Balázs 2006). The reading of the publications published in the language of the majority can be regarded as a channel of assimilation, thus by the denial of them and by the consumption of the publications in the mother tongue, Hungarian minorities in Romania foster their identity and so to say stem the assimilation process. Ferenc Gereben highlights that the frequency of newspaper and book reading is higher among the Hungarians in Romania than among the average in Hungary. Within this, a tendency can be observed that the willingness to read is mostly experienced among the minorities living scattered. Regarding the content grouping of the works read, the Hungarians in Romaniafirst of all increase the number of the people enjoying literary works, while the readers in Hungary rather give preference to the books of western best-selling authors. According to Gereben, these factors can be explained by the identity-preserving role of reading in the mother tongue:

those living in minority, and especially those living scattered, preserve and foster their knowledge of the language, their identity, and defend themselves against assimilation, against being absorbed, by reading in their mother tongue (Gereben 1999).

On the various art programmes – which will be discussed embedded in the subject of the media – we can also observe the above-mentioned process. The exhibitions organized by the members of the minority group, the various programmes give opportunity for the unfolding of themself and for the artistic pleasure in the mother tongue. Besides, they give opportunity for the arising of personal interactions, and because of this, these programmes have an important role preserving and confirming the identity, thus they can be regarded as being the interactive segment of the media. From the point of view of preserving and expressing the identity, they have a crucial role.

An example of such a programme could be seen on the weekend of March 15th, 2007, when a programme was organized and performed in the Hungarian Teleki House in Nagybánya, on every day of the weekend around the 15 – the celebration of 15th March is an important event in expressing Hungarian identity. It was also connected to the art programme, to the opening of the spring gallery, performed in the Hungarian Teleki House on the 17th of March. Such a programme is an important interactive place for private meetings and for preserving the identity, where there is an opportunity for the personal involvement of the visitors, and – through the interactions arising here – for the preserving and confirming of each others identity. Minority people can express their own identity, instead of being isolated they can build a community, through which they can express their own identity and they can go on with strengthening it.

The spring gallery appeared as a kind of main expressing element of collective Hungarian identity. The people being present there were not only present because of the enjoyment of the art works, but in this case we can see an example for the meeting and connecting of minority consciousness – identity and art. Identity in a way holds on to art.

With regard to the further development of the research, it is important to visit other similar programmes preserving and expressing identity, and to make their case-analysis. Since these are not neglectable when thinking about and investigating Hungarian minority, and they also have an un-neglectable and irreplaceable significance on the life of the Hungarian minority in Romania, as those are the indispensable places of preserving and expressing of identity, their importance materializes in the personal experience, interactivity and collective character.

We can find a similar interactive character, but with communal consciousness, on the webpages created with the intention of the uniting of Hungarians in Romania. The forum and chat opportunities working here connect the Hungarian minorities situated in geographical dispersion. On these pages they can express their opinion, inform each other, and they can also read minority news and actualities. As such, they are the places for the exchange of information and for the forming of communal consciousness, helping the fostering of identity of the members of the Hungarian minority living either far from each other or in each other's neighbourhood.

An important element of minority culture is how Hungarian language education is working within the frames of the Bábes-Bolyai University, which was a popular theme lately in the daily news. Both the Hungarian press in Romania and the Romanian press in Romania are interested in it. It has gained stressed importance through the involving of international publicity (Murvay 2007). And as such, it can be ranged among the stressed themes regarding the media. With the help of its emphazized character, it shows what can stir up Transylvanian publicity, what is regarded as important, what is the thing for which both parties are willing to fight: the publicity in the field of the media, which gained an interactive character in this period of time, the open letter as a special and rarely used press organ, the open debate, the transmission of the open skirmishes and demonstrations, in the crossfire of the opinions of the two parties. That is why, because of the significance of the theme, it will be discussed separately.

Scientists living in different countries of the world had published an open letter already in 1990, in which they had demanded the separation of the Babes-Bolyai University as well as the re-establishment of the independent Hungarian university. On February 20th, 2006, The Times published the letter that was addressed to its editors, and in which 79 Hungarian scientists asked for the re-establishment of the Bolyai University. Their arguments can be grouped as follows: the Sapientia and Partium Christian Universities financed by the Hungarian state cannot substitute the Hungarian universities that are important for the Hungarian minority, but are financed by the Romanian state[79]. The Hungarian teachers' lack the autonomy in making decisions, with regard to both the material financial questions and the drawing up of the curriculum. There are no Hungarian signs at the university, the rectors of Hungarian origin are not represented in the portrait series of the rectorate, and the auditoriums bear mostly the names of Romanian scientists (Parászka 2006).

As an answer to the request, the rector of the Babes-Bolyai University initiated a disciplinary procedure against Péter Hantz and Lehel Kovács, the

[79] http://index.hu/politika/kulfold/bolyai3483/

two vice-presidents of the Bolyai Initiative Committee. According to Nikola Bocsan, the initiative has a bad influence on the good reputation of the university, and gives a false description of the multicultural character of the university. The rector also holds out the prospect of the deduction from pay and the avoidance of the labour contract. "The Bolyai Initiative Committee regards the letter of the rector as serious violation of democracy, as […] it held out the prospect of revisions against those who had exposed the false multiculturalism of the university" (Moszkovits 2006:5). Already in October 2005, several hundred people demonstrated for the re-establishment of the Hungarian university, and that shows – besides the initiative of the teachers and scientists of Hungarian origin – the similar demand and request of the Hungarians and students in Transylvania (Oláh 2005).

The main arguments of those not supporting the initiative can be grouped around the intention for the preserving of the multicultural character of the university. According to Péter Niedermüller, there is no need to realize the striving for indipendance of the Hungarian university, as the existing institutional structure suitably ensures the opportunity of the education of the Hungarians in the Hungarian language. He thinks that "the Hungarians do not need any special status, because they do not have need of it." "[T]he organizing and establishing of the universities, departments on ethnic base is opposed in a substantial way to the main characters of modern sciences: internationalism and publicity. […] It is exactly the situation of the higher education in Hungary that shows what happens when a country loses sight of the international standard." For it gives the student such knowledge "that is simply not needed anymore nowadays." (Neidermüller 2006)

According to Pál Tamás, the separation of the Bábes-Bolyai University would be a serious mistake, as it is better when graduated students have a degree taken in a subsidiary subject of an outstanding university, compared to the case when their degree comes from a university not having a good reputation – and the separation of the Bábes-Bolyai University would lead to the decreasing of the quality of the Hungarian university (Tamás 2006).

An opposite attitude is reflected by the fact that Zoltán Kása, the deputy dean of the Department of Mathematics and Informatics of the Babes-Bolyai University resigned, since the faculty council had refused his request in which he had asked for the establishment of the independent Hungarian faculty of informatics. He thinks that the base for the refusal was the fact that the initiatives of the Hungarian teachers have no chance to reach the goal in the faculty council with Romanian majority. With his resignation, he intended to call the attention to the problems of the Hungarian education (Moszkovits 2005).

We can end the presentation of the debate over the separation of the Babes-Bolyai University with the opinion of Károly Veress, as his opinion means the continuation of the thoughts outlined before. "The existence of the Hungarian section of the Babes-Bolyai University, its present condition and proportions, and Hungarian education exercised in the university are not due to the multicultural structure of the university and to the attitude of the management enforcing it, but it is a necessity arising from the history of the university and from the requests of the Hungarians in Transylvania, and its existence is the result of the professional activity of the Hungarian teachers and students. The fact, that multiculturalism can be mentioned at all, is owing to this and not to the other way round" (Veress 2006).

The summing up of the above debate gives opportunity to have a look at the world of media of Hungarian minorities, in the crossfire of the argument systems of the debates.

The analysis of the denominational status and the media habits of the Hungarian students in Transylvania, based on the results of Mozaik 2001

According to the survey of MOZAIK 2001, the type of books the Hungarians in Transylvania read most frequently are the books belonging to the categories of best sellers, and those with university degree are the ones who read the most frequently. 70% of the sample read writings in Hungarian language, 35% of them read solely in Hungarian. The Romanian and Hungarian commercial broadcasting stations are the most popular television channels among our respondents. Among people with university degree and among the elderly ones, Duna television is the most popular. 80% of the youth are regular radio listeners, Danubius Radio has the greatest popularity among them, and this corresponds to the habits of the youth in Hungary, regarding listening to the radio (Szabó et al 2002). 24% of the Transylvanian youth read newspapers daily, the Bihari Napló, the Krónika and the Szatmári Friss Újság are some of the most widely read newspapers among them, which corresponds to Tivadar Magyari's results regarding newspaper reading habits.

Concerning the denominational status, the majority of the Hungarian youth in Transylvania consider themselves as Reformed (53%) or Catholic (27%). More than 80% of them answer to believe in God, the rate of the atheists who are clearly denying religiousity is 7% (Szabó et al. 2002). Compared to the data of the investigation Youth 2000, the Hungarian youth in Transylvania can be regarded as being more religious than their companions in Hungary, among whom 57% declare themselves being religious by either following the teachings of the church or in their own way,

and 36% declare themselves as not religious at all. Interestingly, the number of the uncertain people, who cannot decide whether they are religious or not, is 7% in both samples (Szabó et al. 2002).

Comparative analysis of the Hungarian students in Transylvania and in Hungary, based on the results of the ISCED 5 database

The results of ISCED 5, a research conducted in 2005 at the University of Debrecen, the Partium Christian University and the College of Sub-Carpathia among the students participating in higher education, correspond nearly fully to the results of the investigations outlined before. According to all dimensions measuring religiousity, the Hungarian minority students are more religious than their fellow students in Hungary. With regard to media consumption, it can be stated that the Hungarians in Romania read more, and mainly bestsellers, but they have fewer books, thus they visit the library more often than the students in Hungary. As for reading newspapers, local publications published daily, weekly and monthly are leading. As a result, the youth in Nagyvárad read the Bihari Napló first of all, and the youth in Beregszász read the Sub-Carpathian Weekly most often. Regarding reading, it can be said that the Hungarians in Romania read more than their fellow-students in Hungary, but they have fewer books, so they visit the library more often, where they can get there readings. Regarding the use of Internet, one can observe a main difference, according to which the students in Hungary surf more on the Internet but they read significantly less best sellers on the Internet portals than the Hungarians in Romania. Significantly much more personal computers can be found in the households of the Hungarians in Hungary than in the households of the Hungarians in Romania. 23% of the Hungarians in Hungary have more than one computer at home, 60% of them have only one computer, and 11% of them have no computer at all. In the case of the Hungarians in Romania, only 41% of them have a computer at home, and 50% have no computer at all. This difference will presumably gradually decrease with the economical development of Romania.

The newspaper reading habits are determined by the local newspapers, that is, the students on all three areas examined choose a reading from among the newspapers published locally.

The significant differences regarding the consumption of radio, the results show, that Hungarian students in Hungary listen more often to the radio, they turn mainly on the local and commercial stations.

As contrasted with the earlier researches, no significant difference can be detected in the television usage of the Hungarian students in Romania and

those in Hungary. Hungarian commercial channels (RTL Klub, TV 2) are on the top in both groups, and they are followed by the national channels (MTV1 and MTV2). The deviation from the results of earlier researches is presumably a result of the age distribution of the population, as only the younger generation was closely investigated in this research.

According to all dimensions measuring religiousity, the Hungarian students in Romania proved to be significantly more religious than students in Hungary. 60% of the Hungarians in Romania declared themselves as belonging to the Reformed denomination, while 25% of them stated that they were Roman Catholic, which corresponds to the results of the earliear researches. Significantly more of them belong to a denomination and significantly more of them are religious than among the students in Hungary. It is also showed by the fact that 52% of the Hungarian students in Romania go to church at least once a week, while only 28% of the Hungarian students in Hungary can be included in the same group, the majority, that is 66%, go to the church only on special occasion or they never go to church at all. The same tendency can also be noticed during the examination of the frequency of praying. While the vast majority, that is 84% of the Hungarians in Romania pray regularly and only 5% of them never pray, in the case of the students in Hungary these rates are the following: 43% of them pray regularly and 45% of them do not pray at all. The importance of religious values and the significantly higher rate of religiousity of the Hungarian minorities in Romania also manifest themselves in the fact that the circle of friends of 60% of the Hungarians mainly are from the religious youth, while in the case of the students in Hungary, this rate is exactly reversed – the majority of the circle of friends of 60% of them consists of non-religious youth.

Conclusions

The tendencies outlined in this essay show that denominational status, reading in the mother tongue and the consumption of publications written in the mother tongue play an important role in the life of the Hungarian students in Transylvania, regarding the preserving of their identity. With the help of these, they distinguish themselves from the members of the majority nation, sometimes they create virtual communities with the help of Internet webpages and real communities in the denominations to foster and confirm their own identity and that of the members of their minority group, too. The usage of the publications published in the language of the majority can be regarded as a channel of assimilation, thus by the denial of them and by the consumption of the publications in the mother tongue, the Hungarian minorities in Romania foster their identity and so to say stem the assimilation process.

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ÁGNES ENGLER & ZSUZSA ZSÓFIA TORNYI

"TWO ARE BETTER THAN ONE"[80]? – YOUTH'S FAMILY FOUNDING INTENTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR RELIGIOSITY

In the last 40 years in the higher education of the developed countries, one of the most considerable processes has been the expansion of the number of students – claims Hrubos (2001) in her study. Among the ramifying consequences of large-scale education, it also appeared that the composition of students has become more heterogenous than earlier. Thus, such social groups and layers that could not afford it formerly, also entered higher education. As an example, the study mentions the influx of women into higher education: as part of the process of expansion, in Western Europe and in North America, till the middle of the eighties, the proportion of female students reached 50% (Hrubos 2001). The expansion and increase of higher education causes a headache to all participants – states Kozma (2002) in his study. For a student it is more difficult to get into higher education, more complicated to stay in but it is not worth getting out of there. However, the process of becoming large-scale goes together with the inflation and loss of the values of the degrees (Kozma 2002). Besides, another considerable issue is the phenomenon in which more and more young people participate in schooling for longer and longer time. (Bauer & Szabó 2005).

If we deal with the educational expansion and the lengthened youth period, it is impossible not to mention the growth of qualifications of women, for the rise of women's qualifications and the postponement of the age of marriage are undoubtedly in connection with each other, furthermore, the mass inflow of women into secondary and higher education also contributes – from several points of view – to the delay of marriage. On the one hand, during the years spent in school, the status of the school woman does not fit into the traditional status of the married woman, consequently, the majority gets married only after receiving the highest qualifications. On the other hand, being a well-educated woman improves the chances on the labor market, increases the options and makes it possible that in a given case they should not accept the traditional form of marriage. The increase of the number of the single people in the young age-group renders it likely that fertility continues to decrease, since those women who do not establish permanent relationship, or at least postpone it, will altogether give birth to less children

[80] Ecclesiastes 4:9

than those who marry at a younger age (Bukodi 2002, Neményi & Tóth 1998).

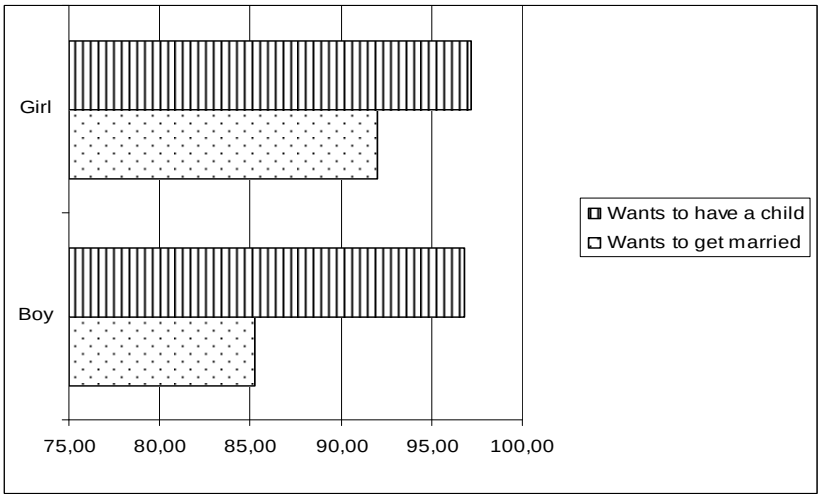
In this essay we examine the relationship between religiosity and the family founding conceptions of students. It turned out from various researches that in the background of the choices of life-styles and ways of life there are presumably value-directed decisions and the acceptance of religious teachings. The results of a panel inquiry, which started in 2001, revealed that among married couples the proportion of religious people is almost two-thirds, among which the number of believers who follow the teachings of the church is considerable. Among those who live in common-law marriage and consider themselves religious, the majority is religious "in their own way" and the ratio of non-religious people is also high. (Pongrácz & Spéder 2001:24).

The *Regional University Research Team* functioning within the Educational Sciences Institute the University of Debrecen carried out a representative questionnaire in 2003 among (N=1600) first year students, and in 2005 (N=1100) among students before graduation. The sampling took place in four institutions: the University of Debrecen (nine faculties), the Christian University of Partium, Transcarpathian Hungarian College Named after Ferenc Rákóczi II, College of Nyíregyháza. Both questionnaires contained questions concerning the prospective of students, with the help of which we examined the youth's future plans. In the case of attitudes regarding marriage and taking a child we supposed that the willingness for founding a family depends to a great extent on sex, residence, family background and world-view of the students. In terms of students entering higher education, the willingness for marriage and for having a child proved to be stronger by girls, by students coming from smaller towns, by those who live in a whole family, and by those who practice their religion. Previous examinations supported that in the case of school-leavers there is no significant connection between the aforementioned demography variables and the family founding intentions. The years spent in higher education seem to bring the patterns and attitudes closer of students coming from various family and geographical backgrounds (Bocsi & Engler 2005).

In the earlier study examining university and college students, we investigated the respondents' religiosity solely on the basis of their denominational affiliation or the lack of it. Taking the whole question block regarding to the world-view into consideration, we get a more accurate picture about how students practice their religion. According to the frequency of church attendance and prayer customs, we divided the students into three groups. We call those who go to church once a weak or more and who pray regularly *religious* (24%), among their families and friends we find similarly active religious people. The *occasionally religious* ones amounting to 44% are

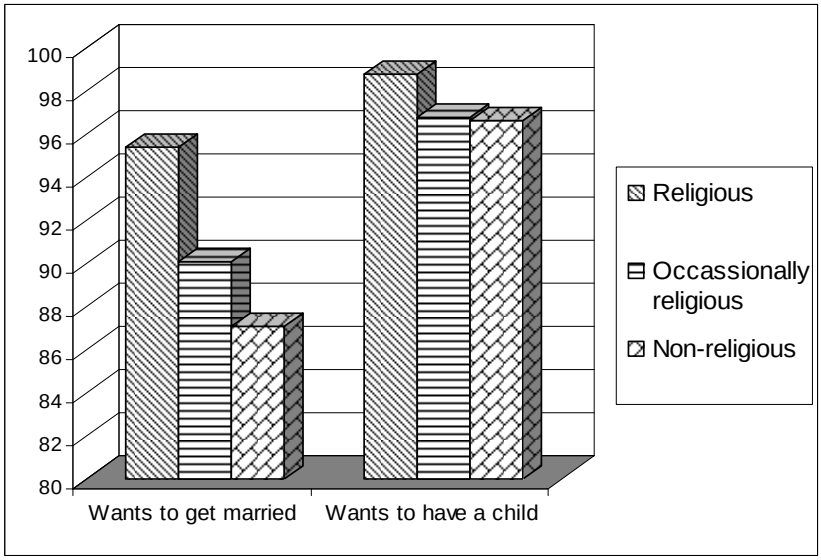
those who practice their religion by attending only greater celebrations or by rarely going to church, in their surroundings the proportion of those who profess Christian values is lower than in the former group. The *non-religious* (32%) people are those who do not go to church or pray, in their narrower and wider surroundings we find people with similar mentality. We used the answers of students before graduation, since presumably they are nearer in time to family founding and securing the necessary conditions for starting a family (job, flat, etc.)

Figure 1: Family planning by sex of respondents, percentage



In Figure 1 we can see the division of family founding intentions according to sexes. It can be stated that both sexes plan marriage and children in high proportion (over 85%), which justifies the traditional family-centred attitude of Hungarian society. In terms of having a child, we can observe a small difference, while in terms of rejecting marriage there are more male students. It seems that the"dominance change" (Spéder 2004) between common-law relationship and marriage appearing in the last decades is not typical among students, especially women insist on having a traditional form of relationship.

Figure 2: Family planning in different types of religiosity, percentage

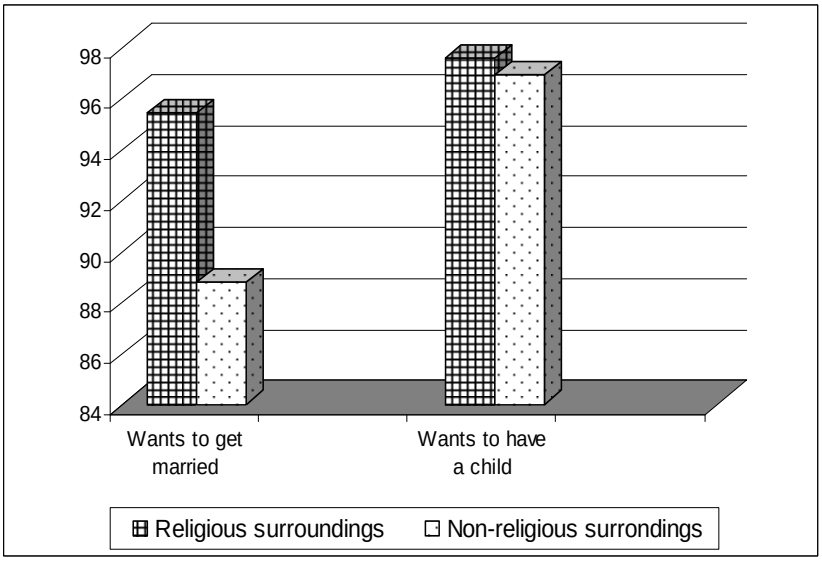


The family planning conceptions according to religiosity show significant connections. In terms of willingness for marriage, we find competent divergences between the different religious types (Figure 2). It is well shown that mostly active believers stick to the sanctioned cohabitation patterns, by statute and – in their case presumably – ecclesiastical laws. Non-religious people think of unmarried way of life in higher proportion, for them the "paper" is not important (i.e., in the "other" answer category this explanation was found several times). We know it from research data that many of the people who live together consider this form of relationship as a trial marriage. It is imaginable, that those who reject marriage would later legitimize their relationship.

Due to the period of education becoming longer, the members of today's young generation take their first child later, in this way the chance for having other children may lessen. After getting their degree, the young graduate wants to profit as soon as possible from the capital invested into their education. Participation in the labor-market, beyond the acquisition of practical experiences, establishes the conditions of creating existence necessary for family founding. Family founding intentions of highly qualified women are influenced by the necessity of "interrupting" their career for the period of maternity. A study carried out in the beginning of the nineties revealed that although highly qualified women give birth to their first child later, with the increase of the qualification taking the second or third child does not decrease, moreover, more women undertook their second or third

child over 35 with a degree than women completing their secondary education (Kamarás 2001). According to the research of the Regional University, this tendency seems to continue among today's female university and college students, since the proportion of those who consciously prepare for a life without children is insignificant (2.6%). The averagely planned number of children is similar to the measured number in national surveys, the birth of the planned 2.19 children average would be sufficient to reach the reproduction level. As seen in Figure 2, the groups coded according to religiosity are equally child-centred, religious people plan the succession in a higher proportion, in their case, the wished number of children is higher compared to the average (2.5).

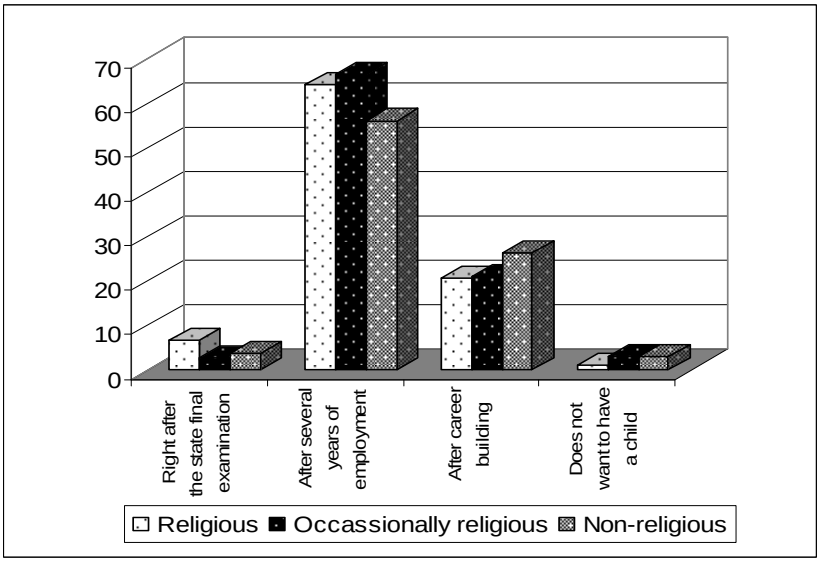
Figure 3: Family planning according to the religiosity of friends, percentage



According to the sociological fertility theory, couples do not plan after financial considerations, but follow the values and behavioral norms accepted in their social surroundings (Andorka 2001). We could notice how religious or non-religious life-style, values, the following or rejecting of traditions influence family founding intention. As shown in Figure 3, the narrower surroundings of the individual have influence on the decisions and plans. Regarding the composition of the students' friends, we can come to the conclusion that those who live in religious surroundings want to marry in a higher proportion (95%) than those who are surrounded by non-religious friends (88%). In the issue of having a child, the difference is smaller, that is, an analogous picture is outlined like earlier: in connection with child-bearing the respondents are steadily committed, while the disposition of marriage is

influenced by several factors. The narrower environmental influences seem to compensate or refine the effects coming from society, like striving after the emancipation of women, career ambitions, rise of consumer demands, uncontrolled life-style, and pluralization of values.

Figure 4: Appropriate time for having the first baby, according to religiosity, percentage



In connection with child-bearing plans we asked the students when they plan to have a child and on what terms. Those who surely want to have children could choose among three alternatives. As shown in Figure 4, the majority wish to take children after several years of employment, especially religious students. In the division according to sexes, girls chose this possibility in a greater proportion, not without a good reason, since they are entitled to have maternity benefit providing higher income only after being employed, moreover, their reintegration into the labor market is successful only this way. We suppose that those will mark this answer who consider employment and financial safety important and who do not want to worry about temporarily leaving the labor market.

Those who want to have children after building their career decide to have children later because of other considerations. Presumably – beyond establishing their financial circumstances and leave their work securely – they plan to interrupt their career as late as possible, self-realization appears as an important purpose in their lives. It is revealed from the religious division that career is important first of all for non-religious people, while several years of

employment was chosen in a great proportion by the religious ones. Religious people are underrepresented not only in terms of career but also in the conscious rejection of having children. Scarcely 4% of the respondents consider having a baby right after the state examination, primarily girls and the religious. Probably we have a good reason to suppose that those who intend to have a child after completing had found their future partners during the university or college years, since this answer was chosen in a similar proportion by those who intend to get married after graduation.

After taking the results into account, it can be stated that students' intentions for marrying and having children are strong, but a postponing behaviour can be observed. Future prospects are influenced by world-view, relation to religion, values of the individual and that of his/her narrower surroundings. The willingness for having children is greater than that of marrying, religious people realize both events nearer in time and place it in a higher proportion before their career. The new family planning and child-bearing behaviour models thus seem to prevail less in the case of youth living according to religious values and declaring traditional principles.

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JUDIT PATAKI

PROFESSION, FAITH AND COMPLIANCE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF YOUNG PHARMACISTS[1]

Healing, pharmaceutics in a narrower sense, as well as their relation to faith have fulfilled a very important role and have been in the focus of scientific and layman attention for hundreds of years. Several records prove this kind of interest throughout history, and numerous literary and historical examples could be listed – about the poisoner Borgias, the "accidents" in the French royal and Russian tsar courts, as well as the alchemists who were determined to generate pure gold and elixirs for all kinds of diseases from different metals and herbs. It is rather surprising that one of the best known followers of alchemy was the German-Roman Emperor and Bohemian King, Rudolph II; but Borbála, the wife of the Hungarian King, Sigismund of Luxemburg also chose this path. Isaac Newton, and what is more, even Comenius, a most prominent representative of educational history, perfectly knew the principles of alchemy, as it is revealed in his work, *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*. Popes, emperors, tsars and scientists were captivated by this mysterious and at the same time deadly science, which have always went along with healing. For a very long period of time, activities related to medicine and also healing fell within the doctors' cognizance, pharmaceutical practice became an independent profession only later on (in the 12th-13th century in Hungary).

The mysterious atmosphere that surrounded treatment and pharmacy in a narrower context have always been a focus of attention for several hundred years, and thus influenced patients' willingness to cooperate with the therapy (compliance).

Quite a few secular and religious leaders dealt with the relationship between church and healthcare, the connections and relations of religious faith, treatment and medical profession at different conferences for doctors. However, the issue has been insufficiently revealed sofar.

Experience has shown that religious people in our age live longer and they spend relatively less time in hospitals. They keep the doctors' pieces of advice, which trend is explained by the smaller percentage of depression among them, greater confidence in the future, balanced family and social background.

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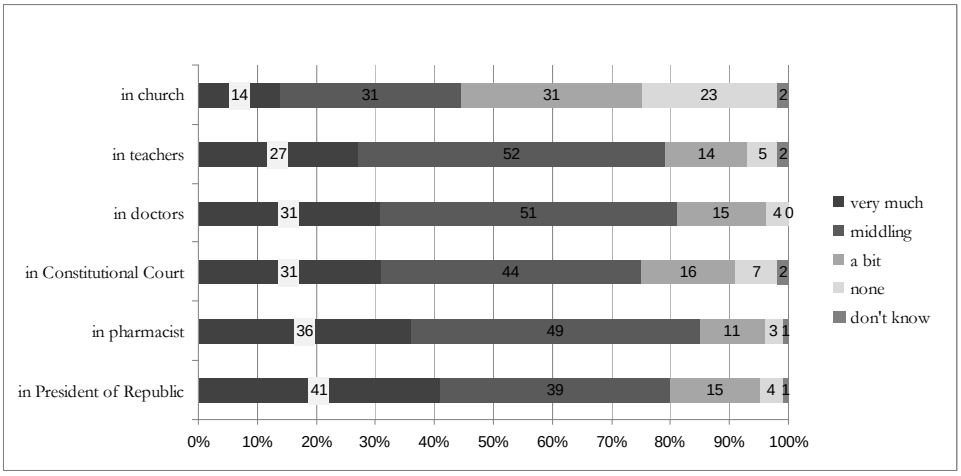
[1] Translated by Ilona Dóra Fekete

Relevance

The last key person with responsibility in the healing process is the pharmacist, who – though does not have the right to make decisions regarding the treatment today in Hungary – with his pieces of advice can notably influence the patients' willingness to work together with the therapy, thus the whole of the healing process too. How pharmacists see these questions from the point of view of the professional and human sides of their occupation, furthermore, how conscious they are of the importance of transmitting general human values (morals) regarding everyday pharmacist–patient encounters, has not yet been examined. However, the development of pharmaceutical profession points towards the emphasizing of human principles, which should become an essential element of gradual training at universities.

The actuality of the topic chosen is further affirmed by the survey carried out by Median in 2005. It was an examination that wanted to find out which institutions possess the public's trust in Hungary (Nyíredi 2007). According to it (Figure 1), today's pharmacists, right after the head of the state, are trusted the most by the Hungarian society. Doctors, who are also working in the same field of work, are lagging behind pharmacists on this list, not to mention teachers and courts, which get even less trust from the public. People turn to pharmacists with confidence and they take their advice, however, the work they do as well as the true side of their profession are little known.

Figure 1: Trust in institutions - Hungary



(Based on the data from a 2005 research by Median; Nyíredi, 2007)

The "Research"

Our research is a "brainstorming" examination in which we made a survey among members of the Young Pharmacists' Club, the junior section of the Hajdú-Bihar County Section of the Hungarian Chamber of Pharmacists. We examined 30 young pharmacists (between the ages 24 and 34), out of whom 21 were females and 9 males. The subjects of our examination were all former students of the University of Debrecen, thus a certain objectivity and also experience was expected from them when answering the question that how much they feel the strictly professional, general human and also moral values to be emphasized in the education of pharmacists at the university, given the fact that they have had the opportunity to compare those values to the pharmacist–patient relationship experienced during their everyday work, to the special attitude of this relationship implying also the beauties and hardships. Pharmaceutical training in Debrecen started in 1996, and the tracking of former students' careers has become an important part of the training, as well as building in their opinions and suggestions into the department's quality development policy.

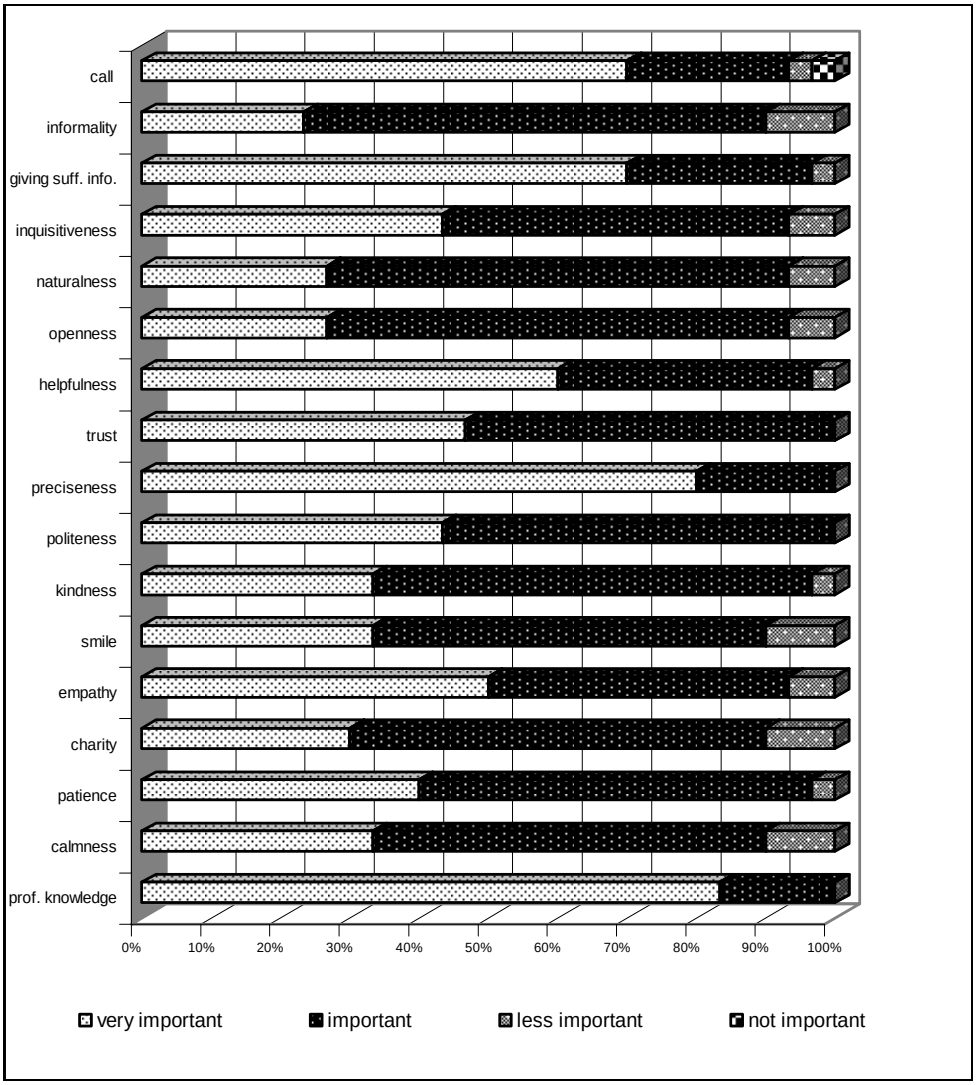
In the questionnaire we used some parts of the Regional University Research's questions, provided by the Educational Sciences Doctoral Program, and we also added a few profession-specific questions of our own, which would highlight the issues in concern more in-depth. From the questionnaires' data an SPSS database was set up, and the results were demonstrated and shown in figures and tables.

The pope has dealt with the relationship of the church and health care several times, he gave presentations at conferences on the connections between religious faith, healing and medical profession. *The Charter for Health Care Workers* was also released by the Pontifical Council for Pastoral Assistance to Health Care Workers, in which one can find the principles that people putting their profession at the service of human life should pursue. The *Charter* points it out that the activities of these people are not only technical but they also reflect commitment and devotion filtered through love. It also emphasizes that those who are working with patients should possess the following basic characteristics: trust, empathy, helpfulness, caring for people and turning to them with respect and interest (Tahy 2001).

An important aspect of our examination during the research was the extent to which these "expectations" of the Vatican charter are reflected in the daily routine and professional calling of the young pharmacists, minding that the vast majority of those asked do not consider themselves religious. Taking the above mentioned as well as the peculiarities of pharmaceutics into account, and using Judit Pataki and Ágnes Tóth's groupings, we made an

attempt to categorize the most important attributes of pharmacists according to the opinion of young pharmacists: (1) ***general professional***: professional calling, giving sufficient information, preciseness, professional knowledge. (2) ***characteristics mentioned in the charter***: helpfulness, trust, empathy, charity (meaning "treat someone with love"). (3) ***general, non-professional "human" attitudes***: informality, naturalness, openness, kindness, smile, patience, calmness, politeness, inquisitiveness (Pataki 2006, Tóth 1993).

Figure 2: Attributes of pharmacists according to the opinion of young pharmacists



In accordance with our assumptions, we found that observing the pharmacist from the point of view of the practitioners, the profession-specific features along with the characteristics expected from the profession dominated. The choices of the respondents are not at all surprising, since the characteristics of pharmacists mentioned above are essential and basic in the adequate, effective and safe therapy and medication, as the condition of the patient could deteriorate significantly for lack of due foresight and care. It is also important to note that the "not important" answer appeared only with professional calling.

It is very difficult to separate the elements of the remaining two groups because there is a "free pass" between the categories – the charter only chooses four that it regards to be necessary in the given filed of life and profession. The values that follow the profession-specific ones totally correspond with the characteristics that are laid down in the Charter – with the exception of charity, which is "replaced" by inquisitiveness and politeness. Pharmacists, as any other professionals, are threatened by the phenomenon of burning out as a result of the continual, intensive, and responsible pressure – mental and spiritual demands as well. However, it is fortunately not experienced in the attitude of the young pharmacists.

During the examination we were not only interested in how pharmacists view their profession and to what extent it collides with the expectations of the church regarding those who are working in health care, but we also wanted to get a glimpse of the opinion of pharmacists on – according to their own experiences – what they believe of what patients think about their own healing procedure. Do they see their being healed as somewhat dependent on their faith in the treatment? Does faith contribute to the process of healing?

It is a well-known fact that physical condition could only be directly affected by the healthcare system and its levels in 15%; mostly it is determined by lifestyle, environment, genetic and biological-psychological factors. Having respect for these observations, we examined how important faith in a broader context is in the compliance of patients, from the pharmacist's perspective. Thus, besides the Glock and Stark dimensions of religiosity indicating a narrower context of religiosity, a special emphasis was put on faith that is not necessarily religious (though may derive from it) but which plays a crucial role in the healing process. The following factors were in the focus of our attention: (a) faith in general, (b) faith in being healed, (c) faith in the doctor, (d) faith in the pharmacist, (e) faith in the health care system (Glock & Stark 1965).

According to the descriptive statistics of variables most likely to influence compliance, the most important variable is faith in being healed,

right after that comes faith in the doctor, while faith in general and faith in the pharmacist comes only third in the line. Although Hungarian people place their confidence in pharmacists, as is shown in the Median survey, these workers in the healthcare system do not always feel this amount of trust towards themselves.

Since more women than men chose to become pharmacists, we assumed that gender-based distribution will also turn out to be noteworthy. Although it is impossible to draw conclusions from such a small number of responses that were included in the orienting examination (and we do not intend to generalize the results), difference between the opinions of the two sexes could only be traced in connection with faith in the pharmacist.

Although a meaningful part of the people questioned considered themselves to be non-religious, they claim that faith in recovery is the most essential among the five examined points in the healing procedure, as it plays a very important role in the improvement process of a patient how much he himself believes in his own recovery. Faith in the doctor is closely connected to this, since the patient expects primarily from the doctor to help him recover from the illness. Faith in general and faith in the pharmacist is more or less the same with female pharmacists, but their male colleagues consider the role of the pharmacist less important from the patients' point of view.

The fact that faith in the pharmacist was not considered to be that important could result from them being the last link in the chain, they have no right to make decisions regarding the treatment. They can "only" help by giving advice. The mean value of faith in the healthcare system remained relatively low at both sexes, which could be the result of the uncertain situation due to Hungary's present governmental reforms on all fields of healthcare system.

Conclusions

Pharmacists regard their role both in profession and society as valuable. In Hungary, this could serve as a firm basis for the development of pharmaceutical care, a pharmaceutical practice that has been newly introduced in practice, as well as in education. This means the mutual and effective cooperation between doctors and pharmacists for the bettering of patients' quality of life and compliance, furthermore the attempt to make pharmaceutical care a part of university curricula. We found that young pharmacists, besides the essential and desirable attitudes triggered by their profession, regard the "human" side of the occupation just as important. And the question immediately arises: does gradual training, besides professional knowledge, emphasize the teaching of the profession's human part as well? Is

pharmacy a ***service*** (serving of customers) or a ***service*** (to provide something that people need, to be a servant for a good cause)? Is it an ***occupation*** or a ***profession***? Is it a ***duty*** or ***voluntary*** task? And besides professional ethics, to what extent do those general values imbue the practice of teachers, judges, etc., or even pharmacists teaching at universities, which are also supported by the charter?

The sample was not representative in our research (which is rather an orientation), for it includes only a group of the pharmacists graduated since the founding of the institute in Debrecen (1996), thus it was not the aim to draw generalized conclusions. However, the data of the "brainstorming" examination raise a few interesting questions, which would require further and more thorough examination.

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ATTILA JUHÁSZ

TRENDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION RESEARCH[82]

This paper intends to overview the current situation, the application, and the methods of higher educational research. This paper is a part of a bigger approach concerning special literature. The focus is on the quality insurance system of higher education including the people who take part in it and operate it. First, we have to get to know the previously elaborated and successfully applied methods to approach our analyzed topic.

If we take the Pedagogical Lexicon by Báthory & Falus, we will find the following definition under the headword 'higher educational research': "educational research that focuses on higher education or on a part of higher education, and it applies methods of social science" (Báthory & Falus, 1997:484). In the developed industrial countries the research manifested in the 1960s with the détente of the oppressing political systems after the Second World War, became the focus of interest with the appearance of mass education in higher education. The researchers are interested in the main changes occuring in higher education and in society, through which the system's structure changes, as well as the social components of higher education. The applied four models are: the decision model, the management model, the political model, and the system model.

In the case of the *decision model* the lexicon brings the example of rational decision, according to wich the following decision models are distinguished concerning higher educational macro research: (1) According to the analilical model, higher educational decisions are made in a way that the decision makers create the possible decision alternatives and discuss its effects. (2) According to the "trash can" model, the different problems and solutions from outside are applied by the decision makers and the politically active educators. (3) The collegialite model claims that the colleagues who have the same ideas concerning the main problems have an effect on the decision making process. (4) The political model concentrates on the creation of coalitions, on arguments, and on the activity of effective groups. (5) The university model emphasizes that the higher educational and research organozations are autonomous, organizationally frittered, specific university entities. They are characterized by professional authority and diffuse desicions.

[82] Translated by Judit Kincses

The *management model* intends to achieve the democratization of management, the reaching of goods and decentralization. These competing higher educational institutions do not provide any profit, they offer social service, the technologies applied in them are not developed, their development goals are contradictory, though their effects are widely accordable.

According to the *system model*, rather the processes taking place within a higher educational institution determine the political decisions concerning them, than any other foreign events. As opposed to this, other models rather emphasize the dependence on always foreign, governmental decisions.

The *political model* analyzes the making, the process and the results of certain administrative decisions.

In the English higher educational lexicon (Nicolescu 1993) the following row of topics is used for the categorization of information: (1) The system as a whole; (2) Leading and administrative groups; (3) Workers of academic sphere; (4) Students; (5) Access and application; (6) Organizations and their structures; (7) Education and Studying; (8) Exams and assessment; (9) Degrees.

The material to be analyzed is very huge. If we call the searching motor of ERIC and we look the terms of 'higher education' and 'educational research' occuring together, we get more than 18000 results. In this way we can easily get lost among the information.[83] We will get the same result if we use general searching programs – we receive such a huge amount of dataset that we cannot handle, meanwhile the number of researches would constantly grow.

Since when?

Though in the introduction we referred to its date of beginning, it is worth getting back to the idea that considers the question: Since when has higher educational research existed? The higher educational researches do not obtain traditions. There was a "need" for some crises to call the researchers' attention to higher education.

As Hrubos claims, during the centuries the institutions have changed a lot, from isolated islands they became modern, bourocratic institutions. This, one of the oldest European institutions, has experienced several huge crises. The first one was at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, during the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. This rebirth is connected to the

[83] If we narrow down the reserach with "research methods" expressions, we get 199 results, which could be more easily handled.

Humboldt brothers and the University of Berlin: they introduced the idea that professionals and specialists should teach instead of generalist amateurs.

The next crisis was during the birth of the national states and the appearance of totaliarianistic regimes. These distorted the development of universities, the universities tended to turn inward instead of maintaining their already existing international relations, they were under strict control. That is the reason why the "headquarters" of university world was shifted to overseas, to the United States (Hrubos 1999).

The next social change causing another crisis appeared in the sixties of the previous century, after the dissolution of the colonial system. It still exisits and the end of its process is not yet to be seen.

We are talking about educational (primarily higher educational) expansion. The process is when the age group concerned applies for higher education in large numbers to get higher quality certificate than the generation before?

As Kozma claims, the terms of expansion and mass education are rarely considered separately. "Does the net of higher education widens because more people would like to be part of it? or Do young people want to attend universities because it is easier to get in?" (Kozma 2004:29).

It is interesting that mass education was the phenomenon that called for the birth of higher educational research, and until today this problem provides the most research questions. It is not a surprise, since such a huge change has not been experienced before. Between 1975 and 1995 the number of students in higher education increased from 40 million to 80 million worldwide. In the countries liberated in 1989-90, this process took place with a shift in time, with the strangeness that the number of educators did not increase (Figure 1).[84] The heart of the process is now in China, where there are 17 million (and even increasing in number) university students, and India, which by 2015 would like to involve 10 million more students into higher education. We can generally talk about mass education when in a certain country, within the population of relevant age, the number of students in higher education goes up to the rate of 35%, and we can talk about elite education under the rate of 15%. The number of students in higher education is now under 5% in Africa, and there are some exceptions in Asia, where mass education has not started yet: Burma, North-Korea (Altbach 2007a) (Yang 2004).

[84] This is not a typical Hungarian phenomenon, it is a general characteristic of expanison worldwide.

The issue of mass education provides a huge burden placed upon the budget, generally the state budget. The neoliberal economic policy that tries to back out of the social service is not willing to handle the high expenses. One of the largest part of researches examines the questions that who has the responsibility of the expenses of higher education and how can the system be financed? What further changes were generated by mass education? What kind of processes did it launch? What new issues, for which there had been no examples earlier in the system of higher education, did it generate? What was the cause of mass education?

The reasons for the phenomena according to Kozma (2004:36) are the following: (1) The appearance of new social groups in (higher) education. (2) New elite and new political opening (student rebellions in 1968). (3) Demographic waves going through the educational system. (4) "Middle classism."

A *differenciated higher education* is born that tries to meet the requirements of the changed expectations. As a result of financial difficulties, *private higher education* becomes more important, new capitals have to be drawn in. Besides the *decreasing level of standards*, the *diversity of higher education* increases, and not merely the males from high social strata are involved in higher education (Altbach 2007a). The educators of higher education experience new educational and minority cultures, religious and nationalistic commitments, and new social problems come to the surface. From the elitist higher education we step into a democratic one (Kozma 2004). Moreover, the educated people are more likely to commit no crime, they contribute to political democracy, and they are more tolerant. They make economy competitive within international competition (Jongbloed 2000).

In the changed environment the universities have the following roles in creating a knowledge based society that they have to manage from even less sources: education, research, communication, innovation, social and cultural criticism, gathering and preserving social knowledge.

The issue of the possibilities of the investment of new capital, both in Hungarian (Gidai 1999, Hrubos & Szentannai & Veroszta 2003, Hrubos 2004, Polónyi 2004) and in international special literature (Jongbloed 2004), is much dealt with.

The idea was accepted before that society has to support higher education because the citizens with higher quality certificates earn more money, they live healthier lives, so they pay taxes longer, which is a good investment for the state. However, this idea belongs to the past. Conservatives, market "believers," and the World Bank think that as degree provides advantages, the student has to pay for it. The state's withdrawal has important effects worldwide: there are less basic research works, and the

tuition fees are rising. Altbach (2007a) does not agree with this process, since without basic research – which is the privilidge of a smaller number of university groups – there is no applied research.

The researches changed a lot during the past century. The reseraches carried out between 1920 and 1950 are very few in number, and the few that we can find are very practical ones. The practice vs. theory debate of the fifties gave a new direction to the researches, from this time on higher education is considered as a professional field instead of a scientific space, and the researchers with scientific background came on the scene. This led to the formation of a huge gap between research and practice, which was bridged by action-researches,[85] researches of state dependance and students, and the appearance of quality-movement towards the end of the eighties and the beginning of nineties.

If researchers consider their readers as customers, they have to provide results according to the customer's (source of money) will, which the customers can use. The author tries to prove – in our opinion, with success – that it is worth doing such studies that surmount the gap between practice and research. The author does it with asking 82 scientists of five national conferences selected randomly, with using focus groups (Kezar 1998).

In another comparative study the author, being a professiorate in studying the American and Russian higher educational system, emphasizes the problems of Russian higher education. While it is obvious in the United States that higher education can be a focus of studies, in Russia the situation is much different. The US obtains separate higher educational research training programs, with huge relevant secondary special literature, researchers, research centers, academic professional alliances and periodicals. As opposed to this, if someone in Russia tries to make a comparative study about colleges and universities using means of historical science, he or she will not support higher educational research but historical science itself. This perspective provides separate research groups, universities, colleges and separate fields of study; it is an obstacle for the emergence of multidisciplinary perspectives that would be important to get to know the complex phenomena of higher education. It is also a pity – writes the author – because these research results could help the higher educational–political decision-making on a regional level (Suspitain 1998).

[85] ERIC has 3210 of such researches. If we focus only ont he studies regarding higher education, w eget 300 items. (08. 15. 2007)

A possible theoretical framework

In the following section we try to create a theoretical framework in which we can place the researches. The grouping mentioned in the introductory part may provide a starting point, but the studies can be thematized in a different way as well. One of the simplest categorization is the separation of macro – micro researches, and the comparative – non-comparative studies.

The topic based thematization seems to be logical. In the next figure we try to create a possible grouping that can help in one's orientation. The answers for mass education in different countries (and even within certain countries) can be totally different. Generally, certain reforms must have been introduced everywhere to make the institutions be able to meet the challenges of higher education. These studies create the biggest group in this topic. We mark them on the figure with (A). We can also find micro-level studies (B), which focus on a single university or a single unit (for example a major) of a university, they measure student opinion, contentment, and work, or they study the campus, or a university unit. We can find studies using comparative methods, but they are less in number, as for instance the reforms concerning financial issues.

Figure 1: Grouping of higher education research

(A), Macro
1. The system as a whole (Bologna process)
2. Globalization (international mobility, studying abroad, scholarships)
3. System (Sociology)
4. Finance
5. Quality (~ politics, ~ insurance)
6. Management

(B), Micro
1. Academic staff, world of management, their conflict with the academic line.
2. Educators (changed roles in the growing higher education)
3. Students, campuses (experiences, contentment, jobs after graduation, gender-studies, effects of students to each other, alcolhol and use of drugs)

In many cases it would be hard to thematize a study because there are case studies even in the union of the two categories. The number of studies in group (A) cannot even be estimated. It is enough to think of the literature connected to the Bologna process.[86] We are going to concentrate later on the

[86] The very rare exceptions in connection with the Bologna-process are meant here, for whose special literature review we have to turn not to the ERIC in first place. This Europe-

possibility of quality political issues of higher education and on studies dealing with quality management.

Academic staff

In the following we are going to concentrate on the studies and methodology of studies focusing on the academic staff.

The reforms of higher education have changed – we can see these changes going on even today – the employee structure of some higher educational institutions. New sections have appeared, old ones have vanished, the old structure is under a constantly change. A truly good comparative piece of writing on the topic is Altbach's (2000b) *The Changing Academic Workplace: Perspectives*. The authors mentioned in this book explain the dicreasing sources in the academic world and the growing pressure put on the professors in different ways. These changes started for instance in England with the Tatcherian reforms, and obviously, the educators and scientists, having been used to the tradition of autonomy, could hardly accept it that from that time on, they have to compete for the resources both on individual and institutional levels. (1) Lifelong contracts almost totally disappeared and they have been replaced by ones for a given period of time, or by part-time jobs and ones paid by the hour. (2) Constant evaluation and accountibility of academic work has become part of the educator's lives. (3) The traditional power of elderly educators has fallen, as opposed to the state. New, unprecedented foreign committees have been formed. (4) The circumstanes of academic work have been becoming worse almost everywhere; the salary does not keep the pace with the inflation or the multiplying tasks.

Paradoxically, although every government aims to create a knowledge based society, the circumstances of the academic sphere have become worse all around the world. Less autonomy, low salary, rising bourocracy and deteriorating environment. The academic staff has a pessimistic view of the future everywhere (Altbach 2000a).

The "lazy professor" caricature created by the media, who has to be persuaded to work by sanctions of the management, is absolutely unrealistic. The changes taking place in Germany and in all around the world have forced the academic staff to have a defensive attitude (Enders 2000). The French example shows the same situation with a bit more content workers in an environment where the governement claims the independence of institutions (Chevaillier 2000). In the example of the Netherlands a successful transgression is shown, in which there is a break with the strongly centralized

specific theme is under represented in the American database, the number of results in the search was "only" 122.

structure and the main principles of the new higher educational philosophy are the following: quality, effectiveness, economy, deregulation, decentralization (de Weert 2000, Hrubos 1999). The writings reflect a macro-view from authors who have been part of higher education for more decades and they obtain knowledge of a higher degree about the processes taking place in higher education. Among these studies we consider Kozma's article about the Hungarian higher educational research system (Kozma 1993).

Many have observed the elements that appeared as a consequence of higher educational reforms, namely the mediatory organizations. Hrubos calls them in-between or "puffer" organizations that provide information to higher education about social expectations. The main types are the following: (A) Operative Committee; (B) Research Council; (C) Rector's Conference; (D) Special committees, organizations; (E) Multicampus system (it is characteristic mainly in the US, it means the unity of some higher educational institutions, a common leading part mediates the decisions of the government).

Their decision making power differs, on the basis of this they can be put into three groups: (1) Primer (A and B can have this role); (2) Secunder (A, B, C, and D can have this role); (3) Tertier (C and D can have this role) (Hrubos 1999: 14-15)

Honig (2004) gives information about the effective activity of the middle level management. It can mediate among the different structural levels, the political decision makers and university leaders. Kozma, in his previously mentioned headword from the Pedagogical Lexicon, argues for the effectiveness of informal relations: "analyzers recognize: to understand a problem, they have to get out of the structural frames of the observed higher educational institutions. The smaller units (…) communicate with each other and with the organizations providing financial support outside the university. In some cases these relations under the university level form the higher educational policy more effectively than the decisions made on the upper levels of institutions" (Báthory & Falus 1997:485).

Summary

In higher educational research, as we could see, there are participants of different interests. We introduced a possible thematization, according to which the revealed specific literature can be separated into two groups (micro and macro studies) and subcategories. Although these simplifications lead to some loss of information, we truly hope that we have helped the reader to get his or her way easier within the fashionable and multiple directions of educational-research.

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CSILLA D. FARKAS

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARISTOTLE AND THE GREEK HIGHER EDUCATION

The present study shows the discourse of educational politics at Aristotle University between 2000 and 2007. In the investigation we try to describe the concepts and efforts in favour of and against the introduction of the 'new' Greek private higher educational reform, focusing on the endeavours of the Aristotle University and of the above mentioned governing political parties typical for the period, i.e. the New Democracy Party (ND)[87] and the Pan-Hellenic Social Movement (PASOK)[88].

The starting-point is the assumption that the primary scene of the 'struggle' in educational politics is the investigated university and the higher educational discourse between the institution and the relevant government, which has already become a dominant discourse during the PASOK government (2000-2004). On the one hand, due to its permanent, continuous nature, on the other hand, because it gained an important role in the political characters' self-presentation. During the work, it was presumed that the composition of the subsequent governments, coalitions basically determine the relationship between the government and the institutions of higher education.

The centre of the higher educational debates in Greece is – for a long time – the determination of the logic connected to the new higher educational world that came into existence after the Papadopoulos regime (1967-74). It would be useless to think that this logic can be revealed by merely examining the objective, political, historical, and legalistic environments and relationships. The social world surrounding people is waiting for order. This order (order making) refers to the legal system, the constitution and the ruling educational system. During the "order making" these factors need to be adapted to legitimacy, normality and justice in order to – accepted or not – create a system with its own logical structure. The factors on which people can interpret legitimacy, normality and justice are created mainly by the members of educational political debates – in this case by the actors

[87] The party founded by Kosztasz Szimilisz in 1974 is the descendant of the ERE (National Radical Union). In their domestic policy they respect civil democracy and the spirit of parliamentarianism, in their foreign affairs they intend to join and co-work with the European Community.

[88] The PASOK, established by Andreasz Papandreu in 1974, is the first non-communist left-wing party in the history of contemporary Greece.

(members) of debates at the University of Aristotle (Csigó 1998). Thus the centre of higher educational debates is not the acceptance of a representation of an outside world but – through this – the determination of a system's logic. On the basis of this, the debate taking place at the University of Aristotle can be interpreted as a "symbolic fight" that is fought for "the preservation or change of the social world through the preservation or change of view of the social world" (Bourdieau 1987:112).

In the first section of the study emphasis is put on demonstrating the dynamism of Greek educational politics between 1974 és 2004. In the second section we draft the case study executed at the Aristotle University in June 2007, and analyse the interviews made with the institution directors of the university. During the research we used the political programs of the parties available, as well as government programs and documents. In order to check and support the findings, studies published by experts of Greek higher education were used.

The changes of the Greek educational politics between 1974 and 2004

Following the Papadopoulos regime (1974) the Greek educational politics had to face more problems. The New Democracy (ND) came to power in 1974 (formed from the National Radical Union (ERE)) and accepted the educational reforms prepared by the liberals. These reforms aimed to improve public education. They aimed to create a system of technical education and the moving of students towards education. The government did not approve of the technical education, moreover the transmission among the levels and institutions of education became impossible (Lubos 1997). The view that technical education is for the masses remained among the wide stages of society, education in secondary grammar school and the continuation of studies remained for the privileged (Lubos 1997).

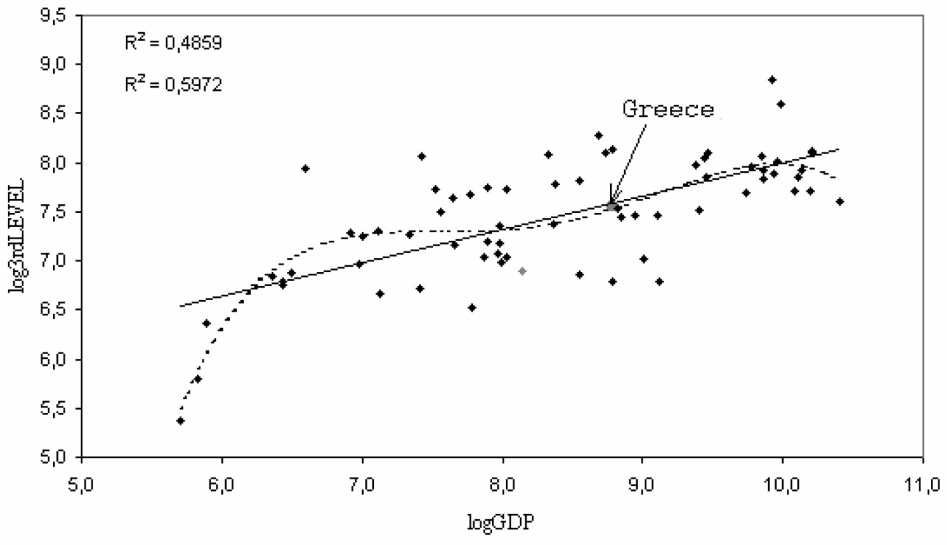
In the 1980s, two eventual attitudes existed concerning the educational reforms. The PASOK mainly ruling in this decade accepted the philosophy of the educational system, but they oriented their reforms only towards the change of the applied methods (see later: game strategy). In their program they acclaimed/claimed modernisation of the educational system. The party was successful because it managed to convince most non-communist democrats and the elite of socialist views. The reforms initiated by them were the democratisation of higher education and the introduction of the *dimotiki* (living language). Legalism concerning higher education (1985) –

as a result of consensus - became a battlefield for political parties, thus their reform efforts were hindered (Barna & Himesi 2001).

As a result of the parliamentary elections in 1993, the PASOK came into power. They criticized the previous government and in their program they intended to support financially the higher education and to make the situation of teachers better. In their views, the problem of private teaching occurred already, but the idea – according to the Greek constitution (1975, 1986) – remained undone. According to the opinions of other political parties, with the introduction of private higher education, the PASOK aimed to pass through their own political views with a political game strategy instead of preserving the values of the constitution and society. The higher educational politics of the New Democracy Party was not that transparent during the 1990s. The party opposed the higher educational reforms rather than wanting to stabilize the educational system. Their politics turning from a confirmative direction into a consensus searching method, without exception making consensus even with the PASOK movement (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

General elections in 2000 were won by the PASOK. The party was led by Kosztasz Szimitisz then. The higher educational politics of the party was a "double-faced political system." In the international conferences and meetings they declared the reformation of higher education, mainly the introduction of study fees (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006). Their domestic policy was dominated by the idea of order that was held up by sanctions and the keeping of GDP on a given level (see chart 1). The party in higher educational debates gave a main role for the mediatory organizations. The role of the Greek Higher Educational Committee (SAP) increased – in its decisions the rectors of every university and the representatives of every party take part – and to the Higher Educational Value Committee – that is responsible for the roles of different higher educational institutions, and it takes part in education and research (Kardos & Simándi 2002).

1. Diagram: The gross rate of GDP per capita and the students entering higher education in proportion to relevant age groups



(Barna & Himesi 2001)

In Greece – during the examined period – the guiding principle of the development of higher education was determined by the discourse taken place between the actual government and the higher educational institutions. The common element of the higher educational policies of the different political parties following each other was the temporariness, the expression of own ideas, lack of consensus concerning the educational reforms. The New Democracy's educational policy was based on educational political values, while the PASOK – as a left wing, populist mass party – based its educational policy on ideological norms and conflicts.

The University of Aristotle and the Greek higher educational politics between 2004-2007

The interviews made with the leaders of the University of Aristotle show the actors of Greek higher educational politics, and how these actors direct the higher educational politics of the university in Thessaloniki.

"The actual government would like to make an order in higher educational politics. Many think that the quality of the Greek higher education is not so good, so it is not by chance that students tend to choose a university abroad – Hungary involved – to get a degree. With the creation of private universities, the study fees would be introduced as well, and the getting of the first degree would have been connected to proviso." (A.U.)

After the New Democracy Party came into power in 2004, higher educational debates – as it was in the 1990s – were eventually focused on one main topic. These debates concentrated on the fight going on between the academic sphere and the government, the two main actors of educational politics, for the leadership of the higher educational institutions. This created the background for problems, namely public higher education versus private higher education. According to the party's standpoint in 2004, education is one of the most undeveloped parts of the state, and it needs a system created by firm but revolutionary reforms (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

The party would explain the problem of private higher education as an alternative of public education on every educational level. The development of the system of private higher education would make a frame for the state that could create a new way in the structure of public universities. As a result, the role and effect of the market on higher education is overestimated (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

As a consequence of the political debates happening during this period, the policy of the University of Aristotle was created. There was a consensus in the academic oligarchy and the studied elite concerning the refusal of the reforms. They agreed that the Greek parliamentary legal system and the applied – used for own purposes – political techniques are not a guarantee for parliamentary republic but they are the tools of the actual government (Kardos & Simándi 2002).

„The periods of 2005 and 2006 – concerning higher educational politics – was determined by a quite consolidated atmosphere. Specifically till the first half of 2006." (A.U.).

In 2005 and in the first half of 2006, the reform activity of higher education was slower, the pressure coming from the political parties intending to change the higher education stopped, the old higher educational structures seemed to consolidate. The previously fast and now stagnating higher educational reform was affected by many external issues, out of which the most outstanding was the international compromise/treaty with the World Bank (Jackson 2006).[89]

"The issue of political asylum is important for the university. The University of Aristotle, according to the compromise between the university and the Greek government opens its doors to the refugees. The police – also according to the compromise – cannot use its influence on the university's territory." (A.U.)

The thematisation of the political asylum was the second main issue for the governments' coming to power after 2000. The compromise effected

[89] International Cooperation: World Bank: Development and the next generation 2006-2007.

also the education of the University of Aristotle. According to it, the university ensures the rights of the refugees. The institution – according to the law – welcomes the refugees but does not maintain their extradition. The Greek state police – according to the compromise – can use its authority only outside the university's territory. Any crime taken place on the university's territory concerns first the university itself (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

The New Democracy Party and the PASOK from the year 2000 behaves according to the policy of the European Union concerning the issue of political asylum, and – taking into consideration the EU's "method of open coordination" – harmonizes its national politics with the other members of the EU.

"It is not the students who are destroying, setting things on fire, the rebels are wearing masks. The anarchists join the student rebels and they take every opportunity to destroy. Why do they rebel? Higher education used to be free in Greece – up to now… In the TEI[90] even the EU citizens can study for free, while at universities students have to pay the half of the tuition fees" (A.U.).

In 2006 in the parliamentary debates, the issue of private universities was emphasized again. The "citizens" of the University of Aristotle organized a protest against the reforms and wanted to protect the autonomy of higher education in the autumn of 2006, and from January to March in 2007. The students protesting against the private universities, claiming that with the introduction of these universities the quality of education would become lower, and tuition fees would be introduced. They think that most of these institutions would provide only low quality education in spite of the fact that 80-90 % of the tutors would come from already existing public universities. The introduction of the reforms was opposed also by the leaders of the Greek higher educational institutions and educational political experts (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

The demonstrations are in response to mooted changes in the structure of the higher education system, the most controversial of which is the government's proposal to alter the constitution (a process taking two parliamentary terms) to allow for the establishment of "non-state, non-profit" universities. Since 1975, the idealist position that higher education should be egalitarian and free, has been enshrined in Greece's Constitution, compelling successive governments to protect a state monopoly by resisting the recognition of foreign and private higher education within its borders (Olssen 2005). Enrolments in the public higher education system, comprising universities and technological education institutes, has been expanded dramatically over the past decade; but funding per student remains very low,

[90] TEI is the abbreviation for Higher Level Technological Institution in Greece.

leading to severe increase in number and little opportunity for students to interact meaningfully with faculty (Marshall 2005).

The student movement's opposition to new private financers arose from both ideological and practical bases. Many of the protesters see themselves as being on the frontline in the battle against "corporate" globalization (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006). They are fighting to protect the integrity of the Greek state and to maintain its strong control of the education system and the economy as a whole, in the face of what many describe as "Anglo-Saxonic imperialism." Greece has long had a highly regulated economy; and the widespread suspicion of markets fuels broad sympathy, if not support, for the student movement. Even the youth wing of the conservative New Democracy Party does not support allowing for-profit institutions to operate in the higher education sector (Olssen 2004).

The student reactions can largely be attributed to anxiety about their likely post-university unemployment (or underemployment) and concluded that "their rage is directed against the broader political system, which has in past decades set up a largely useless industry churning out degrees with no practical value" (Karayannopoulos 2007). Sadly, most student and academic groups are hostile towards any suggestion that higher education qualifications should be made more relevant to the labor market. Instead, most of those inside the state university system are set on ensuring that jobs in the public sector and regulated professions will not be open to the more readily employable graduates of private institutions with better facilities, internationalized curricula, and much shorter period degrees. The Greek labor market is highly regulated, which effectively protects those in the workforce against competition from those outside it, resulting in a high rate of youth and graduate unemployment. The student movement offers the same logic in seeking to maintain the state's preferential treatment of those who have managed to gain admission to the public universities in the face of competition from those who have not (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

Political effects: A very important element in this situation is the political effect of this movement. The ND, after its clear defeat on the recent local elections, has now become even more unpopular. The only reason why this unpopular government can still be in effect is the bankruptcy of the Papandreou leadership of the PASOK. “Papandreou's support for the government on "article 16" has led to the first symptoms of political opposition inside the PASOK – still weak at the moment but with the clear indication that it can grow in the future - both in the leadership and in the rank and file of the party.” (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006, 25)

At the moment, four of the PASOK's members of parliament have declared that they will vote against the abolition of article 16. But much more

important is the fact that hundreds of PASOK members in Athens have organized a campaign to support article 16. They have organized open rallies with hundreds of participants (Karayannopoulos 2007). The basic force behind this campaign is the members of PASP (the PASOK University students' organization) who are also opposed to the decision of the party leadership, made 18 months ago, to dissolve officially the PASOK Youth.

As could be expected, the other two workers' parties, the KKE and the Synaspismos are benefiting from the movement and the right-wing policy of the PASOK leadership. The KNE (Communist Youth of Greece) has increased its influence at the universities and in the schools, and it has now become the strongest youth organization that is accepted as the natural leadership of the movement (Karayannopoulos 2007). At the same time, the Synaspismos leadership, by calling officially on the PASOK MPs and leaders to vote against the privatization of the universities, has gained the sympathy of the left PASOK rank and file (Karayannopoulos 2007). As a result of this, for the first time, the Synaspismos has gained a certain influence among university and school students (Karayannopoulos 2007).

"The present movement is destined to grow and escalate in the build up to when the proposed bill will be finally voted in the parliament (Karayannopoulos 2007:22)." Although the political balance of forces in the parliament is weighted against the students, due to the PASOK leaders supporting Prime Minister Karamanlis's privatization plans, the movement has a very big dynamics, and the pressure on the leaders of the GSEE (General Confederation of Greek Trade Unions) to actively support the student protest is big (Karayannopoulos 2007).

If the trade unions support the student struggle, the position of the government will become very difficult and the prospect of a victory will become a real one (Karayannopoulos 2007).

"According to the Greek constitution (1975, 1986), higher education takes place only in autonomous public institutions. These institutions are supervised by the state that also provides financial support. Private institutions are not allowed" (A.U.).

The Greek ruling class is determined to cut down on spending on education and part of their strategy is to privatize university education. Greek capitalism has launched a generalized attack on the workers and youth, and this is particularly evident in the education sector. For two months (last May and June) the university students organized massive occupyings and demonstrations that forced the right-wing ND government to partially withdraw. It was forced to delay the introduction of a new law which would prepare the ground for transforming the universities de facto into private companies.

The unauthorized (extralegal) Private Sector: Despite the constitutional prohibition, around 40 private tertiar colleges now exist in Greece, enrolling around 35,000 students together with an average of 4,500 euros as tuition fee (Karayannopoulos 2007). This is made possible by a 1935 law allowing private companies offering postsecondary school education to exist under the name of Laboratories of Liberal Studies. However, they are not recognized as educational institutions by the state and thus they are not subject to any regulation by educational authorities. Due to the regulatory vacuum, they vary considerably in size, quality, facilities, and professionalism (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

Qualifications gained through study at these colleges are not recognized by the Greek government or Greek public educational institutions. As a result, students in transnational programs in Greece are not able to apply for graduate-level employment in the public sector, defer military service, obtain professional registration, or undertake subsequent studies at Greek universities. Over the past decade, Greece has repeatedly been taken to the European Court of Justice with complaints from the European Commission that the refusal to recognize EU member-country qualifications obtained through transnational programs is in breach of EU Directives 89/48 and 05/36, which facilitate professional mobility within the union (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

Critics of Greek educational protectionism argue that it has resulted in an undersupply of student places, degradation of the quality of education due to lack of competition, and the world's highest per capita student exodus abroad (Karayannopoulos 2007). Graduate unemployment has also risen as graduates of local institutions carry supply-driven qualifications less popular with industry, while graduates of foreign institutions face no recognition or delays in recognition of their qualifications (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

Unmet demand for tertiar education has long been a high-profile political issue in Greece, with the annual national examinations and competition for places attracting much press coverage. Parents of secondary school students routinely pay hefty fees to after-hours cramming schools to increase their children's chances of gaining entry into prestigious public universities.

Education and church issues are not divided in Greece.[91] The Greek higher educational institutions (universities – AEI, higher educational technological institutions – TEI) are autonomous institutions according to the constitution, and they belong to the Department of Education and Religion in

[91] The matter of Higher Education in Greece belongs to the Department of Education and Religion.

respects of finance and administration. The finance of the University of Aristotle also belongs to the Department of Education and Religion, and besides this – within legal limits – it also obtains private church maintaining financial sources. The administration of property and finance is led by the constitutional law that is also supervised by the Department of Education and Religion. The Department of Religion started its *Student Practice* program in 2001 for the University of Aristotle. The program is based on maintaining relationships and feedback. The advantage of the "intervention" between the institution and the Greek labor force market is that the university students can acquire practical experience at places (workplaces) according to their majors during their studies (Jackson 2006).

The Department of Education and Religion emphasized in its strategy in 2005 that as a consequence of such support in higher educational politics in Greece there is no need for a "one minute" institutional, superficial reform that would have negative social and educational consequences considering the whole system. When it would come to existence, either the higher educational law and or the Greek constitution would need modifications (Jackson 2006).

"A significant characteristic of the Greek higher educational system is that the educational institutions admit only limited numbers of students. The numerus clausus rule does not relate to the EU citizens" (A.U.).

The numerus clausus policy is valid in Greece concerning the whole higher educational system – thus it is valid even at the University of Aristotle. The number of students who can be admitted for an academic year in a higher educational institution is determined by the Department of Education and Religion along with the actual higher educational institution, the Senate, and the Higher Educational Committee (SAP). The number of these foreign students is determined every year by a departmental order.

The issue of numerus clausus policy in Greece provided the centre of educational political debates for a short period of time (2005-2006). During these debates the political attitude of the two opposing parties was recognizable. The ruling New Democracy Party (ND) in its political program does not intend to change the working educational political practice, the system of numerus clausus. The opposing power represented by the PASOK convincing the – above mentioned – actors of Higher Educational Committee and the Higher Educational Value Committee calls attention to the reforms of the old system. The widening of the labor force market and the involvement in the European Union's programs would mean the way out of the "old system" (Ziguras & McBurnie 2006).

Conclusion

The present research deals with the educational politics in 2004-2007, but the conclusion could be made that one of the main characteristic of Greek educational politics is the lack of coherence. The party system following the Papadopoulos regime did not provide the expected change.

After 2004, the issue of private higher education did not reach consensus either in society, among the actors of educational politics, or political parties. The Greek higher educational law and the constitution declare that education is a national responsibility, the political parties declare its need in their party programs, but only few concrete decisions are made concerning either the issue of private higher education or the reform of higher educational law. Some efforts to alignment with the European Union can be found in education but always determined by the actual political power.

Both major political parties (ND, PASOK) favor constitutional reform, regarding it as one of many steps that will, in the long run, benefit the Greek economy, while bringing it into line with the practice in most countries of the EU. The changes are therefore likely to happen, but they will take several years, much dialogue with stakeholders will be needed, and also work to establish appropriate regulatory systems. The amendments would open the way for local private colleges to seek university status, and for foreign universities to establish recognized branch campuses in Greece (McKenna 2004). This could have several benefits for the country, including helping to address unmet demands in certain disciplines, promoting professional mobility for more of its citizens, and allowing for the establishment (long overdue) of accreditation and quality assurance systems for private providers. Public universities and their student movements will most likely maintain their strident opposition to the private sector and, if the amendment passes, will seek to ensure that the state enforces the same debilitating conditions on the new private institutions as it imposes on the public system. The question that everybody aks is whether the current government considers university reform important enough to fight for it. The time frame required to amend the Constitution and implement a new regulatory framework for private institutions promises to create a decade of skirmishes on the streets of Thessaloniki.

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ERZSÉBET KÉZI

DER WEG ZUR SELBSTÄNDIGEN LEHRERAUSBILDUNG

Laut der diesbezüglichen Forschung gab es im Mittelalter keine Lehrerausbildung. Vorliegendes Referat soll darstellen, wie Elementarschullehrer ausgebildet wurden und wie es zur selbständigen Lehrerausbildung kam.

Im Mittelalter war die Kirche alleiniger Vermittler von Kultur und Schrifttum. Sie bestand lange darauf, ihre beherrschende Rolle zu bewahren. Das war auch deshalb möglich, weil die Feudalstaaten bis zum 18. Jahrhundert die Bedeutung des Unterrichts nicht entdeckten und sich damit auf nationaler Ebene gar nicht beschäftigten. Als Hauptvermittler der kulturellen Güter hat die Kirche eine Mission geleistet, was zum bedeutenden gesellschaftlichen Einfluss der Kirchengemeinden führte.

János Szakál, der 1934 ein Werk über die Lehrerausbildung in Ungarn veröffentlichte, musste feststellen, dass es weder in Ägypten, noch im Römischen Reich ein Institut für Lehrerausbildung gegeben habe. Somit gab es im Mittelalter auch keine anspornende Tradition. Wie können wir es erklären? Man hat das Unterrichten wahrscheinlich für zu einfach gehalten, um direkt für diese Aufgabe Fachleute auszubilden. Wir sind auch heute geneigt, zu glauben, dass Unterrichten ein Metier ist, das wir alle bestens kennen. Tatsächlich ist der Unterricht eine für alle Bürger wohl bekannte und wichtige Angelegenheit, wir alle haben in unserem Leben Kontakt dazu. Eben deshalb hat er auch eine so große Bedeutung.

Anderseits kann man auch heute, und besonders unter den Studenten, die Meinung hören, dass der künftige Lehrer sich nur den zu unterrichtenden Lehrstoff aneignen soll. Eben diese Meinung war auch im Mittelalter der Grund dazu, warum man keine Anstalten machte, Lehrer als Fachleute auszubilden. Dazu kam das Problem, dass sich die Pädagogik als selbständige Wissenschaft auch nur langsam entwickelte, und somit konnte der Lehrerberuf als Profession keine entsprechende wissenschaftliche Unterstützung erhalten.

„Die institutionellen Anfänge der Volksschullehrerbildung greifen auf das 18. Jahrhundert zurück. Früher unterrichteten in der Volksschule ungebildete Personen, oder solche, die ihre Ausbildung in den höheren Klassen der Mittelschule unterbrochen haben, um zu unterrichten. Die zweite Lösung konnte man in den protestantischen Schulen finden„ (Felkai

1984:103). Da die Volksschullehrer nicht institutionell gebildet wurden, hing der Unterricht sehr oft allein von der Persönlichkeit, den Kenntnissen und der erzieherischen Berufung der Lehrer ab.

Beim Entstehen einer institutionell untermauerten Lehrerausbildung spielte die Entfaltung des modernen, durch die Naturwissenschaften bestimmten Weltbildes eine wichtige Rolle, aber auch die allgemeinen gesellschaftlichen Erwartungen konnten dabei wesentlich mitgewirkt haben. Andererseits übten die Reformation und in deren Folge, die Gegenreformation einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf diese Entwicklung aus. Beide kirchlichen Bewegungen betrachteten den Unterricht als wichtiges Mittel bei der Verbreitung des Glaubens.

Selbst Luther beschäftigte sich mit der Frage des Unterrichts. Er meinte, dass die Schulen für die kirchlichen Reformen, die zugleich auch politische und gesellschaftliche Reformen waren, entscheidend seien. Die Sprachen und die Schulen seien deshalb wichtig, weil die Gesellschaft Leute braucht, die gebildet sind. Die Männer sollten das Land und das Volk leiten, die Frauen das Haus in Ordnung halten und die Kinder erziehen können. (Kiss 1881:60). In den deutschen Städten wurde das Schulsystem nach den Forderungen von Luther ausgebaut. Im 16. Jahrhundert gab es keine Institute, in denen die Volksschullehrer hätten ausgebildet werden können (Kiss 1881:67). Luthers Vorstellung, dass die Menschen den Bibeltext selbst kennen lernen sollten, konnte man durch das Demokratisieren des Unterrichts verwirklichen, also dadurch, dass man immer breitere gesellschaftliche Schichten in den Kreis derer emporhob, die lesen konnten. Das konnte man nur mit Hilfe von gut gebildeten Lehrern durchführen.

Die Schulgründung der protestantischen Kirche veranlasste auch die katholische Kirche dazu, selber einen ähnlichen Weg zu gehen, zumal im Wettlauf der beiden Kirchen alle beide einen Erfolg erzielen wollten. Es wurden neue kirchliche Orden (Jesuiten, Piaristen) gegründet, die sich hauptsächlich mit dem Unterricht beschäftigten.

Die erzieherischen Prinzipien der Jesuiten, die unbedingte Gehorsamkeit, die Heuchelei wurden trotz ihrer Erfolge in der Erziehung abgelehnt und kritisiert. Die Jesuiten kümmerten sich kaum um die Volksschulen und konzentrierten ihre Tätigkeit auf die Elitenbildung. Dagegen hielten die Piaristen auch den Unterricht auf der Elementarstufe für eine wichtige Aufgabe. Am Anfang steckten sie sich zum Ziel, ausgesprochen arme, verlassene Kinder zu erziehen. Ihre erste Schule gründeten sie 1597 in Rom. Ihre Elementarschulen ergänzten sie dann auch mit Oberschulen und Gymnasien.

Auch in Frankreich bemühte man sich um die Entwicklung des Unterrichtswesens. Der Gründer des Ordens der christlichen Schulbrüder La

Salle dachte zum ersten Mal daran, dass es notwendig wäre, Institute für die Volksschullehrerausbildung zu gründen (Szakál 1934:5). La Salle (1651-1719) organisierte im Jahre 1684 das erste Lehrerausbildungsseminar. In seiner Volksschule hielt er den Unterricht in der Muttersprache für wichtig (Nagy 1978:12).

Mit der Verbreitung der Reformation blieb der Unterricht unter der Aufsicht der Kirche, aber der Konkurrenzkampf der verschiedenen Kirchen trug zu der weiteren Entwicklung auch wesentlich bei.

Solange es keine institutionelle Volksschullehrerausbildung gab, stand der Unterricht jedoch, trotz der erwähnten Entwicklung, auch noch im 18. Jahrhundert auf einem niedrigen Niveau. Erst Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts begann eine neue Epoche in der Lehrerausbildung in Deutschland (Kiss 1881:136).

Der bekannte ungarische Forscher der Pädagogikwissenschaft, András Németh stellt die erworbenen Vorkenntnisse der Lehrer genauer dar. Er meint, dass nach diesen Vorkenntnissen keine qualitativen Werte festgelegt werden können. (Németh 1990:3) Er bemerkt auch, dass im Bereich von Didaktik und Pädagogik gar keine theoretische Ausbildung verlangt wurde. (Németh 1990:3) Mit der Bemerkung von András Németh, dass der Lebensweg der Lehrer die Qualität des Unterrichts nicht bestimmt habe, müssen wir einverstanden sein, weil es bis zum 18. Jahrhundert völlig selbstverständlich war, dass man eine Unterrichtstätigkeit meistens nur eine kurze Zeit ausübte. Aus dem 19. oder 20. Jahrhundert zurückblickend konnte diese Tatsache als ein großes Problem betrachtet werden, aber es hängt eben mit der damaligen, allgemeinen Meinung zusammen, dass der Unterricht in der Elementarschule für „keinen ernsten Beruf" gehalten wurde.

Zu einer theoretischen Untermauerung des Lehrerberufs und zum Unterrichten dieser Theorie kam es deshalb erst so spät, weil sich die Pädagogikwissenschaft von der Philosophie auch erst recht spät lösen konnte. Die Werke der ersten Pädagogikwissenschaftler – vor allem zum Beispiel die von Comenius – konnten im 17. Jahhundert wegen der europäischen Kriege nur sehr langsam verbreitet werden. Comenius schrieb in Sárospatak einen Entwurf zu einem Schulbuch für Kinder in der ersten Klasse (Artificii legendi et scribendi tirocinium), zu dem er auch ausführliche Anweisungen für den Lehrer verfasste. Er beschäftigte sich auch mit der Wichtigkeit der Lehrerausbildung, aber seine Pläne konnte er hier nicht mehr realisieren, weil er 1654 Sárospatak verließ.

Da Ungarn von dem 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert im Rahmen des Habsburgerreichs eine Einheit bildete, so nahm man sich an dem deutschen Sprachgebiet ein Beispiel. So war es auch im Schulwesen. Zuerst wurden Lehrer für die deutschen protestantischen Schulen in Halle (1695) ausgebildet,

wo Francke die Schule leitete. Francke hat großen Wert auf die Ausbildung der Lehrer gelegt, so mussten die Schüler, die später unterrichten wollten, 2 Jahre lang in seinem Seminar studieren. Das gilt als Anfang der Lehrerausbildung im deutschen Sprachraum.

Der preußische König, Friedrich der Zweite tat auch viel für die Lehrerausbildung. 1736 wurde verkündet, dass in der Volksschule nur diejenigen lehren dürfen, die an einer Lehrerausbildung teilgenommen hatten. Der König beauftragte Johann Ignaz Felbiger, Volksschulen zu organisieren. Felbiger war der Fachmann, der auch im Reich der Habsburger die Maßnahmen zur Organisation von Volksschulen traf. Er brachte Schulen zustande, in denen eine Ausbildungsnorm bestimmt werden konnte, die also als Vorbild galten. Die Königin Maria Theresia wollte den Unterricht modernisieren und unter staatliche Kontrolle ziehen. Felbiger konnte ihr dabei Hilfe leisten.

Die Modernisierung wollte Maria Theresia auch **in Ungarn** durchführen, deshalb wurden auch in Ungarn Schulen gegründet, die eine Unterrichtsnorm bestimmen halfen. Die Schulmaßnahmen von Maria Theresia wurden überall in den ungarischen Kronländern eingeführt, so wurde eine staatliche Kontrolle des Schulwesens im 18. Jahrhundert auch hier möglich. Die staatlich kontrollierten Schulen waren eigentlich Modellschulen, in denen die schon arbeitenden, aber pädagogisch nicht geschulten Lehrer moderne Methoden erlernen konnten. Es gab aber in jedem Unterrichtsbezirk nur eine solche Schule, anderseits wollten die protestantischen Schulen ihre Studenten nicht in den staatlichen Schulen ausbilden lassen, sie wollten die Lehrerausbildung selbst lösen.

Die Daten der nächsten Tabelle beweisen, dass im 17. Jahrhundert Studenten und ältere Schüler als Schulrektor angestellt worden sind.

Die zwischen 1615 und 1671 immatrikulierten Studenten in Sárospatak

Beruflicher Werdegang der Studenten	Zahl der Studenten	Prozent
Schulrektor	855	55,8
Pastor	75	4,9
Studieren an ausländischen Universitäten (Peregrination)	46	3
Während der Unterrichtszeit gestorben	112	7,3
Notar, Arzt, Jurispraktikant, Stadtbürger	21	1,4
Studenten ohne Daten	422	27,6
Summe	1531	100

[Die Daten stammen aus: Dobosi (2003:260)]

Im Mittelalter wurden die Lehrer auch in Ungarn nicht ausgebildet. Die Studenten, die einige Jahre schon studiert hatten, wollten oder mussten sich aus finanziellen Gründen oft als Lehrer an Elementarschulen betätigen. Die Studenten unterrichteten in dem protestantischen Kollegium die kleineren Schüler, weil das Kollegium aus Elementarschule, Mittelschule und theologischer Akademie bestand, also eine fast vollständige Einheit des Unterrichtswesens darstellte. Da die Studenten im Kollegium pädagogische Erfahrungen sammeln konnten, wollten die Protestanten im 18. Jahrhundert keine selbständige Lehrerausbildung organisieren. (Mészáros 1968:149). Man hatte Angst, dass in den staatlichen Schulen die katholische Beeinflussung wird nicht vermieden werden können. Die protestantische Kirche wollte selbst ihre künftigen Lehrer erziehen. Sowohl in Debrecen als auch in Sárospatak, also in den großen protestantischen Schulzentren, beschäftigte man sich mit der Pädagogikwissenschaft. In Sárospatak gab es dazu, in der Folge des hiesigen Aufenthaltes von Comenius, besonders gute Traditionen, zumal er vier Jahr lang (1650–1654) in Sárospatak wirkte. 1797 wurde hier Mihály Tóth Pápai angestellt, der als Pädagogiklehrer arbeitete, und für den Unterricht der Pädagogik auch ein Lehrbuch verfasste.

Auch in Debrecen wurde ab 1823 ein Professor für Pädagogik angestellt. Es bedeutete aber keine regelhafte Lehrerausbildung. Es wurden nur die Studenten auf ihre Aufgabe vorbereitet, die vorübergehend lehren mussten. Im Jahr 1852 wurden schon zwei Pädagogikprofessoren angestellt und 1855 wurde endlich ein Institut für die Ausbildung von Elementarschullehrern gegründet.

Auch in Sárospatak wurde das Problem im 19. Jahrhundert gelöst. Die Ausbildung der Elementarschullehrer wurde wissenschaftlich auch hier sehr gut vorbereitet, weil Gábor Szeremlei 1845 ein Buch zum Pädagogikunterricht herausgab. Die kalvinistische Kirche konnte 1857 die selbständige Lehrerausbildung einführen.

Die Angelegenheit war aus zwei Gründen von besonderer Wichtigkeit, und das Problem musste schnell gelöst werden.

Einerseits war die Tätigkeit der römisch-katholischen Kirche im Bereich der Lehrerausbildung ziemlich aktiv. In Erlau wurde 1828 die erste Ausbildungsanstalt eröffnet. Der Gründer des Institutes war der Bischof der römisch-katholischen Kirche, László Pyrker. Es bedeutete für die Protestanten eine große Herausforderung.

Anderseits wurde bekannt, dass die Anstellung der Elementarlehrer staatlich reguliert wird. Es war geplant, dass nur solche Lehrer unterrichten dürfen, die an einer entsprechenden Ausbildung teilgenommen haben. So wäre es für die Protestanten ein Nachteil gewesen, wenn sie keine Lehrer hätten ausbilden können. Darum musste das Problem eilig gelöst werden.

Wenn wir in Betracht ziehen, dass die Lehrerbildungsanstalten in Ungarn im 19. Jahrhundert nur Fachschulen waren, und in unseren Tagen Grundschullehrer an Hochschulen ausgebildet werden, müssen wir feststellen, dass sich dieser Teil des Unterrichtsystems sehr schnell entwickelte.

Die ersten vier Schuljahre können die ganze Laufbahn der Kinder bestimmen, darum müsste auch heute im fachlichen Bereich viel größerer Wert darauf gelegt werden. Mit einer niveauvollen Grundschullehrerausbildung können wir viel dafür tun.

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RELIGION AND VALUES AS RESOURCES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

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"IS IT IN THE FAMILY?" – CIVIC PARTICIPATION PATTERNS BASED ON A TWO-GENERATIONAL FAMILY RESEARCH IN HUNGARY

Civic engagement as one of the most important components of social capital can be regarded as a "key to making democracy work" (Putnam 1994:185). Being a post-communist country, democracy in Hungary is still young and civil society is still weak (Howard 2002), therefore it is fundamental that we find and use the proper keys to make our democracy work. Building social capital by strengthening the civic fabric of the society in itself is not an easy task. In Hungary's case it is even more difficult because as Putnam writes "[m]any of the formerly communist societies had weak civic traditions before the advent of Communism, and totalitarian rule abused even that limited sock of social capital" (Putnam 1994:183). Although the first half of the sentence does not apply[92] for Hungary, the communist heritage meant that after the transition in 1989, civic thinking and engagement had to be re-established for the older generation[93], while for the younger generations these skills had to be acquired.

Since the acquisition is an ongoing process, it is important that we study this process in detail. Our basic hypothesis is that the individual's engagement in voluntary associations is influenced by one's family behaviour. On the other hand we think that civic organisations also make impacts on the families: through the individual the family learns about the civil world and acquires such skills and contacts that can be a model for the younger generation.

Historical background

Non-profit institutions have had a rich history in Hungary despite the 40-year Communist interlude. The first official registration of associations in Hungary took place in 1862, when 579 such organisations were founded, 350

[92] The last comprehensive survey on associations were conducted in 1932, when 14 365 associations were recorded. After a long pause, 38 years later, in 1970, the number of associations was 8 886. It was in 1990 when the number recorded in 1932 was exceeded.

[93] A good example of it is the reestablishment of the scouts. On January 22nd 1989, the Hungarian Scout Association had its first meeting. Later on groups formed continuously and re-started their activities.

of them on the present territory of Hungary (approx. 1/3 of its former territory). In 1932, the third comprehensive register by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office recorded detailed information of 14365 associations.

During the forty years of the socialist regime, associations could operate only in the politically more or less neutral areas, for example in sports and culture. Real advocacy groups were substituted by mass organisations that were managed from the top and controlled centrally. Foundations were dissolved in 1949, and from then on the establishment of foundations was prohibited. In the eighties, the economic and political crisis of the socialist state establishment had an impact on all areas of social and economic life. Associations that experienced certain upheaval at the time were no exceptions either. Some organisations that started out as environmental groups or alternative scientific or professional unions carried the seeds of growing into a non-official political later opposition, too.

The institutions of the civil society gradually regained their rights. As the first step of this process, in 1987, the Hungarian Civil Code legalised the status of foundations again. In January, 1989 the Hungarian National Assembly passed a law on the right of association. Within a year, the regulations on the operation and economic management of parties were laid down together with the laws on the freedom of faith, religion and churches. As a result of the encouraging legal background and the new taxation system that enabled the provision of financial support, the number of non-profit organisations soared as well as their social roles and economic importance (Sebestyén et al. 2003).

In a comparative study of the non-profit sector in 1995, we can read that "Hungarian nonprofit sector has […] outpaced most of its Central and European counterparts." The authors claim that the relative development "is very likely a product of the rich history that such institutions have had […] despite the Communist interlude of 40 years" (Sebestyén et al. 1999:310).

Thus the reasons of the relative "flourishing" of the Hungarian non-profit sector after the transition are attributed to various factors listed below:
(1) A strong tradition of "oppositional" voluntary movements, resulting from the historical role voluntary associations played in the fight for Hungarian political, economic, and cultural independence and for the preservation of national identity;
(2) The long-standing claim of voluntary organizations, as representatives of civil society and based on their "pioneer" role in the development of welfare services, to the right to influence and control social and economic policy and the use of public properties and government funds;
(3) An extensive system of cooperative partnerships between local governments and private foundations and supporters co-financing a variety of

public welfare institutions that emerged in the first half of the 19th century and remained in force until the Second World War;
(4) The growth of the voluntary sector in the cultural and political arena beginning in the latter half of the 19th century after Hungary gained substantial autonomy from the Habsburg Empire;
(5) The partial toleration of certain types of cultural groupings and social organizations under the Communist regime, some of which developed into substitutes for political parties in the 1980s;
(6) A generally benign, though not always fully supportive, posture of the post-1989 governments; and
(7) A historically based flexibility of institutional choice in a survival-oriented society resulting in the mushrooming of non-profit organizations aiming to find appropriate answers to the challenges of the transition period (Sebestyén et al. 1999:310-311).

The data available in connection with the non-profit sector are confusingly diverse. In today's Hungarian practice, there are three different definitions used for this sector. Among these definitions the legal definition[94] is the broadest.

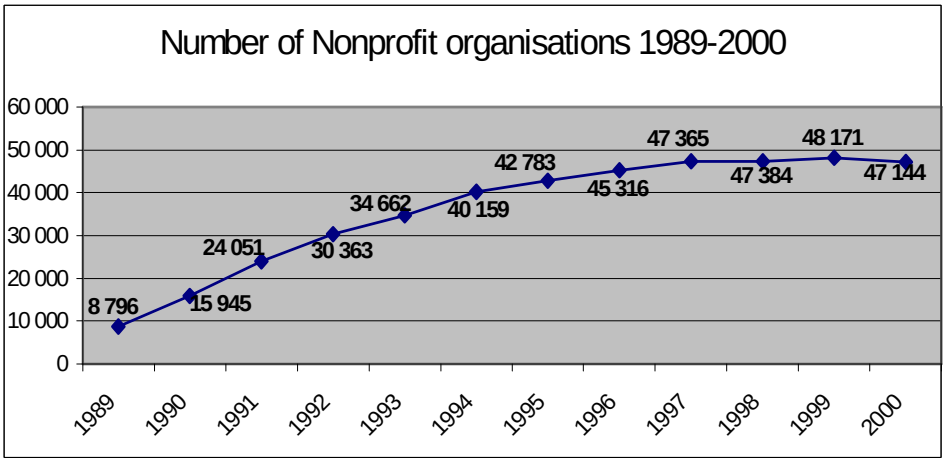
It is also problematic to estimate the number of the members of associations and advocacy groups. These organisations are supposed to have members but they do not always have precise records concerning their membership. Another typical problem is caused by the fact that the organisations usually overestimate the number of their members, thus the data we are provided tend to show a rounded up image (Sebestyén et al. 2003).

The number of organisations grew steadily after the fall of the socialist regime until 1997. After that, it stagnated and fell by nearly 1000 units in the year 2000 (Figure 1.). However, the growth in the number of organisations was faster in the towns and villages outside the capital, therefore the area

[94] According to legal definition, all non-profit oriented organisations (foundations, public foundations, public law associations, public benefit companies, voluntary mutual insurance funds and social organisations falling under the scope of the association law) that at the same time do not belong to the government sector shall be regarded part of the non-profit sector, and which organisation has been registered as a legal entity pursuant to the regulations of the Civil Code. The statistical definition is somewhat stricter and more pragmatic, and it is actually based on the criteria established in the international practice, since it uses the organisational form described in the Civil Code as its starting point. According to this definition, the following organisations do not fall under the category of non-profit sector: voluntary mutual insurance funds (for in their case, the non-profit distribution constraint does not prevail), political parties (since their mission is to acquire public and governmental powers) and churches or monasteries.

concentration decreased somewhat but the phenomenon of Budapest centralisation is still dominant.

Figure 1: Number of Non-profit organisations between 1989-2000



In the case of the membership organisations, the establishment rush lasted until about 1994, with a period of stagnation, and then the last years that followed saw a slow decrease. Foundations can be characterised by a slowing-down tendency to increase for the entire period. It can also be concluded that the growth in the number of organisations was due to the unprecedented emergence of the foundation sphere.

During these years, the activity structure has also changed gradually. Here we can observe two phenomena simultaneously, one is the survival of the socialist state's heritage, which is illustrated by the relatively strong position and the large number of cultural, recreational and professional advocacy groups; and the other is a gradual shift towards western trends, which is demonstrated by the reducing proportion of these organisations (Salamon & Anheier 1998: 44). Accordingly, the number of organisations operating in the fields of sports and recreation as well as the number of fire fighting organisations has shown a continuously decreasing trend since 1993. Due to the changes, the proportion of advocacy groups has also decreased. On the other hand, the significance of organisations dealing with education and community development has grown largely. It is worth mentioning that health-care, religious and environmental protection organisations have gained greater importance as well (Sebestyén et al. 2003).

It is essential to mention that the composition of the sphere of foundations and associations differ fundamentally as far as the activities are

concerned. In the former category, 60% of the organisations work in the fields of education, culture and social services. In the latter, however, a similar proportion is represented by associations specialised in sport, recreational, professional and economic advocacy.

We can conclude that the activity structure of the Hungarian non-profit sector is still tangibly different to that of the Western-European, but certain tendencies of approximation can clearly be observed.

As to the type of settlement, the members of non-profit organisations can be found most dominantly in country towns. A national representative survey in 1992 found that 20% of the population above 14 participates in some kind of an NGO, but only 10 % of them take part in the activities of more than one organisation. The participation rate of women is lower than that of men, but it is on the rise. More than two thirds of the members of non-profit organisations are 20-59 years old. Those with high educational degrees are more likely to participate and are also more likely to have an organisational role (Bocz 1995).

Measuring civic participation – examples of national surveys

Similarly to the definitional differences regarding the statistics about NGO-s mentioned above, there are quite a few variations in empirical surveys when measuring civic engagement. In most Hungarian questionnaires the focus is on membership, sometimes the term 'belonging to' is used and for example in our questionnaire we asked about participation.

In Table 1 we can see that in 3 surveys out of four the questions focused on membership. In all surveys more than one membership per person was allowed. In three surveys (No. 1, 2 and 4) the different associational types were listed and asked one by one. For the third survey no list was included, plus church and political membership were omitted on purpose. At a first glance, it seems that there are two different groups: two surveys measuring low membership rates and two measuring high rates. The highest participation rate measured is when not membership but the notion of belonging was asked: maybe this wording allows a wider pool of inclusiveness.

Table 1: Representative National Surveys on civic engagement

	European Values Survey 1999/2000	**Ifjúság2000©**[95]	**Hungarostudy 2002**	**European Social Survey 2002**[96]
Sample size	1000	8000	12600	1685
Representative age groups	18 and above	15 –29 years	17 and above	15 and above
Membership rate (%)		16	12	25
Rate of belonging	29.2			
Method of asking the type of voluntary associations	list of 16 different types –asked one by one	list of 12 different types - asked one by one	one general question about civil engagement – church and political organisations not included	list of 12 different types asked one by one

Looking behind the figures in Table 1 about the membership rates of different voluntary organisations, we find that church attendance is either the highest (in survey no.1. it is 12.1%[97], in survey no. 2 it is 7 %) or one of the highest (in survey no. 4. it is 5.5%, only trade union membership is higher: 5.8%). Since church attendance attributes such a high proportion to civic engagement, we can say that the membership rate measured in survey no. 3. is more similar to survey no. 4. than to survey no. 2. According to Ifjúság2000©, a survey focusing on young people between 15-29, we can say that civic engagement, especially measured by membership rate is lower among the younger generations. "The organisations are not able to motivate people between the age of 15 and 29, and to fulfil its function of value-assigning" (Gazsó & Szabó 2002:257). It is noteworthy that these figures coincide with Putnam's (2000) conclusion about the reasons behind the decline of civic

[95] This survey concentrated on young people between 15 and 29.
[96] They also asked for each type of association about participation, giving donation and doing voluntary work.
[97] This is the rate of the total population

engagement in America: "Fourth and most important, generational change – the slow, steady, and ineluctable replacement of the long civic generation by their less involved children and grandchildren – has been a powerful factor." Even though the differences in the civic past outnumber the similarities between the two societies, the impact of "the TV generation"[98] is definitely true for Hungary as well (Putnam 2000:283-284).

In Hungary the challenges are twofold: besides the re-establishment of the civic virtue there is the phenomenon of "rowing against the tide." The project on which this study is based on is an example of this effort. We try to understand both sides of the coin: (1) what can the voluntary associations offer to its youth: the choices and the rationale behind it, (2) the needs and expectations of the target population – in our case young people.

Research background

Our 3 year[99] project aimed improvement of quality of life based on community involvement in the region provided for by the "Misszió" Health Centre[100]. The geographical setting of the project is a city[101] about 25 km from Budapest, the capitol of Hungary. The main objective of this project is to connect the concepts of quality of life and health in terms of basic research, applied research and practice. Its practical aim is to initiate public health care programs based on community involvement. To achieve this goal it was essential that we mapped the actual characteristics of the civic involvement of the citizens on one hand, and studied the structure of the different voluntary organisations on the other hand. In our basic and applied researches anthropological, sociological and even psychological perspectives were included. In this study we rely on two data sets: anthropological case studies and two-generational family survey

Anthropological case studies were collected between 1999-2003, the research focused on the genesis and functions of 17 voluntary associations in the local community. The study of youth participation involved participant observation, semi-structured and narrative interviews with voluntary association members and the use of local historical sources.

[98] Watching TV as the major privatiser of leisure time, reduces the time spent elsewhere.
[99] Between 2001-2004
[100] It was part of the National Research and Development Programmes administered by the Ministry of Education, funded by the Hungarian government.
[101] The population size was 10 256 in 2001. It is a prosperous city, in 10 years the number of inhabitants almost doubled, due to migration.

In 2002 a two-generational family survey was conducted among 250 families with their children[102] between 15 and 20 years. Our aim was to interview both parents and their child. For the final analysis in case of 191 families our initial criterion was achieved: both parents and the adolescent child were interviewed. We labelled these cases *complete family triangles*. In 50 cases only the child plus one of his/her parents were interviewed. In 90% of the latter cases, it was the mother[103] who filled out the questionnaire. These cases are referred to as *incomplete family triangles*. Our sample size consists of 244 children and 432 adults (236 females and 196 males).

Our research method based on joint interviewing is quite unique in quantitative sociology (Arksey 1996). Lacking the knowledge of any similar database, we worked out our own method to create a *family database* by incorporating the individual interviews. Our questionnaires were constructed in such a way that we asked the same question from the respondent regarding not only him/herself, but also the other survey-participant family members as well (Table 2).

Table 2: Rate of participation in voluntary organisations (%)

	Mother as respondent	**Father as respondent**	**Child[104] as respondent**
About Mother	26.5	24.5	19
About Father	25	28	16
About Child	28	29	30

In Table 2 the cells with grey colour indicate the respondents' answers concerning themselves. The numbers in each row can be regarded as the degree of knowledge about one another. In Table 2, from the civic participation rates we can see that it is the child who knows less about his/her parents' activities: while one third of the mothers claim to be engaged in civic activities, their children are aware of it in a lesser extent, only every fifth child mentions his/her mother to be involved. The tendency is similar for the fathers. On the other hand, parents' knowledge about their children's engagement rate seems accurate.

[102] Our sample was representative of the young people based on gender and age (for each year)
[103] Half of these mothers raise their children alone
[104] They also asked for each type of association about participation, giving donation and doing voluntary work

Looking at the participation rate at the individual level, we can say that there are no significant differences between the groups of mothers, fathers and children. The overall rate of participation (28 %) is quite similar to the ones measured in the national surveys (Table 1), especially to that of the European Value Survey: this can mean that the two expressions – "participation" and "belonging to" – entail similar connotations. Compared to other national trends two differences are encountered: (1) *Gender*: Unlike the national trend, women's participation rate in our survey is as high as men's. Does it mean that women with family tend to be civically more engaged? It is perharps, that married people and people with children are likely to spend more time in community organization. Quoting Putnam, "only two types of organizational affiliations, however, are sufficiently strongly related to marital and parental status to make a real aggregate: church and youth related activities (Putnam 2000:278). From our data it is especially true for women. (2) *Age*: Although age influences the rate of civic engagement (middle aged people are more involved) we did not find statistically significant differences, most probably because of our special – age-wise rather homogenous – sample. The only but important difference is that in our youth sample the rate of civic engagement is much higher than in the national youth survey (Ifjúság2000©). One could hypothesise that when young, people are more active. In the survey Ifjúság2000© two groups were identified with significantly higher civic engagement: people belonging to the age group of 15-19 and students attending high-school or universities (Gazsó & Szabó 2002:257).

Family as a predictor of civic engagement

Six months after the two-generational family research, a representative panel survey was conducted in the same city[105]. In the *city survey* civic participation was measured in a slightly different way, civic and church participation was asked separately. This distinction allowed the independent analysis of the two types to identify the individual factors of influence.

The total participation rate in the *city survey (N=800)* was 22.5%: civic participation is 14%, while involvement related to the church is 13%. The correlation between the two types of engagement is strong: R^2= .227(sig .000). The percentage of those who participate in both kind of organisational activities is 4% of the total sample, and 18.5% of those participating in voluntary associations.

[105] The question: "Do you participate in the work of any civil or church organization? If yes, please name it/them. If no, why not do you participate?"

In Table 3 we simply indicated the existence of the statistically significant relations between various socio-demographic variables and the different types of participation. There are two variables – gender and economic activity – which have effects on both types of involvement: men and students are more active in voluntary associations. Educational attainment is very strongly related to civic participation: the rate among the higher qualificated is twice as much (22%) as among the skilled workers (10%). If we look at the total participation rate, the strong influence of education is restrained.

Table 3: Factors relevant to different kinds of participation – city survey data

	Civic participation	**Church participation**	**Total participation**
Gender	✓	✓	✓
Economic activity[106]	✓	✓	✓
Educational attainment	✓		✓
Place of birth[107]		✓	✓
Household type	✓		✓
		✓ sig .000,	✓ sig .01

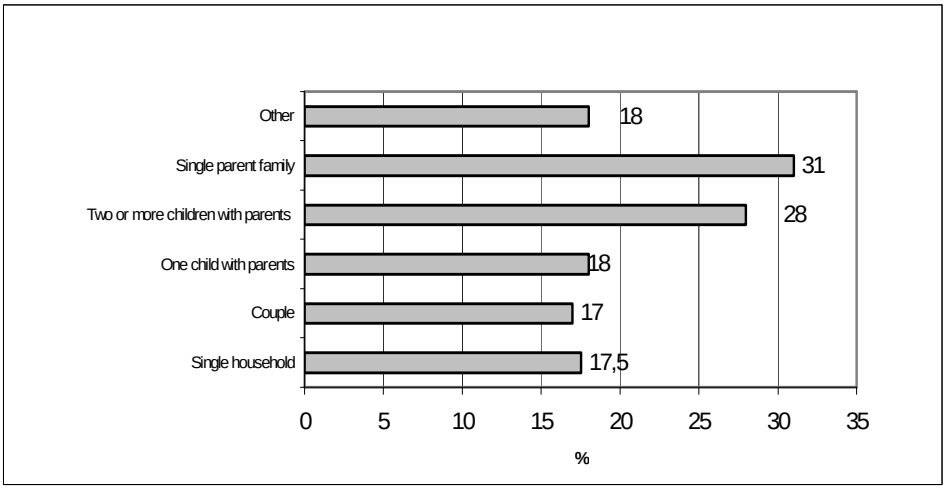
The last two variables in Table 3 refer to very important factors concerning participation. In special literature there is a strong claim to make a clear distinction between two terms – social capital and social cohesion (Zmerli 2003). Social capital refers primarily to the level of community while social cohesion is meaningful on the societal level (Green 2003). This means that a cohesive society might be regarded as a society that converted social capital successfully. In the case of a city where 69% of the citizens were born elsewhere, voluntary associations could be such integrative elements of the community. At present, this is not the case: engagement relating to church activities is significantly higher among people born in the city. This is mainly the effect of settlement type, which is an important factor explaining religious practise: the rate of religious people is higher in towns and villages, while the rate of atheists is highest in Budapest, from where most people move to this city.

[106] The categories are: student, active, inactive, unemployed.
[107] If the person was born in the city or not.

"Newcomers" seem to be less involved in civic participation: the total participation rate among people born in the city is 26.5%, and 20% among people not born there.

As suggested earlier in this paper, the importance of the family for predicting civic participation is supported by our data. In Figure 2 the rate of civic engagement is shown according to the types of household. The two most active household types are either single or two-parent families with two or more children.

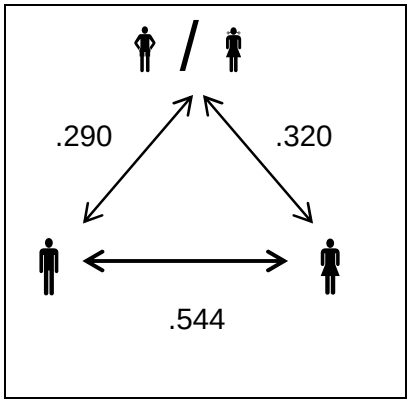
Figure 2: Rate of civic participation according to household types (N=808)



The significant relation between church and civic participation suggests that like other forms of capital, social capital can also be accumulated. Different data show that civically active people are likely to participate in more than one organisation (Putnam 2000). According to the 2002 European Social Survey, members of voluntary associations belong to 1.5 organisations on average.

Our hypothesis is that within the family similar mechanisms occur: if one family member is civically engaged it is more likely for the others to be involved in voluntary associations, not necessarily in the same one. One of the advantages of our two-generational family approach is that we are able to study if there is any influence of one family member on the other.

Figure 3: The influence of family members regarding civic participation (Pearson correlations)



sig .000

From Figure 3 we can see that family members do influence each other's engagement.in voluntary associations. The relation is the strongest between husband and wife (R^2=.544!). Although the direction of "inspiration" is not known for sure, there is a higher probability for the husband to influence his wife, simply because the rate of civic engagement is usually higher among men.

From a generational point of view we might say that most probably there are the parents influencing their children's civic participation, but the direction can be easily the other way round. Several community building programs are based on the very fact that parents can be best involved for such activities through their (the younger the better) children. In any case we must emphasize the strong effect of the family members concerning each others' civic participation.

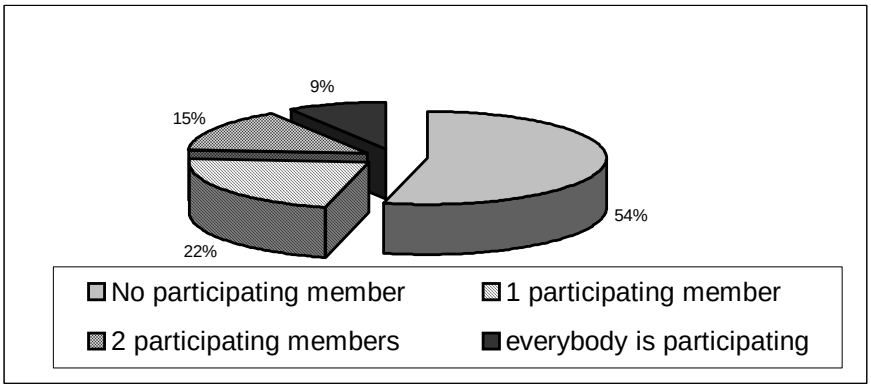
Involvement in the different types of voluntary associations

Before we show in detail how civic involvement might be introduced into a family through the "pioneer" members[108], we need to analyse the differences between the civically active and less active families. In the two-generational family survey, in almost every second family (46%) there is at least one person who participates in a voluntary association. The family participation rate is significantly higher among families with *complete family triangles* (49%) than among families with *incomplete family triangles* (36%). (The

[108] In 2003 the first wave of a panel survey representative for age between 18-70, and gender was conducted in the same city. The research was part of the Quality of Life Program (VEP) in the given region.

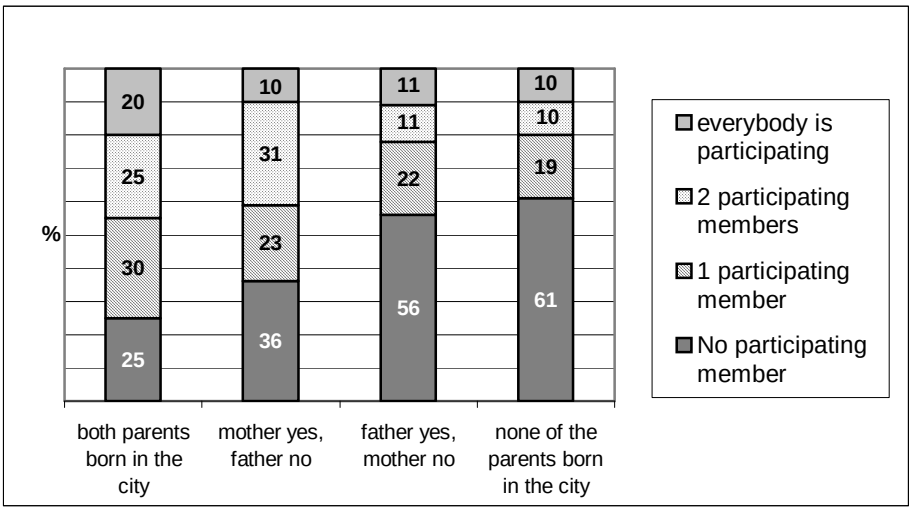
difference is due to the lack of the participating father.) The civic participation is very high in 9% of the families: this means that all three respondents are engaged in a voluntary organisation (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Civic activity rates in the family



The family's civic activity rate is strongly related to the father's educational level. In families where the father's educational level is low (primary education), the rate of no participation is 70%, whereas in families with highly educated fathers this rate is only 32%. Mother's educational level is less influential when the father is present. Among single parent families the influence of the mother's educational level is stronger, but still not as much as the fathers'. Previously we have pointed out the significant relation between civic – especially church related – participation and place of birth. In the two-generational family research, four categories were formed on the basis of the parents' birth place. In Figure 5 we can see that families where both parents are locals have the highest civic participation rates. It is also important to note that the integration into the local community is easier if the "newcomer" is the father.

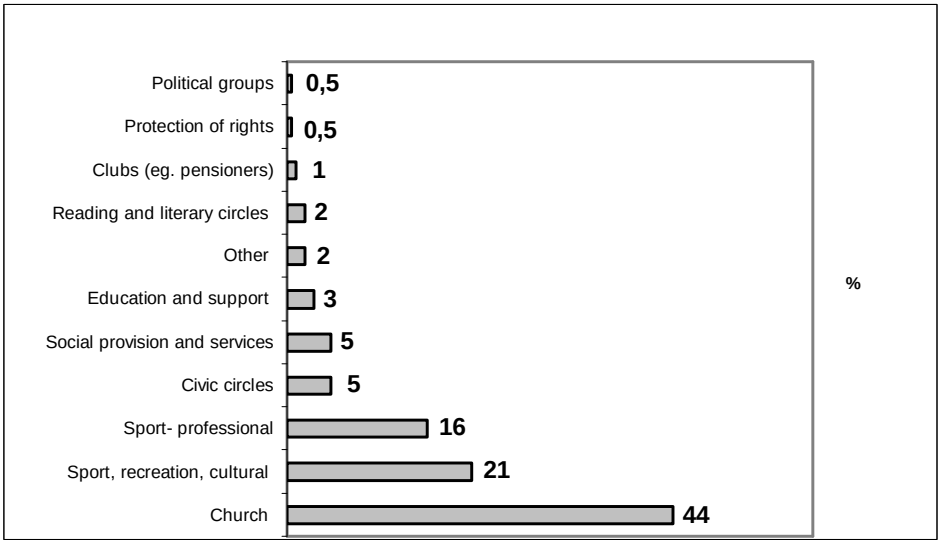
Figure 5: Civic activity rates according to parents' birthplace



For any intervention in a community-based project where the aim is to establish and strengthen civic ties, it is crucial to find the best channels to reach the individuals. From the data shown so far, it is clear that once one person is involved in a voluntary organisation, the possibility to involve other family members is increasing. In our questionnaire, the respondents had to name the association they participate in, and also we asked them to name the organisations to which the other two respondents' belong to. An interesting difference was found between the generations: while almost all children could name the associations to which their parents belong to, this was not true for the parents. Fathers' answers did not extend the limit of simply acknowledging their children's involvement. (Half of the fathers could not name the associations in which their children participated in. The rate of the "unaware" in the case of the mothers was less but still remarkably high, about 20%.)

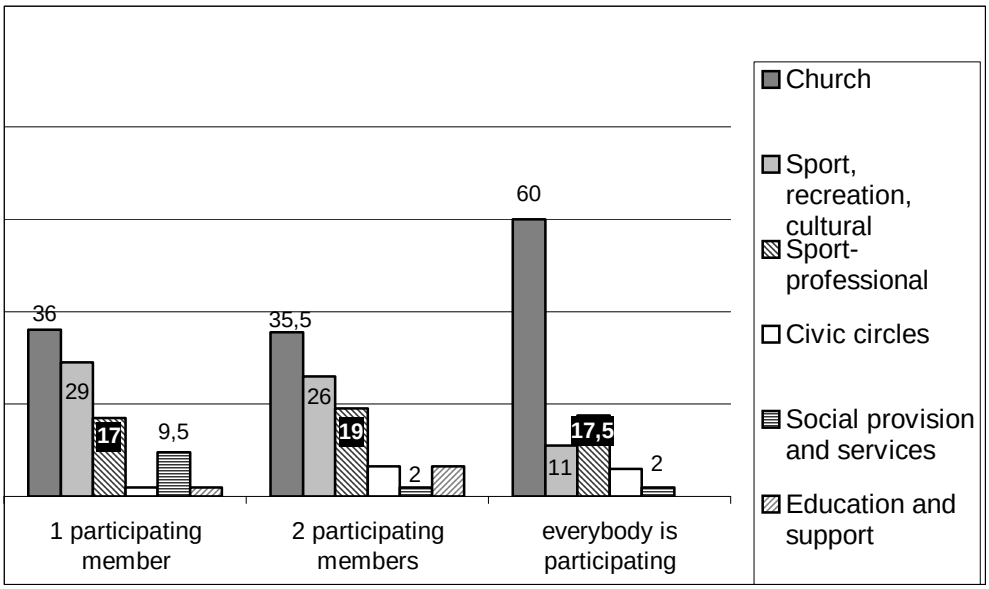
The 56 voluntary associations mentioned by the respondents were put into 11 categories. Figure 6 shows the total distribution of the 11 types of associations. The three most popular categories of organisations are related to church, sport–recreation–hobby activities and professional sport activities.

Figure 6: Types of voluntary associations – based on the field of activity



There are a few differences concerning the three different groups of respondents: (a) mothers – the rate of participating in church activities and in education and support activities is higher. The involvement in church activities is the highest among mothers in complete family triangles. They are hardly involved in professional sport. (b) fathers – among fathers who were not born in the city, the participation rate is significantly higher in civic circle groups and sport-and cultural groups. It might as well be that the newcomers make their own civic circles. (c) children – although the participation rate in church activities is the highest, it is much less so than in the adult groups, 30 % of the civic participation refers to professional sport activity. It is worth mentioning that children who are in families where they are the only civically active people tend to be involved more in groups focusing on social provisions and services. Also, it seems these are the activities which remain most "hidden" from their parents: while the rate of this category mentioned by the children was 8 %, neither the mothers nor the fathers mentioned it for their children! The parents overestimate their children's involvement in the church (fathers' estimate), and the engagement in cultural and sport activities (mothers' estimate). This might as well reflect the parents' wishes about the desired civic involvement of their children.

Figure 7: Voluntary associations according to the family civic participation level



In the last Figure (Figure 7.) we show the distribution of the categories according to the civic activity level of the family. Church participation is the highest when all three respondents are civically engaged. Involvement in the church is the first of all family affairs. If only one person is engaged in voluntary organisations – namely the children –, it means the participation in social provision and services. Sport, cultural and recreational organizations seem to be suitable for integrating the family members one by one. We might also say that the associations falling into this category can have an integrative function for the different generations: in this case, much attention is needed to find out and match the different expectations. Professional sport associations seem independent from the family participation factor.

The "real" story – a case study with local flavours

Before our final remarks, we feel that it might be of some relevance to include a short case study in our paper as an illustration of the points we have made so far.

As the old local cultural patterns are overrun by new patterns learned from the globalized popular culture, the adults (parents, grandparents) find themselves in a vacuum when the issues of youth leisure activities emerge. In the following case study the influencing social factors and personal interests

can be seen together. The folk dance group organised "for" the young people in 1996, at the time of our research, had become a voluntary association "of" the local youths, age 17-23.

After 1989 in Hungary, all those youth organisations, which under the Communist era provided leisure facilities were deconstructed. The local Community Cultural Centre had some – so-called small groups organised before 1989, but after the democratic transformation it was nobody's concern to bother about a place for the youth's meeting.

Before 1949[109] in this town, like everywhere else in Hungary, the leisure and adult learning activities were organized mainly by the churches. In the peasant village at that time, nearly all the different churches organised a choir, religious adult learning, theatre group for youths and several cultural events. The only voluntary association organised in 1921 was engaged with environmental and community development tasks.

After the democratic transformations, in the local community, the first offer for the youth was made by the leader of the Women's Charity Circle (WCC), an organisation founded in 1990. The WCC leader had two important experiences from her childhood: the pleasure of being a member of the church youth group, and a role model offered by a neighbour, namely the old mayor's wife, in organising secular cultural events.

In the winter of 1991, the voluntary association organised a charity tea-party, following the script of tradition of the 30s and early 40s. The elite, the community mayor and the priests were invited. For the raffle, the youth brought different objects, books, embroidery, things which they do not use. From the donation, the organisers purchased a TV and a video cassette recorder for the youth of the Catholic and Protestant church. In the following year the WCC's ball supported the travel costs to Wien for 30 young people, to see the castle of the Habsburg's[110].

In the year 1993, the grandmother aged WCC protectors were given an old, empty house for the WCC's activity from the community. This house, in symbolic terms, shows the independence of this new actor on civic life's scene. In the first summer, a small local history exhibition was held. From the ball's income, the WCC purchased a billiard and other tools for the youth's indoor activities. The WCC members, mainly the leaders of the Circle, control the late evening club activity of the youth. The uniqueness of the club attracts other new "members." In this year, the WCC changed its activity and became a Local Cultural Heritage Association (LCHA), engaged in the preservation of local peasant traditions. The youth members in this context became

[109] The beginning of the one-party dictatorship.
[110] Hungary's last monarch.

"novices," the great hope in learning the local traditions. However, the expectations were too high: for these young people learning local traditional dances was one among the possible leisure activities, but not a total institution, a life program. After breaking the norms of the post-figurative cultural style (Mead 1978:13) for several times, the "youth club" was closed.

The majority of the young people joined the Community Cultural House, where an old local tradition was renewed. Before 1949, as a first self-organised event, local balls were organised by the youth groups, with the help of families and older members of the community. The control from the Community Cultural House and the expectations were minimal. From 1996, the youth group found its new common activity: they learned mainly traditional Hungarian folk dances, not specific for their hometown, and built a very strong bonding social capital. A very important "benefit" of their weekly meetings is the decrease in alcohol consumption.

Conclusion

It is time for us to give an answer to our question posed in the title of our study: Is civic participation in the family? Our answer is "yes," it is in the family. People embedded in their families tend to be more active civic participants. In the family, the model of being civically engaged is sometimes simply reproduced, other times it is the common base and knowledge on which new and alternative solutions are made.

Since nowadays the mainstream of society hardly supports the initiatives to strengthen community cohesion or gives real alternatives to motivate young people to get involved in voluntary organizations, parallel to family responsibility, it is essential for the organizations to recognise their duty in the process of combining their own aims with the requirements and needs of the younger generations.

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ANNA IMRE

SCHOOL ATMOSPHERE, SCHOOL POLICIES AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in social capital, together with initiatives attempting to discover to what extent social relationships and individual characteristics play a part in economic activity and people's wellbeing. The reason for this increased interest can be found in a research which shows that cultural factors (particularly ones which promote association and co-operation, such as social capital and trust) have a significant role in social wellbeing and economic competitiveness (Putnam 1995; Fukuyama 2007). Since both social capital and trust have their roots in culture, there has been increasing emphasis on these less tangible cultural phenomena (Fukuyama 2007).

The concept of social capital has had an illustrious career both within and outside sociology, despite there being no clear definition of it in the literature. The concept can be traced back to Durkheim, and it enjoyed a revival in the 1980s due to the work of Pierre Bourdieu and James S. Coleman, though these two authors differ somewhat in their interpretation of it, and the social capital has been used by later authors in a variety of senses to this day (Dika & Singh 2002).

One thing all the authors have in common is that they link social capital to the resources inherent in social relationships; but apart from, this they often describe it from different viewpoints, place it in different contexts, and emphasise different aspects of it, so that there appear to be at least as many differences as similarities between them, if not more. For example, they might link it to social norms (Coleman) or interpret it as access to real benefits (Bourdieu); they might see it as part of a conscious individual or community strategy (Bourdieu) or as an incidental consequence of social actions built on community participation and co-operation (Coleman, Fukuyama); they might regard it as primarily positive (Coleman), neutral (Bourdieu) or even negative (Portes). The concept of social capital can also be linked with other areas of knowledge such as anthropology, political science, economics and philosophy (e.g. Marcel Mauss' description of the exchange of gifts in the potlatch, and Putnam's analysis). For Fukuyama the concept is strongly linked with trust: trust can be interpreted both as the source and as the consequence of social capital, and this applies equally to trust in

acquaintances, strangers, public bodies and private institutions (Fukuyama 2007).

There is also general agreement that social capital is a product of social structure and culture: it is based on families, communities, and organisations and communities existing at national and sub-national level, and it is largely associated with relationships within civil society. The principal sources of social capital are family, school, local community, civil society, businesses, the public sphere, sexes, and ethnicity; the primary source among these being the family. Schools can also play an important part in developing social capital by reinforcing values and providing a social and community location and forum; communities and neighbourhoods, voluntary organisations and societies can also play an important role in forming social capital. Empirical analyses show that there are major differences between individual countries and groups of countries in various aspects of social capital, depending on their social and political arrangements and traditions (Kaariainen & Lehlonen 2006). Since changes in social capital reflect longer-term changes in standards, values and changed patterns of social interaction, significant differences may be observed over an extended period in any one country: for example, Robert Putnam has detected signs that social capital has weakened over recent decades in the United States (1995).

Questions and methodology of the empirical analysis

Our analysis seeks primarily to interpret the concept of social capital within schools and to apply it to an international context by means of a secondary analysis. We were able to carry out a more detailed study of the role of social capital in the post-socialist countries with the help of the PISA 2000 database. We analysed responses to the school questionnaire using variables which may be linked with social capital, focusing primarily on the former socialist countries, but also taking account of other groups of countries. Our analysis is not without precedent: it builds in many respects on OECD's secondary analysis of the same database, which examined school factors in connection with pupils' achievements in reading. The OECD analysis assigned factors within schools to three large groups of variables, distinguishing factors associated with school circumstances and resources (e.g. school culture, size and staffing), characteristics of the school climate (e.g. school culture, teacher motivation, teacher-pupil relations), and the presence of institutional policies which result in targeted interventions (e.g. school autonomy, assessment, selection). It analysed the effect of these groups of variables on achievement in reading, and found that the effect on success was an average 50% for pupil background, 18% for school context and conditions

within schools, 6% for variables affecting school atmosphere and 2% for school policies (OECD 2005).

Our aims in this study are more modest, and we do not intend to analyse the data on outcomes. We wanted to find out first of all whether there are any significant differences between OECD member countries in terms of school characteristics which may be associated with the presence or absence of social capital. Our study differs from the OECD secondary analysis in two respects: firstly in that we focused primarily on the post-socialist countries, and secondly in that we have sought to interpret the data in terms of social capital. The specific questions we wanted to answer were:

(1) How can social capital be measured and to which variables in the PISA survey can it be linked?

(2) Are there any differences between individual countries and groups of countries in terms of factors which may be linked with social capital? What distinguishes the post-socialist countries, and Hungary in particular, in this regard?

(3) What other school-level factors, deliberate interventions or school policies are associated with any deviation of these variables from the OECD average?

We started by identifying the group of former socialist countries which participated in the OECD survey (Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland). For the purposes of comparison we also identified some other groups: Anglo-Saxon countries (USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand), Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden), and Mediterranean countries (Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece) (see Appendix, Table 1). In identifying these groups it was important that they are fairly clearly distinguishable in both geographical and historical/political terms, and also that for various reasons these groups and countries within the groups are often used as a basis for comparison of their own circumstances.

In our analysis we sought to operationalise a concept of social capital which can be used for empirical analysis. Of the topics in the questionnaire – school context, conditions relating to school functioning (maintainer, education programmes, settlement type, school autonomy, pupils' family background), school policies (enrolment, allocation to groups, assessment, professional development), and school atmosphere (deviant behaviour, teacher-pupil relations, etc.) – we studied the variables relating to school atmosphere in more detail, focusing primarily on those which can be interpreted in the above dimensions. Thus, the variables which may be linked to social capital became variables of school atmosphere, and primarily the following: pupil absence, teacher-pupil relations, absence of parental support, and disruption in class. These variables enable us to apply the concept of

social capital in three areas:[111] (1) links between school and family (absence of parental support); (2) relationships between actors within school (teacher-pupil relations); (3) study of phenomena which can be linked to the existence of standards applying within school (vandalism, absence[112]).

In terms of school context and operating conditions, we subjected to closer scrutiny those variables which showed significant correlation, the principal ones being pupils' poor family background, the direction of the secondary education programme, and the proportion of girls. We also included some other background variables relating to dimensions which are important in international comparisons (though these did not show significant correlation), such as school autonomy and financial means. Under the heading of school policies we included variables which are important in terms of enrolment, teachers' professional development, and school and pupil assessment.

In the first part of our analysis we examined and compared the chosen variables according to their typical occurrence in the selected countries. As a second step, we compared the groups of countries in terms of some indices of the atmosphere in school and of some characteristics outside the school's control. Finally, using correlation and regression analysis, we examined the relationships between these and some background variables relating to schools and school policies.

Manifestations of social capital in an international context

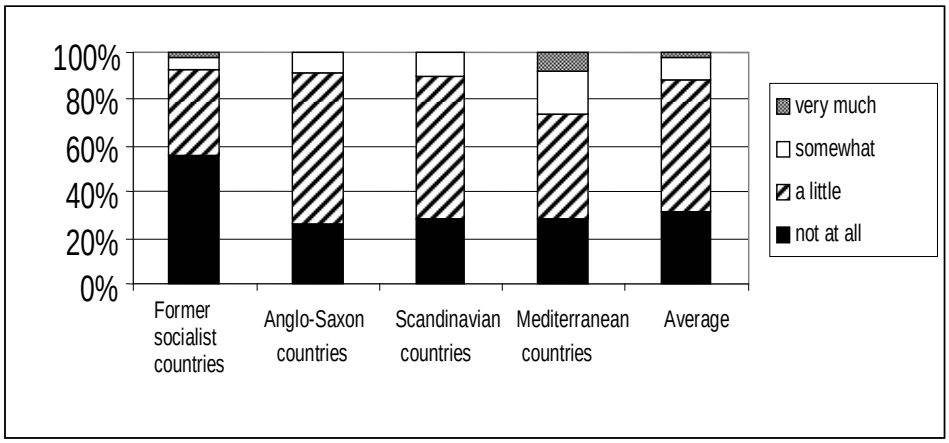
In our analysis we first examined the position of each group of countries in terms of the chosen variables. For *teacher-pupil relations* the former socialist countries seem best placed: this area shows the largest favourable deviation from the OECD average in terms of average of the values on the scale, which is 1.52 for the post-socialist countries and 1.82 for the OECD

[111] Our approach, tailored to what is available in the PISA database, is thus close to Coleman's interpretation: he does not give a clear definition of social capital but regards it as being determined primarily by its function. It does not exist independently but can manifest itself in connection with numerous different factors which have two elements in common: they all include some aspect of social structures, and they all promote certain actions by the actors within the structure. Social standards represent a particularly important form of social capital: in an explicit or internalised way they help to suppress the interests of the individual in the interests of the aims of the community, and promote behaviour which is in accordance with the norms whilst inhibiting other behaviours (Coleman 1988).

[112] Pupil absence, our fourth variable, can actually be linked to all three areas: it can result from distance between the family and the school, from poor teacher-pupil relations, and from weakness of the school's standards.

countries (see Appendix, Table 2).[113] In the post-socialist countries 56% of the pupils attend schools in which learning is not at all made difficult by poor teacher-pupil relations; this is a problem for only 6.5% of the pupils. According to the data, the position with regard to teacher-pupil relations is most favourable in Hungary. This area seems to be more of a problem in other country groups, particularly the Mediterranean countries, for which the average of averages on the scale is the highest (2.06), with Greece in the worst position (2.76). In the Mediterranean countries, on average more than a quarter of pupils (26.6%) attend schools where teacher-pupil relations present a medium or greater problem; a similar number of pupils are not exposed to this problem (28.5%). Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon countries are very similar, with averages of 1.83 and 1.82 respectively. While neither group is predominantly free of problems (28% and 27% of schools respectively have no problems in this area), the proportion experiencing significant problems is also low (10% and 9.3% respectively), and the majority of pupils (61% and 64% respectively) attend schools where the problem is rated as minor. Teacher-pupil relations are best in Denmark (1.45), followed by England (1.80) (see Appendix, Table 2).

Figure 1: Teacher-pupil relations (Question: Do poor teacher-pupil relations hamper learning in your school?)

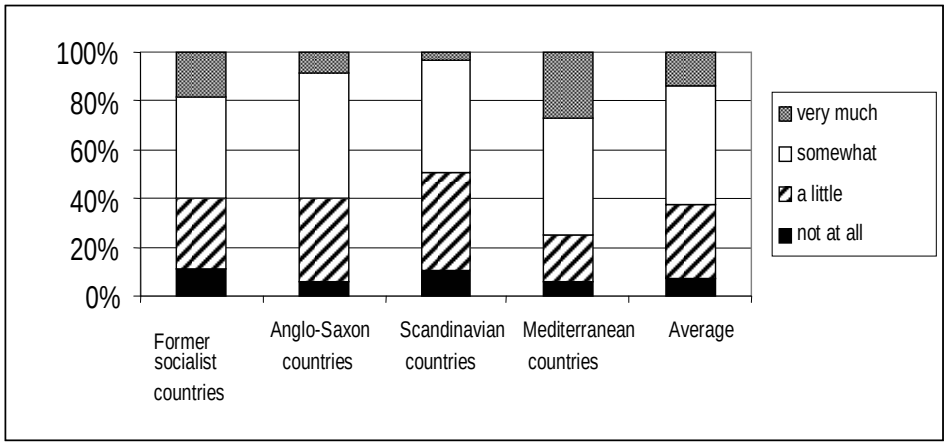


With regard to *parental support*, the favourable position of the former socialist countries is less emphatic, with an average close to the OECD average (former socialist 2.67, OECD 2.70). In this area Scandinavian countries are best placed (2.43), with Denmark being the best among them

[113] Since the questions are posed in terms of the extent of a problem, in the majority of the cases a lower average value indicates a more favourable response.

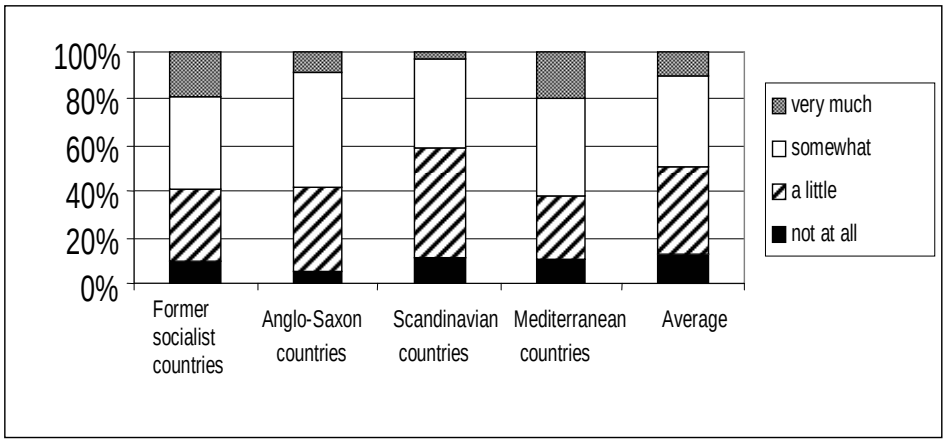
(2.05). In these countries 50% of the pupils attend schools where the lack of parental support causes no or very few problems. The lack of parental support is more of a problem in Anglo-Saxon countries, but their average (2.63) is still better than the OECD average. In this group, it is Australian schools which can count most on parental support (2.51). The biggest problem is in the Mediterranean countries, where more than a quarter of pupils (27%) attend schools where the head experienced difficulties due to the lack of parental support. In this group, Portugal appears to be the country in which schools can count least on parental support.

Figure 2: Lack of parental support (Question: Does the lack of parental support hamper learning in your school?)



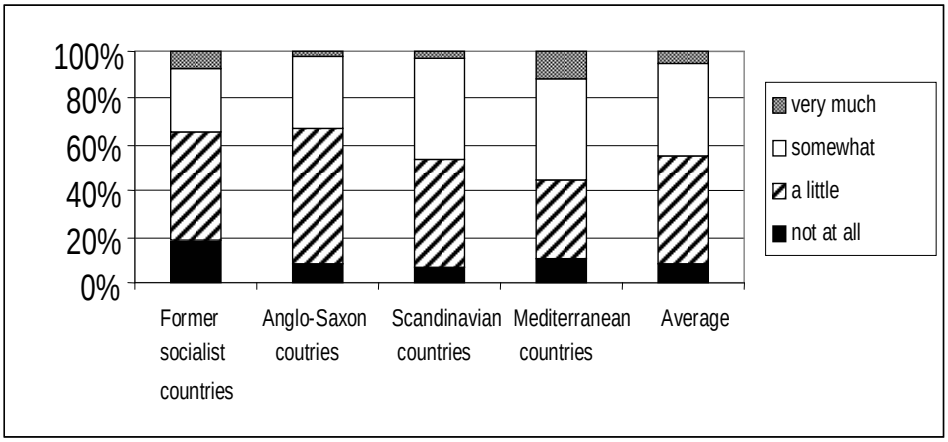
Pupil absence is not a problem in the schools attended by 51.1% of the pupils but does affect 48%. Scandinavian countries are the best again, with 2.33, as against the OECD average of 2.48, and Denmark is again the best in the group (2.01). Absence is not a significant problem in the Anglo-Saxon countries: their average is below the OECD average, and only 9.1% of the pupils attend schools in which the head indicated major problems in this area. Mediterranean countries are worst placed: their average (2.69) is significantly higher than the OECD average, and Greece has the worst indicator in the group. Student absence appears to be the area that causes the biggest problem in post-socialist countries: their average (2.68) is close to that of the Mediterranean countries and far in excess of the OECD average. In these countries, almost half of the pupils (49.5%) attend schools where pupil absence is regarded as a medium or major problem. Only the Mediterranean countries are in a worse position, with 61.4% of the students affected to a moderate or significant extent.

Figure 3: Pupil absence (Question: Does pupil absence hamper learning in your school?)



Disruption in schools represents a more active manifestation of the absence of social capital and the lack of enforceable standards. Here, Scandinavian countries are again extremely well placed: their average of 2.27 is below the international average (2.31) in this area. In these schools 53.3% of the pupils attend schools where disruption is not a problem, or is regarded as only a minor problem. Once again, Denmark has the best indicator in the group; Norway's is the worst. Anglo-Saxon countries are slightly worse placed (2.27), but only 2.4% of the students attend schools in which disruption is regarded as a major problem. The Mediterranean countries have the worst indicator (2.56): in this group the percentage of pupils whose schools regard disruption as a medium or significant problem exceeds the percentage of pupils whose schools regard it as a minor or no problem (54.5% and 45.5% respectively), and 12.2% of pupils attend schools in which disruption is a major problem. Former socialist countries experienced the fewest problems with disruption (2.22), with the Czech Republic best placed (2.08) and Hungary the worst. In this group of countries 72% of the pupils attend schools where disruption causes problems, and only 28% attend schools in which disruption is not regarded as a problem at all.

Figure 4: Disruption in class (Question: Does disruption hamper learning in your school?)



On the whole, it seems that post-socialist countries are well placed among the groups of countries we studied. With the exception of pupil absence, their averages are below the OECD average on the four-point scale. This shows that these countries do not experience significant problems in the areas studied, and in particular with behaviour showing active resistance or opposition, which could interfere fundamentally with the running of schools. However, this does not mean that in post-socialist countries schools are generally well supported by society. One "lack factor" – pupil absence – is conspicuously high in these countries compared to other country groups, and in this area Hungary is the worst placed in the group. The indicator for lack of parental support, though close to the OECD average, is also far behind that of the best placed group. This could lead us to conclude that schools are further removed from society in the post-socialist countries than in the Scandinavian countries, or even in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

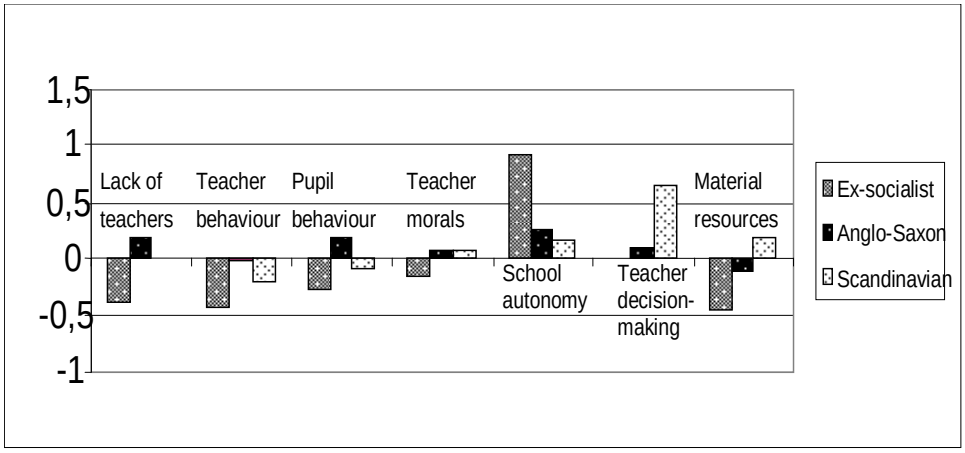
School operation in the country groups

We will now examine in detail another group of variables in the database: indices relating to the internal functioning of schools and measuring the behaviour and relationships of the various actors as compared to the OECD average.[114] A comparison of the country groups indicates that the

[114] The indices have been built up from individual or linked variables such that 0 is the OECD average and the values indicate positive or negative deviation from this average. Positive or negative deviation from the average must, of course, be interpreted in terms of the question posed in each case.

former socialist countries are generally better placed in almost all areas studied than other country groups. One prominent exception is the extent of material resources, in which Scandinavian countries lead and former socialist countries are significantly worse placed. However, in other areas there do not appear to be significant problems in former socialist countries. Shortage of teachers does not generally cause problems, in contrast to Anglo-Saxon countries (unfortunately there are no data from the Scandinavian countries in this area); nor does teachers' behaviour, which appears to be a major problem in Mediterranean countries; or pupil behaviour, which is a significant problem in Mediterranean countries and especially in Anglo-Saxon ones. On the other hand, teachers' morality as judged by school heads falls below the OECD average in the post-socialist countries, though to a lesser extent than in the Mediterranean countries. In this area, Scandinavian countries are relatively the best placed, and Anglo-Saxon countries are also better than the OECD average. For the indicator on the regulation of school autonomy the post-socialist countries are conspicuously better than all the other groups. Schools also have significant autonomy in Anglo-Saxon countries (though their indicator is far below that of the former socialist countries), and the Scandinavian countries are also better than the OECD average in this area. In contrast, schools do not appear to have much autonomy in the Mediterranean countries. The autonomy of teachers, might to some extent, be related to the autonomy of schools, but it appears that this is not necessarily the case. Teachers have the most autonomy in the Scandinavian countries, where teacher autonomy is greater than school autonomy; teacher autonomy also exceeds the OECD average in the Anglo-Saxon countries, but here it is less than school autonomy. In the former socialist countries, where school autonomy is the greatest, teachers do not appear to be involved in decision-making, the indicator for this is close to the OECD average (see Fig. 5).

Figure 5: Some characteristics of school operation in three country groups

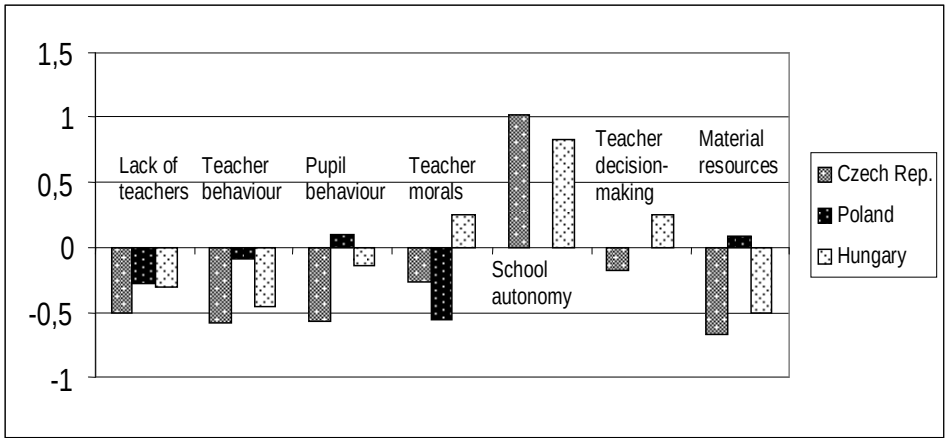


(0=OECD avegare)

The fact that school autonomy is so significant in former socialist countries, when interpreted in connection with the preceding school variables, raises an important question. In some places schools have traditionally enjoyed a measure of autonomy; however, in most of the developed countries this autonomy has increased as a result of the decentralisation of education. This mostly happened in order that by gaining more freedom to act, schools can adapt more flexibly to the needs of their environment and work more successfully by taking these needs into account. However, in former socialist countries, where the data seem to be more indicative of the distance between schools and society, these efforts have not been successful. The data do not allow us to determine whether this is the result of a too rapid and too radical decentralisation process for which schools were unprepared, or whether it is connected to the practice over previous decades of generally preventing schools from taking an active part in society. What does seem clear is that the extension of schools' autonomy has not been associated in these countries with a strengthening of links between education and society.

An examination of these indices for individual countries reveals significant similarities between the post-socialist countries, with some differences between Poland and the other two countries. Polish schools are better placed in terms of material resources than Hungarian and Czech schools; however, pupil and teacher behaviour causes more problems in Poland, and teacher morality is considered by the students to be weaker in Poland than in Hungary and the Czech Republic. Unfortunately there are no data on school and teacher autonomy in Poland (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Some features of school operation in three post-socialist countries



(0=OECD avegare)

Social capital, school circumstances and policies

We examined the relationships by correlation and regression analysis. During the course of our analyses we examined separately those relationships which apply to the whole database and those which apply only to post-socialist countries.[115] For those aspects of school culture which we examined in detail, we found, taking the database as a whole, a very strong relationship between the variables. Our analysis shows that a lack of standards applying within schools (disruption and pupil absence) is more closely related to a lack of parental support than to bad teacher-pupil relations. External factors have a variable effect on school atmosphere, with poor family circumstances exerting the strongest influence firstly on the lack of parental support and secondly on pupil absence. Enrolment, professional development and assessment policies are much more weakly related to school atmosphere than variables in the other two groups. Another striking feature is that most of the policy variables show an inverse relationship with variables relating to learning environment, which implies that these practices and policies occur mainly in schools where the negative phenomena and problems we studied do not generally occur (and whose circumstances are likely to be average or better). The school policy which has the strongest relationship with the variables studied is selection (taking academic achievement into account when enrolling pupils).

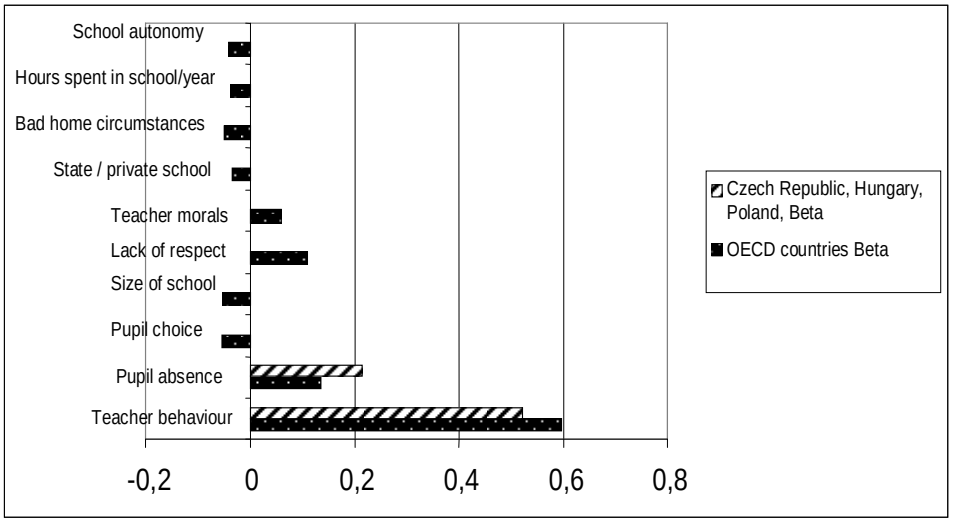
[115] Only significant values appear in the tables and diagrams.

The situation is similar in the post-socialist countries, but the relationships are stronger and clearer. Here too, problems in schools are most strongly related to the lack of parental support, but this relationship is much stronger than for the whole database, and the relationship with teacher-pupil relations is weaker. For school circumstances, the most striking effect is that of poor family background, which is stronger on all variables of school atmosphere, and is also more closely linked with the type of secondary education programme than for the database as a whole. There is also an inverse relationship between school policies and school atmosphere, i.e. the observation that the selected school policies are less likely to occur where greater problems are indicated also applies to these countries. The link between selection for enrolment and the lack of parental support is also stronger, and it seems that factors outside school have a stronger influence on factors within school in these countries than the average for all countries under discussion. The direction of the secondary education programme and the higher incidence of selection lead us to conclude that the school system in these countries is more likely to promote this situation and sometimes even to reinforce it through its own system of internal inequality.

In our regression analysis we compared our chosen variables individually with the other two groups of variables (school circumstances and school policies), and we did this separately for all the OECD countries and for the former socialist countries as well.[116] In the OECD countries, *teacher-pupil relations* are clearly linked with teacher behaviour and to a much lesser extent with student absence. In former socialist countries teacher behaviour plays a minor role, with pupil absence also influential; no other factors appear.

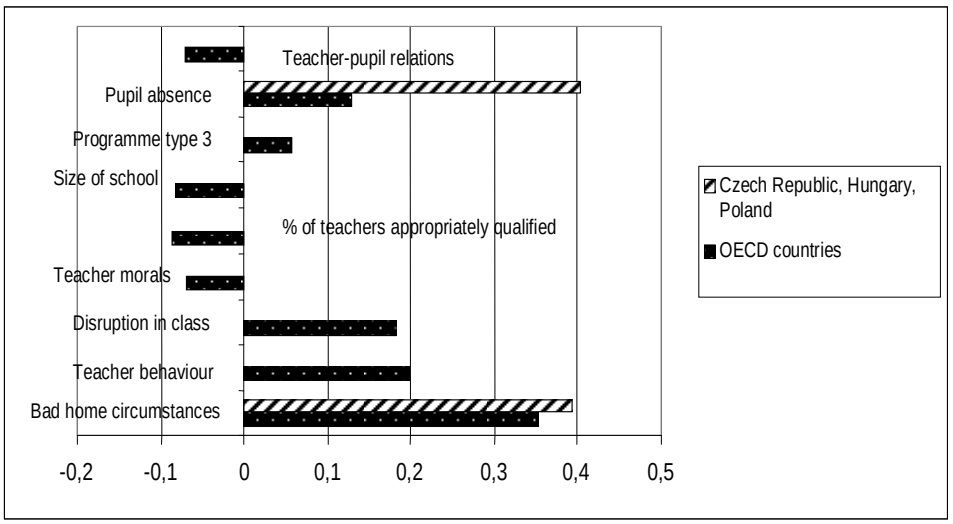
[116] We have only included those variables which indicate significant relationships.

Figure 7: Teacher-pupil relations in linear regression model



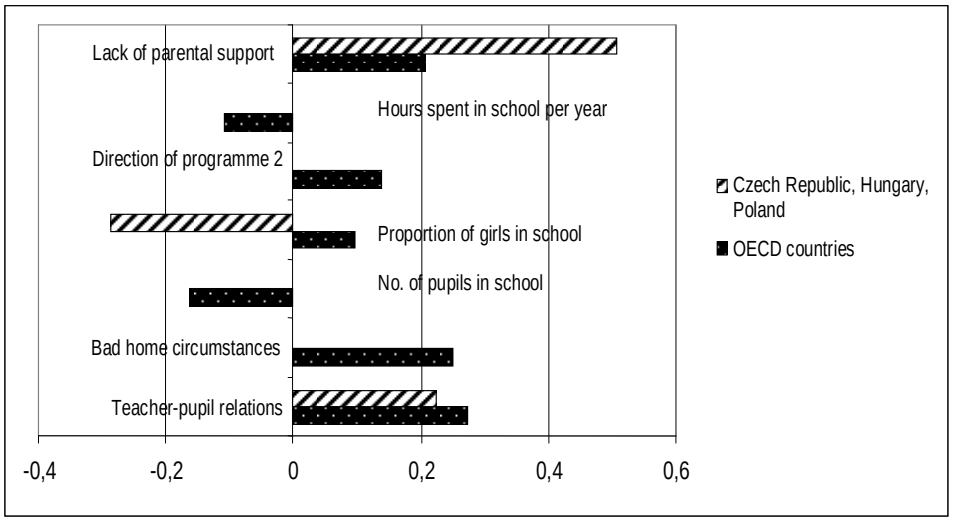
In the OECD countries, the *lack of parental support* is clearly linked to poor home circumstances, but it is also related to teacher behaviour, disruption and pupil absence. In former socialist countries, poor home circumstances and student absence are the only two factors which appear, but both have a stronger effect than in the OECD countries.

Figure 8: Lack of parental support relations in linear regression model



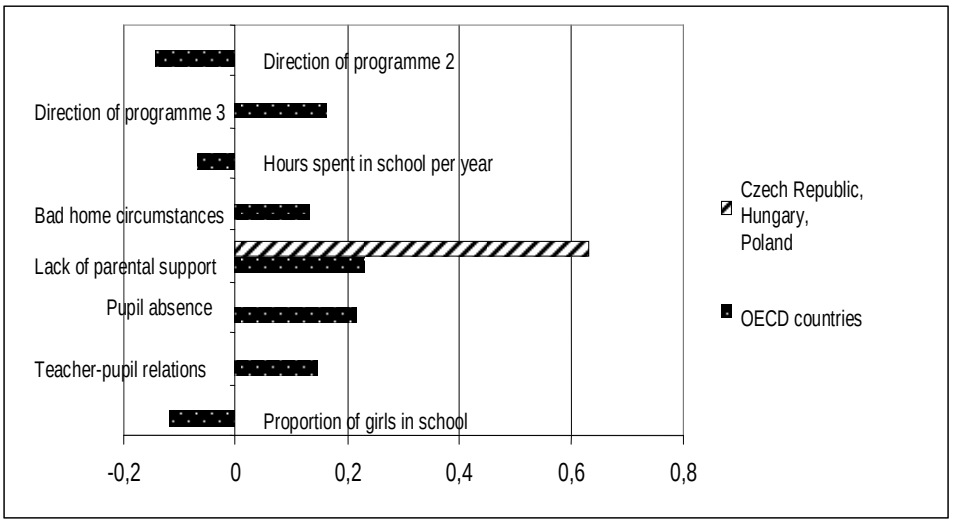
Taken the average of all countries, *pupil absence* may be explained by poor teacher-pupil relations, students' poor family circumstances as well as the lack of parental support, and to a rather smaller extent by the number of pupils, the proportion of girls and the educational programme. The problem of student absence relates directly to the number of pupils and inversely to the proportion of girls in the school. In other words, pupil absence occurs more frequently in larger schools, and boys are more likely to be absent than girls. In former socialist countries, the lack of parental support is the decisive factor in this area, but the proportion of girls in school and teacher-pupil relations also exert an influence.

Figure 9: Pupil absence relations in linear regression model



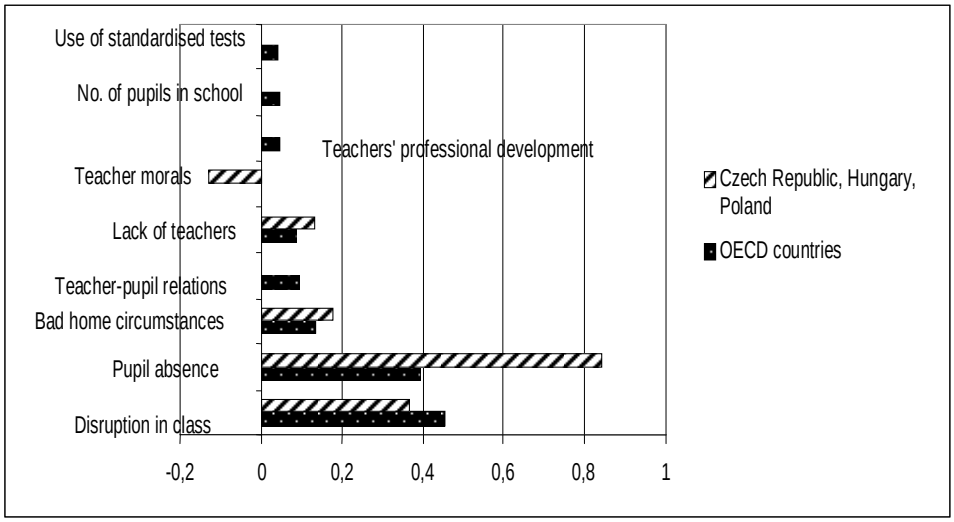
Disruption in school is influenced by a combination of several factors. In OECD countries the factors which play a part in it are the lack of parental support, student absence and teacher-pupil relations, as well as factors outside the control of the school, such as the proportion of girls, pupils' poor family circumstances and the targeting of the educational programme. In post-socialist countries pupil behaviour is the decisive factor, but student absence is also significant.

Figure 10: Disruption in class relations in linear regression model



We studied one final index, *pupil behaviour* by regression analysis. In the OECD countries, the factors which influence this are firstly disruption and secondly pupil absence in the student behaviour group of variables; poor family background, the lack of teachers and number of pupils in the school circumstances group; and finally use of standardised tests and teachers' professional development in the school policies group. In former socialist countries pupil absence is a much more emphatic nfluencing factor, with poor material circumstances and the lack of teachers also influential. Policies aimed at improving the school's success do not appear in the model.

Figure 11: Pupil behaviour relations in linear regression model



On the whole it is true both for the sample as a whole and for the group of post-socialist countries that the school climate variables are closely interrelated; the relationships with outside circumstances as well as the conditions in school are weaker, and the weakest influence is that of school policies. Among the variables we examined, the effects of the lack of parental support and pupils' poor family circumstances show that external factors have a strong influence on the internal functioning of schools. In post-socialist countries the strength and the pattern of these relationships is different: there are fewer influencing factors, but their effect is stronger. One structural variable is significant (direction of educational programme), together with the enrolment policies associated with it (selection).

Summary

In our analysis we have attempted to interpret, operationalise and analyse on the basis of empirical data, the concept of social capital with reference to the conditions within schools. Our international comparative analysis, based on data from the PISA 2000 school questionnaire, has in particular attempted to illustrate some features of the post-socialist countries by examining some selected variables of the atmosphere within schools.

Those variables of school atmosphere which may be related to social capital varied significantly between country groups and between individual countries. The best indicators are shown by Scandinavian countries, which also took the lead in terms of educational success, but the Anglo-Saxon countries are also well placed. Former socialist countries are a little behind these groups in terms of the variables examined, but they are ahead of Mediterranean countries. When we look at individual country groups, the situation appears to be easier where a social environment which supports learning has developed outside schools (Scandinavian and some Anglo-Saxon countries).

Though the selected variables of school atmosphere were not analysed in relation to the data on outcomes, they show similar tendencies to the OECD secondary analysis of similar data. The individual variables of school atmosphere are strongly related to each other and to some factors outside school, but less strongly to school policies. The interrelationship of favourable and unfavourable climate variables also indicates that support for the school and for learning from the external social environment not only helps learning but it also makes it less likely that negative phenomena (whether expressing passive or active protest) will occur in schools, thereby indirectly promoting learning and the success of the school by moulding the learning environment. This implies that individual areas of social capital reinforce each other.

The position of post-socialist countries in an international context is on the whole favourable, but not reassuring. It appears to be characteristic of these countries in general that they are better placed in terms of the relationship of the actors in schools with each other and in terms of standards applying within schools, but they have more problems with pupil absence and the lack of parental support factors which imply weak links between schools and families. The position is made more difficult in these countries by the stronger influence of the social situation outside schools and by an above average relationship with structural factors. Another unfavourable phenomenon in these countries is that in the area of school policies the strongest observable effect is that of enrolment policies related to selection,

with other policies exerting only a minor influence. These policies do not appear in the most disadvantaged schools. In other words, it appears that also in the post-socialist countries, such policies are characteristic of more successful schools, and this reinforces the differences between successful and less successful schools. The position is not helped by the conclusion we may draw from the analysis that in these countries an increase in school-level autonomy does not seem to have been accompanied by a strengthening of links between education and society. It seems that they still have a long way to go before the type of social capital which exerts the greatest influence is strengthened.

APPENDIX

Table 1: Number and distribution of schools in all country groups participating in the PISA 2000 study

	Countries participating in the survey		OECD countries participating in the survey	
	No.	**%**	**No.**	**%**
Former socialist	950	14.3	550	8.8
Anglo-Saxon	2155	32.5	2155	34.6
Scandinavian	710	10.7	710	11.4
Mediterranean	663	10.0	663	10.6
Other European	1079	16.3	1079	18.3
Other non-European	464	7.0	746	12.6
Total	6638	100.0	5903	100.0

Table 2: Some features of school culture (average of 4-point scale)

	Pupil absence	Teacher-pupil relations	Lack of parental support	Disruption	Pupil behaviour index
Australia	**2.44**	**1.83**	**2.51**	**2.26**	**0.0292**
United Kingdom	**2.70**	**1.80**	**2.60**	**2.30**	**0.0178**
Canada	**2.58**	**1.84**	**2.64**	**2.26**	**0.2586**
USA	**2.69**	**1.88**	**2.72**	**2.10**	**0.1027**
New Zealand	**2.54**	**1.86**	**2.68**	**2.30**	**0.2291**
Anglo-Saxon countries	2.60	1.83	2.63	2.27	0.1978
Denmark	**2.01**	**1.45**	**2.05**	**2.03**	**0.7544**
Finland	**2.77**	**2.01**	**2.63**	**2.58**	**0.4146**
Norway	**2.27**	**2.08**	**2.60**	**2.74**	**0.1843**
Sweden	**2.38**	**1.85**	**2.57**	**2.46**	**0.0452**
Scandinavian countries	2.33	1.82	2.43	2.42	0.0824
Portugal	**2.78**	**1.91**	**3.40**	**2.68**	**0.3266**
Italy	**2.72**	**2.04**	**2.74**	**2.21**	**0.1900**
Spain	**2.21**	**1.63**	**3.07**	**2.69**	**0.0199**
Greece	**3.17**	**2.76**	**2.66**	**2.70**	**1.0658**
Mediterranean countries	2.69	2.06	2.97	2.56	0.2707
Czech Republic	**2.50**	**1.55**	**2.70**	**2.08**	**0.5677**
Hungary	**2.83**	**1.44**	**2.69**	**2.44**	**0.1397**
Poland	**2.81**	**1.60**	**2.56**	**2.16**	**0.0958**
Post-socialist countries	2.68	1.52	2.67	2.22	0.2657
OECD average	2.48	1.82	2.70	2.31	

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GABRIELLA PUSZTAI

RESOURCES OF STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT SURPLUS

Former researches showed that denominational schools were more effective (Coleman 1988, Laarhowen et al. 1990, Dronkers 2004, Preuschoff & Weiss 2004), but European researches in particular had lacked any subtle sociological approach up until the turn of the millennium; indices of religiosity had not been measured and included in the analyses, only assumed variables had been used. However, studies published after the turn of the millennium started to include empirically based variables indicating religiosity. Moreover, one can also detect the aspiration to understand the effect of privatised, individualised and thus invisible religiosity on the school atmosphere and on pupils' school careers (Pusztai 2004, 2006, Dijkstra 2006, Standfest 2005). Most papers, however, still do not try to establish any connection between religiosity and achievement either at the individual or at school level. In our research carried out in the last decade, we have been focusing on this question. According to our previous results, the school density of pupil closures with a circle of friends practising religion influenced pupils' educational careers to a much greater extent than all other explanatory variables (Pusztai 2006). Therefore, this influence proved to be even stronger than that of cultural capital on school context. Pupils having a closed circle of religious friends – a phenomenon typical of denominational schools in particular – provide such social capital in the school community that also inspires those who lack this resource themselves.

Theoretical frames

The majority of the literature on social capital clearly shows the significant connection between resources of relationships and educational achievement (Ainsworth 2002). Yet there is no consensus on how independent a factor social capital is in pupils' school achievements. Some claim that manifesting itself as a social expectation influencing pupils' behaviour, social capital is a resource independent of cultural capital (Coleman 1988, Carbonaro 1999), whereas others hold the view that social capital in itself is incapable of improving academic achievement, but capable of diminishing the race and class-dependence of the reproduction of cultural capital (McNeal 1999). Nevertheless, the theory of social capital has brought about a revolutionary renewal of approach in educational sociology, as it has called attention to a force able to modify the determining influence of social status in contradiction with the theory of reproduction focusing on the individual determined by social class.

Several researchers found it reasonable to integrate religiosity into theories of capital as an explanatory variable. The concept of religious human capital summarizes the cognitive and social dimensions of religion as a resource (Azzi & Ehrenberg 1975). Research has found that this type of capital results in the individual's better physical and spiritual health, better school achievement and it decreases the chances of being influenced by deviant behaviour (Lehrer 2006).

In the theory of social capital, religiosity plays a more important role than in the theory of human capital. Basically, religiosity can influence one's school career in two ways: partly through its ideological, cognitive and affective dimensions and partly through the value systems and norms of the communities. The ideological dimension of religion puts the individual's life into a larger context. It makes the individual responsible for his deeds and conscious of his way of living. It also leads to a future-orientated attitude, which is compatible with the value system of schools.

Belonging to a religious community supplies young people with transitive relationships in which even those who are not directly related give support to one another. Moreover, if a young person's friends are also from that group, the relationships become even more complex. Coleman's results suggest that belonging to a religious circle of friends brings about such formal and essential unity that the social capital it creates will decrease dropout rates and increase the chances of becoming more effective (Coleman & Hoffer 1987). Coleman thinks it is more likely to happen in denominational schools. Our research has posed the question whether this resource is available to all pupils alike, or are there other structures of relationships capable of functioning as a resource for those who are just loosely connected to a religious relationship network.

Denominational schools

Whereas the hypothesis on denominational schools as functional communities producing social capital has been a matter of discussion since the 1980s in American research, in Europe it received attention after the turn of the millennium, when a PISA survey showed that private schools had better results than state schools in 14 of the 17 countries[117] (Preuschoff & Weiss 2004, Dronkers & Róbert 2004).

Several researchers attribute the influence of the school to the influence of communal or individual religiosity, but others have tried to separate the influence of the denominational school from that of individual

[117] The government-financed private schools in Europe are mainly denominational schools.

religiosity (Coleman & Hoffer 1987). Byrk et al. found that the stimulating force of the pedagogical dimension of religiosity is rooted in its personalism and respect for human dignity, from which it follows that all pupils can be developed (Bryk et al.1992).

Research area and data

The present study is based on data gathered in the border regions of three Central Eastern European countries, namely Hungary, Romania and Ukraine. We surveyed pupils of secondary schools in Hungarian speaking institutions. We conducted a survey[118] in denominational and non-denominational secondary schools in the border region in 2006. As we intended to examine the school careers of Hungarian pupils within and outside Hungary in denominational and non-denominational[119] secondary schools, we picked the schools sampled by pairing each denominational school with a non-denominational one of similar status regarding their location and the pupils' social position. Thus, the list of sample schools consisted of pairs of schools chosen in the way described above. The pupils included in the survey picked from the 11th and 12th grades. The sample consisted of 1466 pupils. Above all, we wanted to find out by applying precise research methods whether there were any differences between the pupil populations, seemingly similar in status, of the two sectors.

Hypotheses

Investigating the reasons for the differences in achievement between denominational and non-denominational pupils, we revealed that sector-specific differences do not originate from the advantages or disadvantages of social background. As we had earlier detected a strong influence of the relationships organised along religious practice on denominational pupils' school achievements, we went on to examine whether it was religiosity or relationship structures that exerted such a powerful influence. Our sample enabled us to have a glimpse of three different school systems and examine the role of denominational schools. The sector-specific differences did not always show the same tendencies in the three regions. Denominational pupils in the border areas of Romania, for example, turned out to do worse at school than non-denominational pupils of the region. This anomaly gave us a good opportunity to find out what conditions had to be satisfied in order for

118 The project is sponsored by OTKA (T048820) and its title is "Secondary school pupils' plans for higher education in a border region".
119 By the term "denominational schools" we mean educational institutions guided spiritually by a church or denomination.

denominational schools to have highly achieving school-leavers. We set up two main hypotheses. Firstly, according to the social network hypothesis, we assumed that the form, size and composition of relationships could explain the differences. Therefore we compiled a questionnaire based on the findings of international research on relationship networks and previous interviews conducted in the research area in order to map all the possible relationships pupils had. Secondly, according to the religiosity hypothesis we presumed that the differences were directly related to religiosity, and we also took into account religious motivation and religious practice in the family, in small or large communities or individual religious practice.

Research findings

According to our findings, denominational pupils of the border region have an average/standard social status. We took the sample from schools where pupils have equal social status, so we compared pupils with more or less similar backgrounds from the denominational and non-denominational school sectors. Still, there are some minor differences. In Ukraine, few qualified parents tend to send their children to denominational schools, whereas it is the other way round in Romania. Denominational pupils have a bit worse financial status in Hungary compared to pupils in other school sectors. The number of children in families is higher in denominational schools except for Ukraine. There are definitely more denominational pupils than non-denominational ones who live in student hostels in the northeast of Hungary and Ukraine.

According to some experts, denominational schools are the vanguard of social segregation; their sole existence causes unequal distribution of children with different socio-economic backgrounds among schools. In our research, however, non-denominational schools turned out to be socially very closed and segmented, compared to their denominational counterparts. Non-denominational pupils go to schools which can be classified socially into 5 different groups according to the composition of the school. On one end of the scale we find the schools where the rate of parents with degrees is only 10%, whereas on the other end this rate is over 60%. There are no such castes in denominational schools. According to our experience, if a school is organised on a cultural (e.g., ethnic or religious) basis, identification with the given culture overwrites vertical social status in recruiting pupils. In this way, segregation negatively influencing the capacity of the education system is less characteristic in denominational schools.

Looking at the representation of family milieus in the pupil groups, we can see that certain milieus play a determining role in certain sectors. The question is what degree of representation can be considered to already

dominate the atmosphere of the school and what is the degree of representation that still allows pupils with religious backgrounds to function as "bridges". The atmosphere of non-denominational schools in Hungary is essentially dominated by the two non-religious milieus, only slightly modified by the urban upper middle class milieu with heterogeneous religious practice among the familymembers. In denominational schools it is the rural religious and the urban heterogeneous types that are overrepresented, but the individually religious lower middle-class milieu also has a significant role. As for Hungarian schools in Romania, there is not such a big difference between the sectors: it is pupils from low-status families with regular religious practice that dominate each sector, but there are also a large number of non-religious urban children from working-class families in the denominational sector. In the Hungarian schools in Ukraine from the individually religious lower middle-class milieu make up the majority in both sectors, but the atmosphere of schools is also marked by the presence of pupils coming from traditionally religious families with lower social status.

Comparing the results of this survey to those of the nationwide one carried out in Hungary at the turn of the millennium, we have found that the most striking difference was that in our sample area the obviously religious intellectual family background in big cities and the religious entrepreneur family background of small towns are completely missing, while these milieus prove to be considerable driving forces in the denominational schools of Western Hungary.

Social capital from other resources

As regards the relationship between parents and children, religious parents communicate with their children significantly more frequently and control them far stronger. On average we can state that parents in denominational schools put greater emphasis on minimising the norms that are not compatible with the norms of the family. In the early phase of studies, parents more clearly limit activities that may hinder school achievement. Later, however, we can detect an aspiration to an independent, sovereign development of the children.

We pointed out that three features of social capital building are more characteristic in denominational schools. When we analysed extracurricular school programmes on a weekly basis, it became clear that for non-denominational pupils schools are considered as institutions solely for the purpose of studying. Pupils of denominational schools refer to extracurricular activities mostly as spiritual and communal occasions. As far as school community programmes are concerned, in denominational schools, one can record a higher frequency of weekend programmes and day-long excursions

compared to the other sector. As for the many-sided relationships that exist between teachers and pupils, in this case we concentrated exclusively on personal communications focusing on private problems and plans for the future. It turned out that this personal care is one of the components of sector effect. According to the third important experience, student hostels are not only considered as accommodation for pupils, but also as a framework of their education (Pusztai 2008).

In connection with the relationships among pupils, we asked secondary school pupils how important they think studying and achieving good marks are to their classmates. We found that both denominational and non-denominational pupils consider studying and good marks important, while attending school and paying attention to teachers seem to be more important for denominational pupils. As opposed to a former hypothesis, the importance of attending school or paying attention do not seem to be in relation with the cultural capital in children's background, but with their religiosity.

In denominational schools the social networks, their weak and strong ties dominantly link parents and children to a religious circle. Relationships along the religious community with the help of social control positively influenced pupil achievement. The second most significant network of relationships link denominational pupils to well-educated people.

Explanations of educational achievement differences

As we intended to describe secondary school pupils' school careers, we needed indices of achievement that helped us assess pupils' progress at school. We introduced several variables to measure dimensions of success. We did not measure academic achievement with test scores; instead, we tried to find indices that matched our questionnaire. Using the various dimensions of achievement we created a summarising index of achievement that included aspects like taking on extra academic work (taking language exams, participating in competitions), planning one's future academic career (higher education) and a subjective element, namely the importance attached to academic activities by the particular pupil. The numerical value of the index ranged from 1 to 5. The index is capable of giving a comprehensive picture as it unites past achievements, hard work, ambitions for the future, conscious preparations and favourable attitudes.

We recorded divergences in different regions: in Ukraine and in north-eastern Hungary the denominational sector effect is clearly positive, whereas in Romania this effect is not universally positive.

Among the numerous differences between the two sectors we wanted to spot those particular ones that give the best explanations of pupils' good or bad achievements. As the dependent variable was continuous, we chose linear regression models. The individual regions were treated in separate models, because detailed analysis made it obvious that the functions of the institutions are very different in the three areas.

We always started our investigation with measuring the gross sector effect, and then went on to observe its changes after introducing the range of explanatory variables. The variables included factors that appeared to be relevant during the detailed analysis described above as well as variables commonly used in educational sociology. If a variable of our own choice turned out to be of no help, we replaced it with a more useful one, so our final model contained only relevant variables.

Since leading theories attribute achievement to families' cultural capital, we planned to include variables indicating parents' education. However, because of insufficient data, we replaced them with variables referring to occupational status above average. We incorporated the data on the two parents into our model one by one, because in the above two-variable analyses they had often produced different results. The two variables appear in a dummy form and indicate the occupational status that is considered higher in its field. The influence of material wealth on school career is a realistic question indeed in the sample regions. Although part of our research shows that it does not have a stronger influence than parents' education, it is important to note that there is high unemployment in the sample areas and the additional costs of education such as transport and textbooks are also high for families that mostly live in the country. In order to get a picture of the families' financial resources, we asked pupils about their families' possessions rather than the actual incomes, which people are usually reluctant to reveal in that region. The data are indicated with a continuous variable (1-11).

We tried to take into account various forms of social capital indices, but in several cases there was no direct effect to be observed. Parental and teacher attention, however, seem to have influenced the results. Both are indicated with a continuous variable made up of 22 items in the former and 3 items in the latter case. The values are defined in such a way as to express the divergence from average (e.g., attention above average = 1). As the organisational forms of direct and indirect effects of religious practice appeared as sources of ambition at the individual level and channels for transmitting norms and information at the communal level, we introduced continuous variables to indicate personal religious practice (prays regularly = 1), religious practice in a large community (goes to church regularly = 1) and

in a small one (member of a youth group = 1), and we added another continuous variable to indicate the rate of the above phenomena in the individual schools. The various orientations of relationship networks were also illustrated with a continuous variable based on the index calculated earlier. Regional inequalities were illustrated with dummy variables indicating places of permanent residence (city = 1, village = 1) and temporary residence during the school year (student hostel = 1). The choice of programmes offered by the school and the types of religious motivation were represented by continuous variables calculated during factor analysis, and participation in extracurricular school activities was represented by a dummy variable (more active than average =1).

Table 1: Standardised regression coefficients of the model explaining pupils' academic achievement in Hungary, significance levels of respective explanatory variables and R^2 values of models (N=868)

Denominational school	0.089 **	0.077 ***	0.078 **	0.067 *	0.052	0.021	-0.129 **	-0.156 **	-0.177 **
Father's high occupational status		0.107 **	0.107 **	0.120 **	0.109 **	0.106 **	0.088 **	0.086 **	0.078 *
Mother's high occupational status		0.132 **	0.130 **	0.110 **	0.107 **	0.118 **	0.112 **	0.114 **	0.101 **
Possessions			0.022	0.015	0.018	0.020	0.025	0.030	0.004
Parental attention				0.124 ***	0.069 *	0.057	0.062	0.060	0.057
Teacher attention					0.235 ***	0.224 ***	0.216 ***	0.216 ***	0.210 ***
Pupil's personal religious practice						0.101 **	0.095 **	0.089 **	0.081 **
Rate of religious youth group members at school							0.194 ***	0.205 ***	0.220 ***
Lives in a student hostel								0.067 *	0.072 *
Academically oriented relationship network									0.152 ***
R^2=	0.009	0.049	0.05	0.065	0.117	0.125	0.139	0.143	0.164

The significance level of the correlation is ***=0,000; **<0,03; *<0,05

On the whole, denominational schools in Hungary have a positive effect on pupils' achievement. Parents' high occupational status plays a minor role in achievement and their financial status plays none. Parental attention as the manifestation of the family's social capital contributes to success at school

significantly, but the first really important component of the beneficial effects of denominational schools is teacher attention (conversations about private life and plans for the future, teacher's personal interest in the pupil). Another essential component is the pupil's personal religious practice. It seems to justify the argument for the direct effect of religiosity in the debate on direct vs. indirect effects. The further components result from the social context outside school. Among those, we have detected the high rate of youth group membership at school, student hostel environment and an academically oriented relationship network.

On the basis of our results, we think there are three main components of school achievement in both sectors. One of the two predominant components is teachers' attention to their individual pupils, which is a time and energy-consuming voluntary or, if you like, charitable activity. If a school invests in it, high pupil achievement is the profit it will yield. We have no information whether there is a correlation between teachers' attentive behaviour and their religiosity. We could not have relied on the pupils in this issue; it is only their impressions we could have inquired about. A future survey among teachers might suggest an answer.

The other predominant component is the proportion of youth group members at school, the benefits of which we have already noted before. It is a form of social capital that we consider as an indirect effect of religiosity, because the norms promoting academic progress operate through the community, helping even those who do not belong to such groups. Interestingly enough, this component cannot be replaced with the high proportion of churchgoers, which has no significant effect in this model, which weighs all factors together. This also suggests that different types of communal religious practice have different effects on school careers. It is close ties that seem to play a more important role.

The third component is personal religious practice, and the detection of its positive effects on school achievement is a very important result. We have referred to the explanations of the phenomenon in our summary of the relevant literature. In our sample the sources of the qualities (future and achievement-oriented behaviour, hard work, ability to respect fellow pupils' dignity) condensed into a dependent variable are most probably norms and inner control developed by regular examination of conscience.

Table 2: Standardised regression coefficients of the model explaining Hungarian pupils' academic achievement in Ukraine, significance levels of respective explanatory variables and R^2 values of models (N=193)

Denominational school	0.431 ***	0.415 ***	0.413 ***	0.438 ***	0.419 ***	0.376 ***	0.293 ***
Father's high occupational status		0.074	0.075	0.090	0.059	0.082	0.019
Mother's high occupational status		0.150 **	0.141 *	0.131 *	0.093	0.083	0.070
Possessions			0.199 **	0.202 **	0.200 **	0.21 4**	0.160 *
Parental attention				- 0.175 **	- 0.192 **	-0.189 **	- 0.167 *
Teacher attention					0.134 *	0.100	0.124
Pupil's personal religious practice						0.160 **	0.120
Academically oriented relationship network							0.250 ***
R^2=	0.186	0.219	0.259	0.288	0.302	0.324	0.370

The significance level of the correlation is ***=0,000; **<0,03; *<0,05

In the border regions of Ukraine the gross effect of denominational schools on achievement is very strong and positive. Results show that parents' (especially fathers') high occupational and financial status plays a role in that positive effect, even if not to a significant extent. But a large part of denominational pupils' advantage comes from other sources. The tasks of parents have been almost completely taken over by teachers, as a major source of achievement is the same teacher attention as in Hungary. The two other components of the effect of denominational schools are personal religious practice and academically oriented relationship network.

Table 3: Standardised regression coefficients of the model explaining Hungarian pupils' academic achievement in Romania, significance levels of respective explanatory variables and R^2 values of models (N=385)

Denominational school	-0.273 ***	-0.285 ***	-0.284 ***	-0.278 ***	-0.227 **	-0.203 **	-0.173 **	- 0.175 **
Father's high occupational status		0.089	0.083	0.091	0.084	0.108	0.100	0.099
Mother's high occupational status		0.087	0.086	0.084	0.078	0.074	0.096	0.071
Possessions			0.047	0.036	0.024	-0.017	-0.021	- 0.015
Parental attention				0.023	0.056	0.060	0.008	0.000
Teacher attention				0.206 ***	0.194 **	0.212 ***	0.164 **	0.144 **
Rate of churchgoers at school					-0.113	-0.081	-0.175 **	- 0.17 **
Big city					0.093	0.087	0.054	0.045
Experience-oriented activities						0.213 ***	0.241 ***	0.232 ***
Cultural activities						0.151 **	0.142 **	0.139 **
Self-oriented motivation							0.168 **	0.135 *
Inconsistent religious orientation							-0.178 **	- 0.178 **
Extracurricular activities								0.158 **
R^2=	0.074	0.114	0.116	0.159	0.181	0.249	0.301	0.324

The significance level of the correlation is ***=0,000; **<0,03; *<0,05

Contrary to the other regions, the coefficient of denominational schools is negative. We attempted to establish the causes in our analysis. If we ignore the impact of high-status parents, denominational schools have even a little more negative effect. Personal teacher attention has a positive influence, so the problem is not its absence. The density of churchgoers does not bring about any significant change elsewhere, but in this region it definitely has a negative effect. That is to say, if the majority of pupils practice their religion, it is insufficient for high achievement. Other religiosity indices show similar tendencies or have no effect at all. As far as places of residence are concerned, the influence of big cities is neither negative nor significant. As we have mentioned, the vast majority of denominational pupils in Romania come from two milieus: from rural, traditionally religious families with very low education and from non-religious worker families in big cities. It is obvious

that these schools are open to the less fortunate strata of society and it is very difficult to make them produce good results.

The hypothesis of regional differences may provide an explanation of the relatively weak achievement of denominational schools in Romania. In a region with a dense network of denominational schools they fulfil a special function: low-status parents always choose nearby schools for their children, whether denominational or not, and whether they themselves are religious or not. Given that, low-status pupils are present in large numbers at school, and therefore the school must have a much more marked denominational character including the intergenerational closures around the school (i.e. relationship networks organised along the religious community), the functional unity of the system of norms, teacher attention and extracurricular or weekend programmes. According to our analysis, achievement can be remarkably improved, apart from great care on behalf of the teacher, by experience-oriented and cultural programmes provided by the school. By experience-oriented programmes we mean trips, camps and celebrations, by cultural ones we mean visits to the cinema and the theatre, which low-status parents fail to provide. However, not all schools provide those opportunities for their pupils, and that is how it may occur that it is pupils in Romania who most often make friendships at places of entertainment, becoming members of information networks with different value preferences. The help those networks offer are not enough for them to make up for their cultural disadvantages inherited from their families. What would have a beneficial influence on achievement in those schools is self-oriented religious motivation, but the renewal of old communal religious habits has not taken place yet. The existing hidden and rite-oriented motivations are of little help, and inconsistent religiosity has an undoubtedly negative influence. We use the term inconsistent to denote the religiosity of an individual who questions any correlation between religious practice and its consequences in either direction, because they are convinced that religiosity does not influence on decisions or the quality of one's lifestyle. Resigning oneself to the contradictions between religion and behaviour in one's everyday life is an anomic symptom. An inconsistently religious pupil lacks exactly what is traceable in the differently motivated pupils of the two other regions, namely religiosity as a source of the inner drive and control that are realised in academic work. Another important factor is defective extracurricular opportunities offered by some denominational schools in the border regions of Romania. There are a large number of families – just like elsewhere – that are unable to supply their children with "background schooling" i.e. private teachers in the afternoons, but while other denominational schools offer their pupils plenty of extracurricular opportunities, the above mentioned schools do not.

Conclusion

In this study we have attempted to reveal sector-specific differences in school achievement among last-year secondary pupils in the border regions of three countries.

Using the various dimensions of achievement we created a summarising index of achievement that included aspects like taking on extra academic work (taking language exams, participating in competitions), planning one's future academic career (higher education) and a subjective element, namely the importance attached to academic activities. In each region we constructed our regression model by continuously checking our hypotheses during our search for the components of the gross effect of denominational schools. We presumed that sector-specific differences are not rooted in the social backgrounds of schools and that pupils' school careers, religiosity, value systems, relationship networks and academic achievements are very diverse. Diversity is present in the whole sample area and is very significant.

Regression models have revealed that there are three essential sources of the effect of denominational schools. The first one is the powerful presence of special attention on behalf of the teacher. It is not based on the curriculum and not part of the hidden curriculum, either. It is extra time and work devoted purposefully and voluntarily to the pupils by the teachers, realised in face-to-face conversations and various programmes organised by the school. The second source is pupils' personal religious practice enabling them to work persistently and ambitiously, act purposefully under strong self-control and respect the work of others (teachers and classmates). The third source is pupils' relationship networks developing predominantly along religious communities and appearing as an indirect consequence of religiosity in that cooperating pupils in the relationship network support one another's purposeful and disciplined academic work.

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ILONA DÓRA FEKETE

NETWORKS AND COOPERATION OF PUBLIC AND CHURCH MAINTAINED HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN HUNGARY

The changes that take place in the Hungarian higher education remarkably divide, moreover, worry the workers and experts of the educational field. The most conspicuous phenomenon is expansion, to which the qualitative attenuation of the teacher and student material, as well as the problematics of overtraining are often attached. To these, the switchover to the "Bologna process" is also added, which – according to many – has been introduced unprepared in our country, thus it carries certain pitfalls within itself, which are unambiguous evidences of the fact that behind the obligate structural changes alternation actually cannot be found (Pusztai & Szabó 2008). This new situation in higher education forces some institutions to form new regional and/or international cooperational models among each other, in order to ensure their survival on the European educational stage. Interpreting social capital as an individual and institutional network, it could be observed how these networks have been able to adjust to the new conditions in the Central- and Eastern European region (Mihaylova 2004), and how the palpable "battle" for prestige and students between universities and colleges appear on the level of institutions.

The Data

In this analysis, we have examined the new patterns of cooperation appearing in our domestic higher education, based on a database containing twenty interviews recorded by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Sociological Research Group for Organisation and Work[120] and analyzed by

[120] The basis of this essay was formed by interviews made with higher educational directors and experts in the frame of *Új társadalmi kockázatok az európai tudástársadalomban és felsőoktatásban* (NESOR), the analysis of which was undertaken by the Center for Higher Education Research and Development (CHERD). Here we can read the extract concerning the new models of higher educational cooperation with some supplements. During the analysis we examined six fundamental issues in the texts of the interviews: (1) The European Union policy aiming at the establishment of a knowledge-based society; the appearance of the main points of the Lisbon strategy in national higher education policy; (2) Higher educational institutions'constitutional and managemental problems, their constitutional and economic autonomy, and the external and internal evaluation of them; (3) Higher educational expansion and reforms, e.g., the higher educational integration, the evaluation and effects of the

the Center for Higher Educazion Research and Development (CHERD), as well as with the help of the experiences of two chuch-maintained higher institutions and their partner-institutions.[121] Considering that in the interview plans altogether two questions dealt particularly with the topic, in the course of the analysis, besides examining the longer fragments of the interviews, we also collected every further hidden allusions that provided any guidline for getting to know the opinion and attitudes of our interviewees related to the issue. Since in the interview database merely representatives of non-denominational higher educational institutions were asked, we try to draw a parallel between these parts and the views of the church-maintained institutions on the subject. During the research, we had the aim of an analytical summary and looked for the similarities and strong differences of opinion among the speakers. In the analytical summary we set aside literal quotations, we made references solely to the scores of the interviews. We considered statements as the units of our analysis. Any conceptual unit of the interviews to which a kind of significance can be attributed and which can be analized, interpreted and counted as "statement." Under this, we can mean a single word or a chain of thoughts; moreover, it can signify a whole excerpt as well. The term "utterance" can be interpreted as a synonym in this case: allowing to replace them with better expressions. Besides, we attributed importance to the linguistic formulation as well as the stylistic choices, since these may mirror the attitudes of the speaker (Pusztai 2007). The interviews determined the conceptual curve of the analysis and that of the present essay. The viewpoint of church-maintained higher educational institutions on the given issue was provided by the interpretation of studies based on interviews on the situation of such institutions.

The Research

The fact that the national, international and regional research and academic connections appeared with such a small weight in the interviews, in our opinion, truly expresses the overall deficit that characterizes the application of relations as resources in our region, examining either the

Bologna process; (4) New patterns of cooperation in higher education; national and international research and academic networks; different constitutional and company relations; the regional and national embededness of higher educational institutions; (5) Challenges against the knowledge-managemental and didactic practice of the institutions of higher education; the relation of general/specific knowledge, and that of theoretical/practical; (6) The role of higher educational institutions in the social and economic modernization; the relation between student and company demand; higher education's change in fubónction.

[121] On the basis of the works of Pusztai (2003) and Hoffman (2003), as well as on the interview made by István Elmer with Péter Erdő, rector of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University.

personal, the civilian or the institutional level. In the society of the postsocialist area, the competitive behaviour pattern is dominant, moreover, a particular postsocialist version of it, which mingles the elements of competition not with the techniques of cooperation but that of outwitting. The topic, in terms of analysis, is gratifying and not at the same time, since the questions of the completed interviews focus primarily on the effects of the teaching structure exerted by the Bologna process, only the conceptual fragments reveal that the topic is indeed of great importance. Out of the twenty interviews merely ten makes mention of this and from these ten, altogether six excerpts deal directly with the networks. Most opinions on the subject appear in the texts in connection with the functions of lifelong learning, R&D, competence-based teaching, as well as that of the universities, the state and the market. All of these refer to a higher education that crosses the borders, is renewed, is under reorganization, and which is already in possession of connectional nets built out in certain areas, however, this process by no means has come to and end, has not yet evolved entirely.

Basically, with the exception of only one interviewee, all of them hold a rather negative opinion about the networks to be or already have been formed in higher education. Furthermore, an unuttered criticism can be perceived in every single piece of opinion, according to which the cooperations are useful though, and they undoubtedly serve development, the Hungarian institutions of higher education and the companies still have something to acquire from their Western companions. However, this unvoiced criticism derives much rather from the urge to act caused by globalization and the Bologna process, than from the impotence and reluctance of the aforementioned institutions and firms.

Before getting acquainted with the texts of the interviews, we supposed that the interviewees coming from various "backgrounds" would consider different levels of the cooperational networks important – thus, the representatives of the universities would primarily make mention of their joining the international research and academic networks, the problems of it and the reasons for its absence; while the directors, lecturers of the colleges would emphasize the importance of the cooperation between higher educational institutions and companies on the national and regional level. Accordingly, the opinions have been organized around four major groups, which unambiguously show the experiences and interests on the various levels in terms of building up networks. On the basis of these the following four minor bunches of topic can be divided, which will be discussed separately in the forthcoming paragraphs: (1) Alliances of interests instead of connections. (2) Research and academic networks of the "European" universities, regional colleges in the light of student mobility. (3) International

research and academic connections of national universities. (4) The importance of education in English in terms of building up networks

The word *alliance,* instead of *cooperation* or *connection*, was not taken into the drafting of the first point by chance, since the opinions that constitute this group, mainly the lecturers, directors of minor national universities, regional educational centers or colleges use this word for the description of cooperation consistently and independently from one other. Alliance, as opposed to cooperation, which denotes a kind of working together for the sake of some common goal, expresses much rather a kind of entering into partership against some external danger, in which not so much the common work but the necessity of "protection" dominates. For instance, one of our interviewees finds it indispensable to bind strong North-Hungarian *strategic alliances*. However, the question immediately arises – against whom shall we protect ourselves, who can mean potential danger to the functioning, improvement, or perchance existence of these higher educational institutions? A proportion of the experts urging to enter into alliances emphasizes that no higher educational institution can remain on its feet in itself, for they do not have to compete for the students on the national level, but the battle already continues on the European stage. That is the reason that national research and academic cooperations as well as building out relations should come into the focus of attention – people should aspire not to weaken, but strengthen each other through alliances. Colleges could already experience this urge for unity, since in a given region, besides the major universities, which have many lecturers, international connection-networks, broader range of majors, they have to be able to survive. On the other hand, the European Union gives financial assistance to establish research and academic networks. The majority of its announced applications puts the empasis not on the research itself, much rather on internationalizing the work of the participants. Nevertheless, practice – according to the interviews – shows something different, the sense of threatening, the fight of everyone against everyone is still valid, to which the divisive higher educational policy also creates a reasonable background.

The situation of the church-maintained higher educational institutions is somewhat different from that of the state-owned ones, since they are already members of a network (mostly extending over boundaries), the basis of which is provided by a commitment to the religious worldview, and the education of the elite that feels responponsible for humankind (that is all human being) and has a mission appears as a commonly declared aim. For the sake of the development of ecumanical dialogue, relation-systems spanning over denominations can also come into existence, however, the backbone of cooperation is given by networks developing along the ecclesiastical and denominational lines (Elmer 2000).

The interviewees agree in that the building out of cooperation between certain higher educational institutions has to be striven for intensely, since the scientific and educational institutes can be measured with a scholarly scale if we take not only the degrees and publications as a basis, or the things that we can bring out from the student input, but the national and international research contacts are also of great significance. Nevertheless, as it is revealed through the dropped words and fragments hidden in the opinions, the cooperations between national higher educational institutions function very well in theory, but their practical realization encounters difficulties in many cases. The opinion according to which on the one hand the accreditational conditions – which strictly regulate the latitude of the lecturers (e.g., one lecturer can appear only in one higher educational institution) –, on the other hand, the universities, colleges themselves constitute the obstacle of cooperation, regarding that they reckon their positions threatened, can serve as an explanation. This explanation reveals the extensively instrumental character of the national higher educational relations. It is obvious that the current goal and meaning of these connections, besides the notable expansion of the number of students studying at the national higher educational institutuions, is to find solutions for the problems of the lack-management caused by the restrictively dealt with lecturers' number-frames. Namely, the aim of the cooperation is not to build out researcher collaborations (or lecturer-student mobility), but to divide the weak lecturer resource-basis among the institutions. Thus the connections create a framework not for scientific innovations but for the establishment of cheap higher education.

The issue of the relationship between higher educational institutions and companies came up surprisingly rarely in the interviews, mostly only the no-longer-available decision of the multinational firms on the cooperation was mentioned. However, cooperations would be profitable for all participants. Collaboration provides research and development with financial funds for the education, that is, the possibility to adjust to modern challenges. For the students, knowledge tested in practice means an easier way of finding employment later on the labour-market, while the company makes steps keeping free labour and possible profit-increase in view. According to certain insights, it can be considered as a problem that the institutions prefer theoretical researches to researches of greater practical importance linked closely to economy, however, it is undeniable that without basic researches there is no applied research. The result of the aimed cooperation is therefore the benefit from which education, students and the company all profit. Nevertheless, multinational firms do not always have an interest in providing practical trainings for higher education within the company; instead, they organize their own trainings themselves.

Proceeding along this lane, we arrive at the subtopic of the next group, to which we gave the title "research and academic networks of 'European' universities, regional colleges in the light of student mobility." Concerning the future of universities and colleges, the opinion of the interviewees more or less resemble, moreover, they also agree that universities and colleges are slowly transforming – theoretical knowledge goes down in value, the emphasis is put on practical knowledge, in accordance with which the competences required on the labour-market also change. No longer will the university determine what it wants to teach, but the market will dictate. Multinational firms will step by step filter into higher education, as they will provide or withdraw financial supports, the shaping of the curriculum will also become their goal. Through the labour market, the group of employers and the demands of the market will turn into one of the forming forces of educational policy. However, the respondents only flash their statements, so to say restrict themselves to facts in connection with the future, but they do not elaborate on them – whether it is good or maybe we should be afraid of it, or perhaps work out some strategiesfor the handling of the expected situation. It follows from this that the claim of joining in the research networks and the support of the improvements on behalf of the companies are obviously driven by self-interest, which also serves for the good of higher educational institutions. Accordingly, the international, national and regional cooperations of higher educational institutions with other universities, colleges and companies develop.

A number of people prognose for the future of higher education that the considerable diversification will show two kinds of direction for the higher educational institutions. On the one hand, there will be universities that long for a European arena, and want to obtain recognition there, and on the other hand, they wish to fulfill the role of a regional educational center, and aim at improving and making the region prosper. The group of their supporters and networks will change according to these terms – while the major universities will try to build out cooperational networks with European Union applications, aids, scholarships, research and teaching connections, the minor universities and colleges will join forces with firms and companies that invest in the improvement and innovation of the region. According to certain opinions, this very regional level can be extremely profitable, given the fact that the improvement of the area requires a tight everyday contact with the economy and its actors, which promotes dialogue between the two sides. On the other hand, the higher educational institutions of the regional educational centers also fill in an essential and indispensable role, since most problems arise on the regional level, for which the solution can be found usually on the same ground. The agreement in this latter one is as great as different the opinions collected into the former group were. The phrasings repeat

themselves in the interviews almost word for word, which makes it disputable whether they are the convincingly declared own thoughts of the interviewees.

The situation is different in the case of church-maintained institutions, since they have been organized along dimensions of other kinds, the intensity of the contact-network has been already given through the religious bond. Due to the smaller number of their students, they do not signify "competition" for the state-owned universities and colleges, since the majority of them train experts specifically for church-maintained schools, consequently, they build upon their own basis of students (Pusztai 2003). Moreover, the network-system of the churches, which goes beyond the borders, has come into existence along regions from the first time, thus other church-maintained higher educational institutions from the same denomination do not turn up as rivals in a given region. On the other hand, it can be noticed that in the denominational sector there is no caste-system evolving according to which there are internationally known and embedded large universities and colleges with local network systems. Among the denominational higher educational institutions, the colleges that are not truly specialized for carrying out researches also have extended and living cooperation-systems (Hoffman 2003, Pusztai 2003, Pusztai & T. Molnár & Torkos 2003).

Into the next major group, those passages of interviews – dealing with the international research and academic connections of national universities – were taken, that unequivocally mirror the opinion of the representatives of the greatest universities. Perhaps it is not at all surprising, for smaller institutions can only build out international relationships with extended networks in exceptional cases.

Only one interviewee makes mention of the international connection-system of Hungarian higher education before the change of regime. Despite the fact that travelling and applying for foreign scholarships were restricted in some scientific fields, some politically, ideologically less "dangerous" areas also occured – such as natural and medical sciences –, where the researchers and lecturers enjoyed a relatively greater freedom in terms of forming international cooperations. Of course, besides belonging to a certain scientific field, political reliability of the researcher was also a consideration of selection. For that reason, probably it is not surprising that the academic relationships – which came into existence during the years following the change of the regime, and which were offered by programmes that urged the meeting and cooperation of the post-socialist countries with the West –, already formed stable, properly functioning networks in some areas.

After the change, the monopoly of the government ceased in terms of establishing schools; in the 1990s, one of the significant parts of the changes

taking place in higher education was the increase in the number of the church-maintained institutions (Hoffmann 2003). The church, on the one hand, took over already functioning universities and colleges (like the Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher Training College of the Reformed Church), and on the other hand established new ones, such as the Pázmány Péter Catholic University (Pusztai 2003). Thus, due to the ecclesiastical connection-system existing already before the change of regime, the "new" church-maintained institutions built out relationships faster, and established even closer links primarily with the Western world and countries with Hungarian minorities. During a higher educational institution's founding or restart, the principle of solidarity and financial support also established the basis for collaboration.

It is a generally held view that research achievement is connected with international relations, which at the same time mean possibility for international competition as well as theoretical and empirical input. Though the aim of the international cooperations is by no means brain-drain, the travellings of Hungarian researchers and lecturers to abroad inevitably flashes this alternative. In the limited number of excerpts, no mention is made of the subject, consequently, our interviewees either do not consider this danger real or they conceal it. A suspicion could arise in the analyst, namely, that the question of the lecturers' low wage-level and the possibility of the brain-drain do not come up because of the peculiar composition of the sample.

Nonetheless, the "migration" of the students is mentioned in the interviews in a negative context. With the disappearance of the borders, furthermore, through the possibility of passing through with the standardization of educational systems, it can become typical that students with proper language skills and supporting family background wish to obtain the Master's Degree not at home, but in another European country. This will be true even more for those who apply for the doctoral training. Nevertheless, generalizations can scarcely be made and opinions can hardly be contrasted, since despite the fact that nowadays the issue is already current, only one single interview touches upon the problem. What is more, after introducing tuition fees, it can happen that students can study abroad at a lower price. The degrees and qualifications obtained abroad do not only require professional knowledge acquired in the given sphere, but they throw light upon the possession of other competences as well, such as communicational and adaptational skills, which are crucial if we live in a foreign country. The students of denominational higher educational institutions, due to the reasons mentioned above, often have the opportunity to participate in international part-time studies even in colleges. We know it from a former research that the students from denominational secondary schools who do not get into higher education right away, often choose to work or study abroad while waiting, and then they willingly apply to

Hungarian higher educational institutions again. However, we get no information on the rate of those who work abroad after graduating from denominational higher educational institutions – these should revealed by further researches.

The answer for the question *What can be done against the "depopulation" of domestic universities?*, surprisingly did not come from the interviewees working directly in higher education: Hungary also has to fill the gap with talented students from abroad. In this way higher education stops to be national, we become a *third choice* country, in other words, in terms of further education, we appear as the third option in the course of choosing from possible countries of destination. The three major groups of students (free of charge Westerners, those arriving from the third world, and the Chinese) mostly apply for the bigger universities, while the duty of the colleges will be the improvement of the underdeveloped regions.

However, for national higher educational institutions to be able to receive students from abroad, as well as for Hungarian researchers and lecturers to be able to successfully join European academic and research networks, the knowledge of English is required – claim those working in higher education. Therefore, language skills can be considered as one of the most fundamental basis, since without that it is especially hard to join any networks outside the borders of the country, but a number of cases prove that sometimes it is quite difficult to develop cooperation even within them. The role of language-knowledge as an essential element of building up cooperational networks is mentioned only two times. The two opinions agree, although they do not approach the topic from the same points of view. We can be the winners of globalization if we can connect local conditions and values with global resources and networks, if we can stand up in the world with the knowledge we acquired in our country, with the national intellectual and cultural values, and if we can communicate all of these in a language that can be understood within a broader academic community as well. According to our researches, we have no information so far on the level of foreign language skills of lecturers in denominational higher educational institutions compared to that of lecturers in the public sector, however, further examinations will reveal this too.

Summary

It can be declared that quite a small part, and only in a narrow interpretational sense, of the analized interviews contained details about the formation of national and international research and academic connections. Opinions on the subject can be divided into four, relatively clearly separated groups, and in these fields, with one exception, the institutions of higher

education have basically homogeneous opinions. The *alliances* that came into existence between the national universities and colleges certify that these higher educational institutions, apart from a few exceptions, have not yet realized entirely that by this time they do not have to fight against each other, but that the universities of foreign countries may be the primary danger in terms of "absorption" of students in the region. They do not regard the European higher educational area as a valid playfield. In the background of this institutional, or at the most, regional or state closure we see the struggle with the short-run, finance-based approaches and the paucity of resources. The approach from the direction of the trust that gives the basis for relationships and spans over boarders, as well as of the European common wealth and solidarity, especially in the public sector, is missing from the interpretation of the topic. Church-maintained higher educational institutions show a somewhat different developmental direction and characteristics regarding the new models of cooperation. This is not surprising, since in their case the primary connecting link is religious worldview, which, with the help of not only the principles of trust and solidarity, but also the networks established along religious organizations, facilitates the possibility of joining further networks.

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ANGELIKA HAGEN

BONDING AND BRIDGING – THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHILD SPONSORSHIP IN GENERATING SOCIAL CAPITAL

The modern practice of child sponsorship is based on the central axiom of social capital theory, which links bonding and bridging. These two concepts form the basis to all our bonds and relationships. In this context social capital can be understood as "emotional capital," since bonds are linked to emotions, or trustful relationships which is evoked from bonds. Based on the results of an empirical study on the satisfaction and happiness of the child sponsors of World Vision, this article shows how bonding and bridging can contribute to society.

Introduction to Social Capital Theory

Social capital theory puts emphasis on the value of networks. This is nicely summarised in the English saying of "it isn´t what you know but who you know."

Like all capital, social capital can be invested and can bring benefit, provided the rules of the game are adhered to. These rules attest that all three levels of society (micro, meso and macro) must be active as a lively whole, and must all be bestowed with the appropriate amounts of attention and treatment. Social capital theory speaks of "multiple links" as the benchmark for the potential for strength and dealing with life's challenges.

Accordingly, it would be insufficient to simply look for stability on the micro-level ("individual level") of the family and peer group. Likewise, a strong belief on the macro-level of religion, culture or politics is insufficient in giving life sufficient meaning. And whoever can boast of hundreds of acquaintances and colleagues on the meso-level ("community level") but misses out on ideological identification or close relationships, will not be able to find true success in life.

These multiple linkages apply to individuals as well as to any type of community, be it schools, businesses, parishes or nations. They all generate their strength from the interaction of trust between the friends, the cooperation within networks on the meso-level, as well as from the enthusiasm for a greater common good on the macro-level. It may seem obvious, but many communities appear to fail because they look for success on just one of the levels - from the individualist drive for prosperity of small

communities, to sacrifice through fanatical religious movements, politics or stardom, to activism by society and management. In all these areas social capital theory emphasises that it is the balance that counts.

Bonding and bridging originate in our first relationship

Bonding and bridging, the basic concepts in social capital theory, signify the inward-looking *bond* within a community and the outward-looking *bridge* to other communities and hence to society as a whole.

Robert Putnam, one of the most distinguished scholars of social capital theory, defines the difference between the social capital of bonding and bridging such that, "[s]ome forms of capital are, by choice or necessity, inward looking and tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups. Examples of bonding social capital include ethnic fraternal organisations, church-based women's reading groups, and fashionable country clubs. Other networks are outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages. Examples of bridging social capital include the civil rights movement, many youth service groups, and ecumenical religious organisations" (Putnam 2000).

Bonding – often termed "exclusive social capital" – refers respectively to one partnership, from the family and close circle of friends up to the nation or religious denominations. It connects people of similar sociological circumstances. Bridging – also termed as "inclusive social capital" – connects people from different origins. They could be residing among different circles than their original origins, but are ultimately connected through the community of mankind and are hence understood. The form that bonding and bridging take can ultimately be attributed to our first relationship.

The term "bonding" was first used by the psychologist John Bowlby. In his "theory of bonding" he documented how the infant develops a strong connection (the "bond") with its psychological parent. This has great influence on all later bonds and relationships of the infant in later life (cp. Bowlby 1988). In his theory, the infant develops a safe bond with the parent, which enables it to develop outwardly "into the world." Hence, bridging has its origin in bonding, as only when a child is sure that the parents are "there for him or her" when it moves out into the world, it will do this with enthusiasm.

Kraemer and Roberts similarly emphasise the common origins of bonding and bridging in "The Politics of Attachment." "Ironically, while people tend to think of the family as the prime source of bonding social capital (because it is the most powerful form of such affiliation), they neglect the fact that it is also likely to be an important influence on bridging social

capital. Feeling secure and confident in oneself is almost certainly a necessary prerequisite for interacting with others who seem different and unfamiliar […]" (Kraemer & Roberts 1996).

The quality of bonding which has its origin in the first relationship is the crucial factor in determining the later ability and willingness in engaging with people from the homogeneous circle as well as those who might seem "different" and "strange."

The bonding, the strong relationship between mother and child, is always strongly and inevitably bound with fear, and hence with anger and aggression. Fear starts to emerge in connection with the bonding behaviour at a certain developmental stage of the child. The "strange" surroundings of fellow human beings cause the emergence of ambivalence of affection and renunciation in the child. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, who has observed the mother-child relationship in many parts of the world describes, "[w]ith 5 to 6 months infants start the process of 'estrangement.' Until ths point they smile at anyone who gives them attention, but afterwards they start to distinguish between familiar persons and strangers. The infant continues to smile at familiar faces and the parents, but starts to display shyness towards strangers. The child might smile at the stranger for an instant, will turn away and salvage itself with the mother, but might return to seek further friendly attention. In this cyclical process the child can alternate between turning away and paying attention" (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1984).

This behaviour is characteristic of a stage in the development of little children. At a certain age the child refuses close contact with strange members of the surroundings, in spite of a growing sense of sociability. This happens during the age when the child begins to crawl and walk away from the mother and independently tests separation, distance and closeness. The child's enthusiasm for exploration depends on whether the mother can convey a sense of security and trust. During this time of dependence on the mother, the father can take on the role of the play mate, whom the child can feel "big and strong."

From a historical perspective, this phase of fear and caution is a prerequisite for survival. Bowlby assumed that during prehistoric times the mother – child bond served to protect the child from enemies. Hence the descendents of these survivors were socially programmed for this type of bond. "Approached in this way, fear of being separated unwillingly from an attachment figure at any phase of the life-cycle ceases to be a puzzle and, instead, becomes classifiable as an instinctive response to one of the naturally occurring clues to an increased risk or danger" (Bowlby 1973). Fear acts as a restraint to generating social capital.

However, we are not at the mercy of our first relationship. The relationship between mother and child is a "system of interaction" as long as the bonding-signals of the child activate the relevant memories of bonding in the mother's subconscious (cp. Bowlby 1979; Main & Solomon 1985; Grossmann et al. 1987).

"The response comes in correspondence with her internal working model of attachment. [Grossmanns' – ed.] results can illuminate this process a little. It appears that a mother who remembers well how she felt when something bad had happened to her and how her parents responded or should have responded to comfort her, will listen emphatically to her own infant's distress signals. Being able to identify with her infant, she interprets them correctly and responds to them in the interest of the infant. A mother who cannot remember much of her childhood distress, or remembers only in a distorted form, seems less able to listen openly and feel sympathetic with her infant. She may push aside memories of her own former distress by ignoring her infant's distress" (Grossmann et al. 1987:5).

Research by Grossmann and his team shows how crucial the factor of reflection on emotions and experiences is for the development of trust, one of the central components of social capital. This applies to the relationship between mother and child as well as the relationships between adults. Likewise, it can be applied to larger communities, for example the reflection of and confrontation with a nation's history.

The early mother-child relationship with its components of "love and fear" can be understood as a microcosm for social capital theory. In summary: (1) Bondings probably have their origin in the early mother-child relationship, while the bridging depends strongly on the quality of the bonding. (2) Bonding is crucial for the relationships and bonds with people of the same group and – with reference to bridging – with people of different origin. (3) A trusting first bond initially supports the exploratory interests of the child and later the acceptance and treatment of strangers. (4) A "not good enough bonding" (or – according to Donald W. Winnicott – a "not good enough mother") initially retards and obstructs bridging. However, it is possible to reach a new point of view and hence new behavioural abilities through conscious reflection and confrontation with the emotional roots.

Bridging often has to battle with the problem, that fear and repulsion of the strange and love for the familiar have a historically stronger instinctive grounding than the urge to get to know the strange. To trust in our neighbours corresponds with human nature, but to love strangers or "enemies" seems more in opposition to it.

The moral teachings of religion and the philosophy of enlightenment are marked by the characteristics of bridging by their support for

neighbourliness, love for humankind and universal human rights. However, in real life it is common practice to evoke a sense of community through isolation, to mobilise feelings of identity through the "natural" fear of the strange, and to create bonds through an "image of the enemy."

As long as enough social capital of bridging is present in a community, the inner bonds are strengthened. However, when the capacity of outward bridging deteriorates, the inner bonds are weakened simultaneously.

To overcome this phylogenetic imprint of the homo sapiens, we need cultural structures to generate bridging. History has produced numerous institutions and cultural patterns, which took bridging as their central concern and turned it into norms and behavioural patterns. Examples are the universities of the Middle Ages concerning upbringing and education, the Quakers regarding religion, the Red Cross in charitable communities, the pacifists in politics, and global arts.

Geographic mobility also contributes to getting to know and loving the unknown. Contemporary world has turned into a "global village" and for the first time humankind knowingly could share a common destiny. At the same time we see an emergence of immediate threats to humans, such as weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, climate change and environmental pollution, crime and addiction. To tackle these problems effectively, both bonding- and bridging-qualities are necessary. There is a requirement for local and global bonds, norms and relationships of trust, through either top-down international politics or bottom-up civil movements. The OECD's program of social capital can be seen in this context.

Child sponsorships generate social capital

The organisation World Vision arbitrates child sponsorships in the impoverished regions of the world. In other words, it acts as a modern bridging institution. Its goal is to provide sustainable financial and ideological support and help for self-help to the child as well as the community which it is a part of.

The relationship between the child sponsor and the child can be likened to a traditional socio-cultural institution, which we are familiar with from our cultural circles, for example from godparenthood. The godparents enter into the relationship voluntarily, and are usually chosen from the close circle of family and friends. Sometimes the godparents are socially well positioned and accept the godparenthood of a related or well-known child. Godparenthood excludes the possibility of a common household or adoption, the relationship is active on the meso- but not the micro-level.

Traditionally and based on its religious character, godparenthood also works on the macro-level. At baptism the child is officially accepted into the Christian community. The godparent is a witness to this acceptance, and takes on the responsibility for the spiritual guidance of the child. Confirmation can be compared to a rite of transition from childhood to adolescence. Again, the godparent's role is to be the adolescent's spiritual guide on the now consciously experienced entry into the Christian community.

In the context of social capital theory, these types of relationships between godparents and child work on the meso-level, but always within a trusted community. This strengthens the character of bonding, but also provides the potential for a bridging relation. It forms a connection between the stronger and the weaker within manageable communities, and hence works as a stabiliser for power relations.

World Vision child sponsorships connect people of different cultures and build a bridge between the "rich" and the "poor" on a global level. People from richer countries agree to sponsor a child in one of the impoverished regions of the world – in this case Africa, Latin America, Vietnam, India and Indonesia.

In the context of social capital theory this serves as a strong bridging function. The sponsorship is carried out on a personal level, insofar as both parties involved (the sponsor and the child) know of each other and can individually send each other messages or even meet in person, depending on their relationship. This brings with it the emotional aspect of bonding. Emotions like love for humankind, neighbourliness, ethics and a sense of responsibility are generated on the macro-level.

The hypothesis that taking on a child sponsorship generates and strengthens social capital is based on these considerations. The questions which arose were concretised through personal talks with child sponsors of World Vision, as well as through the author taking on a child sponsorship herself.

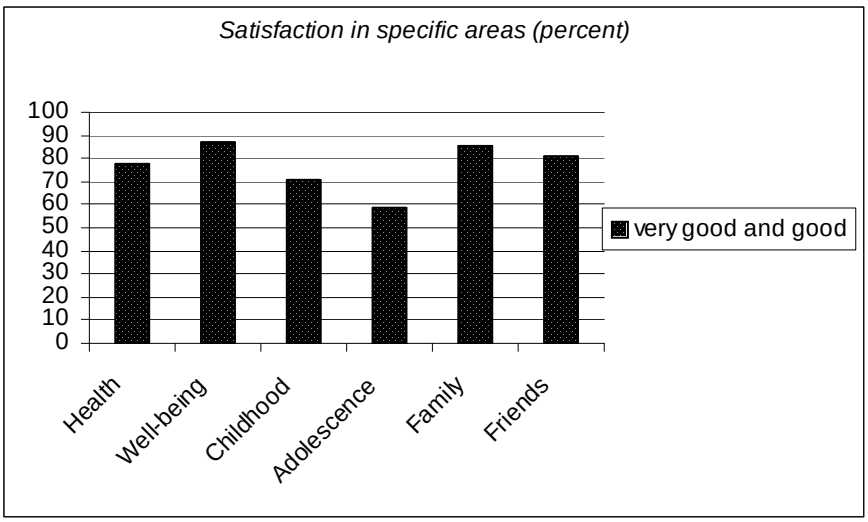
Questionnaires were sent to every one of the Austrian child sponsors to collect empirical data. The goal was to establish which social profile people display, who sponsors a child in an impoverished region, and how could further social capital be generated through this process.

Results of the empirical study

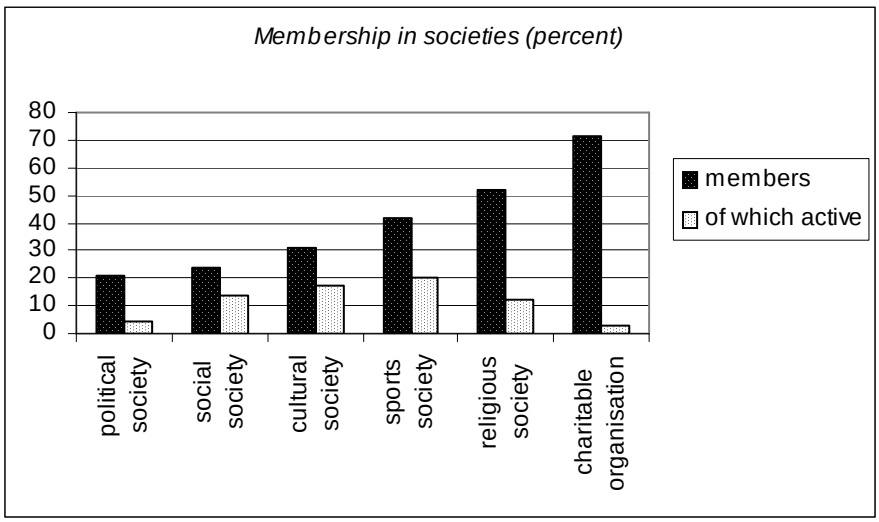
The results of the study of child sponsors of World Vision in Austria show clear strengths of hypothesis in the analysis. The high participation rate in the survey (1.726 Austrian child sponsors out of a total of 5.000) shows a

high level of motivation, which appears above average for a charitable organisation. The child sponsors are members of all social strata and age groups. Also, they are not marked by a higher level of women and the childless, but 43% of the participants live in families with one or more child.

With reference to their success in life, child sponsors display good results of well-being and health. Their happiness lies above the norm, even after many of them experienced a difficult childhood and adolescence. This shows the significance of the above mentioned reflection on experiences.



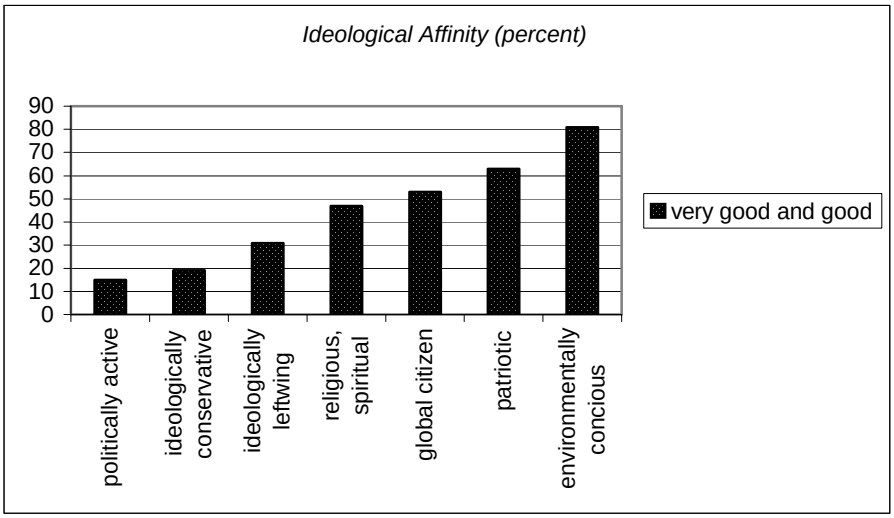
Child sponsors are overall very engaged, they participate in various forms of societies and are regularly active, with willingness to contribute to other charitable organisations.



Ideological affinity

Child sponsorship is attractive from a humanitarian as well as ethical point of view, but is not exclusively linked with religious and ideological affinity. Child sponsors come from all different "camps" of beliefs, and to a significant proportion from the growing camp of the spiritually unaffiliated. This is significant because the World Vision's idea behind child sponsorship is deeply grounded in Christian values.

However, this is not reflected in the people who support World Vision. They consider themselves mainly "environmentally conscious," feel "patriotic" but also see themselves as "global citizens" and mainly consider themselves part of the modern culture of sustainability. Let us recall Putnam's differentiation of bonding and bridging. As an example of social capital from bonding he uses a group of religious denomination. As an example of social capital from bridging he illustrates ecumenical religious organisations. Thus, in the case of child sponsorships, it has come to a bonding within a purely Christian community, to a bridging to a larger ecumenical and spiritual spectrum.



Trust and Affiliation to World Vision

World Vision enjoys great trust from its members, above average compared to other organisations. The affiliation correlates with a feeling of being sufficiently informed. Child sponsors who feel sufficiently informed about the culture of the sponsored child, and about the current projects, feel a stronger emotional bond to the organisation.

Table 1: Trust in World Vision according to the knowledge about child (percent)

Overall in the whole sample	34
Good	66
OK	42
Little	24

Significance of the relationship between sponsor and child

People who take on a sponsorship take it seriously. Two-thirds describe their relationship with the child as "like to a strange child, with whom I feel a spiritual connection." This forms the key to the development of social capital. Social capital is emotional capital, and in an actual sense a form of energy of the mind, as without emotion little energy can develop. Sponsoring a child comprises emotional capital from bonding as well as bridging. People who take on responsibility for a child, get in touch with their first relationship. However, the emotion does not act on a micro-level, but rather on the meso- and macro-levels.

Table 2: Significance of relationship with sponsored child according to the motive for sponsorship (percent)

Overall in the whole sample	78
Help a child	87
Help for Third World	75
Good use of Wealth	68

Optimism for sponsorships

Child sponsorships could turn into a mass movement and hence could significantly contribute to humanitarian globalisation. 34% of the respondents to the questionnaire suggested that they had expected far more than 10% of people to be interested sponsoring a child, 34% think it would be 10%, and 32% expect less than 10% to be interested. This gives child sponsorship a spiritual and ideological significance, which goes beyond the financial efforts. 10% of the 2 billion people who belong to the richer part of the world would constitute 200 million child sponsorships.

Table 3: Further willingness to sponsor a child among those who are happy with the sponsorship (percent)

	¼ and more %	Around 10%	Few %
Overall in the whole sample	34	34	32
Very	40	31	28
Rather	34	34	32
Little	31	35	35

Conclusion

The potential for accumulating social capital is not fully taken advantage of. Affiliation to organisations rises with the "right" information, specific information about the culture of the respective countries, as well as about the course and the results of the projects.

Child sponsors are connected with the projects on the macro-level through the ideological relationship as well as their identification with the idea of sponsorship. The phrase "World Vision Family" was recorded frequently. The possibilities of personal meetings and exchange of experiences on the meso-level can bring further benefits. To achieve a stronger sense of identity of the projects, a balance sheet of benefits and successes of child sponsorships as well as stronger grounding of child sponsorships in public opinion would be effective.

"Relation by choice" (the voluntary supportive relationship between the stronger and weaker) is personal but not too close, of long duration but not enforced by law, and these forms of relationships are present in all different cultures.

Social capital theory and other recent studies predict that with the decline of traditional bonds to (large) families and neighbourhoods, new flexible forms of associative relationships will emerge on the meso-level. On this level of voluntary autonomous affiliation, communities can emerge, which do not necessarily tie the members intimately together, and which do not require a strict ideological coordination, as for example religious or ideological denominations.

World Vision's child sponsorships can be taken as a positive example as to how traditional forms of relationships can be transformed into modern social capital, which includes global ethics and comply with basic human needs.

In the words of Georges Devereux, "[u]ltimately people and cultures have more similarities than differences, simply because human beings are primarily human, and Inuit or Bantu later; and because all cultures are primarily authentic examples for culture as the characteristic product of the human species, and only later examples of a cultural domain." (Devereux 1967).

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GÁBOR BOLVÁRI-TAKÁCS

THE ROLE OF THE ALUMNI MOVEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REFORMED COLLEGE OF SÁROSPATAK

The alumni movement is a kind of indicator of the social effect mechanism of a school. The achievements of a school on the field of education are not only reflected in the successful or less successful afterlife of its graduates. The self-organizing of the former students proves their power of cohesion and the subsequent generations can keep their friendships for decades. All of this is an important marker and at the same time a connection providing feedback. The strong alumni basis influences the social acceptance and the rank of the parent institute and strengthens its reputation.

The alumni movement in its modern form has been present in Hungary since the end of the nineteenth century. There are some important publications on the topic of the alumni movement of Sárospatak (Bolvári-Takács 1990, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006).

So that the graduates could recognize the advantages of the mutual acting rather than maintaining an individual relationship with their school, there was need for several factors existing together, which only appeared by reaching a given stage of the civil development:

The number of students studying in the school. A considerable base of alumni cannot be talked about if the number of graduates compared to the uneducated population is insignificant.

The development of the school system. The attitude of the alumni by which they distinguish themselves from others is pointless in a school system where there are only some major institutes, because the same origin is a matter of fact.

The relatively good civil well-being. The separate appearance of the alumni movement presumes self-directed economic ground, which can be collected only from the donations of the former students.

A given state of development of the system of political institutes. The students graduating from the same school early recognize the possibilities of individual and common act of influencing, such as lobbying thanks to their similar intellectual roots and social ideals.

The acceptance of civil organizations. The alumni movement becomes an autonomous factor if its tie to the other figures of the civil society is at least as strong as to the parent company itself, or stronger.

The affection of the graduated students towards their school was not unusual either in the first three centuries of the Reformed College of Sárospatak founded in 1531, though back then we cannot talk about an institutionalized alumni movement. The students returning from abroad enriched the library of the College with books, they meant the new supplies of the teacher staff, and especially from the second half of the nineteenth century they regularly donated for the school or made foundations. In the school-year of 1900/1901 there were 39 scholarship foundations all together. The first attempt to make a local joint institution of the alumni of Sárospatak was in 1872: it was the Sárospatak Club founded in Buda and it functioned as an association. From the beginning of the twentieth century there is a national demand for self-organizing. The periods of this is shown as follows:

The first period lasted from the turn of the century until the end of the First World War, it was the time of initiatives. In 1916 an ex-student and teacher, Ferenc Finkey published his polemic in a booklet, in which he reported about the creation of the League Guarding Sárospatak and suggested setting up the Association of Students and Alumni of Sárospatak within it. Others also supported his plan, but due to the world war the matter was dropped.

The second period is marked with the foundation of the Association of Students and Alumni of Sárospatak (PDSZ) in 1921 in Budapest. It functioned without articles of association like a friends' circle. They organized a dinner-party a few times a year, where there were always some presentations about Patak too. Since the president was Károly Panka, who was the director of the library of the Parliament, the organization seated in the Parliament.

The third period is that of the National Organization of Students of Sárospatak (PDOSZ), it was the highest level organization of this movement so far. The organization had articles of association and worked as a forum of culture and representation of interest. It was founded in Sárospatak in 1928. It functioned until 1943, its formal dissolution was ordered by the Minister of the Interior in 1948. It was also PDOSZ that built up the country branches of associations. The PDSZ in Budapest turned into the member organization of the national association followed by newly founded branches in Debrecen, Miskolc and Nyíregyháza.

The fourth period is the era of incubation, from 1945 to the end of the fifties. The Second World War and especially after the year of the "turn" it became impossible to organize the alumni movement for political reasons. The institutions of the Reformed College of Sárospatak were dissolved in a multi-stage plan or nationalized; the last one was the grammar school, which was abolished in 1952, from this time it operated as Rákóczi grammar school. It – for a temporary period – broke the impetus of the alumni. (With the

exception of a group in Miskolc whose members had meetings in 1952 in the disguise of a company of friends.

The fifth period is the period of the evolving of the movement, from the beginning of the sixties till the mid-eighties. The circle of friends was reorganized in 1960 in Budapest and in Deberecen a couple of years later. From 1976 the alumni of the folk high school met in an organized form, in Sárospatak from the 70s there were initiatives urging the reorganizing of the national association.

The sixth period has lasted since the mid-eighties, this is the time of the structural differentiation based on functionality and that of an alliance coming from common interests. The most important events were the founding of the Friend Circle of the Students of Sárospatak in 1983, reopening the folk high school in 1987 and its turning into an association in 1991, the creation of the friend circles in Nyíregyháza, in Ózd at the end of the 80s, the birth of the Reformed College of Sárospatak Foundation, the aim of which was to restore the College and the establishing of the Students' Club made up of different generations in Sárospatak in 1989. The end of the process was the reorganizing of the Students' Organization of Sárospatak, as the united top organization of the movement. It also turned it into a new direction of progress as for quality.

The fruitful operation of the alumni movement between the two world wars was based on two factors:

The personal motivation of the organizers. The operation of PDSZ and then that of the association in Budapest is inseparable from Károly Panka, who directed it from 1921 to 1940. Gábor Kazinczy, the president of PDOSZ had an unquestionable role in managing the national affairs, he donated a considerable amount from his private wealth to realize the aims.

The capacity of the Reformed College. The secretariat of PDOSZ worked in Sárospatak and the whole staff of teachers and professors participated on different levels of the management of the association.

The attitude of the alumni to help financially. PDSZ, PDOSZ and its member organizations did a significant fundraising work and as a result statues, memorial plaques were made, books published and students could study with scholarship in Sárospatak and in the College between the two world wars. The fundraising was especially successful on the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the College in 1931.

The effective lobbying potential of the political influence of the alumni. It was apparent both in lobbying with the government, which was carried out by the leaders of the College and the Tiszáninneni Reformed Church District, which was maintaining it and also in the activities of the alumni helping each other. The

upswing of the school in the 1930s (the new English boarding school, constructions, etc.) was helped in many ways by the alumni who held important positions in the capital city.

After 1956 the Friend Circles of Alumni represented the following values during their operation:

A model of action. An organized group of alumni was established in Debrecen in the sixties on the pattern of the groups in Budapest and Miskolc. Later more associations were set up in Nyíregyháza in 1987 and in Ózd in 1995. (The group in Debrecen requested their registration at the court in 1996). The Budapest Friend Circle in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County originally being part of the circle in Pest started its independent operation in 1973. The youngest alumni organization, the Students' Club in Sárospartak was founded in 1989 based on a generation ground and it operated for two years.

Lobbying role. The community of the alumni of Sárospatak living in Budapest was able to influence the national decisions concerning Sárospatak in many cases, such as the restarting the special English classes of the grammar school in 1966 or getting the municipal rank of Sárospatak back in 1968.

Organizing work. The most enduring result of the initiatives and organizational objectives is the Reformed College of Sárospatak Foundation, which was established mainly from the offerings of the members of the Friend Circle in Budapest and by several other circles' joining as well in 1989.

The activities of the friend circles and associations in Debrecen, Miskolc and Nyíregyháza meant regular gatherings mostly. Later these organizations were present in the life of Rákóczi Grammar School with awards and prizes at the end of each school-year. In addition the Friend Circle in Miskolc made many video films, publications or series of publications too.

The alumni movement did not have a real *fund-raising function*, since the friend circles lacked the financial sources. (It was not possible due to the political situation of that time either.) On the other hand the graduates from the reformed school could not be expected to support the state grammar schools. The readiness of the alumni for donations showed itself in scholarship offerings of the students finishing after 1952. The award was handed over on the end-of-the year ceremony by the founding classes. The class I/A from the year of 1941 founded a new scholarship program in 1991, which later was registered as a foundation functioning as a juristic person.

The *foreign members of the alumni movement* of Patak met in the most organized way in the United States. In 1935 the American Association of the Students from Patak got established, the activities of which has been inseparable from the name of *Imre Bertalan*. This organization was expanded

and turned into the community of "*Friends of Sárospatak*" in 1987, which heavily influenced the Hungarian government in order to restore the Reformed College and later they gave significant financial help to operate it.

The annual meetings of the graduates of the folk high school played a very important role in the alumni movement. The students who went to the folk high school between 1936 and 48, the so-called "students in boots", renewed their relationships in 1964 on private friend gatherings. From 1976, which was the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the folk high school, these gatherings became public and bigger, where the participants dealt with contemporary issues as well besides commemorating the past. The guests giving presentations grew in numbers and as for their reputation too, they often expressed thoughts foreshadowing the transformation of the system. The ideas of the folk high school lived on making the restarting of the courses possible in 1986, the result of which the Association of the Folk High School of Sárospatak developed.

The most characteristic feature of the situation of the movement of the alumni of Sárospatak is the clear structural differentiation of the particular functions.

The community building function is mostly apparent on the more or less regular meetings of the alumni in Budapest, Debrecen, Miskolc, Nyíregyhaza and Ózd. The Budapest Association of Students of Sárospatak has the most members, which was changed from a friend circle into an association on the 200th club meeting, on 26 January 1996.

It is the Foundation of the Reformed College of Sárospatak that is entirely in charge of *the fundraising function* of the alumni of Sárospatak. 114 founding members of the alumni friend circles established the foundation on 3 February, 1989 to collect the financial sources needed for restoring the Reformed College of Sárospatak. Since this aim was realized in 1990, the foundation from this time supported the operation of the institute, and at the same time it gave a base for activities like publishing books, offering scholarships and rewards, supporting leisure time activities and sports events which had been the task of the friend circles before. The assets of the foundation are 31 million forints, which is about 26 million in deposits and 5 million in real estate.

The annual meeting of the ex-students of the folk high school turned into an active folk high school in a really special way and thus it became the main stronghold of the *educational-cultural function* done by the alumni. In 1986 the folk high school got reborn on the grounds of the Comenius Teachers' Training College and received substantial support in 1990 through the money coming from an application which was won by the youngest alumni organization, the Student Society of Sárospatak. As a result the activists of the

more and more professional educational movement – mainly alumni and professors from Patak – established the Association of the Folk High School of Sárospatak, which has become a dominant figure of the social-civil life of the city. It is not only the one that carries on the traditions of the folk high school of Patak, but has also an important segment on the current market of trainings. What is more it is a methodological base of the Hungarian Folk High School Society and one of the intellectual centres of the folk high school relationships maintained with the Hungarians beyond the borders (Transylvania, Upland, Transcarpathia, Partium. Last but not least we have to mention the Association of Students and Alumni of Sárospatak (PADISZ) whose primary function is *coordination and lobbying*. The association with the intention of a worldwide coalition of the alumni of Sárospatak was founded the alumni movement and the schools of Sárospatak. Unlike the National Organization of Students of Sárospatak which was founded in 1928 by individuals, PADISZ was established by 13 legal entities and one friend circle without a juristic person on the general meeting held on 30 November, 1996. The founding members are the following ones: the alumni association in Budapest, Debrecen, Miskolc, Nyíregyháza and Ózd, the friend circle of the alumni from Sárospatak, the Reformed College of Sárospatak Foundation, the 1941. I/A Foundation, Association of the Folk High School of Sárospatak, and the Reformed College of Sárospatak, as the parent institute and three of its member institutions (Garmmar School, Reformed Academy of Theology of Sárospatak and the Scholarly Collections) as well as Comenius Teachers' Training College.

The success of the alumni movement of Sárospatak is not only the merit of the former students, there was need for the positive welcome of the all-time school management too. The cooperation is based on these four principles:

The principle of the casual meetings The alumni and their organizations are always welcome to the school, their proposals and help – either their initiatives or at the suit of the school – they can achieved directly without any official consent of the higher management or protocol. *The principle of being independent*. The alumni movement is independent from the school of Sárospatak as for its organization, though its new supplies come from here. Both parties know however that the basis of the effective help is the independent operation, not interdependence. *The principle of being politically neutral*. The organization of the alumni movement does not represent any political interest, does not have any propaganda of such kind. The good, old intellectual tolerance of the College is present in the circle of alumni as well. *The principle of the unity of the alumni movement*. The actions of the former students of Sárospatak are free from individual interests. There are no counter-organizations that would seek to decrease each other's authority, it is

not the interest of the schools either. The common aims mean a kind of joining force. None of the alumni organizations claim the control of others.

There are several sources available for the research of the history of the alumni movement of Sárospatak.

Archives sources. The Archives of Scholarly Collections of the Reformed College of Sárospatak keeps the documents of the Association of Students and Alumni of Sárospatak (1921-28) and the National Organization of Students and Alumni of Sárospatak (1928-1943). The former got into the collection from the legacy of Károly Panka, the latter was received ex officio, since the office of the organization was in the College. Among the papers there are official document and private letters too. The documents of the meetings of the folk high school (1976-) and those of the Friend Circle of the Students and Alumni of Sárospatak (1983-) can be found in the Database of Scholarly Collections. Unfortunately the correspondence of the Association of Students and Alumni of Sárospatak in Budapest and the official letters of the Budapest branch of PDOSZ cannot be found in the Budapest City Archives, only the register book contains the administrative resolution about the termination in 1948. The founding of the branch associations in 1928 and their operation are documented variably. The files of the county branch of PDOSZ cannot be found in the Archives of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, the papers of the associations in Debrecen and Nyíregyháza however are available in the Archives of Hajdú-Bihar County and in the Archives of Szabolcs-Szatmár County.

Printed sources. First of all the college bulletins belong to these, in which the news of the alumni movement were publicized on a regular basis. There was a memorial book made on the occasion of the foundation of PDOSZ, and the association published several circular letters, press releases, brochures, which make up important sources. The memorial book about the work of the Friend Circle in Budapest between 1921 and 1931, which was edited by Károly Panka, is really exceptional. In addition the local press informed about the actions and events in Sárospatak and in other places as well.

Reminiscence. Many of the key figures of the alumni movement after 1956 are still alive. Historians have known and used the so-called oral history method, because the systematically made interviews – with the adequate source criticism – are worth examining from the scientific point of view.

Looking back at the twentieth century we can declare without any doubts that the alumni movement of Sárospatak did not only fulfil a value-creating and value-saving mission but it also significantly contributed to the representation of the basic values of the civil society, while it played an important role in the development of the Reformed College of Sárospatak.

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JUDIT HERCZEGH

THE INTERNET AS AN INTERFACE FOR RESEARCH FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Unquestionably, the invention of the 20th century with the greatest impact is the computer, which has become an integral and essential part of our everyday life. It not only lightens our workload, it is not merely a free-time activity and expedient, but thanks to the Internet, the computer has also appeared as a new channel of communication and information flow, which is able to transform every segment of education and research with an overwhelming force. Merely a device of fiction on the big screen years ago, the Internet has now become reality. With the help of two networked computers, it is possible to transcend geographical, cultural, and linguistic boundaries.

In reference to the original function of the Internet, we might claim that by integrating this interface in scientific research and turning it into its practice, we do nothing else but return to the roots. Recently, the popularity of Internet research and the utilization of the Internet for research have been collectively more and more widespread within the framework of sociological studies.

Utilization in social psychology

Most social psychologists regarded the rate at which e-mail exchanges and Internet chat rooms became available for millions of people with some reservation. At the same time, however, the web seemed an excellent interface for examining the power of social behavior and personality-forming interactions.

The results of the first researches, which were conducted to analyze social expressions of emotions online, did not forecast a bright future for the Internet as a medium for communication. In summary, these early studies showed that the characters we type in do not necessary correspond to what we would say in person: we seem reserved and unfriendly on the Internet and we get reactions according to our behavior (Wallace 2002). And this may be a serious problem in the case of a medium whose purpose is to serve millions of people. In order to loosen up impersonal communication, so-called emoticons were introduced: these are playful character combinations which

serve to describe facial expressions. With the help of the emoticons, online communication is to become cozier and more informal.

The Internet offers the opportunity for the user to take part in a light role-play; during the chat they may shift their sex, physique, characteristics, without obeying any rules whatsoever. Experimenting with different identities constitutes a transformation may become a real threat as the borderline between the real self and the thus assumed role may readily become blur. "The Internet is a kind of identity laboratory, which is full of props, an audience, and some actors for our personality experiment." (Wallace 2002:71)

This type of role-change, and the fast increase of the amount of time spent in front of the Internet has propelled experts to examine a possible addiction to the Internet, and the potential deteriorating effects and degree of distortion the Internet may burden the personality with.

Excessive use may lead to loneliness and addiction. This threat exists, but is not maintained in the long run. Researches prove that out of 100 users only 2 or 3 become permanently and extreme "victims" of the Internet, while the above finding is true for only 8 to 10 people in the first weeks and months following the first contact with the medium, and true for every fourth person using the Internet regularly as part of their job. For users spending an abnormal amount of time on the Internet, the periods in front of the computer are indeed spent alone; however, it is by no means a lonely experience, as different chat-channels offer the possibility to make numerous friends.

Psychologists use "chat-rooms" for group therapy sessions specifically because of their impersonal nature. The Internet makes group operations possible where members are not present physically, and thus may remain unidentified. The members may freely choose the topics and react to each other's thoughts, the only task of the group leader is to encourage and monitor the processes. Taking part in a chat-room group is an opportunity for consultation, where the user may acquire certain forms of therapeutical awareness.[122]

Utilization with a purpose of marketing

It is not by chance that marketing, PR, and consumer surveys under sociological researches are listed, for these statistical surveys are a popular form of sociological analyses, and have evolved from scientific analyses targeted at learning society itself.

[122] *Terápia* http://www.mentalport.hu/tera11.htm (04. 11. 2005)

Visiting various sites and the time spent on the Internet provide valuable information for different companies that strive to find their appropriate target groups. To map the behavior, attitudes, and demographic features of citizens of the information society is an indispensable responsibility of companies today, so that they may create their clientele.

"Internet-based research has been employed for over a decade on high Internet-penetration research markets. During this time, we have learnt a lot regarding when it is useful to apply this method and when to avoid it. Further, during this time, global Internet usage has been transformed dramatically: developed countries present a continuous increase in this field, and large-scale growth can be experienced on several developing markets as well. Today, Internet research is employed in more than 200 countries. The majority of big and successful companies dealing with consumer goods apply Internet research (but this holds true for almost all of the similar companies operating in every other field)." (Paul 2006).

Internet market research, similarly, has continuously gained popularity in Hungary. Naturally, first it proved inexorable to adjust the number of Internet users to world tendencies. Companies examining consumer behavior present this type of survey as a distinctive aspect, emphasizing the cost-efficiency and speed of Internet analyses with respect to both the customer and the supplier.

"The data survey of Internet researches is practically costless. Nevertheless, it simultaneously makes available a huge amount of information as well as quick and free communication. Be it competition analysis, analyses relating to product and service feedback, or analysis of communication regarding the company, products, and services, these tools are far more efficient than researches sporting focus groups or expert interviews."[123]

Still, before choosing Internet polling, it is advisable for the customer to carry out a parallel analysis, in which the question whether the given target group is accessible with this type of survey receives an answer.

Social science online

Sociology, similarly to other applied social sciences, approaches the issue of the Internet in two ways. On the hand, it examines the role of the Internet assumed in society, while, on the other hand, it utilizes the Internet as a research interface of the given science.

In relation to the above, when examining the relationship between computers and society, sociologists mainly examine the effects the computers

[123] *Költséghatékony üzleti kutatások* http://www.tar.hu/oxol (19. 02. 2006)

have on the given society. According to László Ropolyi, the most interesting element of the relationship between computers and the society is the fact that while computers are tools of the modern age, the networks of those computers in turn carry the values of the postmodern era. Society only integrates technological instruments which are in harmony with its own value and interest systems. As Ropolyi (1999:156) asserts, "the social relations determining the society of a given era and the technological circumstances defining the era's technological devices are to a certain extent similar, since both systems of relations are maintained by the activities influenced by identical values and interests of the given era". Therefore, an instrument becomes rooted in society only if it has not merely a technological benefit, but if it is also capable of carrying the values of the given culture.

The most essential property of the computer from the viewpoint of society is thus its capability to represent the ideology of modernity. The notions of mechanical philosophy appear manifested in the component parts of computers, in the functional modes and relations of the elements, as well as in the relationship between man and machine. At the most fundamental level, even the distinction of hardware/software symbolizes the relation between body and soul. The elements constituting the computer are simple; any element may be substituted with another whose function is identical. That is, the computer is calculable, reproducible. Connections between the computer's components are fixed. Each element has its own, predefined, unalterable place and role in the mechanism. "The 'new' unit created from the combination of elements is the computer itself, which cannot be treated as an 'emergent' quality pointing beyond its own elements: it is a mechanism operating in a way equivalent to its elements, nothing more." (Ropolyi 1999:157)

Furthermore, social relations are projected into the hardware devices of the computer, on the one hand, by conveying the social environment of the production process that manufactures the computer, and on the other hand, through the system of relations determining the principles of production, structure, operation, and usage.

A modern computer is a hierarchical, versatile system, just like modern society. Computer networks, thus the Internet, too, are made of computers carrying modern values, but the organization, purpose, and mode of networks nevertheless present a materialization of the postmodern itself.

The World Wide Web is established not on the notion of subordination, but co-ordination (Kömlődi 1999). There is no hierarchy on the Internet. The computers are linked together, but are not super- or subordinated to one another. The Internet has no starting points or end points, it is a network that encourages the surfer with its tools – feedback,

fractals and hypertext – to find their own way, their own values in the flow of information. Still, it is interesting to see that such a democratic medium fervent with respect for equality, is able to create rivalry and competitive advantage, the reason for which is the role of possessing information itself, not only in relation to a given mass medium, but possessing information in everyday life and well-doing, as well. Nowadays, it is considered an advantage to have a fast, broadband Internet access compared to, let us say, a modem access (not to mention no direct access at all). It will suffice to think only of job hunting forums and sites. Similarly, a bank transfer administered via the Internet may save hours for the clients. And the type of access, or the very existence of an access, is determined by the person's economic and social status. Today, in Hungary, and maybe everywhere else in the world, only people with at least medium or good economic circumstances can generate advantage from the Internet and Internet-based communication. The availability of the Internet, or the lack of it in any case, may conserve or even exacerbate social differences.

Most disciplines use the Internet as a research interface; sociology, however, has only recently started to employ it.

"Online research methods – similarly to data survey conducted via telephone – will find their place among established research methods sooner or later. Nevertheless, to apply online research methods appropriately it is essential to learn the characteristics that may fundamentally influence their methodological features" (Darvas & Pillók 2006).

Little comprehensive technical literature can be found for data survey applied via the Internet. Within the literature of sociological study, we may find analyses of Internet methods mainly through case studies or experimental researches and comparative researches on methodology. Mostly authors share with the readers only their experience gained in lesser fields. Published "textbooks" of online research approach the fields of online studies almost exclusively from the aspect of market research.

Online data survey methods fall into two categories. There are methods based on observation, while the other type relies on questionnaires (Darvas & Pillók 2006).

Out of online data survey methods, application of a method based on observation was the first. These data surveys did not take place within the framework of organized researches. As a matter of fact, they were secondary analyses of the data available on the servers.

On the Internet we may stumble into questionnaires all the time, however, only a small part of them have been prepared with the necessary research purposes in mind. For reasons of simplicity and technical feasibility,

several web sites with bigger traffic provide "questionnaires" – prepared by program developers – which facilitate the flow of opinions between visitors and the makers of the site. However, the uniform characteristic of online questionnaires is their self-filling nature. We differentiate between several types of these questionnaires.

Online qualitative methods make possible remote data survey. Among the traditional qualitative data survey tools, only an interview conducted via telephone can be considered a similarly remote method. From this point of view, the difference between online and offline qualitative methods does not primarily result from the use of the Internet, but from the significant difference between opportunities and features of taking remote and personal questionnaires. The qualitative Internet-based research methods currently employed are the following: online focus group, moderated forum, online interview and moderated e-mail group.

Closing thoughts

Information society is the society of self-generating growth of knowledge, where knowledge is an economic and use value. Information society alters the nature of knowledge: it becomes trans-disciplinary, multimedia-based, and practical. The characteristic patters of gaining knowledge also go through changes, 'life-long learning' becomes dominant, and the 'virtual environments of open education' replace formal schooling institutions." (Nyíri 2001)

Social capital can be divided into 3 basic "ingredients:" (1) network capital: interpersonal interactions that provide emotional and physical help, support; (2) participation capital: it contains the willingness and motivation of voluntary participation; (3) community devotion: it involves the motivation of belonging somewhere (Eranus & Letenyei & Siklós 2006).

Researches have drawn attention to the fact that the spreading of computer and Internet usage is largely dependent on the extension of the individuals' networks. The larger the individuals' networks are, the faster they acquire the knowledge needed to use the computer and Internet. Internet, as a source of information and communication medium has the ability to function as relationship builder and strengthener.

Today, it is evident that the Internet is a useful crutch not only for the newly growing generations of the information society, but it also slowly takes a firm stand in tutor-researcher fields and those of social science as well. As every medium, the Internet has its positive and negative poles, but all in all, I do not hold its existence in any way unjustified.

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RELIGION AND VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION

SÁNDOR NAGY

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN CULTURE

The investigation of the relation between culture and religion, as well as that of culture and church, has always been a current and re-current issue, and has been an important subject matter for various sciences. For instance, we might recall Eliot's book *Notes Towards a Definition of Culture*, or the representatives of the neo-Kantian concept of culture, such as Rickert and Windelband.

There has always been (and is) an interaction between culture and religion, which have mutually enriched each other. Religion has an important role as a source for cultural phenomena and works of art, as well as an integrator of cultures. We also know that religious culture has significantly permeated science, art, and morality – that is, the totality of mental life for hundreds of years. In the activities of Hungarian churches (mainly the traditional ones, and precisely the Catholic Church) three functions have always been present: (1) spreading the Christian faith and organizing religious life, (2) cooperating in the making and mediating of culture, (3) charitable activities.

It is undeniable that the Catholic Church played a significant, although uneven, role in establishing and mediating culture, throughout the entire history of Hungary (its influence being greater during the World Wars I and II, and slighter during the socialist era). Hungarian culture is rich with a multitude of Christian masterpieces – and of course, with artifacts and ideas produced by the culture and mentality of Catholicism. It will suffice to think of our churches and other religious buildings (monasteries, colleges) and works of art such as frescos, paintings, and statues. The totality of these constitutes our most beautiful and most precious monuments. The subject of the first masterpiece of Hungarian literature is the Virgin Mary herself, and a considerable amount of Hungarian musical compositions praise the glory of God.

The activity of the Catholic Church as a mediator of culture is in harmony with the human ideal it declares, since culture means the education and shaping of a human being as such, and the individual and communal improvement of them. Thus the Church has to create and spread cultural values appropriate for the requirements specified in this ideal.

The Second Vatican Council assigned an outstanding role to culture in establishing a relation between the Church and our modern world. Since then,

therefore, it was a high priority task of the Catholic Church to support culture.

The role of the Church as a mediator of culture has strengthened and completed its purpose in the process of political transformations taking place since 1989-1990: its cultural activity has been influential in each area of cultural policy; the extra-liturgical activity of the Church has extended, cultural institutions maintained by the Church have proliferated, the number of cultural events organized by the Church has increased, and new opportunities have opened up for the Church in the sphere of culture (for instance, the media).

The Catholic Church accepts and enriches the cultural diversity of our society, but at the same time – and rightly so – also adheres to its own traditions and values, and holds the assimilation and integration into universal culture and the cultures of particular peoples necessary.

"When a certain people joins the Church, they simultaneously become part of universal human culture" – said Pope John Paul II, in his speech delivered during his 1991 visit to Hungary, then added: "each people has the right to join universal human development" (Pope John Paul II 1991:76-82).

The Catholic Church considers the freedom of culture (especially scientific research and works of art) important. It treats the creators and propagators of culture with appreciation and respect, and expects them to found the new society on human merits, such as honesty, truthfulness, mutual respect, solidarity, and co-operation. It regards a primary task to facilitate more efficiently the following through its culture-mediating activity: (1) the creation of a better world, (2) the formation of morality, value system and behavior in accordance with Catholic worldview, (3) the making of new values and the preservation, presentation, and introduction of old values, (4) the creation of opportunities for spending quality free time, (5) the education of young people in the spirit of Christian belief.

To perform these tasks, the Pope urged greater efforts. Communities, originating from the ancient past, were always a determinant and essential element in the operation of the Catholic Church in every historic era: the community of the disciples of Jesus Christ and the catacomb communities established during the time of the persecution of Christians. "Until 1960, the hierarchic church model had been in power, but […] with the Second Vatican Council a new era, an era of change started. The Council requested the Church to become a community as the Holy Trinity is a community, too. In the years to come we thought that the most successful way to realize it was through establishing Christian communities, which then could constitute bigger units within the community of communities" (O'Halloran 2000).

After the Second Vatican Council, then following the disintegration of socialism and change of regime, it became more and more evident that smaller communities are indispensable for the Church, in Hungary as well, with the help of whom it can execute its mission and activities more efficiently. The then leader of the Christian Democratic Party, claimed the following in relation to the reason for their existence: "The individual can only realize their potentials in communities. If there is no real community, if a person has no social life; neither society nor nation may be constructed" (Giczy 1993:37).

The two most important reasons for establishing smaller communities are the following: (1) the new challenges of the modern age, the latest inventions of science and technology, the fast social changes and their consequences (e.g. disappointment, disillusionment, alienation, etc.); (2) the need for the Church to be reformed. Smaller communities (at certain times under the title of smaller groups, oases, circles, movements) have spread throughout the world and in Hungary, as well. "Among the different smaller communities, religious smaller communities in Hungary belong today to the circle of those that provide a good basis and background for self-interpretation, self-expression, self-training, and self-healing" (Kamarás 1988).

According to James O'Halloran, the major criteria of smaller religious groups is the following: keeping contact, unified value system and practical activities (O'Halloran 2000). Their further characteristic features, in my opinion are: humanity, readiness to make sacrifices, helpfulness, responsibility, love, forgiveness, humility, empathy, generosity, patience, fellowship, peace, internationality. These communities intend to primarily reach children and the youth, and constitute an insignificant minority of their respective age groups. Children and young people long for some kind of spiritual-mental community, they want to experience events in a positive way, and wish to form a community. These needs may well be satisfied by the continuously changing, re-forming religious smaller groups, too.

These communities may be categorized on the basis of different aspects: (1) (a) local: within a particular church community (parish); (b) those existing at a national level, whose member groups come together regularly in a given parish. (For example: Cursillo Community, Szent Mónika közösség [Saint Monica Community], Bárka közösség [Saint Monica Community], Kolping Association, Mária Légió [Legion of Mary], Regnum Marianum, Szeretetláng Mozgalom [Flame of Love Movement], Magyar Katolikus Karizmatikus Megújulás Mozgalom [Hungarian Movement of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal], Taizéi közösség [Taizé community].) (2) Distinguished on the basis of age: youth groups, pensioners' clubs. (3) Set apart on the basis of a common objective: to help the needy, common music worship. (4)

Distinguished on the basis of their activities: liturgical work groups, ones dealing with religious education, family care, charitable, ecumenical, evangelizing, cultural, etc.

Thus, Christian smaller groups are characterized by a diversity, variety, and multiplicity. Even culture appears in various forms in their activities. A good parish today operates as a community, which utilizes the opportunities inherent to the forms of creating and mediating culture. For example, the Kazincbarcika Roman Catholic Parish embraces 10 smaller groups, all of whom has an own and distinct profile, but they also bear some mutual features (e.g., common belief, communal strength, relatedness, a similar way of thinking, and a common value system). Hereinafter the ten communities are listed: Youth Group, Youth Choir, Scout Group, Saint Monica Community, Cursillo, Rosary Association, Caritas Group, Hungarian Maltese Charity Service, Pensioners' Club, Pensioners' Choir. In the activity of this parish, we may also observe several other actual manifestations of culture: the The Youth Conference and Spiritual Exercises of Dédestapolcsány, pilgrimages, trips, religious education, celebratory events, exhibitions, concerts, amateur artistic activities, mental hygienic activities, sister church relations, the media.

Glow-worm Community is actually a big community composed of several smaller ones and is different from, or rather more than, being merely one smaller group or parochial community, a simple movement or base community; even though it contains elements from all of these. The best denomination would probably be a network of communities, since territorially it covers the whole of Hungary: the participants of their programs arrive from different areas of the country, while the community has also appeared in numerous settlements (e.g., with its camps). They have an ever-extending network of opportunities and forms of activities, from playful, relaxed meetings and contests to spiritual exercises.

In the late 1980s two communities – established by married couples – were formed in Dunakeszi: the Heart of Jesus Parish and the Saint Michael Parish. Two parsons helped launch this venture. Their goal was to establish a community with a Catholic mentality for their children and the youth, which helps the formation of their personality and behavior on the basis of religious, Catholic values, and allows them to spend their free time indulging in quality activities. As their motto, they chose Sándor Sík's poem on a glow-worm written in 1916[124].

[124] „From God I come, brothers, to you
To reflect the flame of His rays
That branded my heart and still burns true,
To silently spread the fire from His face

In the spring of 1989, they were thinking of setting up a youth club, which was launched in February, 1990. The sessions were held every other Sunday afternoon, divided into age groups. There was a great interest in the club: even at the first event almost 100 children took part in their programs. There was singing, dance teaching, needlework, Christian video tale telling, games, and lunch. The children paid symbolic amounts once in a month and club member ID cards with photos were made for them, so that they take their membership seriously. In 2003, they were present in 26 settlements, and in particular venues there was even more than one club.

Szabolcs Sajgó, editor of the Jesuit paper entitled Kis Szív (Little Heart), included Szentjánosbogár (Glow-worm) magazine, edited by children, in his paper in 1990, and treated it as a children's column. Children and young people replied in letters to the questions and riddles of the editorial staff. They wished to somehow reward their enthusiastic readers and correspondents, and for this purpose they felt that organizing a camp will be most useful.

Between 1990 and 2003, they organized camps in 62 locations, under the name of Glow-worm Spiritual Days. In 2001, for example, 1200 young people took part in five such camps, divided on the basis of two age groups: those under 16 and those older than 16. The programs of the camps were developed in teams, with preparatory work lasting for a year. According to their conception, escaping from the city is a worse solution than actually going to the settlements and making contacts with the citizens living there. They can activate, encourage, and win 80-120 local people for their mission by each camp. Their most important target group is the religious communities of the parishes. The appearance of the camp is an event in itself, fascinating for the given village or town. The participants are provided with accommodation by the citizens, who also join the colorful programs of the camp (trips, obstacle race, cultural programs, and bonfire). The camp leaders – the camp priest and the local administrator among them – are volunteers, called senior worms and assistant worms. Keeping contact with the participants of the camps is continuous. The camp is entirely permeated by the spirit of playfulness.

The Glow-worm Community is getting more and more popular and has numerous new members year after year. Children and young people have a good time in its programs, and express the need for such. Thus, the camps have a continuous demand for leaders. Every year a leader training session is held in the Dobogókő Manréza. They have 3 or 4 training programs

For brothers who walk in the night He's sent me
God has sent me – a glow-worm to be"
(Translated by Kálmán Matolcsy)

particularly for the new leaders and for those who have been leaders before. The title of their first leader training program is "Education can only be achieved through love," the second is called "Values-Conflicts-Group leading," while the third is entitled "Trickling." The pedagogical principles of the Community, which more than often prove unusual and novel, have been established and popularized by Tereza Worowska, a mother of many from Dunakeszi, who plays a decisive role in founding the community and in the totality of its activities.

Their cultural activity is manifold, which is particularly assisted by artist members. An annual number of two Worm Balls are organized with game shows, folk dancing, and performances by youth with a penchant for the arts. They arrange social evenings for literature and music, with the participation of their youth. The camps present a venue for staging plays and individual scenes, as well as exhibitions for the products of handicraft sessions. In 2001 the Glow-worm Choir was established, which has performed in several places, even abroad. They take good care of learning the local culture and sights. Their major event is the Worm Festival, the program of which is organized for the liking of all ages. It includes competitions for drawings, photos, and creative writing, handicraft programs, literary and music programs, folk dancing, fireworks, bonfire, live concerts, sports competitions, and so on. They pay considerable attention to popularizing castle rounders. In 2003, 15 teams – each consisting of not less than 11 players – enrolled to the rounders championship organized by the Glow-worm community.

In summary, it is evident that Glow-worm is primarily a religious community, but one that involves a large bulk of cultural activities. The leaders and members have recognized, and rightly so, that society at large and cultural institutions in the broadest sense are not able to convey culture as such, thus different communities – such as the Glow-worm Community itself – must take up a more active role in the sphere of culture.

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SÁNDOR HODOSSI

HUNGARIAN FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

Antecedents: the first half of the 20th century

The first Hungarian record of Danish folk high schools dates from 1895.[125] In the forthcoming decades several reviews were published. However, they caused no remarkable reaction. The first writers appreciative of the new model institute had totally different views on its aims, mission and significance. Lajos Szeberényi[126] thought that the main purpose of folk high schools was to raise the cultural level of peasants, while Béla Mustó[127] or Károly Horváth considered the expected economic development as a prime consequence. It is surprising how much these early reviews approving and supporting the establishment of similar folk high schools in Hungary lack in referring to the Christian origin of the Danish folk high schools. Protestant churches however, wanted to build on this Christian foundation when they took an active part in spreading the model in Hungary.

After preparations of decades, the first Hungarian folk high school was set up in the Reformed College of Sárospatak. Before 1948 more than 2000 Hungarian young people from Sárospatak to Csurgó attended courses in reformed folk high schools.[128] Some folk high schools were related to regular colleges (Sárospatak, Pápa, Csurgó), others were maintained by congregations (Hajdúnánás). There were ones run by dioceses (Szatmár), and others run by Church districts (Kecskemét). Folk high schools therefore can be regarded as an outstanding form of adult education in the Reformed Church.

From elimination to resumption (1948-1988)

Although folk high schools of the Reformed Church were banned in 1948, personal relationships among participants of the movement and the opportunity of friendly meetings continued to live on. In 1969 former students of folk high schools met in the garden of Kálmán Újszászy in

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125 Guttenberg, Pál (1895): *Iskolai képek a jövő századból.* Budapest.
126 Szeberényi, Lajos (1906): A skandináv népfőiskolák. *Budapesti Szemle* Issue 350. 189-212.
127 Mustó, Béla (1907): A felső népiskolák Dániában. *Népművelés* Vol 2 Issue 4-5 324-328.
128 See: Kovács, Bálint (1994): *Protestáns népfőiskolai mozgalom Magyarországon (1936-1948)* Magyar Népfőiskolai Társaság-Püski, Budapest. 182-183.

Sárospatak. After that on 20th August every year they had informal meetings in different households. On 27th April 1975 some 300 people gathered to pay a visit at József Boda's bedside.[129] In the first days of July 1976 the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the folk high school at Sárospatak was celebrated. From this time on the alumni of the folk high school held organized meetings with lectures in the first week of July each year.

By the 1980s it became obvious for decision makers that it was not possible any more to ignore the institution that had long been sentenced to death. Materials for exclusive debates were published one after the other in the Institute of Adult Education and in the Institute of Methodology for National Public Education urging the authorization of the restart of folk high schools.[130] One of them argued: "The restart of the progressive traditions of folk high schools could be a most viable and up-dated initiative of public education."[131]

From the restart of 1988

The Hungarian folk high school movement restarted after a 40-year pause in 1988. This year the Hungarian Folk High school Society was established by the Patriotic Popular Front (Hazafias Nepfront). The Society set the objectives of conducting and representing initiatives of folk high schools. Consequently folk high schools run by churches belonged to HFHS too, and did not form their own network. The process of decentralizing started in 1991 with the establishment of the Chamber of Hungarian Folk High schools representing Catholic folk high schools.

As opposed to groups organized by the Patriotic Popular Front representing political and cultural functions, the traditional churches of the country wanted to pursue their own traditions when they restarted KALOT, the movement of Catholic folk high schools, and the Collegium of Hungarian Folk High schools (MCN), uniting folk high schools run by the Reformed Church. After the political shift of 1989 the networks of folk high schools (MNT, MNC, KALOT) came into being. Similarly, other folk high schools without nation-wide networks, like the one called Foundation of Lakitelek Folk High school organized by Sandor Lezsak, were also born.

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[129]Horváth, Erzsébet (2001): *A magyarországi protestáns népfőiskolák megalakulása, működése, újraindulás.* Evangélikus Hittudományi Egyetem. Budapest, 2001. 137. (Manuscript)

[130] Varga, Csaba (1986): *Négy írás a népfőiskolákról.* Országos Közművelődési Központ Módszertani Intézete, Budapest. Maróti, Andor: (1984): *Javaslat népfőiskolák alapítására.* Népművelési Intézet, Budapest.

[131] Tóth, János (ed.) (1986): *Új népfőiskolai gondolat.* Népművelési Intézet, Budapest, 1984. 5. MREZSLt (Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára) 21.b (Manuscript)

The CXL article of the 1997 law gives a definition of a folk high school as follows: "A folk high school is an adult educational institute run locally whose pedagogical program focuses on transmitting professional skills including (civilian and public) self-development skills. The structure of management and education can be formed by the participants, too."[132] This definition is too general for churches therefore they try to set their goals more exactly. "The aim of the Collegium is to unite everybody who feels responsible for the rise of the Hungarian spiritual, emotional, and economic development for those who follow the order of 'love your brethren as you love yourselves." Christian commitment, the presentation of Christian values, the development of religious life are the main aims of the Collegium.[133] The Collegium, on the one hand organized and supports folk high schools within and beyond the borders of the country, on the other hand, it runs its own national folk high school courses.

Building the network of Calvinist folk high schools after 1990

Today Hungarian Calvinist folk high schools are united by the Collegium of Hungarian Folk High schools (MNC). Most of its members are established on the confession of faith, and are strongly related to local congregations. Following the pattern of Sárospatak, the aim of the Collegium is the moulding of the personality, the education of true Christians committed to the service of God and their brethren. Folk high schools therefore are not an end but they represent means for the Christian mission.

The Collegium organizes annual one-week conferences in Balatonszárszó and youth sports camps in Csákvár. Its periodical, Chronicles of Folk High schools, has been published since 1996. The annual topics of education shed light on issues the entire Church focuses on in that year. Thus "family" in 2005 and "community" in 2007 were the central topics around which lectures were built. The proceedings of the conferences are published in Nepfoiskolai Fuzetek available for the large public.

The Collegium has its administrative centre in Budapest, while offices in Vác and Csakvár play a regional role. In 2007, within the Carpathian Basin, the network has 44 members beyond the borderlines of Hungary, from Slovakia to Croatia. Most of them are in Transylvania (Romania), around ten are in Slovakia. Members from the Ukraine are in Szolyva, Eszeny, Nagydobrony, and Munkács. Members from Croatia are in Kopács and Eszék. Beyond the Carpathian Basin there are groups established in Los

132 1997/CXL/1.
133 Kis, Boáz (2004): *Társadalom és népfőiskola* MNC, Budapest.

Angeles and Hollywood (USA), Sidney (Australia), Rome (Italy), and Saint Petersburg (Russia).[134]

Most Calvinist folk high schools are established by the local congregations on a regional basis, but there are thematic ones created by certain needs of life, as for example, the folk high school for the physically handicapped, the visually challenged, and the elderly.

Calvinist folk high schools beyond the borders of Hungary

Supporting the activities of Calvinist folk high schools beyond the borders is a primary preference of MNC. In 2004 it kept contacts with 44 folk high schools beyond the borders. Apart from financial support MNC also helped to establish these folk high schools. The conditions of Hungarian Calvinist communities vary remarkably in the different regions beyond the borders, therefore we will start with a short survey of historical differences.

Slovakia

The newly established Czechoslovakia after the 1920 Trianon peace treaty had three Hungarian Calvinist dioceses with 287 communities and 250.000 members. István Paloczi Czinke (priest in Rimaszombat) inherited the task of organizing the Hungarian Reformed (Calvinist) Church in Czechoslovakia. The Czech administration expected a new Slovakian Calvinist Church to be established entirely independent of the Hungarian Reformed Church. As it was unwilling to approve a united Calvinist Church overarching political borders, the scope of action for these churches over the border was rather narrow.

The dioceses of Tiszaninnen (east of the River Tisza) and Dunaninnen (east of the River Danube) were established in July 1920. The Diocese of Tiszaninnen called the church districts of Bereg and Máramaros-Ugocsa to join, but it did not happen. Instead the church districts of Bereg and Máramaros-Ugocsa together with 12 congregations in Ung established the Diocese of Kárpátalja (part of the Ukraine) in the summer of 1923. (The uncertainty of the political status of Kárpátalja might have resulted in the uncertainty of establishing or joining dioceses.) The 1920 constitution of Czechoslovakia settled the status of Kárpátalja as a self-governing district of Czechoslovakia.

[134] Interview with Kis Boáz 31/05/2007

The Calvinist Church of Czechoslovakia was established in the Synod of Leva, as the government of Czechoslovakia insisted on the break with the Hungarian Reformed Church.

After 1945 Kárpátalja was attached to the Soviet Union, thus the number of Calvinists in Slovakia decreased by 100 000. The Slovakian Reformed Church consisted of seven districts before 1993. Since then, it has had nine districts. They set the target of establishing diaconal, educational, and youth centres. Folk high schools established from Szepsi through Rimaszombat, down to Rév-Komárom are part of this plan, too.

At the turn of the 21st century there are about 100 000 Hungarian and some 10 to 11 000 Slovak Calvinists in the country.[135] This is the population that folk high schools try to cater for. The centres of Hungarian folk high schools in Slovakia are in Szepsi and in the Faculty of Theology in Komarom.

The first folk high school courses in Sárospatak were peopled from the neighbouring region, as for example from Szepsi, too. They had been the leaders of their community for decades, they participated in alumni meetings, and whenever there was a chance to go beyond the political borders, they chose to send their children and grandchildren. They were the ones who established the Collegium of Hungarian Folk High schools (MNC), which sets the objectives of teaching Hungarian literature, history and folk traditions to young people. Many of those young people attend Slovak schools, therefore it is not easy to teach them to read, write and think in their mother tongue, what is more, to teach them to accept their Hungarian identity.

Ukraine

The Collegium of Hungarian Folk High schools in Kárpátalja was established in Szolyva on 14th May 2000. The Collegium of Hungarian Folk High schools and the Reformed Church of Kárpátalja initiated establishing the new organization.[136] In Kárpátalja religious life had a dynamic restart after the atheist dictatorship of the country. The aims of the Collegium are to support the economic and cultural rise of the Hungarian population of the country, just as to preserve Hungarian folk traditions. In order to achieve these aims they rely on adult education beyond the school system of the country. Due to the economic situation of the country (insufficient industry and infrastructure, 70% unemployment) the majority of the Hungarian population is employed in agriculture. Consequently the main topics of the adult courses are related to agriculture.

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[135] Erdélyi, Géza (2002) A szlovákiai egyházak küldetése ma. In: *Keresztyénség és nemzeti egység a Kárpát-medencében.* MNC, Budapest. 52-58. 57.

[136] Zágon, Norbert (ed.) (2001) *Az MNC Magyar Népfőiskolai Collegium Almanachja* 95.

Out of the 707 primary and secondary schools, 105 are bilingual schools, where Hungarian or other minority languages are taught. Some 10 000 children receive Calvinist/ Protestant religious education in Hungarian; more than 2 000 participate in summer camps.[137] Contacting the generations of the parents and grandparents is a much more complex task. After the decades of the atheist dictatorship which proceeded in withering religious and local communities, the most important task is to reorganise local communities and provide jobs to stop emigration. The two factors are inseparable. Hungarian Folk High schools might have an important role in creating autonomous communities and reorganizing their lives. Christian folk high schools by definition and by experience agree that spiritual revival is the prerequisite of the economic revival as well.

Romania [Transylvania and the Partium]

The Trianon peace treaty attached the entire Transylvanian Diocese (510.000 members) and the Partium to Romania. On 14th December 1920 the districts of Arad, Bihar, Krassó, Máramaros, Szatmár, Szörény, and Temes-Torontál, together with the ridings of Érmihalyfalva and Nagykároly from the district of the Szilágysag established the Diocese of the Rész-Tiszántúl. However, when they realized that there was no chance for keeping up permanent contact with the Diocese of the Tiszántúl, they supported the idea of becoming an independent diocese. This was why the Diocese of the Királyhágómellék was established on 23rd February 1922. Thus, the second Calvinist diocese was born in Romania. After the openly anti-Hungarian and anti-church period of Ceausescu, the Romanian revolution produced a new situation. The influence and the scope of action of the Romanian churches improved. They renewed their institutions, too.

The Calvinist Folk High schools of Transylvania and the Partium established in the 1990s were a continuation of the Folk High schools between 1939 and 1944. From Magyarkapus (Kalotaszeg) to Székelyudvarhely a number of communities started folk high school courses organized by the Society of Young Christians (IKE) after 1939. Every issue of the weekly paper called *Református Ifjúság* had something to report on folk high schools in those years.[138]

Since the two dioceses have the highest number of Hungarian Calvinists beyond the borders of Hungary, it is not surprising that they have

[137] Horkay, László (2003) Ifjúságunk jövője Kárpátalján. In: Zágon, Norbert (ed.): *Úton az Európai Unió felé* MNC, Budapest. 110-118, 117.
[138] Kovács, Bálint (1994) *Protestáns népfőiskolai mozgalom Magyarországon 1936-1948* MNT-Püski, Budapest, 40.

the highest number of member-institutes. From Nagyvárad to Marosvasarhely a number of communities formed their folk high school groups. The situation and the tasks the Transylvanian Hungarians have to face in many respects are like those of the Kárpátalja. Problems in the economy, unemployment, emigration, are the gravest ones that make minority existence even harder.

The Folk High school of the Partium has been working on preserving traditions in Hegykozujlak and in the neighbourhood since 1994/95.[139] In 1998 the Collegium of Folk High schools in Transylvania was established. The aims and objectives of this organization are to preserve the folk traditions, to build communities, and to strengthen Christian faith. They organize lectures, conferences, and publish books, too.

Croatia

What later came to be known as Yugoslavia had some 50 000 Hungarian Calvinist citizens at the time of its creation. This population was concentrated in Baranya, Slavonia and Voivodina. In Croatia in a census in 2001 some 16 800 citizens claimed to be Hungarian. One half claimed to be Protestant, the other half claimed to be Catholic.[140] Calvinist folk high schools were started by János Kettős in Kopács, Szentlászló and Eszék.

The Service and Importance of the Collegium of Hungarian Folk High schools – Mirrored in the Values of Hungarian Youth in the Carpathian Basin

There were surveys concerning the value set, religiousity, and identity of youth in the Carpathian Basin between 1998 and 2001.[141] There are some consequences of those surveys for the people who work in Hungarian folk high schools, too. The survey wanted to know the difference between the value set of the youth (between 18 and 30) and that of the older generations. According to the results of the survey, while the traditional values of the community (as for example, thorough and meticulous work, thriftiness, religious belief) were of much less importance among the young people of Hungary, they were much more important among the Hungarian young people of Ukraine and those of Transylvania (Romania). The closest to the value set of the young of the Hungarian Republic was that of the Hungarian

[139] Zágon, Norbert (ed.) (2001): *Az MNC Magyar Népfőiskolai Collegium Almanachja*. 124-125.
[140] Kettős, János (2003). In: Zágon, Norbert (ed.): *Úton az Európai Unió felé* MNC, Budapest. 126-132, 127.
[141] Gereben, Ferenc & Görgőy, Rita & Kolozsvári, Judit (2002): A Kárpát-medencében élő magyar fiatalok értékvilága, vallásossága és identitástudata. *Protestáns Szemle* 160-169

youth of Slovakia. In general the young people of Hungarian minority communities are more religious, and are keener on acquiring knowledge than their peers in the mother country. "Hungarian communities beyond the borders of Hungary are definitely more religious than the ones within the borders." That is exactly why it is not surprising how many of those folk high school groups trying to preserve Hungarian national culture, language, and religious belief are formed beyond the borders of present-day Hungary in large numbers. The challenge for the Collegium, too, is that the highest number in the surveyed age-groups was that of the religious waverers in all regions. The three pillars of national identity for the Hungarian youth of the millenium are based on common language and culture (1), a positive attitude towards Hungarian identity (2), and expressing commitment for action (3).

A promising element of the results of the survey is that a cultural and ethnic affinity has strengthened compared to previous surveys. A majority of young adults in both Transylvania (Romania) and Kárpátalja (the Ukraine) believe that belonging to a minority group is a challenge to the individual that one should respond to persistently. Ethnic and religious belonging represent values that should be bequeathed upon the next generation. The Collegium of Hungarian Folk High schools (MNC) can/should have an important role in this work in the Protestant communities of both in the country of Hungary and in minority Hungarian communities as well.

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SAROLTA PORDÁNY

DIDACTICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS – REFORMED CHURCH ADULT EDUCATION

(For Gyula Cseri)[142]

Introduction

Adapting itself to the professional trends of adult education, the *Hungarian Reformed Church* seeks new ways for educating adults. This intention can be found in its *Strategic Document* published in 2005 (Hungarian Reformed Church 2005), in which the Hungarian Reformed Church briefly outlined its plan to transform its education activity. It is also mentioned in the Document, that this transformation should be done on the basis of the *lifelong learning* (LLL) conception according to the European Union's documents on common educational policy. The first major step of this process is the expansion of the institutional structure of Church education, and within this the establishment of the new adult education institute in Debrecen. Consequently, it seems that since the political transformation of 1989, the most significant changes are taking place at present regarding the reinforcement of the adult education activity of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

In the study, the answer to the question of what didactical and methodological recommendations of *Reformed adult education can contribute* to strengthen adult learning, and through this to realise the modern paradigm of lifelong learning is being sought.

The topic may be timely for everyone, as the methodology of the almost five hundred-year-old Reformed education is an important part of the general methodology of adult education, which traditionally includes adaptable pedagogical elements and which provided the basis of modern educational policy and reform-pedagogies in the beginning of the 20th century.

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[142] Gyula Cseri, pastor of the Reformed Church left Hungary in 1968. Using the socialist terminology of the time, he "defected" – fled the country. West-Germany harboured him as a refugee.

Questions of terminology

First of all, it is necessary to explain the relation of *adult education* and *Reformed adult education* within the logical system of relations of *part and whole*. In my study, I use *Reformed adult education* as an individual term and I regard it as part of an ideologically and methodologically 'multi-coloured' scientific field which includes several trends and theoretical approaches.

According to my definition, *Reformed adult education* is the institutional exchange of knowledge built on the Calvinist theology standing on the basis of biblical thinking as well as the individual learning of religious adults or those interested in the Reformed religion, furthermore, counselling which assists both learning forms.

Regarding age – in line with international data-collection and statistical data-supply – my definition includes education and self-learning of adults between 25 and 64 years of age and those of the elderly.

Further on, I attempt to underline and present the three possible starting points and fundamental elements of the pedagogical methodology of *Reformed adult education* through concrete examples. These three elements are as follows: *text interpretation*, *authority-based motivation* and the usage of *symbols and tropology based on "adjustment."* These professional fields are the critical points of present adult education, at which the intensification of ecclesiastical and secular cooperation is most required.

I apply *F. W. Kron*'s micro-social methodology, according to which "[…] based on an examination starting and approaching from the micro-social level […] the practice of education could be brought into situational closeness, and this way everyday experiences and phenomena become analysable from scientific standpoint as well (Kron 1997:40).

In this study, I do not wish to take sides on the specifically Hungarian terminological debate regarding *adult education, training of adults or teaching of adults*. Further on, I am going to use the term *'adult education'* which is the closest to international practice, and I examine primarily the questions of non-formal adult education and adult learning.

Text interpretation

The roots of learning problems – as it is also indicated in international researches – go back to difficulties in comprehension of read texts. A number of representative researches were conducted in the last decade concerning the deficiency of comprehension among the youth as well as the transfer-effect of comprehension abilities. From the conducted researches, I quote the results

of a Hungarian research which analysed reading comprehension among technical school students: "The Monitor-survey has concluded that 80% of the students in the 10th year achieved under 60% in the overall reading comprehension test, 19.7% of them obtained 60-80%, while only 0.16% achieved over 80%. According to internationally and nationally accepted reading levels, the majority of the students could be described as *'weak readers.'* Comparing them to students attending secondary vocational schools, the difference between the comprehension of various texts (documents, explanatory and narrative texts) is also significant. On the contrary, among weak readers attending technical schools, the form of literature does not significantly influence the difficulties in comprehension, thus we do *not* talk about *text-specific* difficulties, but general reading comprehension problems. At the same time, looking at the whole age group, we get a similar picture of reading 'operation': generally for 10th year students, *understanding the context* and *drawing conclusions from the text* proved more difficult than finding and identifying facts and data" (Horváth 1993). Although no research has been conducted on the comprehension abilities of adults, we can assume that the deficiencies of the youth regarding comprehension can similarly be found among adults.

Reformed adult education has noteworthy traditions in the field of methodology of text interpretation. The essence of the Calvinist theory of *"Word of God"* is that it materializes in the text of the Bible. God manifests Himself verbally, in the form of words (Kálvin 1995). The *"priority of the Holy Scripture"* is a theory connected mainly to Reformed theology, according to which the practice and faith of the Church shall be based on the Bible. This fundamental principle is summarized in the expression "*sola scriptura" (by scripture alone).* A generally recognised substantial element of the Reformation was that "The written word; […] the Bible is the only *authority* that can decide in questions of faith and in the organisation of the Church" (Eliade 2006).

We generally associate *exegesis* – the science of text interpretation – with the Bible. The meaning of "scriptural exegesis" is "*the procedure of the interpretation of the Bible."* Its task is to understand the scriptural text, clarify its meaning and reveal its inherencies. The techniques and experiences of religious text interpretation can constitute a part of the non-religious pedagogic work and teacher training.

To the elemental basis of adult education, that is, to reading and text interpretation, the Reformed community has a remarkably wide methodology tested over centuries. Daily individual reading, reading aloud in the family, text interpretation supported by associations as well as the connection of singing and understanding are parts of the congregational work. As a result of the usage of the Reformed *'Bible-reading guide'* (*Bibliaolvasó kalauz)* through

generations, we have a social experience incomparable to anything, since without religious bases, it is impossible to "order" or "command" adults of the whole society to read. Intensifying adult reading, even just by practicing reading, for example with the 'Bible-reading guide' in which the texts set for daily reading are comprehensible and transferable, is a general methodological experience.

The role of authority in the learning motivation of adults

In Reformed adult education – based on the traditions of the Church – teachers assisting the learning of adults as well as trainers and professionals in teacher role can expressly be called 'authoritative' persons.

A good example of the emotional need and the need of a role connected to authority is the reminiscence on Gáspár Károli, preacher of Gönc and first translator and publisher of the full Bible in Hungarian language (1590). This reminiscence presents the opinion of his congregation at that time. I quote from an informational and educational publication compiled by a pastor of a congregation in Budapest for the people of our age: *„They are watching him, and as they are listening to him they are overwhelmed not with the grief for the departed but because they have such a priest who discovers the power of God and the infinite wisdom of God in everything, which surpasses that of Man"* (Takaró é.n.:51).

The recollection of the *"old"* authoritative person as a *"new"* example indicates that the authority-based priest role and teacher role are interdependent. The religious roots and the "divine authority" of these "secular" roles are confirmed - among others - by songs of the Reformed Church: *„He confers science and languages to His missionaries. He makes a teacher from the untaught…" Song 375* (Ádám Pálóczi Horváth); *„You are the Wise teacher of our souls" Song 369* (András Batizi) Debrecen, 1774.

At the same time, the question of authority is rather complex in two aspects based on the Calvinist thinking. On of the key elements of the Reformation was to raise awareness regarding the importance of *"the creative individual."* The other element was the fact that it was accompanied by the following role conception: *"The individual freedom to reject any other power outside of God…" Kálvin* himself is known as a not much liked example of "authority inspiring fear." One of his researchers describes him as follows: *"Kálvin was not popular. He was the type who had either followers or enemies; no one was able to stay indifferent to him. Only a few of his trusted friends knew him well and liked him truly… As he was certain of his faith to the teachings of the Bible, if someone contradicted him, he regarded the fact as the disdain of the Word of God, which does not deserve forbearance*" (Chadwick 2003:82-83).

The issue of teacher's authority always raises the question of position of power. It is known that the authority regarded as the structural characteristic of close social relationships also indicates the unequal connection of people in relationships. *„Authority is a structured relation of leader and follower in which one of the participants is the leader, or plays the role of the exemplary person and by playing this role he guarantees and represents a norm-system generally accepted by both participants"* (Kron 1997:332 quotes Strzelewicz 1972).

In pedagogic literature, we differentiate between four forms of authority: a) authority provided by position; b) personal authority (charisma); c) professional authority and d) authority based on commission (Kron 1997:333).

Reformed adult education can help the modern theory of adult education - which is nowadays facing the most challenges – by its sincere and impartial research on teacher's authority, the authority of the mediator of knowledge and that of the *"text-interpreter."* There is an urgent need to reconsider, analyse and methodologically renew this issue, especially in the education of young people and adults with low qualifications and that of the elderly.

"Adjustment" – the method of tropology

According to *"adjustment,"* the rather complicated theory of *Kálvin*, God appears in words and images adjusted to the abilities of people so that we will be able to comprehend and imagine Him. "God conforms to the abilities of the mind and heart of people […] He shows Himself in a way that we are able to understand Him" (McGrath 2001:143). "God does not appear in His own form, but He adjusts himself to the comprehension ability of people" (McGrath 2001:273).

The present debates on competence and curricula raise fundamental questions which are also present in the practice of Reformed education. Applying the terminology being used nowadays, the *learner-centred approach* and the *preliminary determination of competence-levels* can be successfully realised by using the technique of *adjustment*.

I would like to demonstrate the application of the *'adjustment'* method in the ecclesiastic practice with an example from the sermon of Pastor *Gyula Cseri: "As the truth is often expressed through images in the Holy Scripture, the prophet uses a beautiful image; the image of a well ("Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation" – Book of Isaiah 12) […]."*

What is the well? The origin of something. In a figurative sense, we do not only apply it to talk about water. It is the place from where something originates. Water is one of the essential conditions of our life. If its well dries up, our life is in danger. The well has a

captivating mysteriousness. Its ultimate origin remains in obscurity and it has significance beyond the possibility of human creation. It spouts out from the inside, from the depth of the earth, it forces its way with immense power - to quote the beautiful words of Endre Ady - from the streamlet to the ocean. It breaks out from such deep strata into which we have no insight. It gives exceptionally fresh and pure water to people.

Not far from here, in the Taunus Mountains, at the border of Königstein, there is a well which some of you, brethrens might know. It always amazes me that a long queue of cars and people with ewers wait there from early morning until late evening to draw fresh water. […]

What is fresh water? In the Holy Scripture as well as in the Jewish religious practice, it means running water, whether it is subterranean water, spring or river. For ritual immersion, only fresh running water was permitted in the past and nowadays also. Fresh running water was healthier than still water as it cleaned itself by its movement and there were no pathogens in it. The well brings forth that kind of fresh water from the depth of the earth (Cseri 2006).

János Horváth says about Ady that *"Nearly the whole of his poetry is a particular kind of tropology which does not only appear in certain lines here and there, but most of the time his poems are none other than pictures."* Well, with the method of *"adjustment,"* we can successfully apply this tropology in the field of adult education.

According to *Piaget,* cognition is an active process during which both cultural and social reality are transformed, that is, the objects or symbols of the world can be seen by their relations to the perceiver. Reformed adult education can supplement this cognitive activity with its special world view, and it can also attach its well-tested method to this cognition process.

Linguistic symbols and *tropology* can be effectively applied in the *emotional motivation* of adults, in forming the often mentioned *emotional intelligence* as well as in the pedagogic practice aiming at maintaining knowledge.

Summary

It can be stated that it is time to reconsider the results of Reformed adult education and its special role deriving from the teaching of the Reformed Church.

I have recommended my study to *Gyula Cseri* who examines the common role of German Protestant Churches based on the ecumenical school of thought. Furthermore, according to his scientific work in the comparison of world religions, he sees and displays even broader linkage between religions. I believe that in the post-socialist countries, the functions of Churches have to be defined from their elements again, including the

functions aiming at helping religious adult learners. In my view, it is only long and difficult work that makes it possible to determine the linking points to adult educational activities of the other religions and to provide useful methodological ideas to adult education as a whole.

With my uncertainty concerning the usage of terminology, I would like to indicate that the adult education activity of Reformed Churches in post-socialist countries require the establishment of further scientific bases as there was no possibility to do so in the 40 years of a society neglecting the Church and operating on the Marxist principle.

The right solution would be, if - on mutual principles - we gave and took from the 'basket of methodology' for the benefit of each other in the process of the realisation of the *lifelong learning* (LLL) strategy. The much talked-of *social cohesion* in the common objectives of the European Union can only be realised on this basis, and adult education can assist the cooperation of various groups, religions and intellectual trends only this way.

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PÉTER MAURER

THE ROLE OF FEECA-OST IN THE ADULT EDUCATION OF POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

FEECA (European Federation for Catholic Adult Education) was founded in the Swiss Luzern in 1962, by the top organizations of Catholic adult education of Switzerland, Germany, Austria and Luxembourg. It includes the adult education organizations of eleven European countries (Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Croatia, Poland and Great Britain are guest members)[143].

In accordance with its memorandum of association, FEECA is committed to the principle that the primary duty of every responsible and conscientious person is to strengthen the European mentality and international cooperation among the nations on the basis of free and democratic order of life.[144]

The basis and the aim of the value oriented adult education guided by the Catholic Church is the human, who was created by God, according to the Christian faith. Everybody has to be given the possibility to spend their life in freedom and in line with his/her own will. It includes the responsible participation in the life of society. The job of Catholic adult education is to help people, so that they can develop their own identities as individuals who have an influence on society. For this aim, it defines its mission as follows:

(1) ".... it connects the national associations of the institutes of Catholic adult education into a European network, and represents them on the international training market.

(2) ..... by the training processes based on mutual communication it supports the right of individuals and communities for existence and dignity in the European societies, which are very diverse culturally, and also from the religious point of view. It also advocates the Christian image of humanity as well.

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[143] The author got in touch with the organization through the Martineum Academy for Adults' Training, and he participated in the work called "Eastern platform" for five years. This period made it possible for me to get to know the situation and possibilities of the Catholic adult education of both Hungary and the neighbouring post-communist countries.

[144] FEECA memorandum of association

(3) ... the Catholic Church related to its varied and wide-ranging European and non-European cultural and training traditions, supports the national development of church-maintained education and it offers an international forum for mutual learning.

(4) ... it represents the issue of Catholic adult education on a European level both towards politics, and society in the matter of education politics, and towards the Christian churches in the matter of church politics, thus contributing to building and broadening the European training policies and church politics.

(5) ... through developing uniform quality standards, through exchanging experience and theoretical and practical cooperation, and through working out international partnership programs of learning it stimulates the professionalisation of Catholic adult education in Europe on both content and methodological level."[145]

The age of fast social and technical changes demands life long learning. If we define people as individuals, the training means more than just a drill, more than getting prepared for a profession.

Catholic adult education addresses the whole personality, and even beyond it. By this approach, the training means that humans become individuals. In accordance with the stated aims, the participants of the training programs are invited to join an open conversation, so in this way they can also shape the process of training themselves. With the help of the conversational and learning culture resting on partnership they reveal the principles which their work is based on. The principles formed by the Federation in Szombathely on 4 May 2004 define the represented ideal:

"FEECA follows the biblical image of man and represents the fundamental values.

(1) A deep respect towards every living creature. We always have to be careful that a person should bear a greater importance than his/her social role. Every form of life, even a damaged one, deserves respect.

(2) Openness and tolerance. The basis of communication is provided by treating each other respectfully. Knowledge, intuition, faith, as well as congregations, religions and cultures become perspicuous for each other this way. Thus, various and differing experiences and possible solutions come to surface, which make the social competencies of individuals and groups more dynamic.

[145] www.feeca.org

(3) Quality / Reliability. The concrete activities of FEECA are based on the latest scientific discoveries, living practice and historical experience. It handles the mystical-political potential of the traditions of the church (convictions and values) carefully and in a modern way, and it supports the spirituality of decision.

(4) Solidarity. The national institutes of the European network aid each other through the exchange of information, giving opinions and deeds (measures), and together with globalization, they responsibly get committed to the learning processes based on partnership.

(5) Success in the future. We encourage everybody to deal with personal walks of life, society, religion, church, sciences, culture and economy so that new forces can emerge in the future, both on the national and the European level.

(6) Lifelong learning for everyone. FEECA promotes the idea and spreading of lifelong learning. A special attention is given to the group of the socially disadvantaged and the weak. Relating to the full scale training it represents the idea of adult education targeting the elderly as well."[146]

In the plurally structured European society, there are numerous associations, movements, churches, parties and trade unions with different value orientation. Even if all of these organizations acknowledge human rights and free democracy, we can see crucial differences as for the foundation of these values. In Europe the socially relevant groups in connection with the values of the society and the rules of democracy have to seek after a central consensus

Christian churches in all European countries take part in the life of society and the state on all levels. It derives from the self-definition of the Catholic Church that for the sake of the common weal it works for shaping society, meanwhile it acknowledges the autonomy of all cultures and life aspects.

During its activities, FEECA helps the wok of its member organizations in different countries.

It regularly organizes study days and conventions about the current issues of training politics, pedagogy and theology. It maintains a contact with the national and international organizations of the church, society and the state; it searches for the opportunities to latch on to training politics and the debate about the social activities of the church.

[146] www.feeca.org

The general assembly of FEECA meets biennially. The meeting of the members chooses the board, which deals with current issues, and the chairperson, who together with the three vice-presidents manages and represents FEECA both in internal and external issues. The board meets two times a year on a session and a study day.

Besides the vertical structure of its organization FEECA is characterized by the horizontal cooperation of national member organizations and institutions.

Since 1998, the management of FEECA has been done by the FEECA Europe office from Brussels.

In 1986, on the eve of the transition, a possibility was raised by Actio Catholica that the prospects of adult education in the socialist countries should be assessed, and if necessary, a professional and financial aid should be given to get the Catholic adult education going. As the first, important step of this, the subsequent meeting of FEECA was held in Leányfalu in 1988. From this time, József Horváth, the director of the Martineum Academy for Adults' Training has been present on the board meetings, general assemblies and conferences as an observer and the representative of Hungary.

FEECA took an important step towards the eastern block in 1994, when it called the first FEECA-Ost conference in Vienna. Thus, FEECA extended its attention to the Central-European countries too, where after the collapse of socialism, new prospects opened for Catholic adult education. With this conference, the platform of FEECA-Ost, as a forum of meeting, an exchanging experience was established, where all the figures of the Catholic adult education of the Central-European region can meet regardless of the fact whether they are a member of FEECA or not. It assigned the task of reaching the institutes of adult education in the post-socialist countries, making presentations about their circumstances and searching for the possibilities of providing help. This Committee fulfilled this task until 2002, and then the organisation was "merged."

From 1997 the secretariat of FEECA-Ost did the executive work with the financial help of the Central- and Eastern-European project of the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference in Szombathely at the Martineum Academy for Adults' Training, operating mainly as a coordination and information office. The basic principle of its operation was to provide a mutual exchange of thoughts and ideas between Catholic adult educators, to develop the Catholic institutes of different reform countries and the relations between the western and eastern institutes; to ease the information flow, to represent the interests, to document the situation of Catholic adult education in the countries concerned and to coordinate and develop the activities.

In a conversation, József Horváth, who was the vice-president of FEECA as well, mentioned that the most important tasks are to change people's mental attitude, which became lazy in the dictatorship, and to spread the teachings of the Catholic Church. According to him, it could be interesting and important from the unbelievers' point of view to get to know a definite and firm view on the moral and ethic problems in our instable world. So the Catholic adult education has got a great responsibility outside the doors of the church too, because it addresses not only believers but also unbelievers, sceptics and doubters.

The situation of Catholic adult education on the basis of the experiences of the secretariat of FEECA-Ost.[147]

In the Central-Eastern European countries, on the basis of our personal contacts and experience, we realized that a uniform adult education does not exist in the Catholic Church in these countries. We had some information about individual initiatives, training institutions, activities, people with enthusiasm, but we wanted to get a clear picture about the particular countries as a whole. On the last FEECA-Ost conference in Budapest (1998) we received a comprehensive and objective report from the representatives of the given countries.

These reports provide answers to some basic questions:

What is meant by Catholic adult education in these countries?

In most places they hardly knew the concept, and even if they did, it was interpreted in quite a narrow sense. The concept was limited to adult catechesis, spreading the truths of religion. Most of the already existing institutions only promoted pastoral purposes like deacon training.

In Hungary, this concept was not uniform either in ecclesiastic or secular sense. In the religious sense, only the catechesis of adults and theology training were meant by it. The lay organization of the Conference of Slovak Bishops defined the concept as follows: (a) It helps the believers to their identities and individuality; it helps to get to the reflection of their own faith. (b) It helps to deepen traditional values and natural affections of people. (c) It teaches to analyze reality, to select from the pieces of information, it prepares to see through the difficult life situations and this way it helps the Christian orientation and connection with the world. (d) It helps people to spend their free time effectively.

What are the conditions and also the perspectives of Catholic adult education like in the post-communist countries?

[147] Informationsbericht FFECA-Ost 1998-2000. Szombathely 2000.

"In the Czech Republic Catholic adult education is in the phase of "searching:" it is looking for the forms that will help the Church and the whole society" (Ausländerbericht 1998).[148]

In Hungary, the construction of structure of the adult education has started, but unfortunately it is not based on a nationwide concept, there are only local initiatives. In the country at that time, there were five institutes of Catholic adult education,[149] the profile of which was more or less the training of adults. It was an important principle that such people should work in this institute who had the suitable qualification. Though the question remains unsolved: Who and from what sources can finance adult educators and the organizations of adult education (Ausländerbericht 1998)?[150]

In Slovakia, the position of Catholic adult education was not so strong, there were relatively few initiatives, and institutes did not exist. The problematic social and economic situation affected people's approach to retraining. Although adult education did not have a priority within the Church, the increasing importance of the work done in the church by the laymen could be observed. The lack of professionals who wanted or would have been able to join adult education, caused great difficulty (Ausländerbericht 1998).

Legal framework, financial support

In Slovenia, the Act of Post Education was enacted in 1997. This Act did not exclude the church-maintained training institutes, so every institute like this could be subsidised by the state. In fact, there was no cash flow from the state into the training projects. The number of the foundations that could apply for the financial support of training projects was limited. The church did not support Catholic adult education to the due extent.

In Romania, the institutes and programs were supported with the help of foreign sponsors and applications.

In Hungary, the Act of Adult Education was on a preparatory level phase. In that situation neither the church nor the state could guarantee the financial conditions for adult education.

Summing it up, we can say that the Catholic adult education in these countries was in the phase of formation, construction in the studied period, many individual initiatives existed, but there were no standardized concepts or

[148] Informationsbericht FFECA-Ost 1998-2000. Szombathely 2000. 30
[149] At present there are more than 10 institutes and organizations that specifically deal with adult training.
[150] Informationsbericht FFECA-Ost 1998-2000. Szombathely 2000. 26.

the evident support of the church, and in some countries the institutes and personal conditions.

The original objectives of the FEECA-Ost platform were the following: building contacts between the different reform countries, exchanging experience and thoughts, which can be a foundation for the mutual initiatives and activities in the future.

After getting a closer insight into the situation of the given countries, it became clear for us that the original aims could only be realized, partly with some changes, since in the countries concerning the Catholic adult organizations, except a few ones, did not have any umbrella organizations, so it was very difficult to find those competent people who could give a clear picture about the whole country. In most cases the contact could only be made with individuals or particular institutions in person. Several letters, information booklets were sent, all in vain. A telephone call or a personal visit helped a lot, but for this, a lot of energy and time is needed. These experiences crystallized the decision that the Platform and the secretariat in the following years should not concentrate on all the reform countries but first of all, on a few countries. These countries are the following: Slovenia, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary. Namely, in these countries Catholic adult education has started in a way where many initiatives seemed positive. There were some training houses in Hungary and Slovenia and in Czech Republic, there was also an umbrella organization called Catholic Youth and Adult Education Association.[151]

At the same time, it seemed an important task to win over the bishops and the conference of bishops for the issue of adult education. The activity of the secretariat, which had been working on this field for two years, must have made a great contribution to all of this. In 1998 we met the bishops in these countries and talked about the situation of the Catholic Church and in their diocese about adult education. These talks gave a very diverse picture about the attitude of the church towards the adult education. Most bishops agreed with the importance of adult education, and they found it successful in the help of pastoral work, but altogether they put more emphasis on Catholic schools and the seminars of the priests.[152]

Besides the bishops concerned, we visited the training institutions and the places of retreat as well and made a contact with them. This work only

[151] Still at present, this organization represents all institutes and organizations of Catholic adult education at FEECA. Edit Balogh, the executive manager of KIFE represents Hungary as the vice president of FEECA.

[152] These talks were made public by the Platform of FEECA in 1990, in the "information report."

started then but a lot of time was needed for us to give practical and effective help.

The obstacles of expanding the work of Catholic adult education

Historical concerns

To understand the political and social status of these countries we have to look back at the changes twenty years ago, the roots of the current situation.

These Central-Eastern European countries were keen participants of these significant changes and at the same time they suffered from it too. The transfer from the party dictatorship into democracy was not easy. There were several roots and crops sleeping in the ground which grew out after the change of regime, but there were also many initiatives already present in illegality or in the soft dictatorship which now got a legal framework. This phenomenon could be seen in the life of politics, economy and different churches.

In the past two decades much aid arrived with good intent from the west, which started a healthy process of changes. In the Catholic Church, a dynamic progress could be felt too: schools, universities were opened and institutes, associations established. Many hoped that after the official atheism most people would accept the church. The pope visited a lot of countries, but all in vain, the mass and spectacular conversion did not come.

It had to be realized that the church had to deal with the adult generation too, not only with the growing one: people should be taught the new approach, the system of new values, new truths, so that they could live a more complete life. They have to respect the dignity of human personality; the springs of action should be solidarity and subsidiarity. All of this can only be realized with the right professional and financial background if the bishops of the given countries recognize this challenge, undertake it and want to handle it.

Changing people's way of thinking, spreading the social teachings of the Catholic Church, expressing the opinion of the church in connection with main issues of everyday life belong to the most important tasks. The Synod of Vatican II and the declarations of John Pope II could be built in the Christian mentality of public life. On this field, however, it is still very difficult to reach result.

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PÉTER MAURER

THE ROLE OF THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL IN THE ADULT EDUCATION OF HUNGARY

In the postmodern era, in a multicultural environment, it is unavoidable for the characteristics of such (postmodernism and multiculturalism, that is) not to influence and appear in the Catholic Church. The Church, as a community of people, is made up of individuals; it is constructed from natural communities. Every community needs leaders and co-workers possessing appropriate expertise and experience. Following the change of regime, there was a particularly great demand for this, as the number of Christian believers practicing their religion had multiplied. After 40 years, people felt it necessary to practice their beliefs in a community and come out from seclusion. The natural consequence of this is that even the work of the pastors increased. Nevertheless, unfortunately, in the ex socialist countries – with the exception of Poland – the number of jobs for priests decreased very severely due to dictatorship; thus, according to the notions of the Second Vatican Council, it became inescapable to actively include secular persons in the everyday life and undertakings of the Church.

Performing responsibilities assumed from the government meant a new service or challenge for the traditional churches in several different areas. "Being a pastor does not end in teaching religion and the liturgy. Leading and organizing the community as well as its material or charity service are all parts of priesthood. A full-time pastor has to be prepared for such services, as well."[153] At the same time, however, in the areas of education, social services, and health care, such secular experts were needed who not only performed their profession or work conscientiously, but also represented values in their everyday life which provided something else – a spiritual, mental surplus – for the people in their care during their services. The training and preparation of teachers of religion, pastor assistants, mental hygienic experts, trainers, teachers, social workers, and health care employees began within the walls of institutes which have started to reorganize and re-open themselves after the forty-year oppression.

The trainings offered by organizations and institutions specialized to educate secular and church experts reflects the mentality of the Second

[153] Seregély, István (2002): Krisztus az Út, az Igazság és az Élet – Tizenöt év apostoli szolgálatban I. Bp. Szent István Társulat. 47.

Vatican Council, as this council provided a theoretical foundation for a Catholic adult education.

The Second Vatican Council was summoned by Pope John XXIII on 25 January 1959, three months after his election. On 11 October 1962, the pope opened the first session in Rome in Saint Peter's Cathedral. The second session of the Council – due to the death of Pope John XXIII – was taken up by Pope Paul VI, who continued the work of his predecessor with a body of almost two and a half thousand bishops coming from all over the world. The Council closed on 8 December 1965.

The Hungarian word 'zsinat' for council derives from the Greek *synodos*, which means "people coming together." The institution of the council in the Catholic Church presents the universal and legal meetings of bishops and other church officers with the purpose of consulting church issues, making decisions, and legislation.[154] According to Péter Nemeshegyi, the council is the most solemn manifestation of the Church in its service of education.

The council itself is a process, which lasts from preparation to realization, but even the outcome can be considered a process, since it determines a direction, a way for the Church for decades or centuries in advance. The necessity of holding councils is also the result of a process, as the continuously changing world creates the demand for such meetings and their unavoidable nature. This notion was also expressed by Pope John XXIII in his opening speech: "The present developmental stage of humankind and the tasks of forming the new order – these all played a part in the decision summoning the council."[155]

And what are the aims and results of these complex and intertwining processes? The constant renewal of the faith and the organization itself.

The council had three main aims: to renew the inner life of the Church, to settle the relation with the seceded Christian churches, and to enter into dialogs with the contemporary world and understand the connection to it. The interesting feature of the reformatory intent is that this council was the first not to announce new dogmas.

I attempt to grasp the mentality of the Second Vatican Council on the basis of Hungarian literature. This, however, is not restricted to works by Hungarian authors.

Despite the limited publication of Catholic books in the Hungary of the 1960s and 1970s, some council documents appeared after the Council

[154] Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (1961:526). Freiburg: Verl. Herder, cop 6. Band.
[155] Szennay, András (1995): Egy reformzsinat és utóélete. Vigília,. 12. 891.

(Világiak apostolkodásáról [On the Apostolate of the Laity], 1966.; Az Egyház a mai világban [The Church in Today's World], 1967; A keresztény nevelésről [On Christian Education], 1969.), and a comprehensive work on the mentality of the Council (Dr. Gál Ferenc: Zsinat és korforduló, (Council and the Turn of an Era) 1968.). The first publication of the entire collection of council documents occurred in 1975, on the 10th anniversary (edited by Dr. József Cserháti and Dr. Árpád Fábián, diocesans of Pécs and Szombathely, respectively).

More Hungarian publications and journals dealing with council issues appeared abroad. Thus, the Viennese Opus Mystici Corporis published some publications, considered standard works in Hungarian after the Council (Zsinat után [After the Council] /VI. Pál papa, König, Seper stb. bíborosok, Ratzinger prof. stb., 1968; A. Müller: Kereszténység, Egyház – új szemmel [Christianity and the Church from a New Perspective], 1970; T. Filthaut: Igehirdetés Zsinat után. Hogyan közvetítsük a Zsinat tanítását [Preaching after the Council: How to Convey the Teachings of the Council], 1970; Hűség és haladás [Faith and Progress] / Congar stb, 1977), but the Council Committee in Rome also published books in Hungarian (e.g. E. Schillebeeckx: A zsinat mérlege [Balance of the Council], 1968.).

The journals regularly issued abroad – *Mérleg* (Balance) in Vienna and *Egyházfórum* (Church Forum) in Luzern – regularly published the writings of foreign authors on the council documents in accurate translations. The authors of *Vigília* (Vigil) and *Távlatok* (Perspectives), both published in Hungary and launched after the political transformation are not limited to Hungary, either.

The technical literature of Catholic adult education is extremely rich and embraces rather special topics. The following out of these proved to be useful: the EB series of the KBE (Katholische Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft für Erwachsenenbildung, Bonn) from the 1990s and several other German technical journals; the FEECA, (Fédération Européenne pour l'Education Catolique des Adultes) the paper of the European Association of Catholic Adult Education: the FEECA Bulletin; and Peter Müller's book dealing with the methodology of Catholic adult education: Methoden in der kirchlichen Erwachsenenbildung München: Kösel-Verl., 1982.

As a result of the Council's mentality, objectives, and all the issues it proposed, the Church's adult education faces versatile and complex tasks, but the mentality and the human ideal it sets formulates challenges even for the methods of adult care and the appropriate attitudes.

The Council marks the believers' "active participation" in the Church as an important goal. This, however, cannot be achieved in a controlled way, so as not to contradict the basic objective.[156]

The Council discusses the education and training of adults in numerous documents. It finds the areas in every sphere of life where the success of Christian values bears any significance.

The decree Inter Mirifica on the media of social communications expresses that ". . . priests, religious, and laymen who are equipped with the proper skills for adapting these media to the objectives of the apostolate should be educated promptly. Importantly, the laity ought to be afforded technical, doctrinal and moral training. For this purpose, the number of school faculties and institutes should be increased, where newsmen, writers for screen, radio and television and all other interested parties can obtain a sound training that is imbued with the Christian spirit, especially with respect to the social teaching of the Church. Finally, care must be taken to prepare literary, film, radio, television and other critics, who will be equipped with the best skills in their own crafts and trained and encouraged to render judgments which always put moral issues in their proper light."[157]

The constitution on the sacred liturgy Sacrosanctum Concilium investigates independently the thorough training of the clergy and the necessity of education and further education: "17. In seminaries and houses of religious, clerics shall be given a liturgical formation in their spiritual life. For this they will need proper direction, so that they may be able to understand the sacred rites and take part in them wholeheartedly; and they will also need personally to celebrate the sacred mysteries, as well as popular devotions which are imbued with the spirit of the liturgy. In addition they must learn how to observe the liturgical laws, so that life in seminaries and houses of religious may be thoroughly influenced by the spirit of the liturgy. 18. Priests, both secular and religious, who are already working in the Lord's vineyard are to be helped by every suitable means to understand ever more fully what it is that they are doing when they perform sacred rites; they are to be aided to live the liturgical life and to share it with the faithful entrusted to their care."[158]

A separate document, the declaration entitled Gravissimum Educationis studies Christian education, the persons in charge, tools, types of

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156 Wildmann, János (1993:83): A világiakban megújuló egyház. In: Békés, Gellért & Horváth, Árpád (eds): Megújuló egyház a megújuló társadalomban. Katolikus Szemle

157 The original text, as found at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19631204_inter-mirifica_en.html

158 The original text, as found at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html

institutions, and universities. The Catholic educational (elementary, secondary, and higher) and training institutions were renewed and reorganized in Hungary too, along this document.

In Hungary and in all the former socialist countries "a generation which carries the heritage of a false, autocratic ideology and power grew up in the last forty years. In the first place, there is the expansive lack of religious experience, since only a persistent, devoted minority was willing to go to church. The majority drifted away in order to make ends meet, and got influenced by a non-Christian, atheistic ideology."[159] Partly this was the reason for a particular layer of society becoming extremely alienated, or rather, they were afraid that the historic churches would play a bigger role in the everyday life of society. This attitude probably originated from the petrified image of the Church created in the last forty years in Hungary. According to this conception, the Church – regarding its tasks – has to remain in the narrowly specified religious area. Thus, it was and is hard to accept that a clerical adult education institution should deal with several other issues other than theology and religion.

Despite all this, clerical education and training institutions were launched and re-opened within a very short time. The first and most important task was to educate the participants, tutors, and employees working for these institutions. It took place mainly within the framework of courses and trainings organized at diocesan levels. To do this, the Church received a great amount of assistance from Western Europe.

The 1994 formation of the Catholic Youth Adult Education Association (KIFE) proved to be a milestone. The German AKSB (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Katholisch-Sozialer Bildungswerke) played an important role in this process. Through four years it supported financially the development of the new training structures and the preparation of trainings for mediating the Catholic social teachings. KIFE participated in several different projects within the framework of Grundvig 2., 4. and Comenius 3. 1 programs. The organization currently embraces approximately 40 member organizations, among which we may find nationally renowned institutions dealing with adult education, such as Faludi Ferenc Akadémia (Ferenc Faludi Academy), IGEN Katolikus Kulturális Egyesület (YES Catholic Cultural Association), Jézus Társasága Alapítvány Renaissance Tanulmányi Háza (the Renaissance Study House of Society of Jesus Foundation), the Pécs-based Katolikus Németek Egyházmegyei Egyesület (Parish Association of Catholic Germans), Keresztény Értelmiségiek Szövetsége (Association of Christian Intellectuals), a Keresztény Munkásifjú Mozgalom (Young Christian Workers

[159] Seregély, István (2003:85): Krisztus az Út, az Igazság és az Élet – Tizenöt év apostoli szolgálatban II, Bp. Szent István Társulat.

Movement), Keresztény Női Felnőttképzési Egyesületet (Christian Women's Adult Education Association), the Szombathely-based Martineum Felnőttképző Akadémiát (Martineum Adult Education Academy), Katolikus Társadalomtudományi Akadémia (Catholic Academy of Social Sciences) operating within the framework of Országos Lelkipásztori Intézet (National Pastoral Institute), and the Eger-based Szent János Továbbképző Központot (Saint John Training Center).

Through their activities, these institutions help to show the inner life of the Church – by discussing current inner issues and presenting various spiritual, clerical and civil movements.

Of course, the unofficial activities of the secular members (e.g. leading retired charity groups), their official church activity (taking part in the liturgy), and all of the other tasks performed in the world make their training necessary in all the three areas, as for any kind of Christian profession, in addition to religious and theological experience, the appropriate expertise of the given activity is essential. The acquisition of theoretical and practical experience connected to community development and adult care is indispensable for the activities performed in the Church. However, taking part in the Church's civil movements and various bodies necessitate training suitable for their special characteristics. Church employees undertaking official church activities need trainings that match their professional fields and strengthen their clerical identities. Therefore, both areas have to make available experience with the appropriate content and standard. The conscious, creative, and responsible disclosure of the possible ambivalences or points of integration of the two areas can be realized exclusively thus. This is especially valid in the case of intellectual professions. Nevertheless, it may also prove important that the experience in adult education thus gained may be stored in the common mental treasury of the church community.

Due to the available nature of conscious Christian life and sanctity, the demand for a rich variety of subjects on spirituality appears for adult education – in addition to the above. This may secure that everybody find programs matching their own personalities, mental characters in order to assist their profession as Christians and their progress of belief.

According to the teaching of the Council, entering into relations with other Christian churches and maintaining these relations is essential. To do this, we need a dialog in which we have the opportunity to approach an issue from several different angles. Such issues may be the mundane fate of humans, life management, as well as age-specific problems and their special features. The several years of experience of the Church and the Western European Catholic adult education models – especially regarding marriage and family – are well utilizable.

The Council deals with the autonomy of mundane life. Knowing the rules and values of the created world is also an important task for Catholic adult education. The problematics of the appropriate utilization of such and the protection of the created world belong here. The protection of man's dignity, the promotion of human communities, institutions, public welfare, subsidiarity as the greatest social aspect, as well as man and economy are the subject matters of the Church's social teachings.

According to the loosely interpreted notion of culture, adult education is an opportunity for mediating culture as well as for creating culture. On the one hand, it is performed through guiding the behavior, lifestyle, worldview, and self-expression of the communities, and by creating a stage for the manifestations of such. On the other hand, the presentation of culture objectified is another important subject matter – or task. And the challenges of contemporary modern culture cannot be excluded, either; therefore, to create, for example, opportunities for creativity and self-expression is again a very important task.

The mentality of the Council has to meet the training methods, and training conditions, as well. The goals regarding adult education expressed by the Council may be achieved not only by appropriate subject matters, but also by the way adults are treated. Adult education, however, provides sufficient space and opportunity for adults to gain experience for a Christian and church–centered life in accordance with the mentality of the Council.

The training sessions and methods cannot be target-neutral (H. G. Pöhlmann). The program forms, methods, and tools applied to the particular areas of life regarding church adult education (family, marriage, profession and work, Church) and in the basic target areas (self-development, communication and conflict skills, orientation in the gospel) all serve the following: (1)the formation of an open, candid, and communicative atmosphere, (2) mediation of knowledge/information, reactions on and a transformation of the existing schemes, (3) disclosure and development of skills, (4) seizure of, reactions on, and stabilization or alteration of behavior.[160]

Miklós Tomka listed three types of working practices and circumstances of Christian adult education: the development of religious erudition, the development of religious awareness, as well as the integration of belief and life. The first is a communication of experience for regular believers and non-believers. It is done through lectures or discussion, and such. The second type embraces the formation of opinion in a well-defined area and the elaboration of knowledge. The organizational form of this can be

[160] Müller, Peter (1982:27): Methoden in der kirchlichen Erwachsenenbildung. München.

courses, conferences, or work groups. The third type is partly professional (further) trainings: attributing given church positions with Christian content, showing Christian aspects supplementing expertise, and disclosing the secular relations of church tasks. The essential and maybe most important mission of adult education regarding the mentality of the Council is to bring education close to life and to facilitate the development of the human existence through theoretical trainings.[161]

The mentality of the Council also teaches us not to organize education and training in a top-bottom way, but by self-organization on the demand created by the active participation of secular co-workers in a community. In my experience, the thus established homogeneous group is more successful than a system coordinated and controlled authoritatively.

"It is true even for a confessionally bound, Catholic adult education that it may not be conducted in the form of tutoring in monologs, be it however skillful or undisclosed as for its didacticism. This is not relevant for method alone, in the sense that a dialog should be favored between the participants in the training."[162]

The dialog cannot be restricted to the discussion of thoughts or a conveyance of knowledge content. The readiness for dialog has to permeate the attitude and mentality of Christian adult education.[163]

Margaret Fell also marks dialog as the most important method of Catholic adult education, but in her opinion, the most useful way to carry this out is living-in courses lasting for several days. If we investigate the Church's adult education systems in Europe, and more precisely in Hungary, we will see that infrastructure has been established accordingly. Fell, in her study Catholic Adult Education in the Service of Society and the Church, expresses that religious and secular communities are both very important.[164] That is, Catholic adult education needs methods and training circumstances that consider the "legal age" of adults, provide an opportunity for the formation of responsibility-taking and devoted belief, provide room for the socialization into Church and for experiencing communication, and take human dignity, solidarity, and subsidiarity into consideration.

"If man is put above all the world by his mental capabilities, then the training of the intellect and the will is an indispensable factor in progressing a

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161 Tomka, Miklós (1995): Vallás és kultúra (A keresztény felnőttnevelés problémái Magyarországon) Egyházfórum, 1995/2.
162 Wolfgang, Langer (1990): A vallási (keresztény) teológiai felnőttképzés kihívásai. Egyházfórum, 1990/3.
163 Peter, Neuer (1992): Az egyház-monarchia, demokrácia, közösség? Mérleg, 1992./1.
164 Margret, Fell (1990): Katolikus felnőttképzés a társadalom és az egyház szolgálatában. Egyházfórum, 1990./3.

life more befitting human beings. Though, it may be true that "primum vivere deinde phylosophari," living a life more befitting human beings, is only possible through human knowledge always striving for more, and through disciplined life. This, however, presents a task renewed from generation to generation, a service in education, for all the time that human beings are born to this world."[165]

The institutions and organizations established for this service have persistently operated in Hungary in the mentality of the Second Vatican Council as regards adult education. The effect and necessity of their activity is unquestionable. Unfortunately, the public indifference that is sensed occasionally, makes the continuation of their activities difficult. Nevertheless, persistent and professionally prepared co-workers have conscientiously performed their professions for about one and a half decade.

[165] Seregély, István: Krisztus az Út, az Igazság és az Élet – Tizenöt év apostoli szolgálatban II. Szent István Társulat, Bp. 2003. 50.

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ERIKA JUHÁSZ

LOCAL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AS VENUES FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Framework of the research

My study presents the foundations of a research to be launched shortly. The sixth frame program of the European Union provided us with the opportunity to partake in a three-year research project initiated by the University of Szeged as senior institution in the consortium. The title of the project is *Religions and Values: Central and Eastern European Research Network*, which was abbreviated by the research team as *REVACERN*. (For more details on the project itself see the project's site. [University of Arts and Sciences of Szeged 2007])

The word *network* in the title of the project indeed refers to a large-scale international cooperation: thirteen higher education and research institutions situated in ten countries of the Central and Eastern European region act as consortium partners.

Consortium partners

Name of partner	Abbreviation	Country
University of Szeged	SZTE	H
University of Vienna	UV	A
Pázmány Péter Catholic University	PPKE	H
Adam Mickiewicz University	AMU	PL
University of Ljubljana	ULJ	SLO
University of Debrecen	UD	H
Masaryk University	MU	CZ
Institute for Social Research	IDIZ	HR
Center for Interreligious Dialogue and Conflict Prevention	NIS-SU	BG
Ukrainian Academy of Science	UNAS	UA
Max Weber Foundation	MWF	RO
Warsaw University	WU	PL
Comenius University	CU	SK

The study of social responsibility-taking of the church and various religious organizations is considerably extensive, and may be approached from several aspects. Out of these aspects our research team has undertaken to map the field of education. (See the site for further details on the work and areas of the research team. [CHERD – Center for Higher Education Research and Development 2007]) We launched our research team under the name of "*Challenges in Education*," which has been divided into three subprograms in accordance with different layers of education. The subprograms and their respective leaders are the following: (1) "*Church and Public Education*" subprogram – leader: Dr. habil. Gabriella Pusztai; (2) „*Church and Higher Education*" subprogram – leader: Prof. habil. Dr. Tamás Kozma; (3) „*Church and Adult Education*" subprogram – leader: Dr. Erika Juhász.

Antecedents of the research

The national research organized by the German People's College between 1997 and 2001, termed *Adult Educational Atlas Research* and directed at mapping the network of Hungarian adult education institutions, may be regarded as the major *antecedent* of our research. There are several church-supported or church-related institutions among the ones subject to the research. Within the framework of our current research we intend to extend this research to the countries of the Central Eastern European region, thus it is important to disclose the main elements of the *Adult Educational Atlas Research*.

The *starting point* of the research was the fact that at the beginning of the research (in 1997) there was hardly any information available on the – g eneral, professional, political, and cultural – situation of, and the need for, Hungarian adult education. A state- or ministry-level survey usually relates exclusively to particular institutions. These data are available for cultural centers, regional training centers, organizations of the Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge, people's colleges, the Hungarian People's College Association, and civil organizations. Nevertheless, we are still in need of a detailed analysis on the structure of adult education and the makeup of the adult education market developed after the political change (in 1989). This shortage is also observed by educational policy and administration of education, therefore it was a hindering factor as regards the further development of adult education in Hungary. Until 1997, however, there was no institution to carry out such a research or to finance one, although particular research plans, in progress or already approximating completion at that time, (puzzle – or patchwork – methods) contributed to the formation of a complete survey in an advantageous way (Hinzen 1997).

The *aim* of the research project was to map the systems of Hungarian adult education institutions by methods of history and the sociology of organizations. The creators of adult educational atlases (FOA, termed Weiterbildung Atlas: WBA in the German project – for more details see Zocher 1996) had to find, compile, and evaluate detailed information regarding the institution, with regard to organization, legal form, financing, supply, qualifications, coworkers and participants, as well as quality assurance and future prospects. These individual atlases had to make nation-wide survey and comparison available. The organizers made the results public for the participating adult education institutions; local governments; ministries; national, educational, cultural, and research institutions; civil organizations; universities; colleges; associations; and other institutions showing interest. The project could thus contribute to the study of the development of the further education market, which includes general and professional, and political and cultural adult education at national, county, and local levels. In an indirect way it provided information on the qualifications required from the employees working in the institutions, which again is significant as regards the further development of the students' training and the further education of those already active (aims, contents, methods, syllabi, etc.). Finally, this may be observed as the starting point of new research projects, as in the case of the "Church and Adult Education" research operating as part of the current REVACERN research.

Several comprehensive studies and analyses were conducted regarding the *results* of the research project, since with the exception of one (Kaposvár), all of the county seats as well as numerous settlements of the counties themselves were mapped. (Major studies in the chronological order of publication: Juhász 1999; 2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2005; Bajusz & Hinzen & Horváthné Bodnár 1999; Hinzen 2000a; 2000b; Koltai 2002; 2005a; 2005 b.)

Research work of the "Church and Adult Education" subprogram

The *aim* of our present research is to disclose, on the basis of the outlined antecedents, the role churches and religious communities play in adult education in the Central and Eastern European region. Our *practices* are the structuralist-functionalist paradigm (cf. Parsons 1997), in the framework of which our present research focuses on the role that religious institutions play in adult education, and the social functions of such. According to our *hypothesis,* religious organizations and communities in the Central and Eastern European region play a sort of suppletory role in adult education as well. This hypothesis is founded on the following main theories and researches:

(1) They offer professional, general, and public education for unemployed people, for persons with an unstable labor status or a socially disadvantaged position with the help of subsidies obtained from the church, from tender applications, and, to a smaller extent, from the state – according to the researches of Heribert Hinzen and partners referred to above.

(2) They prepare for the conflict and self-management competencies missing or to be improved which are necessary for everyday life (e.g. education for citizens, parents, women, the minorities)—according to the researches of Demeter (2006) and Kodácsy (2006), and other similar researches and interpretations of competence.

(3) They strengthen the self-supporting and community-forming activities of local communities through the development of social capital—according to the theories of Bourdieu (1998), Coleman (1998), Schultz (1983), and Sári's (1997) research in Hungary.

In our research we looked for adult education institutions, trainings, and communities, the maintainers of which are mainly churches, denominations, monastic orders, their organizations, as well as the foundations and other social organizations they operate. These are considered *church adult education organizations* and communities. From the point of view of our research, the main characteristics of these organizations are the presence of a church (-type) maintainer, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the provision of the adult education activity or other forms of education or training offered to adult communities. In our hypothesis these organizations may primarily be found in the institutional types of elementary schools, secondary schools, higher education institution (occasionally), (accredited or registered) adult education institutions, special education institutions, dormitories, boarding schools, and foundations.

The countries involved in the research are the following: Austria, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Croatia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Romania, Serbia-Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia, and the Ukraine. The main characteristics of these countries are examined and described in the form of brief country studies, then five countries are selected where the adult education role of churches, religious organizations, and communities appears the most significant, and these are presented in the form of more detailed case studies, in the form of good practice.

The accumulation of research materials in the countries under survey mainly embraces the following areas in a uniform manner which secures comparability: (1) Literature on the adult education role of churches, in printed and electronic forms. (2) Contacting researchers dealing with church adult education in the given countries. (3) Finding adult education institutions, organizations, and communities maintained by the church. (4)

Quantitative data related to the institutions found. (5) The history of the establishment of such institutions. (6) Finding contact persons in the institutions dealing with adult education trainings and adult communities maintained and operated by the church. (7) Laws, decrees in the area of adult education regarding church-supported adult education (maintenance, operating conditions, professional control)

In my opinion, this research is considered by all means suppletory in this profession, as currently we may only gain information on the connections between the church and adult education in the form of brief and marginal studies (e.g. Bögre 1998; Imre 1998; Juhász 2005; KIFE 2007). The three years of the research will hopefully launch a process during which this shortage can be made up for, the first signs of which may be observed not only in the activities of the research team but in the work of the conference entitled *Education and Church*, serving as basis of the present volume.

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ORSOLYA TÁTRAI

YOUNG ADULTS IN HUNGARIAN POPULATION – GENERAL STATISTICAL TENDENCIES

In our age not only technical development has become faster but the change of lifestyles and habits, too. The changed circumstances affect the population processes (change the population number of and the age structure, conventions of founding a family), the social function of education and also the characteristics of religious life. It is important to pay attention to the disintegration of traditional life-periods, to the appearance of the age group of young adults. Their special features bear the impacts of social changes. Now we follow the position changes of Hungarian young adults overviewing demographical, educational and religious tendencies.

Young adults

According to the traditional scheme of the youth, it is a transition in the process of developing from a child into an adult, but nowadays it does not stand its ground. A totally new life period has got between youth and adults, which is called young adults in the scientific bibliography. It was defined in the 60's: after Junge's definition, it begins when the young person shows social or economic independence in the course of growing up and it ends when the social or economic independence is established permanently. According to the biological concept they are the group of post adolescences, the age group of young adults which is determined by modernism. Thus they aim independence but hesitate between complete independence and dependence on their parents. This 'on the edge' position became a separate life period which is characterized by very rich lifestyles. This symptom is gradual and complex; in the process of developing from a child into an adult youth can start out in different ways (Wippermann 1996:17-23): (1) they move from the home of their parents (in a students' hostel, in a house of their own, or they rent a house), (2) they finish their studies and get a job (or they are unemployed), (3) they shack up with their partner or get married and have children.

Post adolescence distinguishes between these periods and builds them into their life by pass of time and in a new order. The final goal is still to start a family but it becomes a determinative factor only after the age of 30. The rate of their development is not only non-standardized but also reversible. Starting a new training, divorce or becoming unemployed may cause a kind of

dependency again. As a result, this period is called testing adulthood *'with an emergency exit and double ensured'*, because it makes the relationship with a partner possible without any risks, commuting from the home of their own to the parents' place and collecting more qualifications. Furthermore, it is a new line of demarcation among young adults and shows the social differences and the new cultural forms as well (Wippermann 1996:17-23).

The characteristics of young adults are that the *'social scissors of society'* effect them: there are rich and poor young people. Their information resources are the media and the Internet, usually they are interested in society and culture, and they are the most advanced culture consumers and represent the post materialist values. Their social relations are 'self-reflexive:' the system of relatives is being turned into the system of freely chosen acquaintances, which is only for the relationship itself, it may be broken more easily. They face the achievement- and concurrence norms of society early and see the basis of their future in the qualifications admitted by the state and in other complimentary qualifications. Therefore, they study more and more, and after a point qualifications and working are intertwined in their lives (Juhász 1998:236-241). We can say that their identification with Christian values and view of life is generally not significant, but they are searching the answers of the meaning of life. But most of them do not find it in the traditional institutional forms (Wippermann 1996:17-23). The question of the period's age limit is not unambiguous. We count with young adults from the end of elementary school (from the age of 14) till the age of 29-30, when graduates can reach the permanent social and economic independence too (Juhász 2001:82-98). Since the scientific bibliography understands youth generally between the age of 16-20, people could count as youth and young adults at the same time, however, with the help of Junge's definition, we can take them in the right place. Besides that, some authors define post adolescences as people between 21 and 30 (Stang 1996:50-51), thus the two age groups can be divided, but of course, we cannot draw such a definite boundary between them.

Usually, the physical advance does not coincide with the intellectual progress and the difference is bigger because of the process of acceleration through which the social and psychical abilities are not able to follow the accelerated advance of civilization and its result, the more intensive biological maturity. Therefore, judged by appearance, young adults are expected to behave in a more mature way than they are internally prepared for (Sári 1993:79-98).

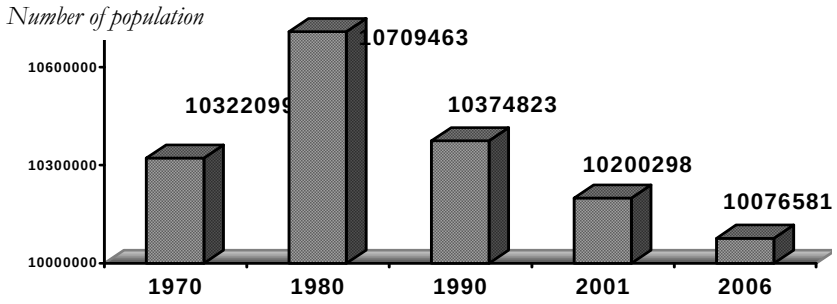
As a result, it is not easy to make difference between youth, young adults and adults, but due to the special situations and activities of the age group of young adults, special young adult researches would be necessary,

which are unfortunately not typical in Hungary yet. However, the influence of this age group is significant for the general statistical tendencies, thus it is worth studying the changes of the following tendencies.

Demographic processes

The Hungarian censuses reported about the increase of the population till 1980 (except for 1949). This increasing slowed down at the end of the 70's; the peak in the number of Hungarian population was recorded in 1981. From that time on, we can see – in alternate rate per ages – the permanent decreasing of the population (KSH 2007a).

Diagram 1: Hungarian population; 1970-2006

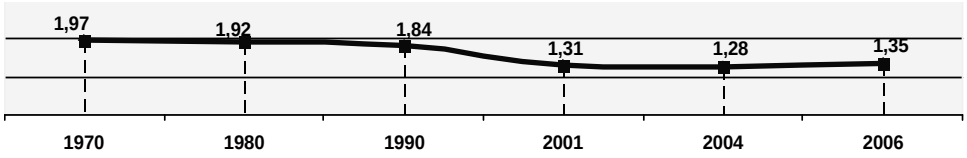


(Own Diagram – Authority: KSH 2007a)

As we can see on the column-diagram above, at the 2006 census, the population was about 10 million 76 thousand, which was almost 300 thousand less than in 1990, and about 600 thousand less than in 1980.

We can study the components of these unfavorable demographic processes in many ways. The population itself is based on the ratio changes of the number of deaths and births. Following its changes, we can state that from the 70's till the turn of the millennium, the number of deaths was continually increasing, but at the same time the number of births was decreasing. From the turn of the millennium this process changed for the better, however, instead of a natural increase in Hungary, there is a natural decrease.

Diagram 2: Indicators of fertility: 1970-2006

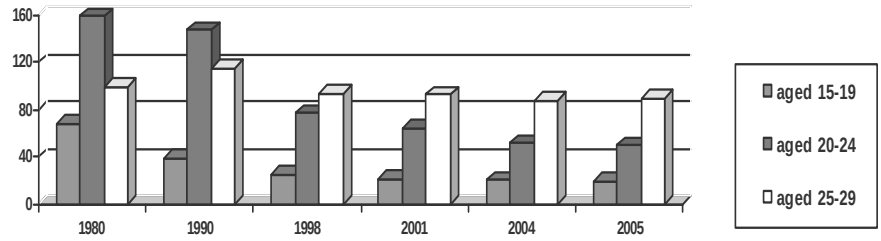


(Diagram – Authority: KSH 2007a)

The decrease of productivity – that has been perceived for a long time – can be called drastic because the productivity index decreased by 69% between 1970-2006. In 2006, on the average, a woman gave life to 1,35 children, which was less by 67,5% than the normal rate of reproduction (2) – that would be enough only for the reproduction of the numbers of population. So the rate of productivity shows continuous decrease especially from 1990 to 2001 – except for the year 2004, when it increased by 0,07%. More factors affect this unfavorable process.

On the one hand, in the last decade, the number of women who are in the age of childbearing was decreasing. On the other hand, women give birth later, and to fewer and fewer children. Among the reasons we can also find the changing of the rules of starting a family.

Diagram 3: Live births for 1000 women by age group of mother, 1980-2005



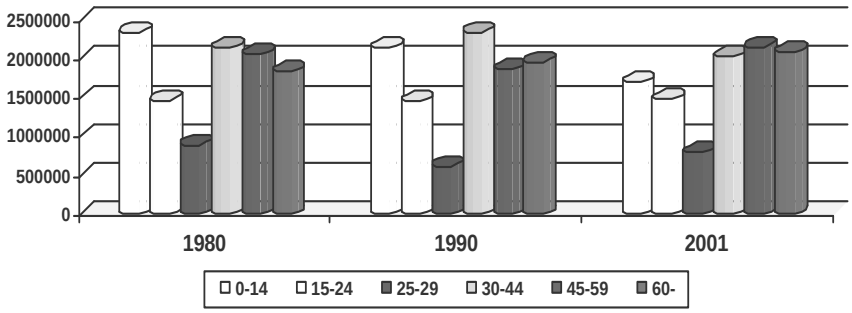
(Own Diagram – Authority: KSH 2007a)

The number of births for 1000 women – between 15 and 29 – was decreasing in all the three age-groups in 1980-2005. The change which can be seen from the 90's is noticeable: till that time the rate of births was the highest with 20-24 year-olds, after that the older groups, 25-29 years old women took the lead. At the same time, the decrease of the number of births at the age of 15-19 is considerable (KSH 2007a).

Age-structure

The growing old, the dislocation of the population's age-structure to the older age-groups are continually registered by the censuses, thus the rate of young generations correlating to the whole population is continually decreasing, but the rate of older age-groups is continually increasing in an accelerating pace. The increase of average age plays an important role in the dislocation of the age-structure, however, the most significant reasons of this process are the low rate of birth and its constantly decreasing tendencies.

Diagram 4: Population by age group, 1980-2001



(Own Diagram – Authority: KSH 2007a)

The population under the age of 30 was last increasing in the 70's due to the favorable arrangements of population policy – but it affected only the age-group 0-14. From the 80's the number of the age-group 0-14 has been continually and drastically decreasing (as a result of the natural decrease) the number of age-group 15-24 is stagnating, and according to this process we can see decreasing tendency in the number of age-group 25-29 as well (KSH, 2007a). At the same time the number of the older age-groups is increasing and that is going to result in the growing old of the society's age-structure.

The rate of population regarding sex intrinsically has not changed, however, nowadays the excess of women is higher than ever: nationwide the number of women for 1000 men is 1107. According to the census of 2005, there is an excess of men under the age of 35, but the rate of women is growing after the age of 40 and we can see equalization between the two sexes at the age of 35-39 (Fóti & Lakatos & Rózsa 2006:472-473).

Changed rules of starting a family

We can generally say that the rules of starting a family among the youth have changed significantly. The number of marriages was decreasing

year by year in 1980-2004 (except for 2005, when it was growing a little bit), and at the same time the age of the first marriage, among both men and women, showed increase (KSH 2006a:6).

One of them is the increased rate of young people who are studying on higher level: they study longer so they can start a family later. All at once the entrants have to face the difficulty of finding a job and contingent unemployment or lower salary. Due to their narrow prospect of subsistence, they are getting independent from their parents and starting a family with increasing difficulty and in a much older age (Kapitány 1997). But the decline of marriage "movement" does not mean that the institution of relationships are decreasing; namely among young people common-law marriage is more prevailing. The rate of it almost tripled among both men and women in 1990-2005.

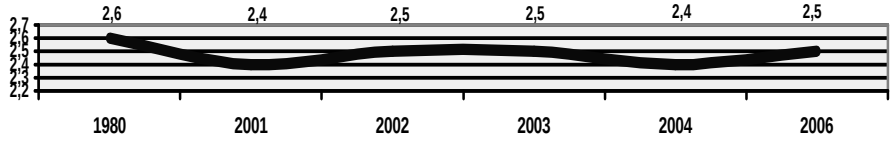
Diagram 5: The % of men and women by marital status; 1990-2005

Marital status	**Men**			**Women**		
	1990	***2001***	***2005***	***1990***	***2001***	***2005***
Single	25,1	32,9	35,3	15,9	22,1	24
Married	64,6	55,6	52,4	58,1	49,4	46,5
From this, those who live with her/his consort	59,6	54,1	51,1	53,4	47,8	45,1
Relict	3,9	3,8	4,3	17,8	18,5	18,9
Divorced	6,4	7,7	8,1	8,2	10	10,6
TOTAL	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Those who live in common-law marriage	3,2	7,6	9,3	2,9	6,6	8,2

(Authority: Fóti & Lakatos & Rózsa 2006:474)

The stability of family life is usually measured in broken marriages. The number of divorces stagnated since the 90's and the number of divorces for 1000 people has not changed either: its rate has been 2,4-2,5 in the last 15 years.

Diagram 6: Rate of divorces for 100 residents, 1980-2005

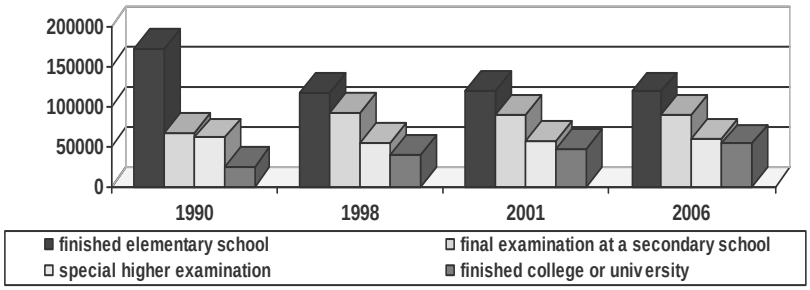


(Own Diagram – Authority: KSH 2007)

Education

On the one hand, the processes of education are affected by the tendencies of demography (e.g. the decreasing number of students cause problems, especially for elementary schools) but on the other hand, the population's demographic set is affected too by the significant changes of education's structure (e.g. more and more people study longer). Namely, studying has been appreciated so much that those who are not able to train themselves – for different reasons – may come down to the dropped back layer by the time others may grease the skids (Polónyi 2002:87-186).

Diagram 7: Population by qualifications, 1990-2006



(Own Diagram – Authority: KSH 2007b)

Because of the expansion of higher education, more and more people take a degree and postgraduate education, taking a second degree and lifelong learning are also getting more current and because of this process the study period is increasing too so the number of study ages per person will expectedly be about 10.7 in 2010. Analyzing the situation of higher education, a significant increase of headcount is perceptible from the change of regime. According to the data of 2006, 2.4 times more people took a degree than in 1990, and nowadays this tendency seems to continue (KSH 2007b).

The number of students was rising in different rate on the different levels of higher education. Colleges and universities preserved their prevalence, 90% of the students chose this type of education in 2003. The developmental conception of education policy for accredited formal vocational trainings – although its popularity is growing – did not come through. Neither the reception of labor market, nor the way of counting of trainings in further studies was incentive enough for students, so only 1.5-2% of them chose this kind of study. The rate of students who take part in PhD or master trainings seem to stagnate on 2%, which means about 7-8 thousand of doctoral students per year (KSH 2004).

Diagram 8: Data of higher education, 1995-2003

	1995	**2000**	**2002**	***2003***
Number of students in all departments	**195.512**	**327.289**	**351.560**	**409.075**
vocational education	–	3.464	6.128	7.219
university	70.153	113.513	124.606	133.274
college	109.412	181.527	216.581	233.673
continuing professional education	12.565	22.033	26.815	27.074
PhD	–	6.752	7.430	7.835
graduated altogether	26.237	46.978	50.505	52.812
full time students	20.024	29.843	30.785	31.929

(Authority: KSH 2004)

The expansion of higher education was diverse in different departments: in 1995, the rate of graduated full time students was 76.3%, but in 2003 this rate just reached 60%. Among the number of part time students, the number of Open University students has become ten times greater during the last 8 years. This tendency reflects that more and more people have to take advantage of trainings and have to study and work at the same time, due to the labor market's permanent expectations of progress and the obligate career modifications (KSH 2004).

Fewer and fewer school-leavers take a degree, and this process considerably influences the change in the number of graduated students: in the 90's 90% of them completed their studies but in 2003 this rate was only 72%. It has many reasons: the appearance of graduated unemployed and the use of open universities and correspondence courses which are characterized by many dropouts. Another cause can be that many students start one or more new majors during their studies so the study period is increased. And finally the introduction of the credit system can be a reason too because it gives more independence in studies. Because of these processes people usually take a degree at older and older ages (KsH 2004).

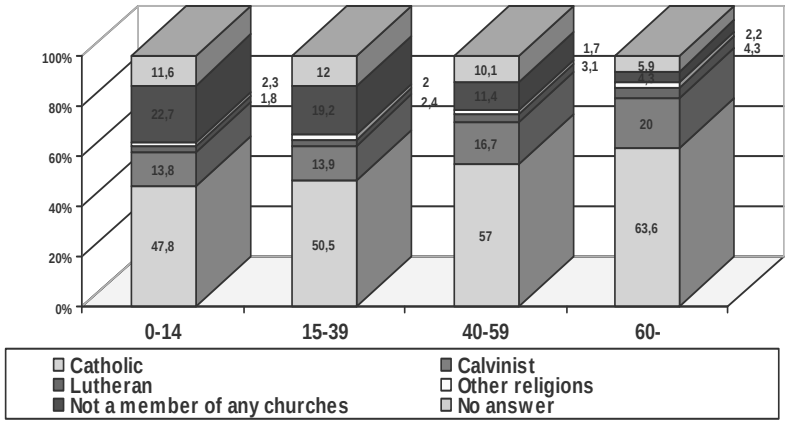
Religious identity

In the census of 2001 – after 50 years – religious identity is mentioned again, and more than 90% of the Hungarian population answered it. According to the results, almost 55% of the population is related to the Catholic Church, 16% of them are Calvinists and 16% of the respondents said that they are not members of any churches or denominations. Thus, the biggest part of the population is a member of the big Christian churches (KSH 2002). These data however, show only the number of people declaring

whether he or she belongs to any churches and say nothing about how many of them has faith of any sort. As a result, we have to make difference between denominational self-classification and the actual practice of worship. From the 70's, we have data about religious identities. According to these, at the end of the 80's, 12-13% of the adult population said that he or she is religious according to the teaching of the church, and 44-46% of them chose the 'religious on his or her own way' category. In 1991 these rates were growing significantly to 16% and 53% (Tomka 2006:5-19).

The data of age groups make it clear that the older age-groups declaring themselves religious in big percentage: 89% of the people who were older than 60, and only 68% of the people between 15-39 said that they are related to any churches or denominations (Gönczi & Sághi 2004 36-38).

Diagram 9: Population by denminations and age group, 2001

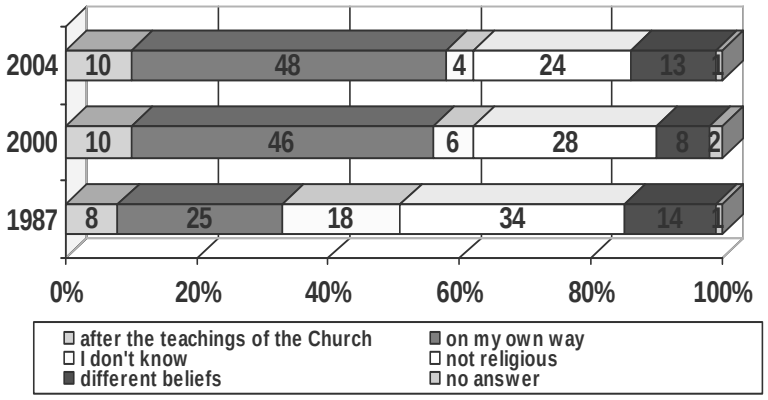


(Own Diagram – Authority: Gönczi & Sághi 2004)

Youth and religion

The researches Youth 2000 and Youth 2004 had similar results about the religiousity of the youth. In both of the researches 10% of the youth between 15-29 claimed that he or she is religious according to the church's teaching, 46-48 % of this age-group was religious on his or her own way. Although the ratio of the non religious people shows decrease, the rate of those who have firmly different beliefs seems to be increasing in the period of 2000-2004 (Laki & Szabó & Bauer 2001, Szabó & Bauer 2005). Namely, among the youth more and more choose the communities of the so called small churches, which are newly founded and faiths that are not Christian and are often close to esotery. These gain bigger ground, and at the same time traditional religions are pushed into the background (Rosta 2007:302).

Diagram 10: Are you religious? (% of the answers of aged)



(Own Diagram – Authority: Rosta 2007)

As it could be seen on the diagram above, – benchmarking against the results of a research from 1987, the most important changes in religious identity among people between 15-29 are that the relative isolation of religions ended, and the rate of those young people who have any kinds of religious orientations, increased, however, proportion of church affiliated people do not really show significant changes (Rosta 2007:299-309).

Conclusion

In the secondary data analysis above, we can find many features of young adults. We can also note the process in Hungary in which – as an answer for the challenges of labor market – knowledge and learning are becoming more valuable, and the youth spend an increasing amount of time in the education system, and as a consequence, the period of becoming adult is delayed. The time when they get married and have children is also shifted to a later period because most of them consider founding a family only after they become independent. The 'looking for new ways' strategy as a feature of this age group can be felt also in their attitude towards religions: although there are fewer people following the teaching of traditional churches, there are more and more young adults who declare themselves to be religious 'in their own way'. It is very important from two aspects: on the one hand, it expresses their claim to find spiritual and moral stability, on the other, it shows that traditional churches have to face a great challenge to maintain their role in the society.

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JÓZSEF SZABÓ

THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL MEDIA IN THE FIELD OF RELIGION

The media is part of our everyday life since the 20th century. It is especially true for the electronic media whose influence in shaping our consciousness is becoming more and more significant. As the functions of the electronic media are changing, it is becoming more and more diverse and stronger in its effects. Because of the background usage, interactivity, and the chance of multiple choice influencing the habits of the individuals and families became an important field of research.

Several researches have already proved that electric media, and especially television, has a major influence on our lives, our values, our opinions, and our behaviour. Companies try to use this fact through advertising their image and products. But nowadays the civil sphere and even politics have discovered that the properly formulated messages have significant influence on the environment (Török 2005). Many think that this is still true only for the national media that reaches wide public. The information broadcasted by the television has a kind of multiplicator function as well. If we manage to pass the news to the informal leaders of different groups and layer of society we can measure the effect in the groups themselves. According to this, it is not necessary to reach the wider public, the only important thing is that we have to reach those who will be able to shape the opinion of others. At this point, the local televisions and its thematic program come into the picture (Kontroll csoport 2002).

The aim of the research is to throw light to the role of local media, particularly the role of local television in shaping local society. I would like to show that a lot of opportunities remain unexploited by the local civil sphere, while exactly local media would be one of the most efficient toolkit in reaching local population.

The Union of churches to convince local people: Source of Our Strength – religious magazine

Debrecen Television has discovered already ten years ago that in its long-term pursuit informing local population is an inevitable task. Because of this, it initiated a tightening cooperation with the civil sector, firstly in order to serve the needs of the inhabitants, and in this way to raise its ratings, and

together with this its image and economic potential also grew. In the building of civil project it is unique in Debrecen that the Television managed to make an agreement with the six historical churches and with the local government to run a religious magazine once a week. The need for this emerged on the side of the inhabitants and the historical churches, however, it was the television that took the initiative and worked out the cooperation. It is almost ten years now that the Reformed Church, the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, the Evangelicals, the Baptists and the Jewish Community signed the draft with the Television, that the magazine in terms of ecumenism will introduce the life of different churches week by week and the churches will appear in the television according to their growth and the number of their members. The main aim towards the inhabitants is to show the inner life and work of the religious communities. Beside this, a not secretly wished aim is to spread the idea of accepting each other and to show that by strengthening each other, local communities can be successful.

Introduction of Debrecen Television

Debrecen Television has been informing local population since 1994 about everyday events. By the continuous development of its programme structure nowadays, it reached the level where it can offer an alternative program to the viewers even against bigger channels. The leadership of the Debrecen Television developed a new programme structure that provided the adequate vocational and technological background for the Newscasts and other programmes; to all these, a new studio set was made that met all the requirements of the modern world. In the designing of the programmes Debrecen Television used all the new ideas that local American televisions used. Continuing professional educations were organised, to which famous specialists who shared their experiences and special knowledge concerning the topic of news casts were invited. This work was one reason why Debrecen Television got into the finals of the Camera Hungaria Festival in the News Section. It was the only local television present.in the Hungarian public and Commercial Televisions. This appreciation shows that Debrecen Television has determined the most important elements of local televisions correctly and it is able to run it on a high level.

In its latest programme structure Debrecen Television made it clear which target audience it would like to reach and informing programmes clearly defined layer programmes come to the forefront. Now 16 magazines are created all of which satisfy the needs of a given layer of society. Constant feedbacks show that these magazines are watched and they give an aid in informing the population.

Introduction of Source of Our Strength

The management of the television recognised that informing is important mainly in the news. But in the case of magazines it is not enough for success, media has to take an active part in it. Active participation and leadership makes the influencing of the inhabitants more efficient and its result is a better planned media action. The new method brought serious results. The relationship became more harmonious among the organisations, working became more efficient, and the cooperation in applications was even more successful, which was very important in securing the resources. In the case of the religious magazine the same pattern was fallowed. For our initiative, the leaders of the different churches sat down in order to create a magazine that is important to the inhabitants. It is a common decision that which church will be presented in the Source of Our Strength on a given week. There is one co-editor from each church who helps the work of the editor. This is significant because week by week in the commonly accepted framework the magazine is about what the given church considers important. The character of the magazine can be best characterised by its motto: "This programme is for those who believe in God, and for those who are doubting or are only curious!"

Each programme starts with the reading of the weakly Word and its commentary in the church or in the vestry, done by the representative of the given church (priest or pastor). This is fallowed by the report in which a part of the life and work of a given church is presented. The discussion in the studio is closely related to these topics. It is typical for these topics that they are presented in a way that is easily understandable for laymen as well. At the end of the magazine the presenter reads out the currant events of all churches.

The Source of Our Strength appears once a week, on Thursdays, in prime time, and it lasts for 15 minutes. And once in every quarter of the year, it is 30 minutes long. At these special editions the leaders of the 6 historical churches are invited for a round table discussion. The feedback is very favourable. Several viewers expressed their gratefulness towards us, for they can see a religious magazine on weekdays.

When the magazine came into being, it was a very determining factor how the different churches thought about ecumenicalism, working together, the information of the inhabitants in such a common mode. The television and its management firstly tried to figure out what ecumenicalism is and whether such an expected an imagined working tightly together and thinking together is possible.

The ecumenicalism

At first view ecumenicalism is nothing else but the effort to the unity of Christianity. Already the Synod of Florence between 1439-1445 tried to do it, but they managed to restore the unity of West and East Christianity only for a short period of time. Although the Synod of Trident (1545-1563) started to renew Catholicism, but did not manage to restore the unity of Western Christianity.

The roots of nowadays' evangelical movements go back to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: the international protestant youth organisation the Word's Student Christian Federation was founded in 1895. In 1910, Nathan Söderblom Upsalan Lutheran archbishop founded Life and Work, and Charles Brendt, an Anglican priest in the Philippines started Faith and Order. All these events lead to the emergence of World Council of Churches (WCC) in Amsterdam in 1948. Among the members of the institution that today has its headquarters in Genf, are Protestants, Anglicans, and Orthodox churches, but Catholics do not belong to this movement. They declared the ecumenical opening on the second Vatican Synod. It is somehow paradox, however, it is true that today there is at least two separately working ecumenical movements: in WWC and in the Catholic Church.

In the discourse between Christian and non-Christian communities, the expression of ecumenicalism can only be used indirectly. Hans Küng a theologian form Tübingen calls it "oecumenismus ad extra" the "outside turning ecumenicalism." But it is usually used for religious discourses and for discussions between different cultures and religions. "The Christian wish for unity was always an aim coming from deep inside, because the "body" in the saint Paulian sense of the word has fallen apart and the peaces are bleeding form several wounds."

Although it is true that Jesus Christ founded only one church, but several churches claim themselves to the sole heirs of His inheritance. Christians claim themselves to be the disciples of the Lord, but they see several things differently and go on different ways. But this clearly contradicts the wish of Jesus Christ and damages the teaching of the Gospel.

When we talk about ecumenicalism in a wider sense, we use it for the discourse between religions and the world, between Christian Churches and other religions, but in a narrower sense of the word it always refers to the efforts of unification inside Christian religions.

On the surface it seems to be just the problem inside the churches, but if we take a closer look at it, it is clear that much deeper truth lays behind it. The examination of the biblical roots shows that unity can be seen in

diversity, and Christian Churches wish unity honestly and seriously if all of them consider Jesus Christ their Lord and Saviour.

The God of the Bible, who is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in one person, gives us an example for the diversity living in Unity. He is the One who unites in His Son all human beings and the whole universe. The source of unity is God Himself.

What does ecumenicalism mean for those who live their religion seriously? This can be felt best through the thoughts of Roman Catholic priest Gellért Békés:

"It would be good if we would understand finally that we belong to each other, to the same mankind, to the same nation and to the community of the same settlement. There is the need for more and greater friendships in order not to fear from the dissimilarity of the other. We should not see the enemy in each other, not even foes, but brothers who may have chosen a different way, but they make for the same goals as us."

Debrecen and Ecumenicalism

The best example for the ecumenical efforts is the mass of pope II John Paul who celebrated it from the Great Reformed Church. Starting from this idea, it is worth to have a look at the religious division of the inhabitants of Debrecen.

In the city that is often referred to as the Calvinist Rome, Christian religion can be found in almost all forms. The administrative centres of two churches work in Debrecen. The Reformed Church District in Trans-Tisza Region and here is the centre of the Nyíregyháza-Debrecen Roman Catholic Bishopric. All in all, it is an important centre from a religious point of view. From the data of the Central Statistical Office, it is clear and obvious that the question of religion effects a wide layer of society in Hajdú-Bihar county and in Debrecen.

Table 1: The religious distribution of Debrecen's population

Town and county	Hajdú-Bihar County	Debrecen and its district	Debrecen
Whole number of population	552.998	296.541	211.034
Those who belong to churches	366.267	200.991	135.838
Catholics all together	120.612	75.475	49.768
Roman Catholics	73.305	42.338	32.539
Orthodox Catholics.	47.259	33.094	17.226
Reformed	236.065	119.486	81.583
Evangelicals	1.653	1.210	1.104
Jews	256	238	231
Members of other churches	7.681	4.582	3.152
Did not want to answer	47.131	27.581	20.883
Do not belong to churches	135.436	65.380	52.281

(KSH, 2001)

On the basis of these data, we can say that Hajdú-Bihar County and Debrecen itself do not belong to the most religious parts of Hungary. We have to say this in spite of the fact that Debrecen, from religious point of view, is strategically important.

The number of the inhabitants of Debrecen is 211.079. From this aspect it is the second largest city in Hungary. In the questionnaire of the census 135.838 people declared themselves as religious, while 52.281 people claimed firmly the opposite, namely that they do not belong to any church. More than 20.000 people did not answer this question at all.

We can tell about Debrecen that it has a wide range of churches. Six historical churches are present in the city: Reformed, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Evangelicals, Baptists and Jewish. The cooperation is exemplary and outstanding. About what they think of this cooperation the leaders of the churches can give a full picture.

According to priest Csaba Kókai, the Reformed Church as an institution has no firm standpoint in this question, he said, they let people make their own decision. Among the Reformed believers we can distinguish three different ways of thinking. In the first group there are those who welcome ecumenicalism and they say that we should get to know each other,

greet each other as brothers from different churches, and accept the teachings, ideas, traditions of all churches because there is one God and we are one in front of him, the followers of the teachings of Jesus Christ should unite immediately. This group is the smallest. The other group is exactly at the other side of the pole. Those who refuse ecumenicalism say that this is the work of the Satan. The only pure religion is the Protestant, and among these the Reformed is the chosen one. The others are fetishists and cannot see the essence of pure religion. The members of the third group think that they have to think about the realist chances of cooperation. In Hungary, the Prayer's Ecumenical Week is the one that is formally organised from above, as a world wide movement. Several initiatives are coordinated by the World Council of Churches. But we must know that the Roman Catholic Church is part of this only as an observer. Beside this, there are several ecumenical conferences organised by different churches, for example the Life and Work Conference. The relationship between the churches is formal on the one hand, but on the other hand there are new initiatives, however, these are present mostly in the youth communities.

From the Roman Catholic Church Zsolt Tari Roman Catholic bishopric secretary has summed up the experiences. In his opinion Debrecen is very complex from a religious point of view, due to the fact that every bigger historical church is present in the city. The connection between them works very easily and the media takes a crucial role in this. It is obvious that each church inside its own circles runs the ministerial work; it would be an illusion to say that they are melted in a big communion and all differences have vanished. Nevertheless, this is not the aim of ecumenicalism – to make the differences disappear, but that besides protecting the treasures and maintaining the traditions, the common points that connect the different religions should be found. According to the experiences, Roman Catholics are described by being opened towards others.

Barnabás Balogh, Baptist priest's opinion about ecumenicalism in Debrecen is a little bit different. Inside the Baptist religion, each church has such a big autonomy that the opinion of a given church is formed together by the pastor and by the members of the community. All in all, it can be said that Baptist churches are members of the ecumenical communities, their believers do not hold aloof from cooperation. From the 1960s onwards, Baptist churches played an important role in the ecumenical movement in Debrecen. Usually that can be experienced if the smaller Churches cooperate with the bigger ones, for example in the Ecumenical Week of Prayers, or on evangelical days in the streets they get more attention. is a It is a very good testimony for the city when the Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Reformed, Evangelical and Baptist Churches stand up together and preach in each other's churches. It could be seen that the older generations prefer traditional

ways of cooperation. While the younger generations prefer new ways of cooperation and they enthuse over cooperation with smaller churches.

According to Csaba Szentesi Orthodox priest, the idea of different churches working together is important. If the members of different religions get to the point when they do not start fighting with each other and especially priests and pastors reach the level where they can make friendships and pray together to the same God, it is a very big achievement. Not really the religion of the other matters but the kind of man or woman he or she is. The connection between the churches themselves was not formed, which is a big problem. The ecumenical connections became impersonal and they are narrowed to the level of priests and pastors. No tight cooperation was formed between churches yet. In this field we can experience both opening and closing, it depends on the priests. If the priest is dubious and cautious, the whole congregation reacts in this way. If he is closed, it brings out the same reaction from the members of his church. The Orthodox Church thinks that there could be a stronger cooperation between Christians and Jews because they represent the roots of Christianity. Christian religion rests upon Jewish foundations, a lot can be learnt from common discussions. However, their presence in Debrecen cannot be recognised.

From the leadership of the Jewish congregation in Debrecen, Péter Wiesz stressed that 7 years ago they stepped on a new path, on which besides opening up and having respect towards each other, they also started to get closer to the others. It is a unique and marvellous journey that they did together with the help and involvement of the media. They say the following about tolerance, which is in their culture: respect the stranger, because once you were one too. This means that all man should be respected. The connection is very important and it became exemplary. Nowadays it is not surprising that the leaders of different churches are present on the programs of the Synagogue at Hanukah. This is a kind of return to the historical roots that characterised their relationship with the historical churches, and with the biggest in Debrecen, the Reformed Church. Thus the connection is not surprising and not new, we only have to warm up its deeper, more affectionate form, because Debrecen's first synagogue was inaugurated by Hegymegi Kiss Áron, who was the Bishop of the Reformed Church. According to his opinion, he should go on this way, we should seek each other, because there is a strong link connecting us, which is the belief in the One who is everlasting, and peace and love should rest on this belief.

On the basis of the above mentioned, we can say that Debrecen is not only very divers in a religious sense, but it is also the place where ecumenicalism is flourishing. Opening up characterises the churches of Debrecen. They are not only partners if they are asked, but almost all

churches take the initiative of prayers communion. All of the asked people considered those initiatives positive whose aim was ecumenicalism. But we can see clearly that younger generations are the ones who welcome the cross-religious relationship between different churches and the communion with the others more. Even more, it is typical that in the lack of experience they are in search for the religion that most satisfy their needs for religious practices. Lots of people have their faith in the One God, but the form of expressing it is missing. It is the private responsibility of the churches what they show from themselves and who represents them. How they point out that the practice of pure faith is the road towards inward peace.

All these things stated above support the already mentioned idea that the religious diversity of Debrecen assumes that there must be some kind of cooperation between the different churches. Thus, there is ecumenicalism in the city and it has quite an old tradition. We can admit that we can talk about clearly vivid connection and connections. It is apparent that according to the size of a given church, but opinions are changing. On the behaviour of the Reformed Church it can be felt that they are the "big," while the others who are overshadowed are much more open for cooperation. This characterises the youth as well.

We have to focus on one more question, which is the relationship of Christians and Jews. We have to examine how Christian young people think of Jewish people. At first sight we are surprised because an absolute opening characterises the priests and pastors. They clearly believe that Jewish belief is the basis of their Christian faith. As it is a base in the Holy Scripture, in the Bible, it also appears as a base in the minds of Christian believers, that the root of their faith is to be found in Jewish Faith.

As a summary, it can be said that all six churches believe that they should not do differences among people, we are one, but we express it differently. From these answers, it is clear how the leaders of the churches think about the importance of ecumenicalism and its necessity. The programs show how those who are invited in the studio see ecumenicalism in its foundations and realities. They talked about how they can teach in wide circles the idea of tolerance and acceptance.

Summary

As Asztrik Várszegi, the main abbot of the Abbey of Pannonhalma once said: "Ecumenism is nothing else but friendship, prayer and the search for the Unity of Christians all over the world." This expresses very well the essence of the communion of religions and churches. Ecumenicalism perhaps starts first from inside, in the honest recognition that I cannot be redeemed

alone, that those who believe in Jesus Christ are my brothers and they are praising the same one God that I do. Moreover, the seeing of the reason that all Christian Churches have some kind of gifts from the Christian inheritance, but there are parts to which one holds more loyal than to another, and these are offered during the discussions. Since people can get closer to each other if they are conscious of their own values, and at the same time they are able to accept the gifts of others (Abbé Conturier). If, besides the correct value system, this opening up and honesty are formed within us, then we do it right if we try to get to know the life and belief of our Christian brothers belonging to other religious traditions. Not because we think that "all beliefs are the same," not on the cost of giving up our own faith, but in order to search for the deeper understanding of truth together, and a definition that comes to life from the synthesis of different but usually complementing points of view. All this seems to become reality in DebrecenThe Source of Our Strength programme (we can as might as well call it a project) is a good example for how a TV programme can mediate values, arguments, thoughts about belonging together, about ecumenicalism. And here it has to be mentioned that this transmission has shown best why this programme is special. Six historical Churches around table. And they can speak without any hostilities. They are working in one community for one common aim. The sentence of Péter Weisz, the leader of the Jewish Community fits here: "we have a strong link that connects us: this is the belief in the one Eternal." This is the biggest result of the programme. This sheds a light on that there can be a living relationship between different religions; and at the birth of this connection the local media had a preferential role.

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MÁRTA MIKLÓSI

THE 2007 CHANGES OF THE SYSTEM OF INSTITUTIONAL AND PROGRAM ACCREDITATION

Church maintained adult educational organizations in the region rely on intermittent traditions, thus it is important to face the legal conditions they have to meet at their restart.

Accreditation

Accreditation is a method of quality assurance, a basic tool for certification, and plays a significant role in certifying the quality of trainings. "*It is a quality assurance system based on self-qualification, which includes the specification of requirements relevant to the quality level in demand, as well as the description and operation of the system of evaluation which hinges upon the self-qualification of institutions*" (Zachár 2004). In other terms, we may define it as a method for qualification, evaluation, and certification, which is represented on the input side by publicly specified requirements prescribed in governmental and ministerial decrees and in reality by status attributes produced by the given institution (Henczi 2004:32). This certification process is founded upon the inspection of whether certain predefined requirements exist. If, therefore, the body authorized for certification (in the case of adult education, the Board for the Accreditation of Adult Education – FAT) judges the trainings and institutions performing the training appropriate, it may authorize the launching of a training program (Cserné 2003:129). It is necessary to emphasize that the expert is not required to consider the quality of the end product of the institution – the learning gained – but must judge whether it complies with the requirements and demands defined by law (Szivi 2005:35). The granting of the accreditation is followed by the periodic control of quality, in order to confirm that the conditions for accreditation remain to exist.

The adult education act (Act C of 2001) intended to prescribe the implementation of quality assurance and accreditation in adult education for several reasons: first, to protect the interests of the trainees, that is, the consumers. The reason is that the adult education market is rather multifaceted (adult and other education is included in the activities of a great amount of business associations) and flexible, we may find both smaller and bigger training organizations which all attempt to adjust to the training demands of the labor market and the expectations of people. The rules of the market are a coercive force, and in these cases, along with self-regulation,

there is need for strong and guaranteed consumer protection for the benefit of individuals utilizing the services (Sum 2002:354). It is vital for the adults wishing to learn that the given training system be transparent, in order that they know what training options exist for them, what the actual training is worth on the labor market, in their individual and social lives (Gutassy 2004:134). The third important aim – of primary importance to the financer – is controllability. The realization of this requirement is mainly important for the state, especially due to the publicly financed adult education institutions (Sum 2002:354). These objectives were to be realized in the framework of a certain **institutional and program accreditation system**, in connection with the network of conditions under which state subsidies were to be granted could be regulated as well. Thus, at the time of the utilization of training services, the protection of the citizen as consumer may be secured, as their training is performed within a controllable system. In addition, this provides significant help for the participants in and financers of adult education – state bodies (local governments, labor organizations), business associations, and the individual – ensuring that they subsidize and choose institutions on the basis of well-established criteria.

The adult education act in 2001 defined the **regulation system of adult education**. In accordance with this, the Minister for Employment and Labor were authorized for the sector control of adult education, the act established National Adult Education Committee as a body assisting their activity; National Institute for Adult Education for the development of professional, methodological, and research activities; and Board for the Accreditation of Adult Education for the accreditation of institutions performing adult education activity and adult education programs (Benedek & Csoma & Harangi 2002:67). Certain changes affected the institutions of vocational education and adult education as well **in 2007,** due to the transformation of the governmental structure.

The National Committee for Vocational and Adult Education – hereinafter referred to as NSZFT, its legal predecessor: National Adult Education Committee[166] – was established under the adult education act in 2002. NSZFT is a professional decision-preparatory, reporting, and advisory board relevant to adult education, which serves a special opinionating function. Its duty relevant to accreditation is to report on the order of accreditation procedure and the professional requirements of the accreditation (paragraph (2) §5 of Act CI of 2001).

For the task of performing the accreditation of institutions involved in adult education activity and adult education programs the minister for employment and labor established Board for the Accreditation of Adult

[166] Legal background: §5 and 6 of Act CI of 2001 on adult education

Education [167] (FAT), which attends to the qualification of the adult education institute and program, the certification of their quality as well as the control of the accredited adult education institute and accredited adult education program (paragraph (2) §2 of Governmental Decree 22 of 2004). FAT not only supervises adult education activity of accredited adult education institutes and decides on revoking the accreditation on the basis of the inspection results. It is an independent professional board which originally had 17 members, but the changes in the governmental organizational system and the fusion of the ministries it was reasonable to restructure it and decrease its staff to 15 for reasons of cost-efficiency.[168] On the basis of the observations executed in relevance to the accreditation system which had operated since 2002, the modification of the members' periods of appointments from two years to three years was justified by the wish to ensure stable operation (Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor 2007).

National Institute for Adult Education [169] was also established in 2002. Its major duty relevant to accreditation is to prepare the decisions of accreditation matters in the scope of FAT and perform secretarial tasks related to those as well as to keep records of the accredited institutions and programs (paragraph (2) §7 of Act CI of 2001). Although the same laws govern both **institutional and program accreditation,** from the practical viewpoint (prior to 1 July 2007) these were unrelated, since those adult education institutions that had institutional accreditation did not always run accredited training programs and, vice versa, adult education institutions having accredited programs did not always have to possess an institutional accreditation as well (Nádráné 2005:65). This situation changed radically as of 1 July 2007, since when exclusively institutions having program-accreditation and a realized training program have had the possibility to submit their institutional accreditation application. This new regulation was introduced by Decree 4 of 2007 (II. 12.) of the Minister for Social Affairs and Labor.

Institutional Accreditation

The adult education act defines the concept of **institutional accreditation** as follows: "*the examination of the control of training (curriculum development, education/training, evaluation) and adult education service activity performed*

[167] Legal background: §13 and 6 of Act CI of 2001 on adult education, §2-7, §10 of Governmental Decree 22 of 2004 (II. 16.)

[168] FAT includes as members the minister, as well as renowned experts among the representatives of churches, economic chambers, employers, employees, local governments, professional adult education organizations, and adult education (Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor 2007).

[169] Legal background: §7 of Act CI of 2001 on adult education

in an adult education institution as well as of the level of regulation of control and decision-making processes implemented at the institution, and the certification of those in terms of quality" (§29 of Act CI of 2001). The examination of the institution's adult education activity means the disclosure of three areas: first, the actual adult education activity, that is, professional content (training activity), second, the related services, and third, the assessment of control and decision-making processes. This latter factor is clearly not to be missed primarily since adult education activity is always performed by an organization, the operation and organizational level of which have repercussions in the training activity, thus the quality of the training (Sum 2002:358). This is the area where the well-known qualifying procedures may be applied (e.g. ISO, TQM), as it is of no importance whether the control processes of a training institution are examined or not, it could be any other type of service provider, since the level of regulatedness of control and decision-making processes is irrelevant of professional content (Sum 2002:360).

The accreditation of adult education institutions has a double purpose. On the one hand, it provides guarantee about training venues of higher quality indices for the persons utilizing adult education, on the other, it renders the institutions comparable for experts according to the criteria of total institutional operation and the programs supplied (Zachár 2004). Quality requirements related to institutional accreditation are also defined by valid laws, which reflect the fact that the state recognizes these.

Program Accreditation

Accreditation in terms of the training program confirms the fact that the program of the training complies with the professional and training requirements and this is certified by the bodies authorized to grant accreditation (Benedek & Csoma & Harangi 2002:22). The adult education act specifies the following definition for **program accreditation**: *"program accreditation is the examination of compliance with the training purpose (with special emphasis on the demand of the labor market and the improvement of living conditions), of conformance with feasibility, the contents of the training, and the pedagogical/andragogical requirements, and the certification of those in terms of quality"* (§29 of Act CI of 2001).

The introduction of the institution of program accreditation in 2003 effected a new situation in the indirect recognition of qualifications by the state, regarding the fact that although in the case of the accredited program there is no direct officially recognized qualification by the state, several factors reinforce acknowledgment by the state. Such conditions are, for example, the definition of concrete requirements as for contents in decrees, the actual tax allowances, the automatic registration previously accredited training programs on the basis of other laws, and the specification of state orders as

preconditions. These factors all contribute to the fact that a direct connection be established between the two elements of the training process: requirements (and the objectives clearly appearing within those) and results. Further, another effect of regulation is that it renders the training system clearer, more transparent (e.g., by the simplified accreditation of already recognized programs), or that it makes adult education more attractive in terms of financials (e.g., by allowances provided by the state for adults) (Szilágyi 2005:39). Although the submittal of accreditation applications is thus in some cases motivated by the possibility of acquirable allowances, the "quality" certificate of possessing market value is also favorable for companies, naturally (Henczi 2005:148).

The institution performing adult education may request accreditation of the training program in two ways: (1) By applying for the accreditation of an own-developed program, this procedure is called "program accreditation." (2) At the request of other adult education institutions, by applying for the accreditation directed at the own realization of a training program already accredited by FAT, in this case we have "simplified program accreditation" (Rettegi 2006:18).

Summary

In 2007, several modifications entered into force regarding the accreditation system of adult education institutions and programs. The adult education act had not specified the purpose of institutional accreditation up to that point, and for the persons utilizing the trainings, it was not altogether clear that accreditation was supposed to guarantee a higher level of quality. Similarly, the training institutions conformed to the requirements of accreditation up to the point where it was acquired. It was necessary to highlight the higher requirements of the state regarding accredited institutions.

From the aspect of our subject matter, the most significant change was that in the adult education act as a further condition of institutional accreditation it was specified that the institution had to have the accreditation of at least one training program already realized by the institution along with the annual training plan approved by a professional advisory board, and, further, that along with the training, it also had to provide services related to the adult education activity (Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor 2007).

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SZILVIA SIMÁNDI

DIE KIRCHEN UND DER TOURISMUS – DIE MÖGLICHKEIT DER ZUSAMMENARBEIT ANHAND DEUTSCHER BEISPIELE

Der Tourismus ist ein weltumfassendes Phänomen

Wenn wir heutzutage vom Tourismus sprechen, meinen wir Reisen in all seinen Erscheinungsformen. Es ist nicht einfach, die Vielfalt der Erscheinungsformen des Reisens und der Reisemotive in einer kurzen Begriffsbestimmung zu fassen (Schäfer 2001:18). Der Tourismus oder Fremdenverkehr ist nach Kaspar (1991:18) „*die Gesamtheit der Beziehungen und Erscheinungen, die sich aus der Reise und dem Aufenthalt von Personen ergeben, für die der Aufenthaltsort weder hauptsächlicher und dauernder Wohn- noch Arbeitsort ist*". Im Einzelnen gelten die folgenden Bedingungsfaktoren als Ursachen für den postmodernen Massentourismus: (Bachleitner 1998:47). (1) von der Eisenbahn über die private Motorisierung hin zu den Charterlinien; (2) Quantitativer Zuwachs von Blockfreizeit; (3) Wertewandel bzw. veränderte Wertakzentuierung (von Pflichtwerten zu hedonistischen Wertvorstellungen); (4) Motivation durch Reiseberichte und -führer, Reiseliteratur sowie eine breite Tourismusberichterstattung in den Medien.

Müller (2002:18) hat in seiner Studie die gesellschaftlichen Nutzeneffekte des Tourismus folgenderweise zusammengefasst: (1) Regeneration und Ausgleich; (2) Gesellschaftliche Integration; (3) Kulturelle Identität; (4) Emanzipation; (5) Völkerverständigung; (6) Lebensqualität in Randgebieten.

Man kann auch das feststellen, dass seit Beginn der 1980er Jahre eine Gegenbewegung zum Massentourismus, der „Sanfte Tourismus" entstanden ist. Robert Jungk (1980) nennt man Vater des Begriffs „sanfter Tourismus" und mit dem Begriff „sanfter Tourismus" wird im Allgemeinen eine Bewegung verstanden, die eine neue touristische Geisteshaltung umfängt.

Tabelle 1: Sanfter Tourismus – die neue touristische Geisteshaltung

Hartes Reisen	*Sanftes Reisen*
Massentourismus	Einzel-, Familien- und Freundesreisen
Wenig Zeit	Viel Zeit
Schnelle Verkehrsmittel	Angemessene (auch langsame) Verkehrsmittel
Festes Programm	Spontane Entscheidungen
Außengelenkt	Innengelenkt
Importierter Lebensstil	landesüblicher Lebensstil
„Sehenswürdigkeiten“	*Erlebnisse*
Bequem und passiv	Anstrengend und aktiv
Wenig oder keine geistige Vorbereitung	Vorhergehende Beschäftigung mit dem Besuchsland
Keine Fremdsprache	Sprachenlernen
Überlegenheitsgefühl	Lernfreude
Einkaufen („Shopping“)	Geschenke bringen
Souvenirs	Erinnerungen, Aufzeichnungen, neue Erkenntnisse
Knipsen und Ansichtskarten	Fotografieren, Zeichnen, Malen

(Jungk 1980:156)

Michalkó (2004:21) beschreibt die Erscheinung des Tourismus als Suche nach Erlebnisse. In diesem Zusammenhang wird auf Schulzes Werk „Erlebnisgesellschaft“ hingewiesen, wo die Erlebnisse eine wichtige Rolle in dem Leben der Gesellschaft spielen, also unsere Gesellschaft erlebnisorientiert ist. Mit den Worten von Schulze: „*Innenorientierung ist Erlebnisorientierung. Das Projekt des schönen Lebens ist das Projekt, etwas zu erleben.*“ (Schulze 1992:38) „*Erlebnisse entstehen in einem singulären inneren Universum. Was auch immer im Hier und Jetzt geschieht (…) das Ereignis wird erst durch seine Integration in einem schon vorhandenen subjektiven Kontext zum Erlebnis.*“ (Schulze 1992:44) Die Erlebnisse sind nach Hartmann und Haubl (1996:12): (1) „abhängig von der einzigartigen Lebensgeschichte dessen, der sie erlebt”, (2) „selbstbezügliche, „innere“ Ereignisse, die bildhaft wahrgenommen werden und vorerst nur subjektiv eine Bedeutung haben”, (3) „noch keine Erfahrungen, denn Erfahrung gewinnt man durch wiederholte, reflektierte und damit verarbeitete Erlebnisse”.

Müller (2002:38) hat die vier E der Erlebnisgesellschaft folgenderweise geschaffen, also:

Ereignis → Erlebnis → Erkenntnis → Erfahrung

Man kann auch feststellen, dass die Palette der Urlaubsmotive breit ist. Viele Urlauber sehnen sich nach Ruhe, viel Sonne und etwas anderes zu machen, als im Alltag. „*So kann das Reisen durch die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Neuen zur Weiterentwicklung der Persönlichkeit beitragen. Auf jeden Fall möchte man Zeit haben. Zeit für sich, für andere und auch für Gott*".[170]

Bubmann (1996:145-146) hält zusammenfassend in seiner Studie fest, dass „*die zunehmende Erlebnisorientierung vor den Kirchentüren nicht haltmacht. Zu fragen bleibt dabei allerdings, ob der unscharfe Erlebnis-Begriff die Differenzen zwischen sehr unterschiedlichen Erfahrungsprozessen in Kirche, Religion und Erlebnisgesellschaft nicht vorschnell einebnet. Eine Unterscheidung der Erlebnis-Geister scheint unumgänglich."*

Nach Isenberg (2002:2) ist die Kirche selbst Opfer der Freizeit- und Erlebnisorientierung der Gesellschaft geworden. Es wird gesagt, dass der Tourismus und die Spiritualität eigentlich gegeneinanderstehen, und viele Autoren meinen, dass sie sich nicht gut vertragen. „*Der Begriff spirituell/Spiritualität ist dabei zweifellos ebenso aktuell wie vielschichtig, zählt er doch zu den religiösen Modewörtern unserer Zeit. Spirituell wollen viele Menschen sein (…) ohne dass dies mit einem klaren religiösen Bekenntnis verbunden sein muss"* (Haunerland 2004:13-17). In dieser Studie wird spiritueller Tourismus als „*geistliches und körperliches Reisen"* beschrieben, von Menschen die auf der Suche nach Erfahrungen des Lebenssinns oder Werten sind. Klaus-Peter Weinhold (2004:18) verwendet dafür den Begriff des „beseelten Reisens".

Pastor Christian Cordes (2004) sieht so, dass die Bedeutung geöffneter Kirchen für das religiöse Erleben von Menschen in unserer Gesellschaft gewachsen ist. *„Ganz unterschiedliche Menschen suchen offene Kirchen mit unterschiedlichen Interessen auf. Sie sind dankbar für einen Kirchenraum, in dem sie zur Ruhe kommen und selbst Rhythmus und Intensität der Annäherung bestimmen können. Sie sind dankbar für einen Kirchenraum, in dem sie zum eigenen Schauen, Hören, Tasten und Erinnern angeleitet werden. Seit Mitte der 90er Jahre wird besonders im Tourismusbereich beobachtet, dass sich etwas verändert: Viele Besucher und Besucherinnen kommen, weil sie sich einfach von Kirchenräumen angezogen fühlen. Sie halten sich gerade im Urlaub gern in Kirchen auf und möchten hier persönliche Erfahrungen machen, die über ein Kunsterlebnis hinausgehen. Nicht wenige möchten diese gute Erfahrung zu Hause*

[170] Fern der Heimat: Kirche - Urlaubs-Seelsorge im Wandel. Ein Beitrag der EKD zu einer missionarischen Handlungsstrategie
http://www.ekd.de/EKD-Texte/ekd_texte_82_1.html (12.05.2007)

wiederholen. Insofern sind Beobachtungen aus „Kirche im Tourismus"durchaus bedeutsam für den Gemeindealltag jenseits der Touristenströme" (Cordes 2004:2).

Barbaric fügt hinzu, dass man die Pilgerfahrten seit langem kennt, die Pilgerfahrten nicht neue Erscheinungen sind. *„Sie sind ein Ausdruck des Menschen, der Gott an Orten sucht, an denen Er sich auf besondere Weise offenbarte, an denen Er den Menschen die Möglichkeit gab, Seine Anwesenheit leichter zu fühlen oder bei besonders begabten Personen, die mit ihren Gaben ein besonderes Zeichen der Anwesenheit Gottes bezeugen. Deshalb gibt es Pilgerorte, die die Menschen anziehen und zu denen sie auf der Suche nach neuen Gotteserfahrungen kommen, beziehungsweise nach Erfahrungen des Friedens, der Freude, Liebe und Hoffnung.*" *(*Barbaric 2007[171]). Mit der Pilgerfahrt verläßt der Mensch seinen Alltag, also man läßt Arbeit, Familie, Freunde, Sicherheit hinter sich und macht sich auf seinen Weg. Die Frage ist bloß, wo die Pilgerfahrt und wo der Tourismus beginnt?

Pusztai (1998:13) betrachtet den Tourismus als einen modernen Ritus. Er beginnt mit einer Abfahrt, im Mitten steht die Veränderung, die Erfahrung des Unbekannten und am Ende steht der Zurückkehr in die Alltäglichkeit. Manche Menschen wollen einfach nur weg, andere wollen in der Ferne zu sich selbst finden. Nach Lübbren & Crouch (2003:12) unterscheidet sich der Tourist vom Pilger dadurch, dass er die Kirche betrachtete, ohne zu beten.

Bei dem *Deutschen Seminar für Tourismus Berlin* gibt es viele Forschungsdenkansätze zum Thema „Kirchen im Tourismus", wie zum Beispiel[172]: (1) Gesellschaft zwischen Spaß und Nachdenklichkeit. (2) Urlaub – Atempause für die Seele. (3) Gott treffen im künstlichen Paradies: Gottesdienst im Freizeitpark und Impulse für den Alltag der Gemeinde. (4) Gottesdienst in der Freizeitwelt. (5) Postmoderne Beliebigkeit und der Dienst der Kirche. (6) Sehnsucht nach Verwandlung - Wunschvorstellungen postmoderner Touristen. (7) Lebensziel Wellness? Zur Rolle der Kirche in der Wellnessbewegung. (8) Seelsorge im touristischen Umfeld; (9) Offene Kirchen.[173]

In einer deutschen Forschung[174] mit dem Titel „*Im Urlaub dem Sinn des Lebens auf der Spur*" wurde festgestellt, dass von den Befragten 40% bejahen,

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[171] Dr. fra Slavko Barbarić (2007): Anthropologisch-biblische und religiös-geistige Dimensionen der Pilgerfahrt
Mit konkretem Bezug auf Medjugorje http://212.39.96.6/antropoloskige.htm (12. 04. 2007).

[172] nach „Deutschem Seminar für Tourismus Berlin" Kirchen und Tourismus - Beispiele erfolgreicher Zusammenarbeit Dokumentation zum Seminar 02-125; Berlin 2002:134 S. Herausgeber: DSFT Berlin e.V.

[173] z.B.: www.kirche-im-tourismus.de , www.tourismus-und-kirche.de, www.kirchliche-dienste.de, www.kirche-tourismus.de, www.offene-kirchen.de, www.kirche-unterwegs.info, www.ewk.tourismus-und-kirche.de

[174] Zitert Isenberg 2002:12.

dass sie den Urlaub als Gelegenheit nutzen, um über Sinn und Gestaltung des eigenes Lebens nachzudenken. Es wurde noch festgestellt, dass die Frauen offener für Sinnfragen als die Männer sind.

Die Rolle und die Funktion der Kirche im Tourismus wurde von Isenberg (2002:4) folgenderweise zusammengefasst: (1) Caritative Funktion: Organisation von Urlaubsangeboten für sozial benachteiligte gesellschaftliche Gruppierungen. (2) Spirituelle Funktion: Kirchenführungen, Konzerte, Lesungen, Vorträge, geistliche Impulse. (3) Pastorale Funktion: Gottesdienste, Meditationen. (4) Pädagogische Funktion: Programm-Gestaltung von Ferien. (5) Beratende, „therapeutische Funktion". (6) Mahnende Funktion: Kritik an den negativen Auswirkungen des Tourismus auf Kultur, Gesellschaft oder Ökonomie.

Schlusswort

Zum Beschlusse wird auf die Botschaft von Johannes Paul II. zum XXII. Welttag des Tourismus hingewiesen. Johannes Paul II. betrachtete den Tourismus als eine Chance für den Frieden und eine Chance andere Kulturen kennen zu lernen.[175] „*Es kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass der Tourismus, wenn er richtig verstanden wird, eine Chance für den Dialog zwischen den Völkern und Kulturen ist und somit einen wertvollen Dienst am Frieden leistet. Das Wesen des Tourismus bewirkt nämlich mehrere Umstände, die spontan zu diesem Dialog disponieren."* Der Tourismus ist noch mehr: *„So ermöglicht der Tourismus den Menschen zum Beispiel, vom Alltag, vom Beruf und von den Pflichten, die wir notwendigerweise zu erfüllen haben, Abstand zu gewinnen. In dieser Situation erlangt der Mensch die Fähigkeit, das eigene Dasein und das der anderen mit anderen Augen zu sehen: Frei von den dringenden Alltagsgeschäften hat er Gelegenheit, die eigene kontemplative Dimension wiederzuentdecken, indem er Gottes Spuren in der Natur und vor allem in den anderen Menschen erkennt. (Angelus vom 21. Juli 1996). Der Tourismus bringt den Menschen mit anderen Lebensweisen, anderen Religionen, anderen Weltanschauungen und Interpretationen der Menschheitsgeschichte in Kontakt. Dadurch entdeckt er sich selbst und die anderen, als Einzelne und als Gemeinschaft, eingetaucht in die weite Geschichte der Menschheit, als Erben und Geschwister eines familiären und zugleich fremden Universums.*"

[175]Botschaft von Johannes Paul II.zum XXII. Welttag des Tourismus. Aus dem Vatikan, 9. Juni 2001 http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/tourism /documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_20010619_giornata-mondiale-turismo_ge.html (2.4.2007)

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