

HIGHER EDUCATION
IN THE ROMANIA-HUNGARY CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AREA

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE ROMANIA-HUNGARY CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AREA

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FOREWORD

The present collection of papers is one part out of a series of HERD volumes, which were partly published in Oradea (Romania) and partly in Debrecen (Hungary). But what are the HERD volumes and why have they been published in the twin cities, Oradea and Debrecen? And, above all, what is HERD?

HERD is an acronym used for research administration and management and it stands for of the title of the joint project of the two cities, *Higher Education for Social Cohesion*. The project was conducted in 2011-2012 and it was an R&D project involving three universities (the University of Oradea and Partium Christian University - from Oradea, Romania; and the University of Debrecen, in Hungary). The project was financed in the frame of the Hungary-Romania Cross-border Cooperation Programme (HURÓ) and it was supported by the European Regional Development Fund. The project investigated various means and tools through which higher education institutions from the region might contribute to increasing social cohesion (hence the above mentioned publications in cooperation with Debrecen and Oradea).

The Euroregion Bihar-Bihor, where the project was conducted, requires support for social cohesion. This cross-border euroregion has its own history in the development of both countries, which goes back some centuries earlier. Initially, it was created to serve as a feudal county (the catchment area of the former fortress of Bihar). It became part of the cross-border region called 'Partium' in the 16-17th centuries. Then, in the 18th century, the Bihar-Bihor area formed the middle part of a new administrative region, while in the 20th century it was split into two parts due to the new Hungarian-Romanian border.

For historical reasons (as it was a cross-border area during the communist era) the region became an economically and socially deprived area. Yet, its higher education institutions are strongly committed to contributing to the development of the region. But do they have the necessary means and tools to do so? In the quest for answers, the present collection of studies, research reports and essays show their realities and possibilities.

*

Mihály FÓNAI investigates the old connections between socio-economic status and students' educational progress in an innovative way; 2700 students at nine different higher educational institutions from the 'Partium' cross-border region were investigated. The results show that SES does not affect educational progress in a direct way. Instead, educational progress "can be explained through the different types of capital, as well as the

simultaneous activation of family ("class") habits and institutional habits, and as such the effect of the SES is in fact indirect". *(The relationship between socio-economic status and educational progress).*

Katalin KARDOS's paper is based on her earlier research on denominational high school students, which highlighted the strength of the denominational schools in the development of skills and social competencies. In her present research Kardos states that the previous advantages of the denominational school students did not evaporate during their higher education years. They proved to have strong social competencies, as well as loyalty to their student groups. *(Former denominational school children in the higher education institutions of the Partium region)*

Szilvia BARTA studies the connection between the learning attitudes and moral awareness of students in higher education. Based on an analysis of the HERD 2012 database and its comparison two empirical databases of CHERD (Centre for Higher Education Research and Development, University of Debrecen), the author states that "religious students are more inclined to accept and approve of (we do not analyze the practice, just the theory) the ethics, norms and rules governing academic life; moreover, they are less tolerant towards academically inappropriate and dishonest behaviour". *(The impact of moral awareness and religious practice on students' learning attitudes – a continuation of an interregional analysis)*

Edina KOVÁCS discusses the development of identity of the pre-service teachers from the 'Partium' cross-border region; 292 pedagogy candidates from the HERD database (N=2728) were investigated. A significant number of students identify themselves with the feminine and the extended teacher role. That is to say that "most of them would accept working in disadvantaged areas or among children with special educational needs; they give great importance to assisting students who lag behind and would focus on children's socialization, as well". *(The Characteristics of Identity Development of Pedagogy Students from the Partium Historical Region).*

Zsolt Botond BOTTYAN and Floare CHIPEA conducted a qualitative research among Roma students at the University of Oradea (Romania). Their findings were the following: Roma students, even those enrolled in higher education, still suffer from poverty, prejudice and a lack of sufficient academic preparation during their high school years. Yet the 14 interviews aim at showing their dedication as university students and the various ways in which they fight for survival. *(Issues regarding the integration of young Roma students in higher education)*

Ibolya VERESSNÉ-GÖNCZI and Erzsébet RÁKÓ conducted interviews in order to explore the situation of 'underprivileged' students in universities; 6400 students at the University of Debrecen (Hungary) applied for 'regular social grants' in the academic year of 2011/2012. Among them, 10 students had been raised in foster homes and joined the 'aftercare' program. On the basis of structured interviews with them, the authors found that "the complete system of support services established so far in our country does not fulfil its role... In order to accomplish this, one very important condition would need to be met, namely ongoing professional cooperation". (*The condition of the underprivileged and foster youth educated in higher education, understood through interview analysis*).

Ildikó PETŐ and Tímea Ceglédi investigated teachers' attitudes towards students with special needs. They adopted *The Sentiments, Attitudes and Concerns about Inclusive Education Scale (SACIE)*, a tool for measuring teachers' feelings, concerns and attitudes towards inclusive education. Analysing the 402 questionnaires applied, they focused on the demographic and professional differences, while making an attempt to present how teachers of different age, teaching on different school levels, having different everyday and professional experience, view the teachability of SEN students and how their attitudes toward inclusion can be described. (*Attitudes toward SEN students among Hungarian teachers*)

Nóra Veronika Németh studied pre-service teachers and their 'consumption' of media. The author gathered data from 470 questionnaires of an online survey conducted among pre-service teachers at six higher education institutions from the 'Partium' cross-border region. The study shows that media consumption (e.g. reading) has not declined but has undergone fundamental changes. Internet has become the leading medium of mass-media, as a growing percentage of all the related activities (that is, reading books, looking for information, fulfilling tasks, entertainment etc.) were facilitated by the Internet. The use of the Internet is related to socio-economic and cultural factors. (*Pre-service teachers' reading culture and usage of media*).

Ágnes Réka Dusa looks at the factors influencing the 'mobility plans' of the students in higher education. The student sample consisted of higher education students from the 'Partium' cross-border region (Romania, Hungary and the Ukraine). The author examined such factors as socio-economic status and academic success (the higher the values of those factors, the stronger the motivation for academic mobility of the students). Hungarians proved to be the most mobile, while students in higher education from the Ukraine showed the highest reluctance for mobility. (*The factors influencing student mobility plans*).

Györgyi SZILÁGYI, András GYŐRBÍRÓ and Judit-Klaudia GOMBIK examine adult education in the 'Partium' cross-border region. The responses of university leaders in charge of adult and professional education programs from three universities in Oradea (Romania) were collected through interviews and focus group discussions. While adult education within higher education is a burning necessity according to transnational and national sources, good practices are still absent in the 'Partium' cross-border region. Instead, lip service and PR activities were more likely to be found on websites and to emerge during the interviews and discussions. *(The situation of the professional and adult education network, with special focus on the higher educational institutions in the Partium region)*

In their analysis of the main scholarly literature, Andor SZŐCS and Márk BIRINYI state that the connection between learning and work is a kind of 'investment into the future'. They are interested in students who work during their student years. After analysing essential concepts like 'work attitude', 'working while learning' and 'continuous learning', the authors stated that 'work-based learning' is closely connected with present-day social mobility. *(Investing in the future - the connections between learning and work).*

Gábor FLÓRA examines the future of the graduates of his own university. Based on a follow-up study conducted at PCU, 32 % of the graduates received a job contract right after graduation (the share is 7 % per cent higher than the national average in Romania). The region where they were employed is the Romanian part of the Bihor-Bihar cross-border region. Although this result is encouraging, further surveys should be conducted to answer the question of 'employability'. *(Partium Christian University graduates on the labour market)*

Judit CSOBA and Katalin ÁBRAHÁM examine students' plans after graduation. As part of their research, the authors analysed the HERD 2012 data base which gathered the responses of 2700 higher education students from Hungary, Romania and the Ukraine (a cross-border region). The authors point out the 'dual rationality' in the expectations of the present employers and the future employees. While the students and their families still value permanent contracts and labour market skills, the employers seek competencies, flexibility and loyalty. *(Students' plans regarding employment and adult education)*

The study of Rita MÁTYÁSI – Krisztina BERNÁTH – Andrea BERCE aimed at mapping employers' demands of competences which are expected from young labour market entrants. In addition, the study deals with the question about the extent to which newly graduates meet employers' expectations – expectations and preparedness for the labour market are described.

The results show that along with professional skills, other competencies such as precision, reliability, information technology skills, communication, cooperation, teamwork, ability to learn and independent working ability are also considered important by employers. It seems that social competencies dominate the list of requirements (supplementing the professional skills), however, the ability to learn and information technology skills are also pivotal. *(Professional vs. social competences. What do employers expect from young employees)*

*

Is the contribution of university to social cohesion – as the third mission of the regional universities – really possible? The articles from the present volume reach a unanimous conclusion: the third mission of the universities in the region is possible, but only if the universities cooperate. Cross-border cooperation in the Bihar-Bihor region is not solely an opportunity for economic ventures and socio-cultural initiatives; it also enables higher education to contribute to the increase of social cohesion in the region.

The editors

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Mihály Fónai

Why socioeconomic status?

The articles presenting university education can be classified into two groups: the ones which deal with the reproduction of social inequalities and the ones that focus on the balancing of inequalities. These aspects cannot be restrained to the controversy of reproducing vs. counterbalancing capital theories or the approaches thereof, while the theories dealing with inequalities and their reproduction present a very complex process as well (Boudon 1981, Bourdieu – Passeron 1977, Bourdieu 1978). The theories referring to the counterbalancing of inequalities present several approaches and explanations. These mainly include the social capital theories (Coleman 1987, 1988, 1996, 2006, Pusztai 2004, 2011), and the explanations referring to micro-level phenomena of inequalities (Alwin – Thornton 1984, Mare 1981). The majority of social capital theories emphasize the processes counterbalancing and compensating inequalities, while the cultural capital theories mainly deal with the nature of inequalities (Bourdieu 1986, 1997, DiMaggio – Mohr 1985, 1998).

The socioeconomic theories and explanations are theories which mainly discuss and explain social inequalities. The “socioeconomic status” (SES) itself is a complex index which measures social status based on several variables, and which was created for the purpose of measuring the dimensions and effects of the different inequalities. The SES indexes are constituted of income, qualification, the status and prestige of professions as well as the variables measuring wellbeing. Based on the hereby elaborated index, the socioeconomic status can be classified as low, middle and high categories (Bradley, Robert H. – Corwyn, Robert F. 2002, Bates, John E. 1994, Dodge, Kenneth A. – Pettit Gregory S. – Hauser, Robert M. 1994, Kraus – Keltner 2008).

The articles dealing with the effects of the socioeconomic status concentrate mainly on young childhood and school age, and thus on the family and school learning and socialization of children. They frequently analyze the phenomena of school disadvantage and dropout, and, within these, the effects of household income, the educational qualification of the mother, the consistency of the family and the effects of other socioeconomic variables, e.g. the qualification and professional status of the head of the household and homeownership. Several theories refer to the fact that besides the educational qualification and professional status of the parents, the cognitive, health and socio-emotional components are also very important (Bradley, Robert H. – Corwyn, Robert F. 2002, Hoff, Erika 2003, Hauser, R. M. – Phang, H.S. 1993, McLoyd, Vonnie C. 1998).

Higher education: reproduction mechanisms and theories

As I have already mentioned, the socioeconomic theories and the researches based on these can be connected mainly to the theories of reproduction. The recreation of inequalities in public and higher education was the central statement of the educational research of the period between the 60's and the 80's (Bourdieu 1978, Boudon 1981). This interpretation went hand in hand with the structuralist approach to mobility, which interpreted the movement of different social classes within the vertical social processes in social - economic - structural contexts (Baron 1998, Andorka et. al. 1994, Róbert 2000). Nevertheless new conditions were created through the expansion of the school system on its every level, which resulted in an increase in the chance of mobility for students coming from lower classes as well - it is a different question whether the expanding higher education really contributed to the decrease of inequalities or not (Veroszta 2009, Hrubos 2009).

Among the theories analyzing the access to higher education of students coming from different social classes one can identify structuralist (macro-level) and individualist (micro-level) explanations (Baron 1998, the summary of the theories: Ceglédi – Fónai 2012). The structuralist approaches examine whether the expansion of higher education had a positive effect or not on the access to higher education of more disadvantaged students. One can differentiate two possible explanations: based on the first one the self-exclusion of low status participants is present even on the middle level (Bourdieu 1978, 2003, Róbert 2000), while others argue that access can be easily explained by filling the "empty statuses", the phenomenon of zero correlation, this meaning that the mobility of the lower classes serves the filling of depreciated expert official, managerial and white-collar jobs (Lipset – Zetterberg 1998, Lipset et al. 1998, Róbert 2000). In any case this resulted in the fact that in spite of the unequal processes ("empty status") the ratio of the low status participants in Hungarian higher education is 40% of the total number of students (Székelyi et al. 1998).

On the micro-level, individualist interpretations focus on whether provenance has an effect on higher education or not, as compared to the processes experienced in public education. Based on the *life cycle theory*, progress on the educational scale is concomitant with the decrease in the importance of provenance (Alwin – Thornton 1984), while there is an increase in other factors, e.g. school, peers, supporting systems, personal activity of the individual (Mare – Chang 2003, Mare 1981, Bass – Darvas, 2008). Based on the selection process hypothesis, the effect of provenance decreases, which can originate from the fact that in higher education there are much more selected groups (Mare – Chang 2003).

Other analysts speak about the upward movement of the effects of provenance suggesting that the inequalities balanced on the lower levels of education are present in higher education, in the type of the institution attended, and its effects on the choice of workplace as well (Róbert 2000, Györgyi 2010). A

similar process is identified within the hypothesis of differentiated selection, according to which on a higher level of education such an audience is present, which has already been selected based on their abilities and motivations. Nevertheless the similarities in abilities and motivations are the reasons why the selective role of the social and economic background becomes more accentuated (Csata 2006).

The role of habit in the higher education processes

In Bourdieu's interpretation the habit is the motivation of social actors, something that is formed through socialization. It is constructed by the legitimate behavioural repertoire, the anticipation, observational, cognitive schemes, which affect the individuals in their decisions (Bourdieu, 1978). The habit can determine the person's approach, and can reproduce the objective structures which have created it; it can determine experience and the attitude towards the future, together with the school investment strategies. In Bourdieu's case habit is "class ethos" as well, which goes hand in hand with the compliance between "orientation" and "possibilities" such as the ethos of the philistine, the citizen and the nation. These exercises always respond to the objective conditions, the developed orientation makes the negative sanctions stemming from the ability of accommodation acceptable. The habit as a maintainer of the class ethos reproduces the objective connection between the social classes and the school, for example regarding the steepness of the attainable career trajectories. The habit also means behavioral inertia, which is deposited in the form of perceptual, evaluation, activity schemes. As these schemes and exercises are similar for generations, the habit also acts as "the material base of collective memory", and as a result of which it will have an important role in the transmission of socialization.

The habit, the lifestyle and the subculture also play an important role in academic socialization. In Bourdieu's opinion the degree to which the habit of the family and that of the academic institution is similar is an important moment and so is whether the culture of the university codes belongs to the social classes or not. Ultimately it may occur that the dominant culture validates the patterns of power over the weaker ones, the lower status participants do not fit into the system of elite higher education (Bourdieu – Passeron, 1977).

Apparently the students have a hard time changing the habits they bring from their families, as a result of which their group affiliation depends on habit. The ones who do not have a dominant habit (characteristic of the institution) are also called non-traditional students - they are the ones of lower status, lower aspirations and they drop out easily (Reay et al., 2009). Zinnecker analyzes this phenomenon based on Bourdieu's theory of cultural field and class ethos (Zinnecker, 2006). In his opinion the field of higher education and its culture is known to the intelligentsia, to the economic bourgeoisie as well as to the children of middle-class intelligentsia, but it is foreign to the children

of the lower middle-class and the ones lacking capital. This can be further strengthened by disciplinary socialization. The important agents of disciplinary socialization are the teachers themselves: the differences and patterns among them create differences among the students as well, which concomitantly seem to fortify the recruitment of certain specialties and faculties, as well as the logic of different learning strategies, and they can result in differences in learning strategies, styles, as well as different possibilities and extent of involvement in the scientific work. The different student recruitments, the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the institutions affect the dominant culture within the institution as well, as the dominant cultural, social group thrives, understanding institutional culture, while others feel like fish out of water (Pusztai, 2011). This is further complicated by the fact that the students are also divided by the prestige of the disciplines - the high prestige disciplines are dominated by high status teachers and students (DiMaggio – Mohr, 1985).

The types of students

The issues addressed in the article below are strongly connected to the choice of values of university students, which has a determining effect on the activity of the students, their social relations, their attitude towards their peers and their teachers, their relationship to academics and educational goals (Pusztai 2011). One of the most important workshops dealing the research of Hungarian university education is the CHERD research group of the University of Debrecen as in the first decade of the 2000's it carried out several studies on life style, value system, academic progress, relationships and integration (Bocsi 2009, Fónai – Márton 2011, Nyüsti – Ceglédi 2010, Pusztai, 2009, 2011, Pusztai et al. 2011). In the article below I mainly focus on the results of Pusztai's research on the cultural integration and academic norms (Pusztai 2011).

Based on cultural integration Pusztai differentiates four groups of students. Regarding the *learning-oriented*, *ambitious* group he stresses the fact that it encompasses those who were not learning-oriented before. He notes a very important event, the fact that the relationship "density" of the children of highly educated parents decreases their learning-oriented nature. Those who value "*carefree student life*" are characterized by certain access and preservation of their status, the search for moratorium, hedonism and the avoidance of adult responsibilities. If this habit has a dominant effect on the spirit of an institution, it will affect every group. The *prestige seeking students* are motivated by a future-centered orientation and the wish to avoid starting work. As a desire, it characterizes the low status students. But this habit is introduced into the institutions of higher education by the children of upper middle-class parents. The group of *undecided* students considers the period of higher education a possibility to gain time to find talent, and this goes hand in hand with the idealization of the academic environment. The qualification of the parents has a smaller effect on this, but in the contexts of the children of highly educated parents it has a decreasing effect on the ratio of undecided students.

Based on their attitude towards learning norms Pusztai differentiates three types (2011). The *egotistic moral* type is characterized by the avoidance of learning and performance. The high qualification of parents and, paradoxically, the lower cultural capital context (bigger city, less educated parents) favour this type. The *selectively moral* type of students strive to decide what to learn on their own, and make choices based on interest and disinterest. The development of this type is favoured by high cultural capital and the first generation context as well. The *norm abiding* student reads, learns and does not cheat during the exams. It is an interesting paradox, that while the children of highly educated parents are skeptical regarding the abiding of norms, the high cultural capital facilitates abiding the norms.

Jancsák Csaba, while studying the value judgement system of the student in teacher training, expected that social disadvantage goes hand in hand with a materialistic value orientation, while a better life situation results in a post-materialistic value orientation. By comparison his empirical results showed that the socially disadvantaged students preferred universal post-material values while the non-disadvantaged students had material value orientations (Jancsák 2012). Based on Veroszta's hypothesis, the "academic values" may characterize the university students involved in classical faculties and in elite training. The "practical values" are most likely chosen by the college students, the students of private and foundation institutions as well as the ones involved in economic and technical training, while the "values of social responsibility" were expected from the students in theology, social sciences and pedagogy (Veroszta 2010).

Hypotheses

I expect that there is an increase in the effect of provenance in the analyzed sample, this meaning that the inequalities that are balanced in the lower levels of education are present in higher education as well, in our case as a result of such effects the socioeconomic status of the students has a more accentuated role in their high-school results than during their university education. In my opinion during the academic career the SES has a much more accentuated effect on institutional embedding, on the patterns of behavior and values, as well as on the habits rather than on performance. My assumptions also mean that I do not see a direct connection between the socioeconomic status of the students and some elements of their academic career.

The sample

In my study I analyze the HERD research database. In my research I included the students of nine academic institutions within the Partium Christian University. The whole sample included 2728 students, 1295 of these from Hungary (47.5% of the whole sample), 1323 from Romania (48.5%) and 109 stu-

dents from Ukraine (4.0%). *In the study below I present an analysis referring to the complete sample*, I do not apply any international comparative study, as I do not take into consideration the differences between the faculties, specialties or gender. My approach is also explained by the phenomenon of “change in the era of youth”, meaning that I accept the statement according to which the segmented youth culture results in life-leading, value-selecting and life-style consequences, and as such I emphasize the similar tendencies.

Socioeconomic status

The international scholarly literature presents several methods to the creation of socioeconomic status. The most common index is built by considering income, qualification, the status and prestige of professions as well as the variables of wellbeing. The present article takes into account the type of high-school of the students, the qualification and profession of the parents, with a special regard to the insecurities of income indexes and the problems of comparing the different countries. The creation of the index was further hindered by the differences in public education in the three countries. Based on the three original variables the index can take on a value on a scale between 3 and 42. Based on this value the students from the sample were classified into low, medium and high SES groups, low socioeconomic status meaning a value between 3 and 14, middle a value between 15 and 28, while the high means a value between 29 and 42. In the case of the whole sample 33.1% of the students belonged to the low socioeconomic status group, 50.3% in the middle, while 16.6% in the high SES group. There are significant differences between students from the different countries based on their SES index. The highest status students come from Hungary, there is an almost equal amount of low and middle status students among the Romanian ones, while the Ukrainian students are typically middle status (Table 1.).

Table 1: The distribution of students based on SES (percentage)

	Low status	Middle status	High status	Frequency, capita
Students from Hungary	23.7	53.4	23.0	1192
Students from Romania	42.2	46.4	11.4	1256
Students from Ukraine	31.0	63.0	6.0	100
Total	33.1	50.3	16.6	2548

The connection between high-school performance and socioeconomic status

The interpretation of high-school performance can be explained both based on reproduction and "balancing" models. The reproduction models refer to school performance explained by the social status of the parents, which in the case of the middle-leveled goes hand in hand with important selection and exclusion processes, especially in the school systems similar to the Hungarian one, in which the certain school types have substantially different social recruitment strategies (Liskó 1993, Fehérvári – Liskó 1998, Lannert 2004). The social capital theories and the micro-level explanations emphasize the fact that the school is capable to moderate the social inequalities brought by the students. Based on the answers given by the students during the HERD research there are no significant differences in the case of high-school performance, which means that based on the students' interpretation, the inequalities arising from the socioeconomic status are not active after finishing high-school (Table 2.).

Table 2: Have you received any kind of scholarship, award during grades 9-12?

	Low status	Middle status	High status	Significance
Because of social need	17.7	9.0	1.9	0.000
For artistic and sports performance	16.2	20.0	21.7	0.043
For academic performance	40.3	37.9	36.7	NS
For competition results	22.8	26.0	28.2	NS

The situation is different if we analyze the additional points in the year of the baccalaureate. There is an obvious significant difference between disadvantaged situations and the socioeconomic status, which is natural, as only those who belonged to the lower SES group could receive additional points for their disadvantaged situation. In the case of the intermediate and especially in the case of the advanced complex language certificate the difference is obvious between the SES groups (Table 3.).

**Table 3: Were you entitled to get plus scores
in the year of the baccalaureate (the positive answers)**

	Low status	Middle status	High status	Significance
Because of social disadvantage	15.2	10.0	4.3	0.000
Intermediate language certificate	32.6	41.4	59.9	0.000
Advanced language certificate	4.2	8.9	14.7	0.000
Multiple social disadvantage	9.6	1.6	0.8	0.000
Advanced baccalaureate	29.5	42.2	56.3	0.000
Because of sports performance	3.9	4.1	4.8	NS
For academic competition	6.6	6.7	5.6	NS
Because of disability	1.8	1.5	2.0	NS
Ethnicity	0.8	0.8	1.5	NS
Qualification as a technician	8.6	7.3	3.8	NS
Child care (maternity leave)	2.1	1.0	0.8	NS

In the case of high-school performance there is no obvious effect of the socio-economic status. Although in the case of artistic performance and language certificates the difference is significant and on these areas there is an advantage of the high socioeconomic status students, there is no difference on the level of academic achievement and competitions results, moreover in the case of academic performance the lower status students happened to be more successful. This means that the impact of the family, that of the social background of the family prevails on the areas connected to cultural capital, through mechanisms which reproduce the created social differences and reproduce the social advantages of privileged students. What can the school do? It can decrease the social inequalities through academic results - at least this is what the students answered. In other words, although I do not corroborate this through data in the present article, the educational system - through the different forms of social capital - is able to decrease the inequalities between students (Coleman 1987, 1996, 2006, Pusztai 2009). The prevalence of the simultaneous effects of the different types of capital is supported by the answers given referring to further education.

**Table 4: Have the following played any role
in your decision to continue studying (the positive answers)**

	Low status	Middle status	High status	Significance
Followed family example	17.0	28.4	55.8	0.000
Could afford it	41.1	47.7	56.2	0.000
The opinion and pressure of parents and teachers	26.9	31.1	34.3	0.023
Followed the example of friends	21.8	24.0	28.8	0.030
Did not have to pay tuition	49.2	54.6	49.1	0.031
To find a well-paid job	79.7	78.6	79.6	NS
To have a respected profession	75.1	77.6	77.2	NS
Chance to receive a leadership position	55.3	55.6	56.6	NS
To gain knowledge	90.5	92.2	91.5	NS
It is easier to get a job with a college degree	85.0	83.7	81.5	NS
Did not want to work yet	29.3	31.9	31.5	NS
To create multiple relationships	61.1	60.9	58.5	NS

The socioeconomic status marks a significant difference on the areas referring to the family as well as the ones connected to the social environment, in what regards decisions referring to higher education. There are no differences between the long term life-goals, the career possibilities, gaining a high social status, the growth of knowledge and building relationships. These elements constitute the standard components of academic goals of the students, regardless of their social background. This corresponds to the specific goal system of this change in a young person's life, to the middle-class nature of the youths as well as to the important role of education (Gábor 1993, Zinnecker 1993). The distinctions between the students with different socioeconomic statuses are grouped around two factors. One of these, which is the direct effect of the SES, the statement characterizing the material situation of the family: the student chooses to continue learning because he can afford it; although the difference is significant, the low and middle status students consider this to be true.

In the case of the decisions referring to higher education the effect of the family network and friends seems to be much more important. The most important one is the influence of the family: this can be explained by both the reproduction theories and the social capital theories. As the SES index applied in the article is mostly based on qualification, the example and effect of the

parents is mainly explained as the result of cultural capital, a will for the child to “reproduce” the status of the parents (see for further examples: Andor – Liskó, 2000). The opinion and pressure of the teachers seems to belong to the area of social capital, as the teachers support their students in their further education through the effective validation of the norms of the school. In the case of the friends the result of the supportive social capital is much more obvious, as those belonging to the social network think in a similar way, have similar values and thus have a supportive effect on the most important decisions (we might add that the theories of inequality discuss the ones for those who can enter this social network).

In sum, high school results and the continuation of studies seems to be more determined by the socioeconomic status (and cultural capital) than by the forms of social capital – and this is further complicated by the effects of change in the life period of the young person, the fact that several phenomena are formed by youth culture and to a lesser extent by the family or the school.

Academic performance and behavioral patterns as related to socioeconomic status

In the case of academic performance we can observe similar tendencies to those which affect high school performance, but academic education and the new institutional environment is more suitable for the effects of the institutional habits and the institutional capitals to become active. Although these prevail on mid-level among the different types of school, so within an institution there is less chance for the “fish out of water” effect to occur (Reay et al. 2009).

Table 5: Are the following statements true? (the positive answers)

	Low status	Middle status	High status	Significance
Has a CV written in a foreign language	22.2	27.0	33.6	0.000
Intermediate foreign language certificate	41.9	54.5	72.4	0.000
Received other scholarships	40.0	46.8	49.0	0.002
Member of talent development program	5.9	4.5	9.6	0.010
Internationally accepted advanced foreign language certificate	16.3	18.7	22.9	0.021
Conference presentation, poster	9.9	9.3	13.8	0.030
Hired as a demonstrator	4.6	7.1	7.8	0.031
Has own research topic	33.5	34.0	35.3	NS
Has a paper presented at the Students' National Conference (OTDK)	11.4	11.7	13.1	NS
Has own publications	7.8	9.8	10.2	NS
Received a merit scholarship	24.3	24.7	24.8	NS
Has a private student	15.6	16.3	19.1	NS
Has a Hungarian professional CV	49.1	49.6	54.0	NS
Class leader	14.6	16.1	16.0	NS
Has some sort of own creation	15.8	16.1	19.2	NS
Scholarship for talent development program	3.7	3.8	5.4	NS
Scientific scholarship	1.9	3.4	3.6	NS
Received a national scholarship	2.5	2.8	2.1	NS

Regarding the curricular issues and issues that result from other aspects (e.g. academic purposes) there are no significant differences between the SES groups of students or which result from other aspects, e.g. academic purposes. Similarly to high school performance that has an impact on performance, the university as an institution is capable to reduce the differences between students although the majority of the universities have no programs organized for this very specific goal - but it seems that the mechanism of the university is the factor that decreases the differences. Of course the students'

integration into the institution has to be kept in mind such as intra- and inter-generational relations (Pusztai 2011). The situation is the same in the case of the prevailing interests, self-articulation and other areas (private students, Hungarian CV) – as I was referring to the changes in the lives of the youth and they constitute an element of the multiple parts of a standard youth culture.

In the different socioeconomic groups the differences between the young students are remarkable if analyzing the cultural capital of the family and the institutional habit. Similar to high school performance the foreign language certificate and the CV written in other languages are most significant here. Although there is no difference among the students based on their activity within the student academic groups, there are differences regarding their participation on conferences. That, and the demonstrator positions suggests that there will be groups of students who are compatible with the value system of the institution, its disciplinary methods and institutional capital, while the other students are not – this confirms the claims of the habit theories of different social backgrounds students (DiMaggio – Mohr 1985, Zinnecker 2006). The explanation of the result seems to be controversial: the participation in talent nursing programs. Because we are talking about an international model and different countries have different solutions to conduct talent support programs this could also be a cause for the differences between the students belonging to different SES groups. In the case of Hungarian professional colleges in Budapest the fact that the students have parents with university degrees has an important role both regarding the access to and becoming a member of them. In the case of Hungarian universities outside Budapest the differences are much less accentuated, and the access to talent support programs is formed by high-school performance and the qualification of the parents as well (Ceglédi – Fónai 2012). This duality can be observed not only in the case of these programs: the high-school and academic performance of the respondent students are characterised by similarities in areas regarding institutional goals, and as such personal achievement can play an important role, independently of family background and supported by institutional capital as well. On other areas of the research the socio-demographic status and the cultural capital of the family does cause differences between the students. Yet in many cases, especially in high-school, the cultural and family capital plays a significant role and reduces the differences. This phenomenon is also true in the case of university students, but on the *areas analyzed by me* we can observe the effects of the institutional habit in the relationship between the students and the university, which does not balance the differences between the students.

Value choices regarding academic work and goals

During the research we also analyzed the value choices regarding academic work and goals by seeking their confirmation of 23 statements related to the

topic. The variables were divided into 4-4 main components through main component analysis. Analyzing the main components of the personal and the presumptive agreement of the peers resulted in 4 main components. Each of the variables of these components is consistent with each other to a large extent and this is why I used the same name with the new variables. The four student types have their own distinctive marks that are significantly different.

The main components that were chosen to be developed by the students themselves form 52.18 percent of the total variance (see: Annex 1.). The main components that were formed by the choices of others (that is in fact the perception of the students about the choices of their colleagues) explain 51.37 percent of the total variance (Annex 2.):

The variance of the main components by personal choice:

- the one who breaches the norms: 21.87
- ambitious: 13.14
- achieving: 10.4
- fair: 6.75

The explained variance quota based on the second choice in the explained main variants:

- the one who breaches the norms: 23.69
- ambitious: 13.01
- achieving: 8.28
- fair: 6.88

By analyzing the choice of values we can see that there is no direct link between the social status and the value choices of the students. The only sure thing is that some values and behavioral patterns are chosen by specific groups of students, or the very group tends to reject the respective values. All of the different internal studies point to this direction. By looking at the total HERD sample, indifferent of the location of the university or of the faculty of the students, we experience that there are no possible academic behavioral types, or significant differences regarding the value attitudes between the students with different socioeconomic statuses, yet the slight differences signal some slight tendencies (Tables 6 and 7).

In the total sample there is a difference between personal choice and the judgment of others' choices based on the factor weights of the "achieving" factor. Therefore, the students are strongly accepting in the case of "achievement", despite the fact that they think that their fellows are negative about achievement (Annexes 1 and 2). This strong discrepancy refers to the fact that the students see themselves as achievers regarding academics, while they think that others are not. The judgment of academic performance is incongruent amongst the students "we do it but we do not talk about it". Achieving the tasks is important but the only thing to be seen is that others are not doing it.

Such differences are impossible to be observed in the case of the SES groups. This is possible only by looking at the total sample which underlines the fact that the incongruent attitude of the students towards academic performance is a standard aspect of the academic career. The academic performance is important (not the mark itself, but the reading of compulsory and recommended literature), but the perception that others seem to think that this is not a desirable goal and value is at least as important, and this is why we do not speak about it. The “slight” differences of the SES variable are depicting this phenomenon from many points of view (Table 6. and 7.).

Table 6: The relation between the socioeconomic status and the behaviour of the students (the main components of personal conduct)

	Low status		Middle status		High status		Total sample	
	average	standard deviation	average	standard deviation	average	standard deviation	average	standard deviation
The one who breaches the norms:	0.050	0.982	-0.019	0.975	-0.060	1.039	-0.004	0.989
Ambitious:	-0.037	1.016	-0.004	0.988	0.083	0.999	-0.0001	0.999
Achieving:	-0.049	1.038	0.007	0.986	0.066	0.955	-0.0006	0.998
Fair:	0.026	1.079	0.002	0.968	0.013	0.925	0.010	0.998
Number of elements	660		1051		347		2058	

Significance: there is no significant difference

Table 7: The relation between the socioeconomic status and the behaviour of the students (the main components of the judgment upon the conduct of others)

	Low status		Middle status		High status		Total sample	
	average	standard deviation	average	standard deviation	average	standard deviation	average	standard deviation
The one who breaches the norms:	0.022	0.932	-0.015	0.997	-0.076	0.992	-0.013	0.975
Ambitious:	-0.041	1.028	-0.008	0.998	0.091	0.921	-0.002	0.996
Achieving:	0.046	1.018	-0.011	0.970	-0.076	0.995	-0.003	0.990
Fair:	-0.017	1.010	0.005	0.999	0.113	0.924	0.010	0.991
Number of elements	738		1146		370		2254	

Significance: there is no significant difference

By studying the factors based on the evaluation of the behavior of the students, these slight differences show that the choices of students with a low socioeconomic status are incongruent. They are the ones who are ready to breach the norms in one way or another but they also tend to be fair in the aspect of academic behavior and they moderately refuse cheating referring to performance as well. They also describe their colleagues by using the same incongruent behavior and the values that are linked to it. In their opinion their fellows are open to breach the norms to a certain extent and they are also interested in achieving but they refuse ambition and fairness regarding academic performance. This very incongruent picture corresponds to the statements of the habit theory about the “people” (plebs) who feel foreign in the academic world (Bourdieu 1978, Reay et al. 2009, Zinnecker 2006) and the empirical results of the research conducted among the students (Pusztai 2011, Jancsák 2012).

From Bourdieu’s categories of habit the choices of the middle socioeconomic status students a “philistine” image seems to be outlined. They see themselves as achieving and fair in terms of getting their grades based on their academic performance, behavior and the value choices connected to this. They also consider themselves to reject the breaking of norms and ambition. They think that their fellows are very similar to them, they can only detect some differences when talking about performance (“we do more, they do less”).

The choices of students with a high socioeconomic status are also incongruent but in a different way, not like in the case of the members of the low SES group. Despite the fact that they reject breaking the rules to a small degree, however, with respect to their own choices, ambition, achievement and fairness can coexist. Their performative value choices make them similar to the groups described by the habit theories, the groups that feel at “home” in academic circles. From a different point of view they are similar to the types of researches conducted by students in the area (Pusztai 2011, Pusztai et al. 2011) and they can effectively affect the performance and the choices of others. This is supported by the contradictions they manifest regarding their fellows: they consider each other less of a rule-breaker, a little ambitious, mostly fair (!), and nevertheless less achieving. In other words, they sense that their peers try to meet the expectations of the university’s academic medium “in any way” (by cheating or fairly), but the most academic achievement is “not natural” for them, lacking the will to read all compulsory and recommended literature. This is a very fine distinction, suggesting that they are familiar with these expectations, they consider them to be natural, and for them the academic world of the university is something that feels “homey”.

Conclusions

In my hypotheses on the socioeconomic status I underlined the fact that the SES has no direct impact upon academic life and the value and behavioral choices of the students. The results show that the SES does not affect school life, academic career and its possible inequalities in a direct way. The differences between high school and university performance are much more easily explained by the differences in the families' cultural capital. In this case, the question is the following: what is the role of cultural capital maintaining reproduction processes within the socioeconomic status? Regarding the methods of creating the SES index and as such in the creation of our index it could be said that although the SES indexes take several variables and factors into consideration, due to their link to the education, they mediate the differences between cultural capitals, between families and social groups, and in this respect the direct effect of the SES on school performance is sufficiently explained. In addition to the differences in cultural capital, the institutional capital, the institutional habit and the social capital of families are the ones that explain several analyzed phenomena, partly on school performance, partly regarding the continuation of studies, partly regarding the value choices of the students. It seems that the results can be explained by the different types of capital, as well as the simultaneous activation of family ("class") habit and institutional habit, and as such the effect of the SES is in fact indirect.

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Annexes

1. The original variables and their factor weights of the main components created based on assuming personal choice.

1. factor: “breach of norms”: it is acceptable to sit exam for someone else (.839), to rip out a page from a book in the library (.824), let someone else do our projects (.784), to deliberately manipulate the research results (.746), mentioning fictional sources and irrelevant works, ones that were not read, in the bibliography (.654), to buy theses for money (.653), use other authors’ texts, thoughts without reference (.612), to lie if the project is not ready on deadline (.501), regularly skip classes (.477)
2. factor “ambitious”: it is acceptable to whisper during examination (.647), lend notes to others (.575), learn only those subjects thoroughly which really interest me (.559), to study only in order to receive a higher scholarship (.559), regular cheating at exams (.514)

3. factor “achieving”: it is natural to read the compulsory literature (.845), and it is also natural to read the recommended literature (.840)
4. factor “fair”: it is important to learn even if cheating is an option (.707), if cheating becomes known, it is shame not just bad luck (.671), it is natural to do every project by ourselves (.557)

2. The original variables and their factor weights of the main components created based on assuming other’s choice.

1. factor: “breach of norms”: it is acceptable to take an exam for someone else (.805), to rip out a page from a book in the library (.795), to deliberately manipulate the research results (.771), let someone else do our projects (.697), mentioning fictional sources and irrelevant works, ones that were not read, in the bibliography (.642), use other authors’ texts, thoughts without reference (.628), to receive a degree without real educational performance (.624), to buy theses for money (.818), to lie if the project is not ready on deadline (.481)
2. factor “ambitious”: it is acceptable if one needs to study only in order to receive the higher scholarship (.604), strive for a thorough knowledge in those subject areas that are in my interest (.579), it is natural to lend notes to others (.576), or to copy from someone else during exams (.568), help someone by whispering during a test or exam (.567), regular cheating during exams in the university (.517).
3. factor “achieving”: it is also natural to read the recommended literature besides the compulsory one (-.811), it is natural to read the compulsory literature (-.795)
4. factor “fair”: if cheating is found out, it is shame not just bad luck (.680), it is important to learn even if by cheating one can get a higher grade (.634), it is natural to do every project by ourselves (.556)

FORMER DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOL CHILDREN IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS OF PARTIUM REGION

Katalin Kardos

The impact of denominational high schools on higher education studies

Denominational education in our country traces back to several centuries ago. Throughout history, social changes have occurred through which its aims, principles, pedagogical functions have changed in a natural way. In a perpetually evolving world these institutions have always fulfilled the very different expectations of the population, however, we can include in its constant features the following: support of talented students with disadvantaged social status and the concept of education taken in a broad sense (Pusztai 2004). The important distinguishing characteristics of the religious concept of education include appreciation of communitarianism and evolutionist conception of deliberate, conscious, professional education (Pusztai 2011).

According to Korzenszky (1992), the demand for religious educational institutions stems from three sources. Firstly, religious people living according to the teachings of the Church support their children to form an attachment to denominational institutions during their studies. Secondly, some students chose these kinds of educational institutions because of their cultural offer. Thirdly, many emphasise the values resulting from the denominational nature, the personality-forming, educational impact of religion (Kardos 2011).

Religiosity and religious education in denominational schools represent a cohesive force which exercises a great influence on the development of community relationships. According to Coleman's timeless hypothesis, an extremely strong social network system evolved around the religious educational institutions. This network system connects generations, thus, creates social capital and facilitates the evolution of cultural capital in the schools, which gives an explanation for the high school results of the youth studying in denominational institutions. Closure means, on the one hand, the features related to the structure of the denominational institutions, and, on the other hand, the community cohesion norms (Kardos 2009).

In his work from 2011, Pusztai noticed that reproductive determinisms favouring students with advantageous social status did not equally prevail among the students attending institutions with various financial supports. However, in the course of the analysis of school communities it became clear that the answer lies in the structure of student and parent relationship network and, respectively, in their frequency in school. We can say that it is the dominance of the

cohesive, stable relationships, supporting norm safety which reduces social inequalities among the students in the denominational schools. In this medium even the students from disadvantaged social situation have better results (Pusztai 2011).

Based on this, we can say that attending denominational school has a good influence on the evolution of the school career of the students with disadvantaged social background, since in these institutions the student is an integral member of the community, parents and children with similar culture belong together, which becomes a source of power supporting the development of the students and reducing the disadvantages due to the disparity of the cultural capital (Pusztai 2011).

The parent society of the school with a functional community has an existent system of values and norms (they belong to the same denomination or, very often, to the same religious community), therefore, parents possess a kind of formal and content toolbar (an entire system of values and frequent interactions), so that the youth should obtain results considered important to the community (Coleman–Hoffer 1987 quoted by Pusztai 2012)¹.

In his work, Frigy Szabolcs (2012) draws attention to the fact that they represent a high standard in terms of added value of denominational education. This results, on the one hand, from the fact that these institutions -due to their calling- support the children of parents from lower social strata and undertake their schooling, and, on the other hand, they pursue heterogeneity from the point of view of the social groups forming the youth, and in general there is a conscious pursuit to build, strengthen the relationship network among the students and to keep it beyond the institutional frame (Frigy 2012).

Common characteristics of the denominational educational institutions are that religiosity can influence further studies in two ways. On the one hand, students are characterized by stronger goal orientation, and, on the other hand, it means a system of relationships which can inspire disadvantaged students to continue their studies. This latter effect can be present not only at the individual level, but also at the school or class level (Pusztai 2004).

The students' socio-cultural background

We can say about the majority of denominational educational institutions that they admit students from towns and villages to their institutions in a higher rate. Thus, they contribute to the compensation of the inequalities due to the settlement type of the students' residence. (Kardos, 2009)

Concerning the relation between settlement type and religiosity, scholarly literature considers, in general, that due to the urbanization of the residence, from smaller to bigger settlements, religiosity gets weaker. Some explain this with the fact that community relationships in the cities have become broken (Pusztai, 2004). However, it is true that the later literature of sociology of reli-

¹ Coleman, James S. – Hoffer, Thomas: *Public and private high schools*. The impact of communities. New York, 1987, Basic Books

gion points out the appearance of a new metropolitan type (with high status) of religiosity (Pusztai 2009).

Pusztai (2004) states that in the families of students from denominational institutions, high average number of children per family can be noticed. The high number of children can be regarded as one of the dimensions of religiosity since, by its impact on daily life, religious spirit can increase the chance of wanting a child, even in case of more children. In case of more children, however, parents' attention becomes divided, and, in spite of their high cultural capital, they can pay less attention to the education of their children.

The decrease of social capital within the family leads to the fact that parents are less capable to pay attention to their young adult children, which can even negatively influence students' performance in the school. Thus, we can conclude that families with more children prefer denominational educational institutions to the traditional ones because they expect the supplementation of the social capital from them (Pusztai 2004 quoted by Kardos 2011).

There is a close connection between the number of children and the parents' highest level of education. In contrast to the general hypotheses, high number of children does not occur among the low-educated, but among the mothers and fathers with high level of education. (Pusztai 2004)

Among the factors determining the families' social status, parents' educational level is not the only one, but it plays the most decisive role. It is the father's education which influences the most the buoyancy force on the school progress of the next generation (Pusztai 2004).

Religiosity

According to Mészáros (1997), there are no homogeneous schools from the point of view of denomination. The reason for that might be that Catholic schools have always been receptive towards other religions. Based on Andorka's (1997) opinion, religions fulfil a very important function for the entire society in such a way that they offer a common explanation frame about life, values and norms to the members of the society. They help social integration, create a sense of belonging, create communities and legitimate the existent social institutions.

The intimacy of prayer is the interior indicator of religiosity. By expressing the frequency of prayer, we confess our relation to faith. Analysing this dimension, we can receive a more accurate picture regarding the religiosity of the target group (Németh 2010).

Denominational education often means giving example, transmitting values, which challenges students to moral reasoning and behaviour, to undertake social responsibility, to reach results, to reflect on their future (Kardos 2011). According to Pusztai's (2004) statement, the activity of the student community and the religious circle of friends acquire an important role, since the more homogenous the system of values and norms of the individual's environment is, the more successfully he can interiorize the norms (Pusztai 2004).

Characteristics of former denominational high school students

Throughout our research we used the HERD research data base. We included in the sample first-year and third-year undergraduate students (BA/BSc), first-year graduate students (MA/MSc), respectively, first-year and fourth-year students from the undivided programs, full time, budgeted and tuitioned students. Sampling was carried out through the combination of layered and multi-stage group sampling techniques: after the stratification of the reference population by faculties we applied the stratification by level of education and years within each faculty.

We found 303 students asked within the HERD research (N=2728) who were admitted to higher education after finishing their studies at a denominational high school.

127 out of the examined students are students at the University of Debrecen, 13 at the College of Nyíregyháza, 7 at Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher Training College of the Reformed Church, 156 are students studying at universities abroad.

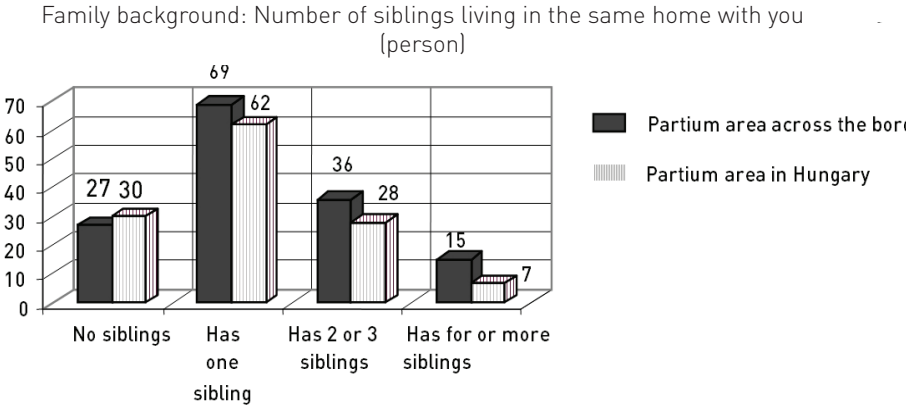
Based on the literature, in the centre of our attention are those university students who once studied at denominational high schools. We were curious to find out in what ways are the following present in the life of the student from the analysed sample: the strong social network system, norm safety, impact decreasing social inequalities, student goal orientation and need of performance emerging in these institutions during higher education studies.

Concerning the entire area of Partium we can state that the majority of the students finished their high school studies in smaller settlements, and then, they were admitted to the actual institutions of higher education; students coming from county capitals, bigger cities (e.g. Debrecen, Nyíregyháza, Miskolc, Oradea) occupied the second place, while the number of students coming from rural areas was also significant.

Based on our previous knowledge, we anticipate the result according to which in the case of denominational high schools the number of students who come from traditionally numerous families is likely to be higher (Kardos 2011).

In the case of students living across the border, we can say that they come from somehow larger families than their mates from Hungary. The connection between the high number of children and choice for a denominational high school is likely to exist in their case (Diagram 1.).

Diagram 1.



As we concluded above, there are many students among the former denominational vocational high school students who come from a large family. In the following, we analyse the relation between a high number of children and the parents' school education.

We can say, regarding the whole area of Partium, that almost one fifth of the parents have a tertiary education, holding a university or college diploma. The number of doctorates is not significant. In the area across the border, the number of parents holding a higher education diploma is lower, but both the mothers and the fathers holding a school leaving diploma have a better rate (170 persons) than their mates in Hungary (82 persons).

We got desperate answers to the question asking to describe their family's financial status. Very few of the families of the respondent students can say that they can afford higher expenses in everyday life, one tenth of the students have difficulties even with everyday cost of living (Table 1.)

Table 1.

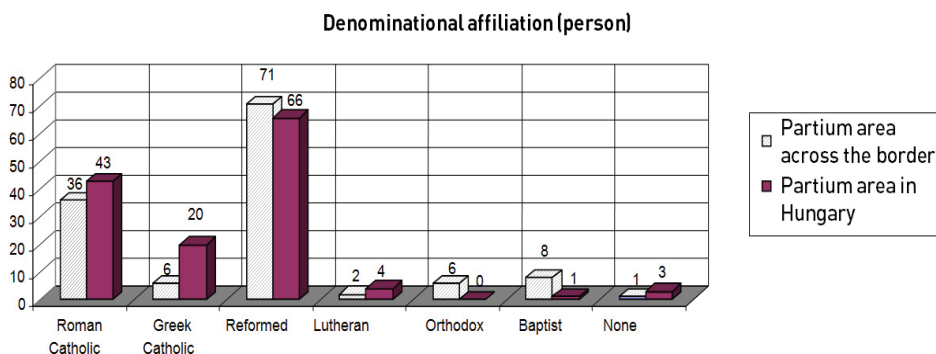
	How would you describe your family's financial situation? (person)			
	We have everything, we can afford higher expenses	We have everything, we cannot afford higher expenses	It happens that we cannot cover our daily expenses	We have everything, but we cannot save any money
Cross-border regions of Partium	17	49	15	68
Partium area in Hungary	38	86	15	0

Based on the results obtained, we can say that denominational high schools are schools of the children of lower-status parents with modest financial situation, where students have good chances to be admitted to higher education. Religiosity and religious education in the denominational educational institution mean a cohesive power which closely affects the evolution of community relationships, which later on become long-term friendships.

Our analysis showed that former denominational high school students form close friendship during the university years as well, and they cultivate the community spirit and relationships existing before going to university. Concerning all the analysed area we can say that approximately 90% of the students have mates, friends with whom they can talk about their problems related to their studies or private life. It is important to mention that more than half of the respondents consider that studentship is a cohesive (191 persons) and synergistic (247 persons) community.

Regarding denominational affiliation, in both cases we have almost similar experiences (Diagram 2.), the rate of the students belonging to the Reformed Church is considerably high, while it is followed by the number of Roman and Greek Catholic students.

Diagram 2.



To the question “How often do you pray?” students from both areas answered that they pray on a daily basis, even several times a day (172 persons). More than one tenth of the students pray on a weekly basis (42 persons), 25 persons never pray, the rest of them pray on the occasion of great feasts.

The results concerning church attendance show similar results: a bit more than one third of the students go to church at least one or more times a week (112 persons), 44 persons a few times a month, 75 persons on great feasts, 29 persons once a year, 21 persons never go to church.

The number of students who disapprove with missing university courses (205 persons), lying if any reason excludes preparing for the exam (192 persons) and cheating during exam (145 persons) is significantly high, both across the border and in the country.

In terms of sense of purpose and future-orientedness, we can say about the former denominational high school students that they achieve very high results, almost three quarters (257 persons) say that they reach their aim despite all the obstacles.

Based on the analysis, we can assume that religion is a kind of protective factor against addictions, since almost three quarters of the respondent students do not consume alcohol on a regular basis (266 persons), do not smoke (240 persons) and have never tried any products which can be considered drugs (267 persons).

Summary

Our research focused on the students from the institutions of higher education of Partium region who finished their studies in denominational high schools.

We can state that religious values characterizing former denominational high school students do not fade away during the years of higher education, since they confer importance to moral development, solid system of values and community. Due to their religious nature, these high schools not only fulfil their social tasks, but, through religious education, they also give their students provisions which will be decisive during university years and will help them to overcome obstacles and react appropriately to the social challenges of their time.

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THE IMPACT OF MORAL AWARENESS AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE ON STUDENTS' LEARNING ATTITUDES – A CONTINUATION OF AN INTERREGIONAL ANALYSIS

Szilvia Barta

Introduction¹

As a small piece of our research study, this paper draws an exclusive parallel between students' attitude toward academic conduct and their religious practices.² We are going to examine the attitude students in higher educational institutions manifest towards learning activities and conditions, and their related system of values. The whole analysis is embedded in the context of academic integrity which provides the dimension of dishonesty, norm-breaking and punishment, a solution that is forward-looking, community building and education centered. Integrity is a word of Latin origin and it denotes on one hand the ability to merge, to unify, wholeness, intactness, standing thus for unity, but on the other hand it equally conveys untouchedness, soundness, irreproachableness, honesty and honor, therefore serving as an ethical model too. *"The notion has a very complex meaning, and therefore it is well-suited to express this complex phenomenon. It alludes to invulnerability, honesty, irreproachableness, incorruptibility, to a state of wholeness, 'good health', a lack of divide, completeness. [...] Integrity is based on such key values of the academic community as sincerity, trust, fairness, respect, sense of responsibility, accountability."*(Hrubos 2007, 364)³

Academic integrity, on the other hand, very rarely occurs denoting "ethical completeness" and it is mostly used to describe unity, or parts becoming a whole, belonging together. Among students it often embodies the mere slogan: "no cheating, no plagiarism" (Kirk 1996, Horacek 2009), while for scholars it represents the cleanliness and independent nature of results and responsible research work. In our opinion and opposed to Kirk's (1996) view, academic integrity approached from the perspective of higher educational pedagogy and especially in a student focused manner is a notion structured around appropriate ethical-moral development. In conclusion the lack of integrity leads to delays in students' moral development and to unpreparedness regarding moral issues. According to this approach reaching academic integrity and thus

¹ The paper constitutes a part of the author's thesis and dissertation.

² The paper's original theoretical framework was published in the volume entitled Religion and Higher Education in Central and Eastern Europe (ed. Gabriella Pusztai), (see Barta 2010).

³ In original: *„A fogalom igen összetett jelentés, éppen ezért tudja kifejezni a komplex jelenséget. Utal a sérthetetlenségre, a tisztességre, feddhetetlenségre, megvesztegethetetlenségre, az ép kondícióra, az 'egészségre', a megosztottság hiányára, a teljességre. [...] Az integritás az akadémiai közösség olyan kulcsértékein alapul, mint az őszinteség, bizalom, igazságosság, tisztelet, felelősségtudat, felelősségre vonhatóság" (Hrubos 2007, 364).*

attaining an adequate level of moral development among our students is a necessary study achievement and a higher educational output (Kibler 1993).

Theoretical background

"As a result of expanded higher education, numerous studies have been concerned with the increased workload of lecturers, the changed tasks of academia and the role-crisis of higher education (Hrubos 2009; Barakonyi 2004, cited by Polónyi 2009). As far as traditional roles, norms and values are concerned, which are presented by academia and are to be transmitted through the various formal-informal, written-unwritten, actual-hidden codes and rules of higher education, several researchers have focused on students' norm-system and the values they prefer in general. In our paper, we now concentrate on a specific area of morals with regard to students' level of moral awareness towards academic issues", without analyzing public morals (Barta 2010a, 255).

"As far as the importance of academic student cheating is concerned, it is argued that it emerged into a significant issue that needs to be considered. For this, two main reasons are provided, which include the regards of the profession concerned and students' individual-personal aspects. The damage to the reputation of a certain profession, the institution or its degrees within that particular vocation may be the results of graduates who are incompetent within their own career, thus they even endanger society with their low-quality work. Moreover, academics need to spend time to control cheating, which period takes away the time of focusing on other students or improving the learning process itself. Besides, cheaters may acquire unfair advantage, thus effacing other students and may graduate as unprepared to a certain profession. And what is the most important concerning our research topic on moral issues, *"in addition, there is the possibility of the moral harm that may occur when cheating is allowed to flourish"* (Dick et al. 2003, 173).

To better understand the relation of morals and academic misconduct, morals are listed among the factors that influence students' habit to conduct academic dishonesty. Based on earlier findings, it is concluded that *"students who perceive that social norms permit cheating cheat to a greater extent than students who perceive a non-supportive norm ... or who felt a stronger moral obligation to avoid cheating..."* (Whitley 1998, 247). Although morals are found to affect cheating behaviour, religiosity was not proven to be related to dishonest acts. What is even more, no difference is found in terms of religiosity between students who commit academic fraud and students who do not. We wish to check this result by examining whether individual and social religious practice, plus denominational membership affect students' moral awareness in a particular area, regarding academic misconduct.

On the contrary, it is assumed that ethical learning takes place within the family, through religion, education, vocational socialization and other

sources. It is also argued that the influence of these sources of socialization can be perceived during people's professional careers (Ruegger & King 1992). What is even more, the *"conceptualisation of right and wrong, good and bad ... develops throughout the years of formal education and often beyond... Therefore, examining the moral reasoning of university undergraduates towards the end of their degree studies is an interesting area to explore"* (Gammie – Gammie 2009, 51). In our paper, we wish to examine the effect of religion – as a source of ethical learning and moral socialization – on the moral judgement of BA/BSc students who are in their final year, thus combining the Gammies' unexplored research area with Ruegger and King's concept of ethical learning. It is of great importance to note that moral awareness and moral judgement cover what students think right or wrong, acceptable or unacceptable, and agreement or disagreement with certain statements does not equal their actual behavior, when they really have to make an ethical decision. Although further limitations besides the above mentioned one exists, such as that students may answer questions according to social norms and socially prescribed conceptions (Randall & Gibson 1990, Gammie & Gammie 2009, 55), we wish to examine students' moral stages as future predictors of their moral behaviour.

We agree with those approaches that differentiate moral awareness and moral sensitivity. While the former is defined as *"both an ability to recognize the moral issues in a morally ambiguous situation and the ascription of importance to these issues"* (Jordan 2009, 239), the latter one is defined as the *"the first step in the moral action process and it is defined as recognizing the effects of one's actions on others"* (Jordan 2009, 238 quoting Rest 1986, 1994).

While the four-component model, which combines and differentiates moral sensitivity, moral reasoning, moral motivation and moral character (Rest 1986, 1994), assumes the process as phases of linear development that lead one to moral behaviour, others emphasize the judging nature of the same process, thus the same components are seen *"as a series of steps that contribute to an ethical decision"*, so that *"moral awareness, or recognising the moral nature of a situation, is considered to be the first step in ethical decision-making. Deciding what is morally right and then making a moral judgement follows. The third step involves the establishment of moral intent, in other words, deciding to give priority to moral values over other values. The final step is engaging in moral action"* (Lowry 2003, 9). (Barta 2010a, 255-257)" In our opinion the model can be very well applied in the analysis of judgements regarding a narrow area of morality, academic norms.

"The judging nature of the ethical decision making process (Lowry 2003) and the definition of moral awareness which clearly considers other people (Rest 1986, 1994) is even further refined when it is argued that moral awareness is *"a person's recognition that his/her potential decision or action could affect the interests, welfare, or expectations of the self or others in a fashion that may conflict with one or more ethical standards"*, by adding the ethical standards and norms to it (Butterfield et al. 2000, 982). For them *"moral*

awareness is a critical first step in an unfolding ethical decision-making process because issue interpretation is likely to set the premises within which subsequent thought processes take place. Moral issues rarely come equipped with "red flags" identifying them as moral, and as a result the ethical component of a decision may not be apparent to the decision maker..." (Butterfield et al. 2000, 983-984). (Barta 2010a, 257)"

Based on these approaches, we wish to examine the level of moral decision making capacity of students from higher educational institutions with exclusive regard to events that appear typically in higher education/academic environment and we presume that their level of academic moral awareness correlates with the different measures of religiosity, since religion is seen as a source of ethical learning. Consequently, we suppose that a higher level of religiosity correlates with a more alive awareness towards academic moral issues. Since we do not analyze public morality, our hypothesis is only valid in connection with morals regarding academic norms.

Data

Sampling, database

The HERD "research project interprets the role of higher education in terms of its function in supporting social cohesion, its contribution to establish common social knowledge that is based on recognizing and harmonizing individual and collective interests and the ability for cooperation"⁴. The instructor supported self-completion of the paper questionnaires, which took place in March–June 2012 with students from the following institutions:

- University of Debrecen;
- College of Nyíregyháza, the Faculty of Economics and Social Studies, the Faculty of Agriculture and Engineering and the Teacher Training Faculty;
- Debrecen Reformed Theological University, Ferenc Kölcsey Reformed Teachers' Training College;
- Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute;
- Uzhhorod National University, the Faculty of Humanities and Natural Sciences in the Hungarian Language;
- Babeş-Bolyai University Extension in Szatmárnémeti, the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences and the Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communication Sciences.

The final number of sampling units amounted to 1471 persons from the enumerated institutions. Responses were anonymous and voluntary. The target group of the research was formed by state-sponsored and tuition paying full-

⁴ <http://unideb.mskszmsz.hu/en/summary-project>

time students from the following years: 1st⁵ and 3rd⁶ year BA/BSc, 1st⁷ year MA/MSc, 1st⁸ and 4th⁹ year integrated programs.

Several criteria needed to be taken into account when planning the sampling procedure. On one hand it was important to include in the sample students from each faculty of the involved institutions and from every year deemed as significant for the research. On the other hand, we were not able to personally contact each of the students, but as a group, they were available at the university/college lectures. For this reason, we employed a combination of stratified group sampling and clustering techniques. First we stratified the population per faculty. As a second step we applied stratification for educational levels and for years per each faculty. This way we formed 69 strata (23 faculties with 1-2-3 educational levels and 2-3-4-5 years). The sample size was determined proportionally to the headcount of the homogeneous groups formed this way. Headcount proportions were defined per educational levels, so that we would obtain sub-samples with relevant sizes, even within the significantly smaller population. Therefore the sample represents 9% of the population from 1st and 3rd year BA/BSc and 1st year integrated programs, while from the 1st year MA/MSc and 4th year integrated programs 20% of the population was selected for the sample. Subsequently we queried randomly and completely student groups from the chosen years of the chosen faculties.

The sub-sample of the University of Oradea contains 714 cases, and the completion of the questionnaire was voluntary and anonymous. The population contains every student who participates in the institution's Bachelor's or Master's program (15732 persons). Students participating in distance education, correspondence or evening courses and PhD programs do not fall within the studied population. Stratified sampling turned out according to the distribution by faculty, qualification cycle, financial form and year of the students who enrolled for the 2011–2012 academic year. The questionnaires were completed either by the interviewers or by the respondents themselves in April–May 2012. The sampling error is less than 4%, except for the Economics students' under-representative presence (6.3%) and a few Humanities specializations' over-representative (5.2% deviation) responses.

The Emmanuel University's sub-sample contains only the students who completed the questionnaire received by every student (approx. 350) of the institution. No quota sampling or any other kind of method was applied. We

⁵ The precise instruction was the following: students who have completed 1 or 2 semesters in BA/BSc programs.

⁶ The precise instruction was the following: students who have completed at least 5 or more semesters in BA/BSc programs (seniors).

⁷ The precise instruction was the following: students who have completed 1 or 2 semesters in MA/MSc programs.

⁸ The precise instruction was the following: students who have completed 1 or 2 semesters in integrated programs.

⁹ The precise instruction was the following: students who have completed 7 or 8 semesters in integrated programs (having 1 or 2 more years before graduating).

did not receive yet the precise description of the data collected within the Partium Christian University.

For processing the completed questionnaires we employed the quick and efficient computerized procedure developed for paper questionnaires by the Evasys Online Survey Preparation and Evaluation System. Due to the computerized insertion of the data, we minimized the possibility of personal errors arising from human data input. During this process there were two stages at which compulsory human supervision was built in: on one hand, for confirming answers deemed ambiguous by the system (eg. more than one marked choices for single choice questions, or ambiguous markings), and on the other, for recording the responses to open questions, in which case we were able to categorize the often occurring responses on the spot (eg. names of institutions, faculties, county of residence etc.).

Due to the students' disproportionate willingness to respond, it was necessary to perform a subsequent weighting. Each of the 69 strata obtained during the sampling procedure (23 faculties with 1-2-3 educational levels and 2-3-4-5 years) were given a separate identifier. We attributed to these identifiers the weights configured for the respective strata and calculated them based on the incoming proportion.¹⁰ With three strata, the weight obtained was below 0.25 or above 4. We did not take into consideration these values and left the weights unchanged at 1. In case of two strata we were not able to contact any of the students.

Dependent variable – moral awareness regarding academic ethics

In order to measure academic ethics and academic misconduct, we use indicators already elaborated in previous studies, as follows: to buy one's thesis, to use crib sheets regularly, to learn only for attaining a higher stipend, to skip classes regularly, to study only disciplines of one's interest, to plagiarize, to receive a degree without real study performance, to read compulsory literature, to read recommended literature, to lend notes, to study even if one could cheat, to lie if one has not finished the due assignment or has not prepared for the examination, to ignore professors who grade strictly or have

¹⁰ Because of the diversity of the student groups attending university lectures we received questionnaires from outside of the target group as well. When calculating the incoming proportion values we included these questionnaires with the closest years in the following way:

- 1st year Bachelor's program: here we included students who specified on the questionnaires that they attend 2nd year Bachelor's programs;
- 3rd year Bachelor's program: here we included every student who specified on the questionnaire that s/he attends 4th, 5th or 6th year Bachelor's program;
- 1st year Master's program: here we included students who specified on the questionnaires that they attend 2nd year Master's programs;
- 1st year integrated program: here we included students who specified on the questionnaires that they attend 2nd year integrated programs;
- 4th year integrated program: here we included students who specified on the questionnaires that they attend 3rd, 5th or 6th year integrated programs;

12 correspondence course students also got into the sample. When calculating the incoming proportion we did not set them apart from the full-time students

high expectations, to copy answers at tests or examinations, to prompt answers at tests or examinations, to use fictional, unread or unrelated resources in bibliographies, to elaborate papers only based on one's notes, to deliberately manipulate research results, to trade assignments, to sit for an examination instead of someone else, to rip out pages from library books, to be ashamed if cheating is revealed, to find writing one's own papers natural and acceptable. In the TERD 2008 query of Bachelor's program students, we used only the first eleven statements, while in the TERD 2010 data collection from Master's program students, the questionnaire contained all of the items and we used the same series of items for the data collection of the HERD 2012 survey, as well. The level of measurement contained ordinal variables and we used the Likert scale in our questionnaire-based study. The response options in our Likert scale were the following: 1 – strongly disagree; 2 – rather disagree; 3 – rather agree; 4 – strongly agree. We performed cluster analysis employing the above listed scale items, in order to identify different student groups.

Independent variable – religious practice

"We measured students' religiosity with two variables. One is an external factor which examined the frequency to go to Church. We considered this variable important because we regard morals as a social product, which is built by and within communities. Consequently, we assume that affiliation towards a religious community, that is, practising one's religion socially influences one's level of morals, which is exemplified by moral awareness towards academic issues. Possible answers to this question included several times a week, once a week, monthly, at big holidays, annually and never. We integrated the *weekly* and *monthly* options into 1 - *regularly*, and we recoded at *big holidays* and *annually* options into 2 - *rarely*. As a matter of course, never remained an individual option to be selected." (Barta 2010a, 259). The distribution of these options throughout the entire sample was that 39.4% – regularly, 39.4% – rarely and 21.3% – never attend the church. As compared to the analysis from 2010, one notices that in the sample from 2012 the proportion of the never option is approx. 10% lower, and the proportion of regular churchgoers is about 15% higher.

"The internal variable for measuring religiosity was the one that examined praying habits. We examined this factor because – as presented in the literature discussions above – most authors consider moral awareness as an internal development phase or calculation process." (Barta 2010a, 259). The response options to the *How often do you pray at home?* question included: 1 – several times a day; 2 – once a day; 3 – several times a week; 4 – once a week; 5 – several times a month; 6 – on most important holidays; 7 – never. Regarding the internal variable of religiosity the distribution throughout the entire sample is as follows: 21.1% never pray (this is a very low proportion compared to the data from 2010, where 52.7% of the respondents did not pray), 58.2% pray regularly, 20.7% rarely practice religion individually.

In our studies we examined denominational membership as well. Students were able to choose from the following responses: Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran, Jewish, Orthodox, Unitarian, Baptist, other and I do not belong to any denomination. Regarding the above mentioned options, the distribution for the whole sample is as follows: 29.5% Roman Catholic, 12.3% Greek Catholic, 44.5% Reformed, 3.3% Lutheran, 0.7% Jewish, 31% Orthodox, 0.8% Unitarian, 9% Baptist, 8.6% other and 18.3% who do not belong to any denomination. As compared to the data from 2010, the current sample contains 4% more Catholics and 10% more Reformed students, while the distribution of the remaining options presents similar values.

"The countries in which students were studying were measured with the variable that stored their faculties. All faculties in Hungary were cumulated into option 1 - Hungary, all faculties concerning Romania were assigned into option 2 - Romania" (Barta 2010a, 259), and the third option was 3 - the Ukraine. In the sample, 48.5% students were enrolled at some faculty in Hungary, while 47.5% attended higher education institutions in Romania and 4% in the Ukraine. Given the characteristics of the sampling in the 2012 database, the proportion of students from Hungary and Romania is much more balanced. The low proportion of Ukrainian respondents is explained by the fact that only one Transcarpathian institution is included in the sample.

"The countries in which students attended Hungarian-language higher educational institutions are considered important as their societies are characterized by different levels of religiosity and loyalty as far as traditions are concerned. In this way, living in one of the three countries influences students' religious habits and their level of religiosity. Population is traditionally the most religious in Romania and the least in Hungary (Zulehner et al. 2008). Although the religiosity of the Hungarian people living in Romania is different than that of the Orthodox majority, they are characterised by a more intensive religious practice than people living in Hungary, which tendency was also palpable when youths of this region were examined (Pusztai 2007)." (Barta 2010a, 260).

Analysis

Students' moral awareness regarding learning attitudes

"As mentioned above, only a portion of students' moral awareness is measured and analyzed here, their awareness of ethical issues is examined only in the area of academic values" (Barta 2010a, 260) and frequent unethical practices occurring in the higher educational environment. We performed a cluster analysis by means of the previously presented scale items, the results of which we summarized in the table below. Four student groups have been outlined with the use of the twenty three items. Similarly to our previous analyses (Barta 2010a, 2010b, 2011), we named the first cluster the "norm-conformer",

because almost every positive scale item included in it reaches its highest value and every negative statement is included with its lowest value. This cluster contains 37.27% of the sample.

Similarly to our earlier studies (Barta 2010a, 2010b, 2011) we identified this time as well a cluster of "permissive" students, in which most of the statements referring to academically unethical deeds have reached a value around 3, standing for the "I agree" response option. On the other hand, one can presume that students from this group responded in the most honest way. Respondents of this type represent 8.67% of the sample. We called the third cluster "the minimalist"; in our opinion, this one covers best the average student. This type of student accepts unpermitted help (copying, prompting) at examinations, does not find it necessary to fully prepare for the classes (reading recommended literature) and gladly selects what to learn from the syllabus (studies at disciplines they prefer). However, due to social pressure, this type of student finds honesty and rewarding according to one's merits quite important (to be ashamed if cheating is revealed; to find writing one's own papers natural; manipulations of papers). 32.08% of the sample belongs to this group.

We named the fourth cluster the "unmotivated", for this group was the most featureless and difficult to define. Presumably we are dealing here with unsincere responses in case of certain items (eg. reading compulsory and recommended literature), because items like "to be ashamed if cheating is revealed", "to find writing one's own papers natural" and "to study even if one could cheat" were attributed the lowest values. Unmotivated attitude towards studying is completed by a phenomenon which indicates a certain degree of individualism and alienation too, because in this group it is the least accepted to borrow notes, or to copy, to prompt – actions that are based on helping others –, while forms of cheating that do not imply collective help present somewhat higher values. 21.97% of the sample got into this group.

Table 1: Learning attitude clusters (4 – I strongly agree; 1 – I strongly disagree)

Scale item	Cluster			
	1 – the norm-conformers	2 – the permissives	3 – the minimalists	4 – the unmotivated
To read compulsory literature	3.45	2.88	2.95	3.04
To read recommended literature	2.81	2.63	2.31	2.60
To buy one's thesis	1.05	2.67	1.19	1.52
To use crib sheets regularly	1.19	2.93	1.88	1.92
To learn only for higher stipend	1.97	3.04	2.67	2.46
To lend notes	3.11	3.32	3.53	3.06
To skip classes regularly	1.30	2.95	1.84	1.91
To study only disciplines of one's interest	2.10	3.07	2.78	2.50
To plagiarize	1.19	2.77	1.54	1.91
To study even if one could cheat	3.32	2.92	3.00	2.46
To receive a degree without real study performance	1.14	2.58	1.33	1.77
To write one's own papers every time	3.75	2.89	3.44	2.85
To lie if one has not finished the due assignment or has not prepared for the examination	1.28	2.85	1.95	1.90
To ignore professors who grade strictly or have high expectations	1.66	2.87	2.35	2.18
To copy answers at tests or examinations	1.43	3.12	2.49	2.15
To prompt answers at tests or examinations	1.82	3.14	2.83	2.36
To use fictional, unread or unrelated resources in bibliographies	1.20	2.92	1.70	1.89
To elaborate papers only based on one's notes	1.81	2.97	2.46	2.34
To deliberately manipulate research results	1.14	2.58	1.40	1.77
To trade assignments	1.07	2.84	1.41	1.78
To sit for an examination instead of someone else	1.02	2.54	1.10	1.53
To rip out pages from library books	1.02	2.49	1.03	1.45
To be ashamed if cheating is revealed	3.48	2.96	3.72	1.88
Sum - total (N)	886	206	762	522

Missing: N=352; Sig.: 0.000

Source: HERD 2012, edited by the author

The table below presents the distribution of student types by countries. The distribution by country of the academic norm-conformers almost corre-

sponds to their proportion within the sample, reaching approx. 37% – only the Ukraine lags behind a little, comparing to this value. In Romania, the proportion of the academically permissive respondents is higher than its proportion within the sample and, as a group, it is over-represented in this country. In Hungary the same type appears in under-represented proportions. The distribution by country of the minimalist type turned out interestingly, while almost 32% of the whole sample is included in this type; in Hungary this group is larger than expected, as around 10% more students were distributed into the minimalist group. As opposed to this, the same group's proportion appears to be under-represented and about 10% smaller in Romania. Similarly to Hungary, respondents attending institutions in the Ukraine are also represented in quite large proportions in the minimalist group. When compared to the previous group, the cluster of the unmotivated in Hungary and Romania presents reversed proportions, in the former country they are less than expected, and in the latter they are more than expected. In general, we may say that, as opposed to the 2010 data (Barta 2010a), in the 2012 data collection, norm-conformer students are evenly distributed per country. But we must find the explanation for the considerable variation manifested in the distribution of the permissive, the minimalist and the unmotivated types. The purpose of this paper is to explain some of the differences between countries considering the existing religious practices.

Table 2: Student types by country

	Hungary	Romania	The Ukraine
Norm-conformer	37.3%	37.7%	31.5%
Permissive	6.0%-	11.4%+	6.5%*
Minimalist	43.0%+	20.7%-	41.3%
Unmotivated	13.7%-	30.1%+	20.7%

Sig.: 0.000

*N=6

Source: HERD 2012, edited by the author

Characteristics of religious practices

"Hungary belongs to the moderately religious countries in Europe, though a huge number of residents became irreligious during the past decades – as far as institutionalised religiosity is concerned (Zulehner et al. 2008), almost two-thirds of the Hungarian population identifies itself as religious (15% is religious according to the teaching of the churches, 50% is religious on its own way). While denominational membership is not treated as a variable of religiosity, the fact that more than half of the Hungarian population assumes itself with the Catholic Church, 16% of it belongs to the Reformed Church and another 16% claimed that they do not belong to any denominations shows us that churches are still considered as important

orientation points (Rosta 2007). However, more and more young people do not follow the teaching of traditional churches but are religious on their own way, which may imply *"that traditional churches have to face a great challenge to maintain their role in society"* (Tátraí 2008, 421).

On the contrary, Romania is a strictly religious, Orthodox country; it is the most religious country in Europe (Tomka 2005). The Romanian Orthodox Church is *"the dominant Church in the state"* by comprising more than 86% of the population but there are several other denominations – such as the Roman Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran, Unitarian churches or the Jewish community – that satisfy the role of protecting ethnic minorities and building their own national identities (Flóra – Szilágyi 2008, 155). In the investigated borderland region, the ratio of those youths that are affiliated with the Church (cca. 90%) (Pusztai 2009b, 181) and practice their religion individually (59,1%) are high (Pusztai 2007)." (Barta 2010a, 262-263). The proportion of young people who belong to a denomination (59.3%) or practice their religion individually (72.5%) is very high in the studied border region (Pusztai 2007).

"Ukraine could be separated into two zones: an enormous Orthodox and a smaller Catholic and Protestant one, which is characterized by Western traditions, due to long historical and cultural processes. The majority of the Ukrainian population is Orthodox with an important Greek Catholic minority, but a remarkable proportion of it is Roman Catholic, comprised by Hungarians, Poles who live along the western borders and besides, German and Slovak people. In addition, ethnic Hungarians of Transcarpathia belong to the Reformed Church in such a huge ratio that *"it can be assumed that the Reformed Church practically performs the role of a national Church"* (Molnár 2008, 87). Based on the authors and literature cited above, we check the attributes of our sample.

As for the frequency of going to Church, we found that students living in Romania and the Ukraine are characterized by a more intensive attitude towards religious community, they go to Church regularly three-four times more than students in Hungary do. The majority of students living in Hungary goes to Church rarely, and a likewise notable ratio of them never attends churches. The huge number of Hungarian students never going to Church supports the statement of Tátraí (2008) in that more and more people have lost their connections with religious organisations and the young population is becoming more and more secular, hybridised, and the various forms of individual religious practice or neither type of religious practice are spreading among them. On the contrary, the strict religiosity of students in Romania and the Ukraine can be perceived through their intensive relationship with their religious communities and spiritual leaders." (Barta 2010a, 263) The 2010 data (Barta 2010a) reflect similar proportions as well, the only difference being that almost 100% of the Urkainean respondents were regular churchgoers then, which changed significantly in the 2012 data collection.

"We also examined students' praying habits according the distribution of citizenship. Based on earlier researchers' findings and our results con-

cerning the frequency of going to Church, our assumptions about students' praying habits in the three countries proved to be true. All students in the Ukraine and the majority of those living in Romania pray" (Barta 2010a, 263) regularly (in an over-represented proportion!) at home, which is the result of their strong faith or tradition. However, almost 40% of the Hungarian sample does not pray at home and another 25% prays rarely, moreover, Hungarian respondents are over-represented in both cases. "If we take it into consideration that more than twice as much students who live in Hungary pray at home as compared to the low ratio of regular Church-goers, we can conclude that those who do not join their religious community frequently do pray at home. However, the opposite may be true as well, namely, those who sometimes go to Church may not practice their religion individually." (Barta 2010a, 263). Our data from 2010 turned out similarly, except for the above mentioned difference regarding the Ukraine, because in 2010 100% of the Ukrainian respondents prayed.

Table 3: Characteristics of religious practices by country

		Hungary	Romania	Ukraine	Total sum
Frequency of church attendance	regularly	16.8%-	58.5%+	64.2%+	39.4%
	rarely	43.0%+	36.7%-	30.2	39.4%
	never	40.2%+	4.8%-	5.7%*-	21.3%
Frequency of praying	regularly	36.9%-	76.5%+	75.7%+	58.2%
	rarely	24.6%+	17.5%-	15.9%	20.7%
	never	38.5%+	6.0%-	8.4%**-	21.1%

Sig.: 0.000

*N=6

**N=9

Source: HERD 2012, edited by the author

Only careful conclusions should be drawn during the analysis of the denominational distribution of our sample, because the proportion of missing responses is very high, reaching about 40–55% in case of some of the questions. Students were able to choose from the possible denominational categories by answering "yes" or "no" and, in the table below, we present the proportion of students who responded affirmatively in the respective countries. The Catholic and the Reformed churches selected by Hungarian students were over-represented, although denominational non-affiliation represents a similarly high proportion too, a tendency noted in other contemporary studies as well (Pusztai 2009). On the other hand, the proportion of denominational non-affiliation among Romanian and Ukrainian students is almost negligible. "The prevalence of the Reformed Church is higher in the Romanian and Ukrainian sample than in Hungarian sample, moreover, its ratio in the Ukrainian one is overwhelming." (Barta 2010,a 264).

The dominance of the Reformed church in Hungary and the Ukraine is “explained by the fact that the core of the investigated region was part of the onetime Transylvanian state, in which religious tolerance became law and practice for the first time in Europe in the 16th century, thus the Reformation process prevailed in this area. Despite the dominance of the Reformed Church, the inhabitants of this region are tolerant towards other denominations as well, which is well exemplified by denominationally heterogeneous marriages and different churches built beside each other (Kozma et al. 2005)” (Barta 2010a, 264-265). In Romania, as presented above (see Tomka 2001), the dominance of Orthodox affiliation is stronger than the Reformed church. Our 2012 data differs from the 2010 data: earlier, the Reformed church used to be dominant in all three countries. According to our 2012 data, a larger number of subjects belong to the Orthodox Church in Romania, which is partly due to the specifics of the sampling.

Table 4: Denominational distribution by country (%)

	Hungary	Romania	Ukraine	Total sum
Roman Catholic Sig.:0.000	38.1%+	21.7%-	36.2%	29.5%
Greek Catholic Sig.:0.000	22.6%+	4.2%-	13.3%	12.3%
Reformed Sig.:0.000	55.6%+	31.2%-	79.8%+	44.5%
Lutheran Sig: 0.063	4.9%+	2.3%-	1.9%*	3.3%
Jewish Sig.:0.564	0.3%***	1.0%**	0%	0.7%
Orthodox Sig.:0.000	1.0%-****	48.9%+	5.4%-*****	31%
Unitarian Sig.:0.730	0.5%*****	1.0%**	0%	0.8%
Baptist Sig.: 0.000	0.9%-*****	14.7%+	0%	9%
Other denomination Sig.: 0.055	4.9%-	10.4%+	5.9%***	8.6%
No denominational affiliation Sig.: 0.000	41.2%+	2.0%-	8.8%*****	18.3%

*N=1 **N=8 ***N=2 ****N=4 *****N=3 *****N=5

Correlation of academic moral awareness and religiosity

“As argued earlier, atheist – as well as theist – people in some strictly religious countries (for example, Romania, the Ukraine) are sterner in moral affairs than the definite believers in some Western European countries, such as Hungary (Smrke 2006). Flere examined the correlation of religiosity and norm-breaking among students in the Slovenian higher education including acts of vandalism, alcohol- and drug-abuse, violating rules inside and outside school, and he found that norm-conform behaviour and religiosity correlate – meaning that religiosity establishes coherent value-systems (Flere

2006). Tomka states that the majority of societies think that churches are able to answer moral, social and family affairs relevantly. Based on EVS and "Aufbruch" data (1998), the degree of the Churches' competency varies per regions but one third of societies, sometimes even two third of them, indicated that the Churches are competent with respect to public issues and private morals (Tomka 2007). Flóra and Szilágyi interpreted the roles of churches as "*the moral conscience' of their nations*" related to the situation of churches in Romania (Flóra & Szilágyi 2008, 153). Besides, Tomka also notes that the difference between religious and non-religious people in terms of public morals, such as corruption or tax evasion, is more remarkable in Hungary than in other post-socialist countries (Tomka 2008)." (Barta 2010a, 264). In this paper, we aim at revealing the correlation between religiosity and only a particular area of morality, the moral awareness regarding academic working conditions, with no regard to public, private and community morals.

We analyze how religiosity impacts on our student types, based on the table below. Most of the academic norm-conformers are regular churchgoers in an unexpectedly high proportion, although, as compared to the other student types, the proportion of students choosing never to attend church is also very high in this group. Most of the students from the academically permissive group rarely go to church, which is also true for the minimalists and the unmotivated. Interestingly, the proportion of minimalists choosing never as an option is higher than expected, while the unmotivated, in contrast to the former, regularly attend churches in an outstandingly high proportion. This could be explained by the increasing number of young people who are religious in their own way and also by the changing religiosity, among other phenomena.

Regarding the internal indicator of religiosity one notices that a large group of the academic norm-conformers prays regularly, but one fifth of the group never does. Interestingly in the academically permissive group the never option was chosen by almost just as many students as in the group that academically conforms to norms. Among the minimalist types the proportion of students choosing never is again over-represented and the opposite of this is true for the unmotivated. It is by all means remarkable that high proportions of students pray regularly in each group, although this proportion is the highest in the academic norm-conformer group, where they are also over-represented. "This tendency proves that religiosity is not the only factor that determines and establishes morals but it certainly has an unambiguous role in achieving it." (Barta 2010a, 266)

"Based on both the external and internal factors of religiosity, we can conclude that the less stable norm-system we perceive, the more students are identified who visit Church rarely, even more students who never go to Church and who do not pray at home. This indicates a general tendency that those groups who accept unfair academic acts openly and who are characterised by a less definite level of moral awareness in the present framework tend not to practice their religion in community or individually to a

greater extent than the average.” (Barta 2010a, 266). However, it should be pointed out that the proportion of those who choose “never” almost corresponds to that of the academic norm-conformer and the academically permissive types, while the proportion of students choosing “regularly” almost corresponds to that of the norm-conformer and the unmotivated groups. A possible reason for this kind of deviation from the data presented in the academic literature could be that earlier studies dealt with public morals, while the present analysis focuses on a particular area of morality.

Table 5: Religious practice by student types (%)

		Norm-conformer	Permissive	Minimalist	Unmotivated	Total Sum
Frequency of church attendance	regularly	44.2+	32.1	32.6-	41.4	38.9
	rarely	35.3-	48.4+	39.2	44+	39.5
	never	20.5	19.6	28.2+	14.7-	21.6
Total %		100	100	100	100	100
Frequency of praying	regularly	64.1+	54.6	48.0-	61.3	57.5
	rarely	15.8-	25.4	23.5	23.6	20.8
	never	20.1	20	28.5+	15.1-	21.7
Total %		100	100	100	100	100

Sig.: 0.000

Source: HERD 2012, edited by the author

The denominational distribution of the student types is presented in the table below. Since the proportion of missing answers is very high (40–55%) careful conclusions should be drawn this time as well. We found significant connections in the case of the Reformed, the Orthodox and the Baptist churches and of the “no denominational affiliation” option. As we analyzed these connections we have noticed that the affiliates of the Reformed denomination represent a high proportion among the norm-conformer and the minimalist types, which is also true for the “no denominational affiliation” response. The Orthodox denomination is over-represented in the groups of the academically permissive and unmotivated. As opposed to this, the Baptist church is over-represented only among the academic norm-conformer types and in the other three groups it appears in a lower proportion than expected. It is not the purpose of this analysis to present any of the denominations in a superior or inferior position, we only examine how (non-)affiliation to a denomination influences the inclusion of the subjects into one or the other category.

Table 6: Denominations by student types (%)

	Norm-conformer	Uninhibited	Minimalist	Unmotivated	Total Sum
Roman Catholic Sig.:0.274	29.9	30.0	31.0	23.8-	28.9
Greek Catholic Sig.:0.253	10.6	10	15.3+	11	12.1
Reformed Sig.:0.000	44.2	26.5-	52.7+	34.9-	43.3
Lutheran Sig: 0.658	4.2	1.6	3.7	2.9	3.5
Jewish Sig.:0.613	0.4	1.6	0.5	1.0	0.7
Orthodox Sig.:0.000	23.4-	45.6+	20.1-	50.9+	31.6
Unitarian Sig.:0.940	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.8
Baptist Sig.: 0.000	14.9+	3.3-	4.9-	3.5-	8.3
Other denomination Sig.: 0.114	11.9+	7.8	6.5	6.1	8.5
No denominational affiliation Sig.: 0.000	23.5+	4.0-	24.4+	9.4-	18.7

Source: HERD 2012, edited by the author

Conclusions

In this paper we aimed at continuing a research from 2010, thus we examined whether students who practice their religion regularly are more aware of academic values, which we have proven with external and internal indicators of religiosity. "Religious students rather conform to academic ethical norms and rules, and are more intolerant towards academic misconduct. Based on a Likert-scale listing acts and statements concerning academic ethical issues, we formed" (Barta 2010a, 266) four student types. One includes young people who have a solid judgement regarding morally acceptable and unacceptable academic issues. The second includes students who do not reject academically immoral deeds, while the third group, as it lacks grounding, is characterized by a more permissive and slightly minimalist attitude. We named the fourth type unmotivated, because the students belonging to it are disinterested in their studies and they are to a certain extent alienated.

As opposed to our 2010 data we cannot claim this time that the academic norm-conformer type can be absolutely distinguished by regular religious practice. Interestingly, a rather high proportion of the students categorized as unmotivated also pray regularly, attend churches or affiliate to a denomination. Moreover, students who do not practice their religion can be found almost in the same proportion in the academic norm-conformer and the academically permissive group as well. It seems that a more insecure, minimalist and permissive attitude correlates with a more infrequent religious practice. Concerning the groups' denominational affiliations, we also found that some

of the students do not belong to any denomination, although this tendency is widely spread not only among students with a less solid system of values and a more permissive attitude regarding moral issues emerging in the higher education. An explanation for these phenomena could be that, in contrast with the earlier research, the present paper did not focus on public morality, but on a narrower area of morality. Furthermore, the reasons for the existing differences are the presence of the so-called neutralizing attitudes and of social norms that are more permissive towards cheating, the level of individual skills for committing acts of cheating and also the presence of moral obligations suggesting avoidance of cheating (Whitley 1998) (naturally, besides many other individual and contextual circumstances), but the examination of these factors requires further research to be conducted.

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THE CHARACTERISTICS OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEDAGOGY STUDENTS FROM THE PARTIUM HISTORICAL REGION

Edina Kovács

Teaching as a profession became strongly feminized worldwide, i.e. in Hungary as well. This means not only that an overwhelming number of teachers are women¹, but also that teachers-to-be are confronted with consistent “feminized” expectations that relate mainly to maternal roles (Weiner 2001). Research studies prove that women themselves are more inclined to define their teaching identity according to their roles fulfilled in raising children or in relationships (Gaskell & Mullen, 2006; Weiner & Kallós, 2000), while men’s teaching identity is more attached to the discipline they teach (Weiner & Kallós, 2000). In parallel, one may notice that men are expected to display a strongly masculine behavior (Smulyan, 2006; Smith, 2004) and that the two different role expectations – they are expected to be caring, nurturing on one hand and authoritative and determined on the other hand – make it difficult for boys to choose teaching as a profession. This paper analyzes how the feminized teaching profession, gender and the feminine or masculine nature of specialization impacts on the image of students from the Partium on teaching as a career, their own career path and their plans. Our analysis is based on data collected in the HERD research study, which was conducted by the Centre for Higher Education and Research and Development of the University of Debrecen (CHERD-Hungary), the Partium Christian University and the University of Oradea. The group targeted in the research consisted in state-sponsored and tuition paying full-time students and the size of the sample was: N=2728. The number of students participating in teacher education – Bachelor’s and Master’s programs – amounted to 14% of the sample.

Socially defined expectations regarding teacher roles

Several teacher role related expectations coexist. There is a general picture of the teacher who is consistent but understanding, very confident, has a congruent personality, but shows empathy and tolerance, as well. Then again, at the time women entered the teaching profession two rather distinct activities have emerged. In their case the maternal role was turning into an occupation: first they appeared as governesses in family homes, and then, in the 19th century,

¹ In our country the proportion of women among general school teachers is 87.5%, and among secondary school teachers 68.2%. The OECD average of female teachers in general school is 81.5%, and in secondary school 67.7%. The data sources are: the KSH “Nők és férfiak Magyarországon 2008” [“Women and Men in Hungary, 2008”] yearbook and the OECD “Highlights from Education at a Glance, 2011” statistics.

during the expansion of the educational system, they'd become nursery-school teachers, and teachers on lower education levels, as caring and nurturing a personal relationship with the students remained high on their list of duties. Men, on the other hand, had been and remained the teacher-scholars of secondary education, and the requirements for them are based mainly on the role they have played in the educational process. Therefore, expectations and stereotypes related to socially defined gender roles are closely linked to the teaching identity and influence its development: women are expected to form intense emotional attachments and to put the personal relationship with their students first, while men are expected to behave in a dynamic manner and to focus on the educational process in their work.

Throughout the development of a teacher's identity, the individual self-image, status and socially defined gender identity, together with the relating stereotypes, become interconnected in an intricate way. In terms of our socially defined roles, gender, age and skin color are the three basic defining categories: society creates cultural constructions based on these biological features, which become interconnected too. From certain perspectives, gender categories seem to stand out from the basic categories: we cannot think about a person without knowing his/her gender, and we are more inclined to confuse same-sex people than same-aged ones or people with the same skin color. Besides the fact that socially defined gender categories are mutually exclusive, which results in a dimension that makes orientation easier, they are opposed to categories with many subclasses and overlaps (Zemore, Fiske & Kim, 2000). Patterns related to socially defined genders may be accurate or, on the contrary, unfounded, but regarding the individual as a perfect representative of the group is definitely an exaggerated simplification. A possible origin and also consolidation of stereotypes is that the members of a group take on certain social roles in a disproportionate degree, thus the presence of some stereotypes often depends on the actual social context (Fiske, 2006).

The development of the teaching profession has been strongly influenced by cultural constructions related to socially defined gender roles. That is why women entering the profession are expected above all to develop personal relationships with their students and a more intense emotional attachment, while male teachers are expected to embody the traditional cultural image of masculinity, for instance by being sportier and showing interest in technological disciplines (Smulyan, 2006). On the other hand, the individual approach to this role is less polarized, and one may choose, depending on the situation, either the feminine – e.g. susceptible to influence or relationship oriented – or the masculine – e.g. self-assertive or instrumental – attitude and behavior (Abele, 2000).

Research has proven that – regardless of their gender – students who choose teaching, philology and medicine as a profession prefer feminine work values

like useful work that improves the quality of life and which society as a whole can benefit from, or the opportunity to help others. Pedagogy students find altruistic motivations as having the utmost importance. In the meanwhile, students who choose technology, economics or law – men and women equally – place importance on masculine work values like high social status, high income or the establishment of personal authority (Kovács, 2007; Kovácsné, 2008).

Consequently, men who choose teaching face dual expectations, which put them in a difficult position. Some of them find the caring and extended teacher role – focused on looking after the children – quite hard; they admit that it has been easier for them to keep a greater emotional and physical distance with the students, a behavior associated earlier with an education oriented teacher role. Yet others find it problematic that a more caring behavior is automatically associated with feminine roles, thus, if they grow closer emotionally to the children, society considers it a sign of weakness, or maybe homosexuality, or, in extreme cases, it may even accuse them of pedophilia (Hargreaves quoted by Nagy, 2007; Smith, 2004).

Another issue for men is that they chose a “feminine” profession and this is also reflected in their potential income: because women’s work is underestimated in this field, those who usually work in it earn lower wages than they would in a more “manly” profession. The absence of same sex colleagues could also lead to difficulties, since in schools, almost only the headmaster and the caretaker are men, most often. These circumstances may also become a source of advantages: headmasters see male teachers as some kind of allies and would much rather mentor them than they would female teachers (Smith, 2004). Additionally, in women’s case, overemphasized feminine expectations may reinforce the impression that success can only be achieved by expressly feminine behavior, for instance being submissive, which can make it more difficult for them to use their authority as teachers (Thun, 2007).

Feminine and masculine duties and study areas are also separated within the teaching profession. In the development of the so called horizontal segregation, external expectations and interiorized stereotypes play a significant role. For instance, the results of an American longitudinal study following the life path of highly gifted children showed that boys with both mathematical and linguistic talent tended to choose mathematics and natural sciences – associated with masculinity –, while girls with similar talents were evenly distributed between humanities and exact disciplines (Gordon Győri, 2007).

Although the expansion of higher education meant that a few specializations have become more gender neutral, technological sciences, agricultural education, natural sciences, mathematics and informatics still are fields where men are overrepresented, while humanities and social sciences are basically feminine domains (Fényes, 2010; Weiner, 2001). Horizontal segregation can be

moderated only by employing specific efforts: in a study conducted in twelve developed countries, Charles and Bradley learnt that the principle of equal gender opportunities did little to undermine horizontal segregation – it generated more change within vertical segregation, for instance by increasing the number of female leaders (Charles & Bradley, 2002).

As a result of the dynamics of individual identity development, the specialization choice of the students participating in tertiary education is not necessarily and primarily determined by their gender. The significance of previously mentioned attitudes and value preferences is also confirmed by a research conducted among students at the University of Debrecen. According to this study on pedagogy, students' views of the ideal professional were differentiated by the scientific domain they preferred: according to arts students, he/she should be well informed, flexible, with extensive knowledge, helpful, empathic and successful in interpersonal relationships; whereas pedagogy students specializing in natural sciences emphasized that an ideal professional should have practical knowledge, the ability to synthesize this knowledge, and good linguistic skills, also deeming flexibility and helpfulness as important (Fónai, Márton & Ceglédi, 2011).

Characteristics and career plans of participants in teacher education

Our analysis is based on the HERD research study database. The sample includes state-sponsored and tuition paying full-time students participating in the 1st and 3rd year BA/BSc, the 1st year MA/MSc, and the 1st and 4th year integrated programs. The sampling technique was a combination of stratified group sampling and clustering – after the stratification of the population per faculty, stratification was applied for educational levels and year per each faculty. From the group interviewed within the HERD survey (N=2728) 204 students have completed pedagogy insertion sheets at faculties that educate teachers, from the following higher education institutions in the Partium: University of Debrecen (64 pers.), Ferenc Kölcsey Reformed Teachers' Training College (17 pers.), Debrecen Reformed Theological University (2 pers.), College of Nyíregyháza (17 pers.), Babeş-Bolyai University - Extension in Szatmárnémeti (50 pers.), Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute (53 pers.); one respondent did not specify any institute. Because of the incidental completion of the insertion sheets, the teachers' sub-sample does not follow the distribution of the whole sample, thus the sub-sample's sampling is not representative for anything by itself. For this reason, our findings do not generally apply for all pedagogy students within the studied region, yet our data may significantly contribute to knowing them better.

Participants in teacher education received a separate insertion sheet along with the survey, with questions about satisfaction with training, commitment, future career plans and also 36 questions about how important it is for the

student to achieve the goals set during teaching. In addition to the previous variables, we studied the following ones: gender, chosen specialization and social background of the respondents.

Based on the related literature we presumed that the most important factor influencing the students' professional commitment and future plans would be their gender, meaning that girls would aim at lower educational degrees, while having a stronger sense of profession than boys, who would prefer higher educational degrees with regard to future job positions and would rather choose "elite" schools. In terms of choice of specialization, boys prefer domains traditionally seen as masculine, while girls are somewhat more flexible in their preferences. And due to the overall feminization of the profession, we assume that a part of the achievable goals does not present gender related differences, and the feminine or masculine nature of the specialization has a stronger influence on the achievable goals than the individual's gender.

As one would expect, the proportion of women among the students who prepare for a teaching career is higher than throughout the whole sample, namely: 79.7% versus 20.3% men. (In the whole sample 30.8% of the respondents are men, and 69.2% are women²). Within the teaching profession, girls rather focus on feminine domains and specializations, and boys on masculine ones, although this isn't necessarily exclusive. Girls are less flexible than we supposed, while the distribution of men between the two domains is slightly more even than expected in the light of previous studies.

Table 1: Pedagogy students' specialization choice by gender

	Feminine specializations	Masculine specializations
Women	75.3 %	24.7 %
Men	47.1 %	52.9 %

HERD 2012, N=292³, significance = 0.000

Teaching in general school is preferred mostly by girls than boys: almost one half of the latter group wishes to work in secondary schools or tertiary education. Among the students who aim at higher educational degrees, boys would choose higher education in a slightly higher proportion than the girls, but the

² When comparing the results with the whole sample, we only took into consideration the institutions where students completed the pedagogy insertion sheets as well: N = 1471.

³ The sample sizes of the table reflect weighted data. According to the unweighted data, there are 283 students who participate in teacher training, but because the UNE-HTK students didn't complete the pedagogy insertion sheets, we weren't able to take into account their answers. Thus the actual sample size of the teacher sample is N=249.

difference is not significant here. It seems that girls are more reluctant to teach in secondary schools than boys are, when it comes to general schools, although – according to the literature – the prospective inter-role conflicts would seem more powerful in keeping them away from there.

Table 2: Preferred school levels by gender

	Students who would like to teach in general school	Students who would like to teach in secondary school or tertiary education
Women	74 %	26 %
Men	52.2 %	47.8 %

HERD 2012, N=292, significance = 0.001

Comparatively, few, i.e. 2.9% of the respondents, have already decided firmly not to pursue teaching as a profession. However, a significantly higher proportion of the students remained undecided, since they do not know yet if they want to teach first or try to find a job in a different field. The proportion of the undecided is significantly higher among men.

Table 3: Plans of remaining in the profession, by gender

	I want to teach by all means	I don't know yet, maybe if I don't find anything else
Women	54.7 %	45.3 %
Men	33.8 %	66.2 %

HERD 2012, N=292, significance = 0.003

Although students who apply for Master programs make their choices with a broader insight, and consequently they are more committed to the teaching profession (Sági & Ercsei, 2012), the data of the present study do not reflect this. Since commitment does not depend on the level of education, students participating in BA/Bsc and MA/Msc programs will certainly choose teaching as a profession in a little over 40% proportion. Most of the students (81.2%) who want to teach believe that they will probably remain in the profession, and this does not show variation by either their level of education, or their gender.

Contrary to our hypothesis, in most cases, there is no significant difference between genders regarding the kind of school they preferred to work in. Most of the teachers-to-be do not reject to work in small settlements, disadvantaged regions or among children with special educational needs, although in the two latter cases, the proportion of those who would not take on such responsibility

is rather high, 40%, and men and women are both represented among them. Remarkably many of them wish to work in elite institutions, often referred to as “racing stables”, which are at the head of the school hierarchy, and although the difference is not significant, girls seem to benefit from it: 89.7% versus 85.3% of the boys would choose this kind of school. A more significant difference is noticeable in the preference for church and foundation schools: boys would prefer these in a slightly higher proportion than the girls, although the difference is not significant in this case either (significance: 0.078).

As for the social background of the students who choose teaching, according to Varga’s study, the social situation of the applicants’ – parents’ level of education, family income, and the high school graduate’s residence – does not influence them significantly in choosing teacher education (Varga, 2007). Furthermore, Fényes’s research revealed that in feminine educational domains – like teacher education – there is less mobility in the case of boys, meaning that only boys with better social backgrounds apply for these specializations (Fényes, 2011). The data gathered in our research shows that mothers are usually the more highly educated, 80% of them graduated from high school or own a degree, while only two thirds of fathers have done the same. Both parents of the boys have significantly higher education than the girls’ parents, which seems to confirm the lesser mobility and the self-selection described by Fényes.

Table 4: Fathers’ education level by gender

	High school graduation at the most	College, university degree
Women	74.8 %	25.2 %
Men	57.8 %	42.2 %

HERD 2012, N=292, significance = 0.009

Table 5: Mothers’ education level by gender

	High school graduation at the most	College, university degree
Women	66.3 %	33.7 %
Men	40.6 %	59.4 %

HERD 2012, N=292, significance = 0.000

The gender distribution by residence shows that proportions are relatively even in villages and small cities, and in the case of bigger settlements one notices that boys come mainly from big cities, while girls from county seats, but with no significant difference, which confirms Varga’s research results.

As for the family income, girls and boys live in families with an average or somewhat worse financial situation, in similar proportions. No variation by gender occurred in the results comparing the student's family income to the country average, to acquaintances' or friends' average. Then again, far more girls come from families that can afford bigger expenses in addition to the day-to-day needs⁴. But this difference is only noticeable in the case of students with the most favorable financial situation; therefore, it is basically in agreement with Varga's research findings.

Table 6: Subjective financial situation of the families by gender

	More stable financial situation than the average	Average financial situation or worse
Women	17.4 %	82.6 %
Men	4.4 %	95.6 %

HERD 2012, N=292, significance = 0.007

More than 80% of the students are relatively satisfied with the quality of the instruction – theoretical and practical training, and the conveyance of professional knowledge – and there are no gender related differences in this respect. Both gender groups plan to participate in continuous education programs in about equal proportions and there is no significant variation regarding the possibility of applying to Master programs in the future, either. Moreover, in agreement with existing research results which show that it is more important for men to ascend on the scientific ladder (Fényes, 2009), PhD programs are considerably more attractive for boys.

Table 7: PhD study plans, by gender

	Plans to participate in a PhD program	Doesn't plan to participate in a PhD program
Women	33.5 %	66.5 %
Men	50.0 %	50.0 %

HERD 2012, N=292, significance = 0.007

Students consider almost every goal set during teaching as important, in a proportion that exceeds 80%, but very often even 90%. This may also result

⁴ The response options for this question: We have everything, we can afford bigger expenses (e.g. travelling abroad) and we are also able to save; We have everything, but we cannot afford bigger expenses; Sometimes we cannot meet our day-to-day expenses; Often we don't have money for our day-to-day needs.

from finding everything equally achievable during studying – which is a slightly idealistic view – and because teachers-to-be begin selection only after starting their career. This way, we were able to analyze if members of one sex or the other prefer some of the goals considered equally important and also if there are any differences based on the masculine or feminine nature of the respective student's specialization.

There is no gender or specialization related difference in the case of almost half of the goals; children's socialization and civic education are tasks considered part of the teacher's job by the majority of respondents. Part of the tasks generally seen as important consists of feminine expectations, for instance getting to know children's emotions, or the remedial of children who lag behind. On the other hand, masculine responsibilities like the cultivation of intelligence, training for contests and continuing education, or civic education are also present, even if only in a smaller proportion.

When analyzing prioritization by gender we noticed that boys do not prefer either goal in a measurable way, whereas girls found significantly more important the goals listed below:

- Improvement of theoretical knowledge
- Ethical education
- Setting norms governing correct conduct
- Supporting physical development
- Relations with the parents
- Development of students' communication skills
- Discussion of assessment with the students
- Transfer of most knowledge to the students
- Psychological support of the students
- Differentiation of the requirements for the students
- Follow-up evaluation of the lessons
- Ensuring constant activity for the students

It appears that for girls it is more important to maintain a close relationship with the students, and good communication with the parents. Supporting physical development and caring is a traditional feminine duty and it is striking that the improvement of theoretical knowledge is also enlisted in this group, although it is an instrumental, thus mostly masculine objective.

There is only one goal in the case of which gender and specialization choice overlap: arts education is significantly more important for women and for students with feminine specializations. Further two objectives were considered highly important by the students studying feminine specializations: preparing children for adult life and maintaining good relationships with colleagues. The latter would require further analysis in order to discover the reasons why the relationships with the other teachers are less important for those who choose masculine specializations.

Students studying masculine domains found significantly more important the following goals:

- Promoting a better understanding of the world
- Adaptation to the students' educational needs
- Employment of varied educational techniques
- Following constantly what is new in Pedagogy
- Nurturing the talent of the most gifted

The first three goals are certainly determined by the nature of the disciplines – basically natural sciences –, while the other two definitely underline the fact that the individual masculine self-image goes hand in hand with stronger instrumental attitudes.

Conclusions

Regarding the teaching profession as a whole, one can notice that a significant part of the students identifies with the feminized, extended teacher role approach. Most of them would take on work in disadvantaged areas or among children with special educational needs, they attach great importance to the remedial of students who lag behind and would focus on children's socialization as well. Additionally, every student considers important a few objectives that focus on the educational process, namely training for contests and the increase of intellectual curiosity.

Dealing with the students' emotions and personal problems is equally important for male and female teachers-to-be. Nonetheless, boys do not prefer significantly any of the tasks, which may indicate that the duality of the teacher role expectations is resolved by their identification with the values and means of their chosen domain. That is to say, some men consider exemplary a masculine, instrumental behavior, while others are strengthened in their caring and feminine attitude. As opposed to our hypothesis, there is no difference regarding the schools men would like to work in. Moreover, a few typically masculine choices become apparent: men would rather teach in secondary or tertiary education, many of them have not decided yet about remaining in the profession and a higher proportion plans to participate in PhD programs.

It can also be noticed that in the case of girls, duties as nurturing and maintaining relationships represent an important part of their teaching identity: they emphasize the importance of children's physical and psychological development, and expect continuous feedback and differentiation among students as well. Existing studies also confirm the fact that they would prefer working in general school and that they are firmer regarding their commitment to teaching as a profession. However, surprisingly, they identify with goals that emphasize the competitive nature of the education process; for instance, there

are slightly more girls than boys who wish to work in elite schools and who also consider that training for school contests is essential. In a significant number of cases, they choose instrumental and emotive goals in agreement with their specialization. Namely students studying masculine, exact disciplines tend to favor tasks that are related to the educational process, while for students studying feminine disciplines relationship and nurturing oriented goals are more important.

We can conclude that the feminization of the teaching profession, i.e. the emergence of the caring behavior, is in agreement with the socially determined gender expectations towards girls. This could make it more difficult for them to carry out some of the masculine tasks, and presumably explains why they strongly prefer feminine specializations and teaching in lower level schools. But it is also revealed that women who choose exact disciplines possess the adequate flexibility to solve possible contradictions. On the other hand, most of the socially defined gender patterns concerning men hinder boys in their identification with the extended teacher role, which is indicated by the fact that not even the students already enrolled in teacher education are sure that they will remain in the profession. As for those who choose teaching, it seems that identification with the gender – feminine or masculine – values and the expectations associated with their chosen specialization is a solution of the inter-role conflicts.

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ISSUES REGARDING THE INTEGRATION OF YOUNG ROMA IN HIGHER EDUCATION. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AT UNIVERSITY OF ORADEA

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1. Introduction

Numerous studies regarding the “social costs of the transition”, which were conducted in the post-communist period in Romania, have revealed that the Roma population is among the groups with the highest risk of social exclusion. It is the reason why the specialists in Roma communities and other social science researchers have studied the various problems of the Roma minority group, enriching the specialized Romanian literature with real data, interpretation models, elements of the trend towards modernization, suggestions of social policies for helping this population, etc. (see Popoviciu & Popoviciu in Zamfir and Burtea 2012 p.11-29).

Prof. Cătălin Zamfir identified two distinct research and intervention strategies by analyzing the research conducted in the post-communist period in Romania. One of them sees the Roma population closed within its own culture, captive in a specific way of life immune to any kind of change. From this perspective, the Roma population is described as being the poorest one and socially excluded with tendencies of self-exclusion, unemployed, with a low education level, manifesting defensive strategies and behavioral patterns which do not facilitate the output from such a culture. The „closed” model generates the researcher’s preference for homogeneous communities composed of individuals who identify themselves as being part of the Roma population, where the lifestyle reproduces itself in „pockets of poverty” (see the ICCV investigations from 1998 and 2010, Stelian 2009). Another strategy considers the Roma population as being open towards modernization through the interaction with other populations. The „open” model, for which researchers explicitly express their preference, addresses Roma, like other populations, as the subject to the ongoing process of modernization, which is facing many obstacles. In this case, the interest focuses on identifying the causes that generate barriers and on finding the „protection” and „correction” factors (Zamfir and Burtea 2012).

2. The chances of Roma population to access higher education in Post-Communist Romania

In Romania, the ethnic group of Roma increased from 409,723 people declared at the 2002 census, representing 1.8% of the total Romanian population, to 619 million people declared at the 2011 census, representing 3.2%, ranking second after the 6,5% Hungarian population (www.gandul.info/news/recensam-

antul-populatiei-primele-rezultate-cati-romani-sunt-cati-etnici-m). Considering the possibility of hetero-identification, in addition to self-identification, a 2002 research estimated a population of approximately 1.01 million Roma in Romania, which represents 4.6% of the total Romanian population at that time (Zamfir and Zamfir 1993). Some organizations even claim that their number reaches 2.5 million, which, according to the researchers, seems exaggerated.

The biggest problem faced by the Roma community from Romania, in particular by the Roma children, is the risk of living in extreme poverty. Thus, if for the Romanian population, the average share of households with children living in extreme poverty is of 54% in urban areas, respectively of 47% in rural areas, for the Roma population, the percentage of households with children living in poverty is 78% of all households from urban and 81% of all households from rural regions (Stănculescu and Berevoescu 2004).

Another dimension of poverty is represented by the precarious housing conditions, the overcrowded housing and the poor endowment with durable goods. The Roma are - from the beginning - in a disadvantaged situation because the percentage of those living in rural areas is 60% comparing with about 45% for other ethnicities. In 2006, the housing density for the Roma population was double in comparison to the general population, reaching average values of about 3 people per room (Zamfir and Preda 2002; Zamfir and Zamfir 1993).

As regards the employment, the data reveals that less than a quarter of the Roma population is engaged in a regular activity (22.1% vs. 51% of non-Roma) while more than a third (36.5%) is not employed at all (Fleck and Rughinis 2008).

Their employability is directly influenced by their poor professional training, as long as 79.9% of the total Roma population lacks any modern or traditional qualification. If we add 3.2% of the Roma population with traditional professions, a percentage of 83.1% is reached for people lacking modern skills, which makes 82% of all young people between 18-29 years to have no type of training (Cace et al. 2000).

Therefore, "the cumulative deprivation status - lack of permanent income, lack of a stable job, lack of skills needed on the labor market, lack of adequate housing, lack of food - which was made permanent is an extreme poverty, it is a struggle to survive on the edge of society, associated with a significant deficit of participation and social integration." (Stănculescu and Berevoescu 2004 p.25).

All studies on poverty show that education is identified as the strongest risk factor for poverty, both at the individual and household or community level. "The lack of education is an important barrier to ... an effective long-term adaptation to the rapidly changing socio-economic conditions." At the same time, there remains a vicious circle "the poverty proves to be not only a product of the lack of education but also a perpetuating and amplifying factor" (Zamfir and Zamfir 1993).

Data collected in 1992 showed a very low educational level of the Roma population. A quarter of the population was practically illiterate, with no edu-

cation or incomplete elementary school, not having any reading and writing skills. High educational levels (post-secondary and university level) comprised only 0.7% of the Roma population while the average level education had only 3.9%. Even if some policy aimed at boosting the school participation of Roma population (the "bread roll and milk" program, "money for a computer", providing free school supplies, social grants, special places in higher education for Roma children, etc.), in 1998 only 4.2% of Roma graduated from high school and in 2010 their share dropped to 3.4%, while higher education graduates increased from 0.9% in 1998 to 1% in 2010, a quite insignificant growth.

Studies have highlighted several factors responsible for the low level of education of the Roma youth, among which we mention (Surdu, M. in Zamfir and Preda 2002 p.111):

- Education is not valued as a life strategy that ensures success. Only 4.1% of the investigated subjects from a 2008 sample considered education as an important mechanism for obtaining success in life. The Roma valued other factors more, such as: money - 28.5%; work - 23.9%; luck - 14%; having a qualification - 8%; being healthy - 7.3%. Regarding Roma students, it can be observed that school dropout has been increasing in the last two decades: from 13.8% in 1992 to 19.6% in 1998 and 25.1% in 2010;

- The Roma population has an increased poverty rate in comparison with the Romanian majority, along with the lack of employment opportunities;

- The low level of education of the parents of Roma students

In this respect, the research outlines a process of social polarization: within the Roma population, besides the massive poverty of the Roma communities, we can observe the creation of a Roma elite that, through individual strategies, have managed to occupy better positions in society comparatively with their parents. By comparison with the national samples, the samples consisting of successful Roma revealed that they had supportive and stimulating family environments, with parents whose level of education is well above the average from the national sample (as an example, the percentage of Roma intellectuals' parents who have a medium or higher education level is of 18.6%, compared to 3.3% of Roma parents in the national sample). Another indicator for a supportive family environment is the lower family size of the Roma intellectuals compared to the family of origin size (1.6 versus 3.13) as a result of modernization, of the awareness regarding the need to educate the children in high quality conditions, which implies high costs; inconsistent, underfunded and not sufficiently stimulating school policies, failed to achieve the expected goals. Target points have been solved primarily through the efforts of NGOs to the detriment of major public policy, which is clearly targeted; Compared to the role of traditional Roma culture and education, research has shown that "medium and long term school is the only factor which grants opportunities of effective personal success for the Roma popula-

tion in the current context,: the tradition sustained by the cultural bias is only a facilitator of the negative effect of the current school situation” (Zamfir and Burtea 2012 p.96).

3. Theoretical considerations

The Roma identity is structured at least on three dimensions: the ethnic identity which comprises the Romany language and other cultural traits, an economical dimension which is related to the traditional occupations of the Roma groups and at the smaller level where we found the easily identifiable communities that integrates the Roma individuals in the society, that are often very differentiated from their social medium (in rural areas we found Roma ghettos that are separated from the village inhabited by Romanian or Hungarian majorities or we found Roma streets in urban areas or rural areas) (Achim 2004; Ringold, Orenstein and Wilkens 2005). These levels of identity represent, at the same time, complex mechanisms for integration. Therefore it is very difficult to find the right model for explaining the phenomena that occurs within and with Roma groups.

One of the main issues regarding the integration of the Roma with the majority ethnic group is the relationship between the assumed identity of the Roma individual and the perceived identity elaborated by the majority population (Csepeli and Simon 2004). Many Roma individuals hide their identity by assuming Romanian or Hungarian identities, which are associated with benefits in social integration. Is a very interesting and, at the same time, difficult to explain the relationship between the “pride to be a Roma”, underlined by some very restrictive attitudes towards the majority population (an example is the interdiction to interethnic marriages) (Voicu and Popescu 2006), and the rejection of the Roma cultural heritage in some situations and the adoption of other cultural identities by Roma. The situation is dependent on the social status of the Roma individual, the strength of the Roma community and the pressures determined by the stereotypes and prejudices manifested by the majority population.

In spite of the assimilationist pressures from the Romanian or Hungarian majorities (Achim 2004), the Roma culture can be described, even today, as mostly traditionalist, especially in rural areas. The family and the community play a very important role for the Roma individual. One of the mistakes that can be easily made in Roma studies is ignoring the role of the community’s culture in explanation. The Roma community has gone through a process of modernization that lasted about 150 years, with different periods of more or less forced integration that were alternated with neglect from the Romanian or Hungarian majority (Achim 2004). This process is ongoing today but social exclusion remains the main factor of the major economic and social problems faced by many Roma communities.

We considered that is important to explore the relationship between the student and their family and community regarding education by taking into

consideration the traditionalist views about these groups in Roma culture (Cahn et al. 1998). One of our presumptions was that the most traditionalist Roma families and communities do not value the institutionalized education. That is the main reason (associated with extreme poverty) for the very high dropout rates registered by Roma students during their academic career.

Secondly, we assumed that, because of the relative cultural isolation of some Roma communities, Roma students have a markedly different habitus from that of the Romanian students that affect their integration in educational institutions, exposing them to stereotypes and prejudices.

We analyzed the problems mentioned above differently for secondary school and higher education considering that prior experiences, i.e. the quality of integration in secondary school greatly influence the integration of the Roma students in higher education.

3. Problems regarding Roma students' integration in higher education. Practical research at the University of Oradea.

The quality of the educational and social inclusion of the Roma students at lower levels of education is a strong predictor for access and integration in higher education of the Roma youth.

Bihor County is one of the Romanian counties with a total percentage of Roma population which is well above the national average. Thus, in the 2002 census the percentage of Roma in Bihor was of 5% of the total population, compared to the national average of 1.8%.

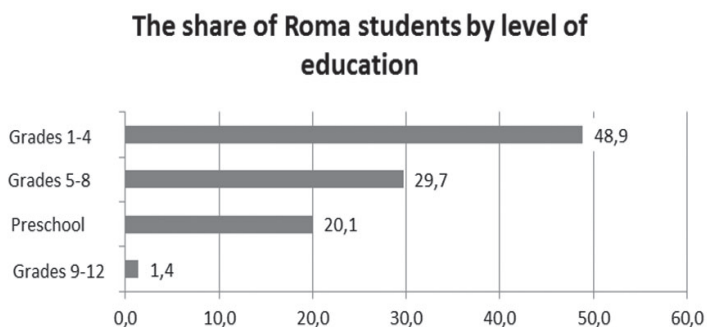
Analyzing the level of inclusion of Roma youth from Bihor county into pre-university formal education, in 2010-2011, we observed that the Roma represent 10% of the total school population, more than the percentage of Roma population from the total population, due to the fact that Roma children percentage is much greater if we compare with other ethnic minorities. It should be noted that the value of 10% is undersized if we consider that most of the young Roma did not attend school or have left school during the learning process. Another factor influencing the size of the Roma population attending school is the low number of Roma children who attend preschool programs (see Table 1).

Table 1: The structure of the Roma population in Bihor County, compared to the population in pre-university education - school year 2010-2011

	Students number	Roma students number	% Roma students reported to the students number on different school levels
Total	98637	9869	10.0
Preschool	20483	1981	9.7
Classes I-IV	24822	4824	19.4
Classes V-VIII	25435	2930	11.5
Classes IX-XIII	7897	134	1.7

Even though we did not report the number of Roma students at the school age population for each educational level, the data show that Roma families' interest is to give children the opportunity to attend primary school. As we observe, at more advanced educational levels, more young people register school dropouts. From the total Roma school population, 48.9% represents those included in classes I to IV, but only 1.4% get to attend high school, (see Chart 1).

Chart 1: The percentage of Roma students from pre-university on educational levels in Bihor County for the year school 2011-2012



The present study was conducted in the spring of 2012 and has taken in account 3 generations of students enrolled in 2009, 2010 and 2011. In the years mentioned before, in the University of Oradea a total of 59 Roma students were enrolled, as follows:

Table 2: Roma students enrolled at the University of Oradea

Specialization	2009	2010	2011	Total
Social Work	3	2	8	13
Psychology		3	1	4
Educational sciences	1	7		8
Economical sciences	6	3		9
History, International studies and European Studies	2	2		4
Literature and Foreign languages			1	1
Arts		1		1
Law and Public Administration	5	3	1	9
Engineering	1	1		2
Informational technology		1		1
Environmental protection	3	1	1	5
Sport	1			1
Nurse	1			1
Total	23	24	12	59

In 2011-2012, at the University of Oradea (the only university in the county that has places funded by the state, especially for the Roma population, as part of the positive discrimination policy) a total of 12 Roma students (8.9% from high school graduates of the school year 2010-2011) were admitted of which 9 in social and human sciences (psychology and social work specializations), 1 in public administration, 1 in philology and 1 in environmental protection.

On the other hand, an analysis on the Roma students enrollment in higher education conducted at the University of Oradea between 2009 and 2012 reveals a downward trend in the number of Roma candidates for higher education, even if the university had allocated a constant number of specially budgeted places for the Roma. In the year 2009, 24 Roma students were enrolled; in 2010 - 25 Roma students; in 2011 - 13 Roma students and in 2012 only 3 Roma students. We can observe from the data that Roma students prefer specializations like social work, education sciences, economics, juridical sciences and environment protection (<http://www.admitereuo.ro/index.php>, consulted on 01.11.2012).

Therefore, the segment of Roma school population that reach secondary school and, especially, higher education is very low, suggesting that qualitative and quantitative changes in the education of the Roma population in Bihor County cannot be expected very soon.

If we analyze the gender structure (table 3) of the enrolled Roma students we observe that in accordance with the general data, female students form the majority of the enrolled Roma students.

Table 3: Gender structure of the enrolled students in University of Oradea

Gender	2009	2010	2011	Total
Male	11	9	5	25
Female	12	15	7	34

If we are considering the fact that in traditional Roma families female children are less encouraged to enhance their education, the situation at the University of Oradea is surprising and it can be explained by the transformations occurred in Roma families, especially in urban areas, which are adopting the more egalitarian treatment of their children regarding education.

Our qualitative analysis is based on 14 interviews that we made with Roma students at the University of Oradea (see Table 4). We found that some Roma students were apprehensive when we questioned them about their problems at the university and refused to finish the interview. This is an indicator towards their perceived status in the university because most of them were admitted in university on special places for Roma students.

Table 4: Structure of the sample

	Male	Female	Urban areas	Rural areas
Students	9	5	10	4

3.1 Social and educational background of the students

The dimension of social and educational background comprises the student's relationship with the family, community and school prior to their academic career in higher education. We asked the Roma students if they lived with their families or in institutions. Two students questioned acknowledged that they lived in institutions after they were abandoned by their families. Regarding the economic conditions of their families, 6 of the questioned students lived in poor or very poor conditions with their families (they had to walk a long distance to attend classes, lived in the same room with other members of their families and experienced some restrictions when they were in secondary school) and 8 of the students had medium to good economic conditions (they had private rooms for study, proper clothing and access to educational facilities).

It is not surprising to find out that on the places reserved for Roma students there are not just students with low SES (socio-economic status). We can propose the hypothesis that, taking in account the very high rates of drop-outs of Roma students during secondary school, the majority of those who remain in upper secondary school and have a chance to attend a university, are from non-traditionalist Roma families, mostly from urban areas, with economic conditions that are medium to good.

The education of the parents greatly influences the habitus of the student, attitude towards education and, in general, their preparedness to cope with the requirements imposed by schools. Regarding the student father's education, 12 fathers had at least 8 years of school. The students' mothers are less educated but are more involved with their children education. This is mainly due to the repartition of roles in the traditional Roma family, which remained basically unchanged even in urban areas. The role of the women is to be at home solving domestic problems (regarding the children's education) and the husband's role is to provide the material means for living (Voicu and Popescu 2006).

The attitudes towards education (in secondary school) of the students' parents is in general positive, but it is restricted to verbal encouragements and less manifested through direct involvement in the educational process. Phrases as "I didn't need my parents helping out because I was able to do on my own my homework", "they worked a lot and didn't have the time to help me out", "my parents participated at school meetings" were common in the interviews, underlining the fact that parenting and orientation towards achievement are essential to reach a higher educational level for the Roma student. Generally, the Roma parents were not qualified to help their children with learning at home in the upper stages of secondary school, giving their children some independence in preparing for school and choosing their educational path further on. We have to mention students' respect towards their parents which is very strong in the Roma tradition, underlining the parents influence on motivation and retention in school.

When we asked the students about the attitude of the community towards education in general and their achievements in secondary school in particular,

we found a different situation. We differentiated two types of communities surrounding the Roma student: the Roma community and the non-Roma community. Even if parents were supporting the educational achievement of their children, the community is in general pessimistic, skeptic about the value of further education. The Roma communities in urban areas are more positively related with education, but in rural areas, education, especially at higher levels, is considered somewhat negatively. One respondent said that (male) "in our village we are regarded with envy because we had the opportunity to go to school as others didn't", envy towards those who attend school is the most common attitude expressed by the interviewed students. Other positions expressed by students:

- Male: "the community is divided, some consider going to school as a waste of time, others appreciate it",
- Female: "they laughed at me when I went to upper secondary school"
- Female: "for them (community) school is not important. They learn a little to get the driver license and then they head towards Italy or France"
- Female: "they told me many times to not go to school because it's useless for me"

From the statements made by the interviewed students, it is clear that the prejudices and stereotypes towards education are strongly present in Roma communities, especially towards girls and young women.

Finally we tried to understand the difficulties faced by the Roma students during secondary school. We asked them about their relationship with teachers, other students, if they were subjected to ethnic discrimination.

Regarding the very sensitive subject of ethnic identification we present the following statements:

- (Female) "I didn't want them to know that I'm a Roma"
- (Male) "I was nicely clothed and my colleagues didn't know that I'm Roma"
- (Female) "It can be seen that I'm a Roma"
- (Male) "They knew because of my name and I'm a little darker"

Many of the students hid their identity or were satisfied that their classmates did not know that they were of Roma origin. Most of the students who said that their colleagues did not know that they were Roma also said that they did not encounter difficulties in secondary school.

We asked the Roma students about the negative experiences faced by them because of their ethnicity:

- (Female, Male) "I didn't have problems because nobody knew that I'm Roma"
- (Female) "I was the only one ignored by the parents of one of my colleagues"
- (Female) "I was involved only in activities concerning Roma students"
- (Female) "One of my colleagues refused to seat near me in classes"
- (Male) "Some teachers underappreciated me"

- (Male) “I wore a ring, which is customary in our community and I was laughed off because of it by my classmates”
- (Female) “There was a situation when I faced great difficulties because of my ethnicity. My classmates joked on my behalf, calling me gipsy, and the teachers didn’t react”
- (Female) “I liked one of my classmates but he didn’t respond to my feeling because I was Roma”

It can be observed that female students are reporting more negative experiences than male students. This can be explained, partially, by the perceived aggressiveness of Roma male students, which are feared by their classmates. The official statistics regarding juvenile criminality shows a higher rate for male Roma youth (Chipea 1997). There were fewer accounts on teacher related discriminations; we observed the reluctance of the interviewed students to criticize the educational establishment.

When asked if they perceive that they had a different habitus from other classmates, some students reported differences from non-Roma students such as particular ways of expressing themselves, language particularities (accent) and difficulties or that they were reluctant to participate in class related activities.

3.2 Issues of Roma students in higher education

First, we tried to understand the reasons that led them to compete for a place in university. Many of the interviewed students expressed the altruistic idea of helping their community overcome the poverty, discrimination, under-education that cripples most Roma communities. A second set of reasons were based on the personal motivation of the student, an ambition fueled by the many oppositions and frustrations encountered in their lives. Another motivation was the concrete professional opportunities that were offered in their communities or were desired by the students. We have to refer to the fact that mentioning the parents a few times as motivators is consistent with the low education of the students’ parents and the fact that they are less involved with their children education, especially at higher levels of education. When we posed the question if the specially financed places for Roma students were motivators for accessing universities, most of the interviewed students recognized that they benefited from the policy, but they did not consider it as a relevant factor in deciding to enroll in higher education.

We tried to understand how difficult it was for them to cope with the academic requirements imposed by the university. Almost all of them recognized that the university is much more difficult than upper secondary school and some of them pointed out that non-Roma students were better prepared (for example a female student said: “I felt that some of my colleagues are better because they graduated from better schools and they are richer, they learn better than me”).

One of the main problems in secondary school regarding Roma students is the high rate of dropout (Ministerul Educației și Cercetării et al. 2002) or, viewing the problem from another angle, the low retention in school of Roma students. When asked if they thought about quitting their studies most of them said a clear no, but some students reported that they thought about it:

- (Female) "I was discouraged by teachers, by the university"
- (Male) "It's very difficult for me, I have to travel long distances to attend classes"
- (Female) "Even if someone discouraged me I do pay attention"
- (Female) "I have great economic difficulties, I don't afford my tuition"

We explored the problem regarding ethnic identification in the university and if they had negative experiences such as discrimination from academic staff or their colleagues. We observed the same problem that we discovered in relation to secondary school, that some Roma students do not want to be identified as Roma ethnics. Because of the public character of the tuition fee lists, students learned about those students that declared themselves as Roma ethnics in order to be eligible for the specially funded places for Roma students.

We present statements about negative, discriminatory experiences in relation with colleagues or teachers reported by the interviewed students:

- (Female) "When the lists with students that have to pay tuition fee were showed, many colleagues accused me that I don't have Roma origins. I didn't tell them that I was Roma because I didn't want to"
- (Female) "There were comments about Roma people but they didn't refer directly to me"
- (Female) "There were some prejudices and stereotypes but the teachers intervened promptly to end it"
- (Female) "The teachers didn't have a good attitude, they sustained ideas that are discriminatory, they do not know the things they are talking about (related to Roma people)"

The majority of the questioned students said that they didn't experience discrimination from teachers or colleagues but, as a subjective observation, they were very "diplomatic" when asked about the problem and answered with a "wooden language".

We asked the students about how their participation in higher education is valued by their families and communities. The first observation that comes out from the answers is that the community does not play an important role in their lives, a few students talked about "envy" and "amazement" as a reaction to their enrollment in higher education. Parents are proud about their achievements, as they are the first generation that attend a university, and many of the parents are trying to help them economically.

From the economic point of view, the interviewed Roma students had reported economic difficulties as well as the necessity to work during the academic year. Almost all the students who worked considered that working during the academic year is a big hindrance in achieving good academic results.

The economic resources that are necessary to attend university are coming from social grants, paid jobs and parental support.

The interviewed students achieve, in general, mediocre or poor academic results but most of them are working and they have little time for studying. A few exceptions reported very good academic results; they are from urban areas and they are not working during the academic year. Regarding the benefits of higher education, the interviewees are satisfied with their choice for specialization, considering that they have evolved intellectually and especially linguistically in university.

Finally we asked the Roma students to order the main problems that they are facing in higher education (table 5):

**Table 5: Problems faced by Roma students,
ordered by the interviewed students**

Working during the academic year	76
Poverty	74
The lack of support from their families or communities	47
Lower level of academic preparedness	46
Discrimination by colleagues	22
The feeling of inferiority generated by their ethnicity	21
Discrimination by teachers	15
They have chosen the wrong specialization	13

Conclusions

From our analysis it is clear that Roma students face serious problems regarding poverty and the necessity of working during the academic year is common. Another major problem that is specific to Roma students is the lack of the support from their communities and lower level of academic preparedness, which is a systemic problem of the Romanian educational system regarding the integration of Roma students (Greenberg 2010).

Regarding their ethnicity, Roma students still suffer from moderate forms of discrimination that are explainable through the general stereotypes and prejudices of the majority population about the Roma community.

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THE CONDITION OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED AND FOSTER YOUTH EDUCATED IN HIGHER EDUCATION, UNDERSTOOD THROUGH INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

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The study presents the results of a survey among those students of the University of Debrecen who were raised in one of the institutions (community-based group home, children's home, foster-parents) of the foster care system and who are currently beneficiaries of the aftercare programme, as well. Firstly, we attempt to overview the background circumstances of their acceptance into the institution of higher education, then, to overview the presentation of their family conditions, as well as their integration into university life.

The student body of the University of Debrecen consisted of 29551 students, according to data from 15th of March 2012, considering all departments together and all the study levels (higher educational training, college level, degree level, BSc, MA, the former 5-year long teacher training, further vocational education, PhD). There were 22716 full-time students, 6799 correspondence study, and 36 in distance learning and evening classes. With regard to funding, among the full-time students, 15688 received funding and 6466 students paid tuition fee. In what the correspondence courses are concerned, 1889 students were funded and 3721 paid tuition fee. From the students in the full-time programme, 6366 applied for regular social grants, out of which 3021 applications were accepted and these students received scholarships. 333 students out of the social grant beneficiaries were persons with multiple disadvantages and 1767 students were underprivileged. (the website of the University of Debrecen, official statistics of the educational board of directors).¹

According to our research permit, we reviewed all, i.e. more than six thousand applications, thus we found 10 students among the applicants who were raised in a certain form of the foster care system and who are still part of it. Out of 10 students, 8 lived with foster-parents, 2 lived in community-based group homes. Finally we were able to interview 7 students.² Out of the 7 interviewees, 2 students lived in community-based group homes, 5 lived with their foster-parents.

The results of our exploratory research showed the way in which the disadvantaged students reached higher education, the difficulties they encountered when they entered the institution and the issues that they currently face, as well.

¹ We hereby thank József Borbás, the social reporter colleague working at the Student Relations Directorship, for his help in accessing the statistical data and in technically carrying out the survey.

² The interviews are presented with no spelling or style corrections.

Along the research, the presentation of the literature in the field and the analysis of documents are followed by the recording, interpretation and analysis of structured interviews. While trying to contact the students, there were several problems to face, since it was rather characteristic for a part of the students to be "hidden." In the period when the interviews were carried out, there were students who expressly refused the possibility of conversation, one student withdrew underway and another student was left out of the group due to his continuous reference to lack of time. One person accepted the interview only in written form, however we were personally present at the collection of data. Generally, the interviews lasted for about 1 – 1.5 hours and they were made in the period between April and June 2012.

The interview questions referred to family relationships, friends, lower secondary and secondary school studies, teacher-student relationships, higher education careers and institutional/foster-parent environments. We recorded the interviews at the each department where the students were enrolled in.

The interviewees were students at legal studies, finance-accountancy, public health, medical imaging diagnostics, social pedagogy, pedagogy departments.

Terms connected to the research

Disadvantaged condition, situation with multiple disadvantages

According to the definition from the 2011 given by law number CCIV on National Higher Education, the young people who are considered as students with a *disadvantaged condition* are those who, at the time of enrolment, were not at the age of 25 yet, who were officially registered under state protection due to family circumstances or a social situation during their secondary education, whose families were regularly granted the child protection allowance and were beneficiaries of regular child protection allowance, or who were raised in state institutions (§108 Art. 8.a).

The student with *multiple disadvantages* is the one whose legal guardian declared in the voluntary parental statement based on the child protection and guardianship administration act, that he/she had at the most an elementary educational qualification at the time when the student was at school age; the student in permanent guardianship is considered someone with *multiple disadvantages* (§108 Art. 8.b).

The parents (both parents) of the multiple disadvantaged students have low school qualifications, at the most, they have graduated elementary school at the time when their child was at school age. Nevertheless, the elementary school qualification of the parents in itself is not sufficient for the status of multiple disadvantaged, the legal conditions of the disadvantaged situation also need to be met. Namely, the legal phrasing supposes the existence of the disadvantaged condition as well, hence, apart from the school qualification of the parents, the entitlement to a regular child support allowance, the regis-

tration under state protection, the status of being under institutional care are needed.

Child protection care, state care

Among the terminology of child protection, the term “child in state care” has become obsolete, “a child/young person in child protection care” is used instead. In the scholarly literature, however, this wording is still found rather often. The “child in state care” as a notion was introduced together with the law number IV from 1952, which replaced the earlier term of the “abandoned child” and, at the same time, the possibility of being registered into foster care was expanded to all children under the age of 18. State care meant that the child was not brought up within the family, instead it came to him being part of a certain institutional placement. The 1997 Child Protection Act No. XXXI uses the notion of child protection care in the cases of sustenance and protection based on state provisions (1997 XXXI. Child Protection Act § 5). Those children are included here, who were taken into a temporary, transitional or permanent custody by the public guardianship authority. The public authority takes children into temporary custody when the family conditions endangers the growth of the child and if this endangered situation could not be terminated by services provided via basic sustenance, respectively by being registered into child protection. Along with temporary custody, the public guardianship authority places the child either at foster parents, or – if this is not possible – into a children’s home, or, if the condition of the child justifies this, he/she is placed into a home for handicapped and mentally ill people and a guardian (by profession) is appointed in order to help him. The parental custody rights of the parents of a child taken into temporary care are suspended. The temporary custody lasts until the family of the child becomes capable to accept their child back.

Permanent custody is applied if the court denies the parental custody rights of a parent or of both parents, if both parents are deceased and the child does not have a custodial parent, if the child has unknown parents, or if the parent made a contributory declaration when giving his child into adoption without including any details about their identification data or of the adopter, provided that the child may not be placed temporarily in the custody of his/her prospective adopters.

Together with taking the child into permanent custody, the public guardianship authority places the child either at foster parents, or – if this is not possible – into a children’s home, or if the condition of the child justifies it, then he is placed into a home for handicapped and mentally disabled people, while the system appoints a guardian (by profession) to help him. After being taken into permanent custody, the child is prepared for adoption and, respectively, for independent life (1997 XXXI. Child Protection Act § 77-81).

In the present study, the terms of *child protection care* and *state care* denote those young people who were raised in community-based group homes, children’s homes or by foster parents.

Research background data

There are several factors that might explain the very low student population consisting of students that have a foster care status (based on the very small amount of literature that refers to it); on the one hand, for example very few children from state care reach to higher education due to the "results" of the secondary schools in Hungary. There is no exact data about this, but according to estimations, 5% of children registered into foster care study at a certain higher educational institution (Rácz, 2009).

The Student Union carried out a questionnaire-based research in 2010 among mentored and non-mentored students. From 907 mentored students, 422 completed the questionnaire. 335 mentored students answered the question about who they stayed with until the age of 18. 3 percent of them answered that they had lived with foster-parents, and 1 percent said they had lived in state care. Among the students acting as mentors there were none brought up in state care (Kovács A, 2010).

There is very little research available that deals with the studies in higher education of students who live in child protection care. *Martin and Jackson* (2002) attempted to identify the supporting and the hindering factors of the participation in higher education and they emphasized that the tutor had a very important role in the successful achievements during studies of the tutored child; if the tutor's expectations were low towards the child, then this was a hindering factor. They pointed furthermore to another negative factor, the prejudice towards children and young people living in foster care, and the lack of the necessary material conditions for learning. Many reported that there were no appropriate quiet places in a children's home, where one could study. According to the respondents, there was hardly any possibility to spend one's free time constructively in a children's home, which can also be traced back to the lack of conditions.

Similarly to *Martin and Jackson* (2002), *Forsyth and Furlong* (2003) found that one category of hindrance is formed by the economic difficulties. The students note that they feel that the length of their career is defined by a certain financial background rather than their abilities. They try to ease their financial difficulties partly with paid work, partly with student loans. Furthermore, the researchers discover that the disadvantaged students abandon university in the period between the first to the third year, because they find their way through the mazes of higher education harder, including, among others, the postponement requests or the rules of repeated course registrations. Abandoning frequently has, as reason, the repetition of the academic year, then the postponement and applications to other courses. The disadvantaged young person is oftentimes the first from the family to enter higher education. Thus, there is no experience within the family about the functioning mechanisms of higher education, they are unaware about the student grant system or of the rules regarding the studies. Many of the respondents mentioned that they were suggested both by their former schools and their immediate environment to

pursue vocational training and not higher education. During the research, the students also expressed that they very often felt as “strangers” in the higher education institution (*Forsyth és Furlong, 2003*).

Jackson and his collaborators found in their research that the respondents had marked the following facts to be the main problems connected to higher educational studies: they had had very little information about university application requirements and they had received only a few pieces of advice regarding their choice of courses or their preparation for the exams. As a further issue, they had pointed at the low financial support and the lack of accommodation for the holiday periods. Covering the costs of their studies was another problem for them, therefore, they worked quite often during holiday periods, as well as during the year, which made their preparation for exams even harder. Work also interfered with their accommodation to university life (*Jackson, Ajayi and Quigley, 2005*). As part of an international research, *Rácz (2009)* revealed those factors that in Hungary contributed to the appearance of young adults with child protection care background in higher education. He interviewed 35 individuals, out of which ten were pursuing their studies in a college or university-level qualification. Analysing the interviews, the authors listed the factors promoting higher education qualification in two main groups. Among the persistence of endogenous elements, willpower, the wish for breakout, the commitment for a secure future were given defining roles. The endogenous elements cover the circle of individual factors. The author considered the outside circumstances, in particular the child protection system and its participants to be listed as exogenous elements (*Rácz, 2009*).

Family constellations

The decisive role of the family as a fundamental social institution in the development of child’s personality cannot be debated, regardless of the fact whether the given culture or organizational authority is in the course of expected or unexpected macro changes.

In order to have the child integrated into different communities as an autonomous, prepared adult, he/she needs the community of a family, which ensures consistency, emotional security, a definite relationship of attachment. At the same time, a family is able to ensure attention, meaningful time spent together, love, physical and emotional relationship to all its members. Modern societies have witnessed a clearly perceived change in what concerns the social situation of families and children in the past century. The state has kept its role of practising control upon the sphere of the family and the parent-child relationship framework, however, at the same time, this has become more favourably nuanced.

Unfortunately, the “formula”, the designed picture about the biological family is rather common during the analysis of the interviews. Raising a child who was born from an early, reckless, and maybe unfounded sexual relationship is generally not possible for the young biological parents. In most cases

the fathers are unknown for these children, and they spend the early years of their life in child protection institutions. This pattern can be seen also from the life stories of a few of our interviewees.

"... there were times when she [the mother] wanted me back, but allegedly the circumstances were not good, and she didn't have a job,... every two years she moved to a new place, and at that time they didn't allow it, which I am happy for of course ..." (Interview 1)

"... my mother got pregnant at a very young age, and she herself was in state care, and she didn't have a family model in front of her, or how one should raise children at all, or something like that... and her age, ... so she was 16. ...immediately, I mean... immediately after the hospital I ended up in a children's home. ... well before, I think... well, they told me that I had been at two foster families... but they had taken me back, because none of them had cared for me, ...they hadn't looked after me, and they had neglected me, and something like that... I was two years old when I was taken to my present family." (Interview 5)

Another family construction which could be considered a representative model in our time is the official form of cohabitation, but with no legal/marriage bond. The life story of our following interviewee serves as an example for this. The parents, though not married, tried to ensure soothing circumstances and a family for their children. They worked as much as possible, having had a lower secondary qualification, respectively an intermediate vocational training. However, slowly they became excluded from the job market. They found it hard to make ends meet, their relationship, their cohabitation ended, and due to substantial debts and the gradual non-payment of living expenses led to one of the youngest minor children to be taken into child protection custody, into a community-based home.

"...the constant piling of bills, debts, ... it was already several hundreds of thousands of Forints (HUF), almost one million... the notices were constantly arriving... I was then only a minor... we had a family social worker coming to us, she helped my mother manage the paperwork, find another flat, another job, as my mother had only 8 school grades finished, because of that it was difficult... so we had to move..." (Interview 3)

There is not always deviance behind the dysfunctional family life. Notwithstanding a family tragedy (death of a parent or both parents), it is yet a fortunate change if the child lives only for a short period of time in a state institution and finds a home as quickly as possible in an expanded family, as was the case presented in the life story of one of our interviewees. During our conversation the reasons for the interviewee's obvious withdrawnness was not revealed (the young adult spoke about the memories in short sentences, objectively), thus we intentionally did not try to lead the recollection into that direction.

"there are six of us in my family, I live with my godparents and their three children, my mother died, and my father had given me up, I am not in contact with him... but I am in contact with the grandparents from my mother's side." (Interview 4)

The illness of one of the parents, the job of the other parent in a distant place endangers the balanced functioning of the families, the feeling of security and

self-confidence of the children to the same degree as the appearance or presence of any concrete deviance. The short answers about family and memories with deep prints led us to think, in the case of one young adult, that due to a serious (yet unexpressed) problem (illness?) of the mother the child was moved into the guardianship of another adult family member (the aunt).

"... well, erm... actually the atmosphere at home was not too relaxed either, erm... and there was a certain mood..., ...my father worked a lot, and I/we barely saw him. Yet I do remember that when he came home for the weekend, he had a good influence on me. (laughs)... and he would have liked to teach me to be courageous, for example he used to teach me how to ride a bicycle and how to box, but none of that really stuck on me, erm, he used to work abroad too, and in Budapest, for quite a while. This always changed, ...but it is still him that I feel more attached to, for some reason...." (Interview 6)

The changing of the complicated family/parent framework of relationships, the easily influenced father figure and the imagined safety of the environment become background factors that shape the young (male) child's early adolescent years, when he does not find his place in the family, in the world, he does not feel well in his shoes, and he rebels against practically anything.

"... actually I have a one-year-old little brother, and then a six-year-old younger sister, a fourteen-year-old younger brother, a ten-year old other brother... I don't know my father, my biological father." "...well, I've had many foster-fathers... (slightly laughing) Because, to tell you the truth we are five – there are five of us siblings, two of which are my own brothers, and... erm... the rest... erm... step-brothers and stepsisters, ... the two younger ones are the children of my present stepfather and we three come from different parents each, ... well... erm... there were many stepfathers and I really honestly tried to find the father in them..." (Interview 7)

The mother and stepfather of the interviewee divorced when the child was four years old; however the stepfather *"always came up in the weekend, and then we went together somewhere, ... once we were sitting in the kitchen with my mother, talking and then, suddenly at the age of twelve, she tells me out of the blue that he isn't really my father... at that time my father got really erm... angry with my mother, ...as a matter of fact he started to provoke me against my mother, he told me certain things, that she was like this and that,... then my mind went crazy (laughs) and then I talked in an ugly way with my mother at home and so I changed completely,... then I got into bad company, ... we were just hanging out, I played truant and then in the 8th grade I don't even know how I finished it, since I was absent for 250 hours more or less... eventually this led to the fact that I moved away from home... I voluntarily asked to be accepted in a children's home, because of all those daily rows at home..." (Interview 7)*

The unconsidered, uncontrolled behaviour of the parents in their new and changed situation (behind which it is possible to identify their crisis of adulthood) may unbalance the children, who can easily be driven even to deviance.

It has also been confirmed that the institutionalised children do not know about their siblings, step-brothers or sisters in all cases, regular and stable

relationship and connections between them may not occur. *".. siblings, yes, there are several of them... at the last count there were seven, ... but how many there are since then, I don't know..."* (Interview 5)

"I've got... erm... an older brother, hm...and erm... I have a younger stepsister" (Interview 6)

Similarly, encouraging the "direct," administratively aimed connections (seeing each other monthly, sending letters occasionally and especially promises to the children that they would be given back to their mothers) cannot reassuringly settle the relationship between the biologically related family members, it cannot arrange for a better sense of being on the same wavelength or of getting to know each other better.

"... I think it was when I was six, the whole blood-related connection, when I had to decide whether I would go back to my original family or stay where I was, and then, well then I met them eventually... erm... well that was a shocking experience... and then they called me once every year until I turned 18, so that there would be a so-called keeping in touch (they told me that the grandparents from my father's side, they... they would have taken the responsibility of my upbringing, but then I don't know why this had not been solved..." (Interview 5)

"... many of us do not see an opportunity in living in a community-based group home, many parents regard this in a hostile way, because they had not been able to provide for their families, to raise their own children, ... I am truly happy that I lived there..., I know, if I wasn't living here, then it is not sure that I would have graduated secondary school..." (Interview 3)

Professional care, foster parents, educators in community-based group homes

The work of professionals working in the child protection system, having a reliable training and being responsible (being present in the everyday office routine and education in the different types of children's homes, or in their families as foster-parents) means such an enormous chance of holding on to so many children from the system, that it protects them from marginalisation, segregation or behaviour that could become deviant. In the case of our interviewees this phenomenon could clearly be revealed:

"... I'm happy that I was in state care, because this taught me one or two things, ... the attitude to people, and some experience about what certain things will end up in..." (Interview 3)

"... and then I really needed, I really needed a couple of years to learn to know better... And this is not, not just Mr. Karcsi... We were even talking about this with Mr. Karcsi, that – that this really erm... helped, to make this happen, but somehow I had to realise how things work on my own... in my opinion Mr. Karcsi is erm... a good professional, because erm... he had also been raised in state care. And erm... you see, after that he had started work as an educator and he knows exactly what the mentality of these children is." (Interview 7)

"I used to go to music school, folk dance, gymnastics, choir, Latin classes, an orchestra, I used to play the cello, we went to Spain, to the Czech Republic, ...then with the school choir to France, Italy... well yes, we are not a usual family." (Interview 2)

"... this is unbelievable for me, how were they able to do this, to love a completely strange person in the same way someone loves their own child?... so this thought has always been there in the back of my head. And another thing is that I owe them a huge <thank you>, that that they had accepted me like this, I mean that they had accepted me as a member of the family.... these things erm... are very difficult to understand by those who have never been in such a situation, obviously, because it is one thing to say that we should help everybody who is a human being, and... and it is completely another to actually live it... and this is indeed a great present too." (Interview 5)

Friendships, friends

The responding students were not able to recall memories or friends from kindergarten. It is possible that the reason for this is their image that has been shaped about family up to the present or the lack of it. The following case was a shocking experience.

"...Erm..., well, erm..., for example when I was playing with LEGO with a little girl, I used to like playing with LEGO, and erm... for some reason one of the kids, one of my mates from kindergarten, for some reason he came up to me every morning and kicked me in the stomach." (Interview 6)

Based on the recollections of the interviewed students, friendship bonds were not built during lower secondary school, instead they became rather deeper towards the second half of the secondary school.

"... I didn't have any shared experience with them, I didn't really go anywhere, I wasn't interested in the things that they were so keen on" (Interview 4)

"... they enjoyed bullying me, and pushing me to the side, and all that..., there was a girl, for example, who had a separate bunch of methods of doing that,... when I stepped into the classroom in the first grade, I didn't know even then where I should sit, or whether I may go into a classroom at all and all that... well, erm..., this was surely due to my bashfulness" (Interview 6)

"... there are two girls from my secondary school class that I still keep in touch with, and now my roommate is my friend..." (Interview 1)

Overall they expressed that they had not experienced any unpleasant situation on behalf of their school peers or their teachers that would have been due to their status of being from a state care background.

Schools, teachers

The image that can be drawn about teachers, based on the interviews, is presumably the same with any picture drawn in the case of most “average students.” The personal attachments built, the likes and dislikes cannot be directly linked in any of the cases to the framework of their family relationships, i.e. that they are “children in foster care.”

“The History teacher made the strongest impression on me. He was the first person, as a teacher, to love me for who I was. At least I felt that he saw something in me that... that maybe isn’t really there... And then there was the Biology teacher, who could barely stand me... whatever I did I only got a two, even if I learned the whole book by heart and presented it word per word, I still got a two... There was also the Hungarian teacher,... the first composition was from Romeo and Juliette, and he gave me a two. ... and I walked up to him, and asked what I should do for the next class in order not to get a two... then I think this was the reason he was cut up about” (Interview 5).

“It was a very strange feeling, but it is really weird that I am here and that I came from down there and got so far. ...and with a background like this I don’t even know where I should stand... because of the background of my parents, as I don’t even know if from my mother’s side she had the eight classes or not, after all I still graduated secondary school and I know that this is all thanks to education,... this Biology teacher really brought me down a lot, I really lost track there: then what was it that I was able to learn, or what was it that I really knew, or was there really anything I knew at all? ... my parents (foster-parents) helped me in this and told me that I shouldn’t worry too much about it... they always said, that what you knew you knew, that was yours, and they always said that nobody can take away what you learned...” (Interview 5)

The teachers helped their students in choosing a career based on their results, marks, or they even tried to guide them in a completely different direction, which can be said about the vast majority of the so-called average students as well.

“... I knew that anyhow I would like to study something like, let’s say, humanities, and let’s say that wanting to become an art historian (laughs) was something that I formulated for myself at a very early age, even if this was quite vague, but well, yes...” “... I was really happy that my form tutor offered me extra classes (laughs), in Philosophy for example... partly from a friendly perspective, partly curriculum-based, at his place,... he liked inviting a few kids from the class, 3-4 people, and I was among them.” (Interview 6)

“... In lower secondary school I was sent to the school psychologist because of my behaviour, towards the end of eighth grade the situation got really bad and then I ended up at a psychiatrist... I managed to get away from the psychiatric ward too... (laughs), I couldn’t really find my place, somehow, and nothing was ok, so I rebelled against everything and... to tell you the truth it was judo that got me en-

gaged, my best result was the national third place... and yeah, there were the student Olympics. ... my form tutor was a Biology teacher, I owe him a lot, ... we had a really good teacher body in secondary school, I think... every course started with him asking how everybody was feeling, I mean one by one, almost every teacher spent a few minutes from the class on this and in my opinion this was very good... that's why I was studying even in the period when I was playing truant,... I still reached level four." (Interview 7)

According to the recollection of one student, his teachers were aware about his circumstances, they knew about the changes going on around him. In hindsight he considers that surely they had not thought that he would continue his studies in higher education.

"... I don't think they thought that I would go to university, my marks were pretty poor, I had a lot of absences and there were the failed grades too..." (Interview 3)

Higher education

The majority of the interviewed students— apart from one — decided that they would study in higher education at the end of the secondary school. They often chose an institution at the last minute; therefore their further studies were not preceded by a period of preparation for the entry exams. They were rather characterised by perplexity than a conscious preparation in the choice of department.

The circumstances of applying to an institution of higher education can be described as follows:

"Well, around that time, in January, we decided, well, about two months before the application deadline. There was nothing that I was interested in. My mother told me about what she was doing, what she had studied and then she told me to choose that department because she had attended it as well, and after all it was the best in the area. And that is how I got here." (Interview 1)

"My foster-parents had this idea anyway, I mean, if I didn't want to come, I would still have had to. I didn't feel sorry for it, I will receive my second degree, and besides this, I would like another one, since one has to consider standing on more than two feet nowadays for making a living." (Interview 4)

"The career choice too.... I only came here because they had told me that I would probably find a job with this, but to tell you the truth I didn't know where to go, I only ticked quite a few, about 8 options. You see I came from a disadvantaged background, so many options were cheap to choose." (Interview 2)

There was at least one person in the lives of most students who motivated them to continue their studies. In the case of the students living with foster-parents it can be said that the foster-parents played a crucial role in ensuring that their children would study further. Many of them helped these young people in choosing a department as well. Many of the foster-parents, the mothers especially, also held a degree. Thus, there is a teacher, a mechanical engineer, a Hungarian-Russian teacher, a manager among them. Nevertheless, according to research, having a degree is not generally characteristic for foster-par-

ents, since the applicants for this role are mostly graduates of lower secondary or secondary education, at the most (Homoki, 2011, Rákó, Szabóné-Bagdács, 2011).

The educators also had an important role in the case of those living in children's homes: they were the ones first of all who motivated the young people to continue their studies. This is the situation, for example, of that young man who went through psychiatry and who said:

"Mr. Karcsi, he was my main educator, whom I could always talk to. I mean, I think it is unbelievable what he can achieve with people. There, erm.... with me too, so when I ended up there I was really bad and my perception about life was completely wrong. I even talked to Mr. Karcsi about this, that he had helped to make this happen." (Interview 7)

Another student expressed a similar opinion:

"finally towards the end of secondary school, around the time of the Baccalaureate I decided to study further. The educator from my community-based group home encouraged me, so he did, and after all I thought the same too, I mean why not..." (Interview 3)

Regarding the objective requirements of studies it can be stated that in the case of students living with foster-parents these were ensured, as they all had their own rooms or at least their personal desks. However, ensuring the optimal conditions for studying represented a problem for those who were living in children's homes, as they were sharing a room with many others and there were very few computers at their disposal. Integration into the institution of higher education caused a significant amount of difficulty for the majority of the respondents, as well as adapting to the new environment and the building of new relationships. The students answered regarding this topic as follows:

"I was terrified, since I came from a small town into the city, and I had to do everything for myself, which I had not been used to" (Interview 4)

"I was unsociable for half a year..., so I didn't really open up to anybody. And then I began speaking to people starting with the second semester. And since then I've been really good." (Interview 6)

Administering all the various study-related matters was also difficult for the students. Many of them, however, had acquaintances or relatives who were there in assisting them in all the administrative issues. They were also able to build up good relationships with their colleagues or students from senior years of study, on whose help they could rely on during studies.

"and then yes, but first a few weeks had to pass for my colleagues and I to try to get in contact with senior students and then we also got materials from them and they told us too what to do and how we should do things. And from the start there was this acquaintance, my best friend, who attends the same university, well he for example helped me a lot, like how I should do things in this Neptune network." (Interview 5)

"Well, my roommate has helped me, Csabi is his name, as I mentioned earlier. Erm..., he has helped me a lot and so I can thank him for the fact that... that all these issues have been solved." (Interview 6)

"If there was something I didn't know, then we found it out together, or found it out from a senior somehow, I mean they explained it to us, or we discovered it, and so the whole thing moved on from there." (Interview 1)

The HÖÖK mentoring programme for the disadvantaged has been functioning since 2005, its aim being to give assistance to first-year students. The students who apply for this programme receive a personal helper who supports them over a year. This mentor is usually a student from the same department but from a higher year level and he helps the students assigned to him in accommodating: he gives advice related to learning and educational issues, he informs about the current student projects, student allowances and grants. His most important role is to prepare the mentored student for an independent academic life (HÖÖK, Mentor Programme, 2011).

All the interviewed students were aware about this mentor programme, yet not all of them participated in it. There were several reasons for this. It was either because the student did not need such assistance, or because he did request it, but he did not receive it.

The above mentioned study of the Student Union gives some explanation for this phenomenon. The mentored students could tick on the application form that in case they were accepted they would request the help of the Mentor Programme and a mentor. Based on our experience so far, the students whose applications are successful and they are prospective mentored students do not remember choosing this option in particular on the application form. This is also supported by evidence from the questionnaires applied: one half of the mentored students who were interviewed waited for their mentors to contact them, the other half were surprised when their mentor contacted them (Kovács A. 2010).

The respondents said the following about the Mentor Programme:

"Well, there was such a mentor programme, but actually there wasn't. There was something, of course, you could ask a senior student to be your mentor, but I didn't really concern myself with it, so I got around all by myself." (Interview 2)

"Well, he was around just for the looks of it and that's it. If we wanted to go, we went, if we didn't want, then we didn't go. Or, I don't know, I think it was just something for making show of it." (Interview 5)

"I haven't even talked to the mentor, that's the funny thing about it. So, he gave me a document to sign at the beginning of the year and that was is. So, I haven't even talked to him since then, we've met on the corridors though, hello-hello, and nothing else about how we were or whatever, so we walk past each other and we don't really talk to each other." (Interview 1)

The personal care of the teachers towards their students, which was characteristic for almost all of the respondents in their secondary school years, is no longer present in the academic environment. Clearly the secondary school programmes had an essential role in building up this relationship, as their proposed goal had been the assistance of the disadvantaged students. Such teacher-motivating programmes do not exist in higher education. The students feel their relationship with their teachers is more impersonal, as compared to

the previous teacher-student relationship of the secondary school. They even ask for help less frequently from their teachers, nevertheless they receive the help they need from the senior students or from their peers. The following interview parts testify for this:

"I don't have a much too close relationship with the teachers from here, as they are a bit snooty." (Interview 4)

"Well, there's no such relationship with the teachers from here, I don't think that anybody would have the possibility to build a good relationship with them, unless they are the type who like cozying up. Well, there are several hundreds of students. There are certain teachers I don't even know that they are my teachers. There are courses I never go to, because they are only courses, and I go to the exam and very often I meet the teacher only there, well..." (Interview 2)

"Well, actually I noticed, that, erm... there are no such informal relationships between teachers and students as there used to be in secondary school, unfortunately." (Interview 7)

The majority of the students mentioned financial difficulties and they encountered them especially at the beginning of their studies. Most of them try to solve these problems with student employment. They also receive grants, social scholarships, three of them are holders of the Bursa Hungarica in Higher Education scholarship of the Local Government, which help them pursue their studies. The Bursa Hungarica in Higher Education scholarship framework of the Local Government was initiated in 2000 in order to support the studies of the disadvantaged in higher education. The local councils may support those students, via this form, who are permanent residents in their area and are financially in need. The councils may supplement this scholarship at their discretion (Government Decree No. 51/2007. (III. 26.) § 18 Art.1) .

The institutions of higher education grant regular social scholarships to their student groups with disadvantaged backgrounds based on the regulations from the Government Decree No. 51/2007 (III. 26.), which stipulates a defined amount of money. These benefits, even if they do not cover the costs of the studentship entirely, contribute significantly to the furtherance of their studies. The students stated the following with regard to this matter:

"Well, actually I can see in the case of my mates that the university helps them as much as it can, it does help the disadvantaged, so the fellowships and the social scholarships and the Bursa, so, I mean, the state is good and the local government too, and the university too, they help a lot with these social scholarships." (Interview 6)

"One of the supports is the social scholarship that they help us with. But there is a spiritual side to all of this and I think that is important too. There are all these mental hygiene groups and I think it is good that one or two of these students go to them." (Interview 3)

From the point of view of child protection all the students are in aftercare. The Guardianship Authority orders the aftercare sustenance of the young adult after taking into consideration their application or the recommendation of the guardian (certified professional guardian) who had been legally responsible for

the applicant prior to the age of 18. (Ministry of National Resources Decree No. 15/1998. (IV.30.) § 92. Art.1). The respondents in our survey resort to this type of sustenance from their foster-parents, respectively children's homes, which means that during the week they stay in the student residence hall and they travel home for the weekend. The young people may benefit from this type of support until the age of 24 if they pursue their studies in day courses or if they are full-time students at a school of higher education. In the latter case the sustenance programme is extended until the age of 25. Such an aftercare programme gives the opportunity to its beneficiaries to start an independent life and, in addition, it helps somewhat in the furthering of the studies as well (Ministry of National Resources Decree No 15/1998.(IV.30.) § 92. Art.1).

The respondents from our survey are given pocket money, travel pass, meal vouchers by their homes.

Success in the degree programmes is an important possibility for the students, the majority of them think that this will help them in starting an independent life. Notwithstanding the degree, they find that a relationship capital is similarly important, which can also aid them in finding a place of work. Many of them consider further studies or employment abroad as well.

The students said the following about their future:

"Well, the degree would confirm to me that I have a certain value, so it could be said that I have proven something, that I can say about this to myself, or my mom could say about me that she is proud of me." (Interview 5)

"My opinion about holding a degree is that I will be able to find a job." (Interview 4)

"I think it will largely help, I feel, and I am happy about it too, that I got so far, I have planned that after university I would go abroad. But nowadays, actually, I've been thinking that I would do a Master's degree for two years, now that I am so into it, I think this one thing I would still like to do." (Interview 4)

Conclusion

As a conclusion of the survey a satisfactory picture can be drawn as regards family upbringing, professional child protection services, the relationships built with the friends made in institutional settings and with the teachers from secondary schools. The biological families of those young people who were raised in child protection do not model the expected relationship framework that would be indispensable for a harmonious development of the children. It can also be demonstrated that the parents are unprepared for relationships and for the role of parents, they are immature, and their way of life led to mental problems resulting in loss of strength and to orphanhood. Based on the concrete life stories it can be clearly traced that not only the minor children would need support when there is a particular distress within the family, but also the family as a whole with all of its individual members.

During our research we investigated the answer to the question of how the disadvantaged students had reached higher education and what difficulties

they had to overcome, after their application to the given institution had been successful. According to the answers about higher education, it can be stated that the preparation of the students for studies in higher education was rather contingent and not a result of an anticipated plan. For them it is important to have their intentions of further studies enforced, which they did receive rather often from the part of their foster-parents or the educators. Accommodation into the institution of higher education has not always been smooth, such administrative tasks as registering for a course, have caused a few problems. The relationship with their peers and senior students help them solve both the study-related or administrative problems. While during the secondary school years they were aided in their studies by one or two teachers as mentors, the university does not have such education-mobilizing programmes. All the respondents spoke about financial difficulties, their amelioration is partly tackled with student scholarships and with the help offered by their child protection institutions/foster-parents. Completing their studies and being awarded a degree are considered to be helpful for them as they are possibilities in starting an independent life.

It seems that the complete system of the **helping services** established so far in our country does not fulfil its role entirely. In order to accomplish this, one very important condition would need to be met, namely the continuous professional cooperation. Notwithstanding the perceived shortcomings, young people from a compromised family situation or with a disadvantaged institutional background are still capable – even though in a small percentage – to get into university and finish their studies successfully, having been able to do this along the human and professional aid offered by public education and child protection services, as well as their own personal intention and determination. Yet, only very few!

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ATTITUDE TOWARD SEN STUDENTS AMONG HUNGARIAN TEACHERS

Ildikó Pető
Tímea Ceglédi

Introduction

Inclusion, which is provided as an alternative by the Law of Education, is present at schools not only as an opportunity but as everyday practice. It has become clear that teachers as educators play a key role in inclusive classrooms. However latest researches are making attempts to bring it to light, we know comparatively little about the factors and events that influence and form the views and methods of teachers who actively take part in inclusion.

One of the directions of the researches of "Inclusion Research Team"¹ is to map teachers' attitude and its nature. To conduct the research we adopted – translated into Hungarian – a measure tool developed by an international research team. *Sentiments, Attitudes and Concerns about Inclusive Education Scale* (SACIE) is a measure tool which measures teachers' feelings, concerns and attitudes toward inclusive education. The developers Forlin et al. (Loreman, Earle and Sharma), as members of an international team, have been dealing with measuring teachers' attitude toward inclusion and revealing its underlying factors since the beginning of 2000s (Loremen, Forlin & Sharma, 2007, Forlin, Loreman, Sharma & Earle 2009). We had received the questionnaire from one of the authors, Chris Forlin, thus the results of research published so far can be interpreted more in depth. Teachers' attitude toward disabled children with all sorts of needs is influenced by several factors.

Based on the application of the adopted version of SACIE our study focuses on the demographic and professional differences. In this study we are making an attempt to present how teachers of different age, teaching on different school levels, having different everyday and professional experience view the teachability of SEN students and how their attitudes toward inclusion can be described.

In data collection we applied a non-probability sampling method. The sample was assembled 'ad hoc'² including mainly teachers taking part in various postgraduate trainings, the whole teaching staff of certain schools and teachers we are acquainted with, had all filled in the questionnaires, out of which we processed a number of 402 questionnaires³ that had fully been com-

¹ Institute of Educational Sciences, University of Debrecen (Hungary)

² Our results cannot be generalized either for school level, special field or for demography (region, country), however they indicate teachers' attitude toward SEN students and the first testing of the previously unknown measure tool in Hungary

³ Our results are also influenced by the fact that the majority of the teachers taking part in the research were from the teacher training MA main and minor courses of University of Debrecen

pleted. In the analysis when we included the discrete variables in crosstab and compared the means of continuous variables, we did not apply statistical tests because of the non-probability sampling.

Out of the 402 teachers, 331 were females and 71, less than one fifth, were males. The youngest respondent was 23 years old, the oldest 64, and the average age was 40 within the sample, and the distribution of different age groups was nearly equal (the largest ratio was represented by 35-38-year-olds).

Regarding qualification, there were 2 nursery teachers, 127 lower primary teachers, 215 upper primary teachers all with college level degree and 58 teachers with university level degree in the sample (when having taken qualification into account, we always considered the highest degree).

Experience, knowledge, attitudes – basic distribution

Nearly half of the teachers (48%) who participated in the research had had determining relationships or experience with disabled people before, while no more than one quarter of them had received special training during college or university years (13%) or later on during special courses attended voluntarily (13%). Their knowledge, founded on laws and regulations and the opportunities provided by the authorities about educating children with special needs, has proved to be weak average; however, they evaluated it weak medium (on 5-degree Likert scale regarding SEN-A the mean was 2.65, in the case of SEN-B it was 2.75), which mainly derived from choosing degree 2 or 3 on the scale (type A 30% and 37%, type B 26% and 40%). In the light of international research results (Forlin, Loreman, Earle & Sharma 2007; Sharma, Loreman, Forlin, & Earle 2006; Loreman, Earle, Sharma & Forlin, 2007; Sharma, Forlin & Loreman, 2008; Hastings & Oakford, 2003; Ellins & Porter, 2005; Carroll, Forlin & Jobling, 2003; Palmer 2006; Norwicki & Sandieson, 2002; Sharma et al, 2008), these findings suggest that as far as experience and knowledge are concerned, our teachers are not prepared enough for integrated/ inclusive education.

The teachability of children with special needs has been viewed similarly low (2.95 regarding SEN-A and 3.09 regarding SEN-B). 60% of the teachers think that children with special needs can be taught on a medium level. Regarding SEN-B, the attitude is slightly more positive, as more teachers chose degree 4: 22% in the case of SEN-B while 16% in the case of SEN-A; to a lesser extent (2.5% and 2.7%), teachers thought that students with special needs can be taught on a high level. Comparatively, a large percent of the teachers said that SEN students can be dealt with on a low level, with little efficiency: 4.2% chose answer 1 and 17.7% answer 2, in the case of SEN-A. In the case of SEN-B fewer teachers estimated teachability that low (3% chose answer 1 and 12.7% answer 2). These results indicate the pessimism of the questioned teachers.

and from the 'Complex Instructional Program' postgraduate course. Thus our results are to be interpreted by taking these distortions into account.

Less than one third of the teachers regarded themselves experienced in the field of educating children with special needs, slightly more in the case of SEN-B than in the case of SEN-A (35% and 29%). Although someone having previously taught a student with special needs could have regarded themselves as experienced, to our surprise, very few chose this category. Instead, respondents said they had had either little experience (37% and 33%) or they had had no experience at all (37% and 31%). Thus, about two thirds of the questioned teachers belong to the inexperienced or having little experience categories.

Experience, knowledge, attitude, demography – in different school types and levels

As research results show, attitude is influenced by previous experience. By paying special attention to teachers' previous experience, we have found that it is mainly lower primary and trade school teachers who have had experiences with students with special needs before (62.7% and 64.3%). In the meanwhile, there were only 39% high schools teachers (academically-oriented secondary schools and technical schools) and none representing vocational schools (where students learn a trade after passing the matura i.e. school-leaving exam) with such experience. Nonetheless, only two teachers taught at vocational schools, and their answers increased the number of teachers with no experience in the field. (Table 1)

Table 1: Answers to the following question among teachers teaching on different school levels: 'I have had significant/considerable interactions with a person with a disability.'

		School level (person; %)							Total
		LP	UP	TS	HS	VT	SI	O	
Previous experience	yes	79	54	9	30	0	6	16	194
		62,7%	39,1%	64,3%	39,0%	,0%	54,5%	47,1%	48,3%
	no	47	84	5	47	2	5	18	208
		37,3%	60,9%	35,7%	61,0%	100,0%	45,5%	52,9%	51,7%
Total		126	138	14	77	2	11	34	402
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Source: the authors' data collection, 2010, N=402

LP: lower primary; UP: upper primary; TS: trade school (where a professional certificate can be obtained but not matura certificate); HS: high school (academically oriented school or technical school where matura certificates can be obtained); VT: vocational training after matura examination; SI: special institution; O: other

Teachers presently professing could have gained their knowledge during their college or university years by learning about students with special needs as a part of the curriculum or after the graduation, having participated in post-graduate courses or trainings, where the field of education was their own choice. In order to collect data on how knowledge about SEN students was gained, SEN-A and SEN-B categories were examined separately.

The findings (Table 2) suggest that teachers teaching in upper primary or high school have not heard about SEN-A during their studies nor on post-graduate courses (85.5% and 83.1%). Among trade school teachers the percentage of the unqualified for SEN is similarly high (10 out of 14). Very few acquired knowledge about SEN students as part of the degree course; their percentage is low in each category (between 5.8% and 21.4%), except for those who work in a special institution. The questioned teachers could not make up for the missing knowledge after the graduation, either. In what postgraduate courses or in further trainings are concerned, lower primary teachers alone (1 out of 4) gained some knowledge in the field, whereas the ratio of teachers from all the other school types was much lower: only 1-3 teachers. Summarizing the results we can say that three quarters of the questioned teachers have never learnt about SEN-A, they have never heard about it in the form of organized, professionally guaranteed quality training.

Table 2: Answers to the following question among teachers teaching on different school levels: 'I have had the following level of training on educating students with disabilities SEN-A'

SEN-A		School level							Total
		LP	UP	TS	HS	VT	SI	O	
Previous training	never	76	118	10	64	1	0	26	295
		60,3%	85,5%	71,4%	83,1%	50,0%	0%	76,5%	73,4%
	Graduate course	15	8	3	10	1	9	7	53
		11,9%	5,8%	21,4%	13,0%	50,0%	81,8%	20,6%	13,2%
	Postgraduate course	35	12	1	3	0	2	1	54
		27,8%	8,7%	7,1%	3,9%	0%	18,2%	2,9%	13,4%
Total		126	138	14	77	2	11	34	402
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Source: the authors' data collection 2010, N=402

LP: lower primary; UP: upper primary; TS: trade school (where a professional certificate can be obtained but not matura certificate); HS: high school (academically oriented school or technical school where matura certificates can be obtained); VT: vocational training after matura examination; SI: special institution; O: other

Similarly, nearly three quarters of the teachers have never learnt about SEN-B in organized settings (Table 3). 58.7% of lower primary teachers, 81.9% of

upper primary teachers and 62 teachers out of the 77 high school teachers (80.5%) received no training at all concerning SEN-B. Lower primary teachers (31%) and teachers of trade schools (21.4%) have more likely participated in postgraduate courses than high school and technical school teachers (5.2%) and teachers representing vocational schools (0%⁴). Except for teachers working in special schools and academically oriented school and technical school teachers, it can be stated that more teachers acquired some knowledge about SEN on postgraduate courses than in graduate training.

Table 3: Answers to the following question among teachers teaching on different school levels: 'I have had the following level of training on educating students with disabilities SEN-B.'

SEN-B		School level							Total
		LP	UP	TS	HS	VT	SI	O	
Previous training	Never	74	113	8	62	1	0	26	284
		58,7%	81,9%	57,1%	80,5%	50,0%	0%	76,5%	70,6%
	Graduate course	13	8	3	11	1	9	7	52
		10,3%	5,8%	21,4%	14,3%	50,0%	81,8%	20,6%	12,9%
	Postgraduate course	39	17	3	4	0	2	1	66
		31,0%	12,3%	21,4%	5,2%	0%	18,2%	2,9%	16,4%
Total		126	138	14	77	2	11	34	402
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Source: the authors' data collection 2010, N=402

LP: lower primary; UP: upper primary; TS: trade school (where a professional certificate can be obtained but not matura certificate); HS: high school (academically oriented school or technical school where matura certificates can be obtained); VT: vocational training after matura examination; SI: special institution; O: other

Comparing the findings of SEN-A and B we can state that all in all a slightly higher number of teachers have heard about SEN-B than SEN-A in organised formal settings. The slight 3% difference comes from postgraduate courses. In teacher training the instruction of the two types of special educational needs seems to be in balance, but slightly more teachers have learnt about SEN-B than SEN-A on postgraduate courses⁵.

37.1 % of the teachers taking part in the research have not had any professional experience with a SEN-A students (Table 4). Among high school, technical school and vocational school teachers and teachers working in other types of schools, the ratio of the inexperienced has proved to be even higher (every

⁴ Vocational training was represented only by two teachers.

⁵ The difference between postgraduate courses is the most striking among teachers teaching in trade schools, since relatively many of them (21%) have heard about both SEN types even during their graduate courses. Regarding knowledge obtained on postgraduate courses SEN-A falls behind, however it is difficult to draw any conclusion from the answers of 14 persons.

second teacher said they had never taught SEN-A students). We have found the lowest rate of inexperienced teachers among primary school and trade school teachers. It is them who most often meet SEN students with organic origin. 33.6% of the teachers (135 persons) admitted having little experience, which is almost as large as the percentage of the inexperienced. Uncertain teachers were likely to have chosen this category. Altogether 115 teachers out of 402 (28.6%) regarded themselves as experienced. Most of them were primary school teachers (52 persons out of 126) and, obviously, teachers from special institutions (8 out of 11).

Table 4: Answers to the following question among teachers teaching on different school levels: 'Level of experience teaching a student with a disability is regarding SEN-A.'

SEN-A		School level							Total
		LP	UP	TS	HS	VT	SI	O	
Level of experience	inexperienced	28	47	4	47	1	0	22	149
		22,2%	34,1%	28,6%	61,0%	50,0%	0%	64,7%	37,1%
	have little experience	46	54	5	20	0	3	7	135
		36,5%	39,1%	35,7%	26,0%	0%	27,3%	20,6%	33,6%
	experienced	52	37	5	10	1	8	5	118
		41,3%	26,8%	35,7%	13%	50,0%	72,7%	14,7%	29,4%
Total		126	138	14	77	2	11	34	402
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Source: the authors' data collection 2010, N=402

LP: lower primary; UP: upper primary; TS: trade school (where a professional certificate can be obtained but not matura certificate); HS: high school (academically oriented school or technical school where matura certificates can be obtained); VT: vocational training after matura examination; SI: special institution; O: other

30.8% of teachers (124 persons) has never taught SEN-B students, which is particularly characteristic for high school teachers (38 out of 77) and teachers from other types of schools (16 out of 34) (Table 5). 33.3% of the teachers have little experience, which refers mostly to upper primary teachers (51 out of 138). Altogether 35.6% of the teachers regarded themselves as experienced, i.e. mainly trade school (8 out of 14) and lower primary teachers (60 out of 126). Due to their position, teachers working in special schools or classes belong to this category as well. However, it is peculiar to note that there were three persons from special schools who evaluated their own practice as *little*.

Table 5: Answers to the following question among teachers teaching on different school levels: 'Level of my experience teaching a student with a disability is regarding SEN-B.'

SEN- B		School level							Total
		LP	UP	TS	HS	VT	SI	O	
Level of experience	inexperienced	26	41	2	38	1	0	16	124
		20,6%	29,7%	14,3%	49,3%	50,0%	0%	47,1%	30,8%
	have little experience	40	51	4	25	0	3	11	134
		31,7%	37,0%	28,6%	32,5%	0%	27,3%	32,4%	33,3%
	experienced	60	46	8	14	1	8	7	144
		47,6%	33,3%	57,1%	18,2%	50,0%	72,7%	20,6%	35,8%
Total		126	138	14	77	2	11	34	402
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Source: the authors' data collection 2010, N=402

LP: lower primary; UP: upper primary; TS: trade school (where a professional certificate can be obtained but not matura certificate); HS: high school (academically oriented school or technical school where matura certificates can be obtained); VT: vocational training after matura examination; SI: special institution; O: other

By comparing and contrasting the findings concerning experience with SEN of organic and non-organic origin, it can be stated that less teachers considered themselves experienced in the former than in the latter. The difference is spread evenly among teachers from the various school types.

When discussing attitude and acceptance, a starting point could be to investigate what teachers think about their students' opportunities, abilities, teachability (Table 6). Their opinions are influenced and formed by the knowledge gathered from their private life and their professional practice. The picture created regarding the possibilities of improvement – either in advance or as a prejudice – affects the teacher's opinion about the success of the teaching activity. It depends on the student and on the qualification of the teacher, in other words, it influences whether it is worth spending time and energy on improvement.

The teachability of SEN-A students estimated by the respondents was 2.95 on a 5-degree scale. Teachers representing trade schools and other institutions evaluated the same question a little above the mean (3.07 – 14 persons and 3.06 – 34 persons) while primary school, high school and vocational school teachers a little below it (2.87 – 126 persons and 2.9 – 79 persons). In the case of primary school teachers the results are particularly surprising since their results in previous experience and knowledge were outstanding.

The teachability of SEN-B students received 3.09 scores on average, which is higher than the mean teachability of SEN-A students. The results of teachers from other institutions (3.15 – 34 persons), special school (3.18 – 11

persons) and vocational school teachers (3.5 – 14 persons) were above the mean. The beliefs of primary school teachers in the teachability of SEN-B students remained a little below the mean (2.99 – 126 persons), similarly to SEN-A results.

Table 6: Opinion about their own knowledge and the teachability of SEN students among teachers teaching in different school types (mean on a five-degree scale)

School level		Opinion about their own knowledge regarding SEN-A	Opinion about their own knowledge regarding SEN-B	Teachability of SEN-A students (on 5-degree scale)	Teachability of SEN-B students (on 5-degree scale)
Lower primary	Mean	2,85	2,90	2,87	2,99
	N	126	126	126	126
Upper primary	Mean	2,68	2,78	3,01	3,10
	N	138	138	138	138
Trade school	Mean	2,71	2,86	3,07	3,50
	N	14	14	14	14
High school, vocational school	Mean	2,33	2,49	2,90	3,11
	N	79	79	79	79
Special institution	Mean	3,64	3,64	3,00	3,18
	N	11	11	11	11
Other	Mean	2,15	2,32	3,06	3,15
	N	34	34	34	34
Total	Mean	2,65	2,75	2,95	3,09
	N	402	402	402	402

Source: the authors' data collection 2010, N=402

Teachers' attitude toward problem solving is largely affected by their beliefs in their knowledge and qualification (Table 6). Confidence makes professionals more positive and creative. In our investigation, teachers had to evaluate their own knowledge in the field on a 5-degree scale in the same way as in the original questionnaire. Not surprisingly, teachers teaching in special schools (11 persons out of 11) evaluated their knowledge the highest in both SEN categories (mean=3.64), which precedes not only the mean of the other groups, but also the mean of the total sample as well (SEN-A: 2.65 and SEN-B: 2.75). The results of primary school teachers (2.85 – 126 persons) were above the mean (2.65) in the case of SEN-A, while the results of vocational school teach-

ers (2.33 – 79 persons) and teachers working in other institutions (librarians, teachers working in dormitories or presently unemployed teachers) evaluated their knowledge below the mean (2.15 – 34 persons).

Besides the teachers from special schools, the self-evaluation of primary school and trade school teachers proved to be higher (2.9 – 126 persons and 2.86 – 14 persons) than the mean, which was 2.75 in the total sample in what SEN-B concerned. High school teachers, vocational school teachers and teachers from other institutions at the same time, reported relatively lower level of professional knowledge in the field of the research (2.49 – 79 persons and 2.32 – 34 persons).

Analyzing the relationships between the factors affecting teachers' attitude, school level and type, particularly lower primary and trade schools seem to strongly relate to positively evaluating the acquired knowledge in question. It is not surprising that mainly lower primary and trade school teachers have had experience with SEN students since learning disorders or disabilities are identified and diagnosed at the early stage of schooling.

Most often it is lower primary teachers who identify the problem, inform the parents and refer the child for further diagnosis. In upper primary, students do not receive as much support from their teachers as in lower primary. The reason for which is that specialized teachers cannot pay as much attention to students as their lower primary colleagues, because of the frequent lesson and class switches. In addition, the opportunities of proper treatment, developing therapy and methods for upper primary students and employing professionals are limited in most schools.

Some notes on attitude, age and gender

Some components of the attitude questionnaire are worth contrasting with demographical data since age and gender may also influence attitude. Judging practice in connection with SEN shows an inverse U-shape relation on the age curve, in other words teachers under 33 and over 47 have no professional experience while teachers aged between 33 and 47 have the most. The middle age group have more outstanding values in the case of SEN- B than in the case of SEN-A.

Regarding SEN-B no difference has been found between male and female teachers when evaluating their own knowledge in the area, while women seem to be more self-confident as far as SEN-A is concerned. Female teachers regard the teachability of SEN-A students higher than males, who tend favour SEN-B, even if the difference is small.

When teachers were asked about experience, women reported to have had more.

Summary and discussion

Teachers' attitude toward SEN students and their knowledge and expertise in the field determine what they think about SEN students' abilities and educational opportunities. These altogether influence teachers' everyday classroom practice and affect the way they apply new techniques and solutions, which are, at the same time, necessary conditions for and result from the effectiveness of their own work.

Teachers' effectiveness means, in fact, the correctly predicted requirements regarding students' results. Inclusion affects not only SEN students' results but the results of students' majority, as well as the teacher's professional development. Since teacher's effectiveness affects the variety of methods applied in the classroom and classroom management, teachers with different efficiency employ different activities in the classroom, which influence the learning situations in which students have difficulties.

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PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS' READING CULTURE AND USAGE OF MEDIA

Nóra Veronika Németh

There are a number of social studies on reading, in some of which the examination of teachers has been particularly analyzed. While Tánczos Gábor (1973) focused on the relationship of teachers with classic literature, Károlyi Ágnes (1974) made a research on the topic based on the aspects of teachers' library and information usage. Nagy Attila (1996) dealt with the reading culture of teachers in a very detailed way. From the publications of Lőrincz Judit and Vidra Szabó Ferenc (1994) we had the opportunity to learn about the reading behaviours of pre-service teachers. In 1994 a research report entitled *Minerva's priests* appeared, in which Lőrincz, together with Vidra Szabó, has measured the attitude of pre-service teachers in four local educational institutions and two institutions over the border¹. The researchers were looking for answers to questions such as: How can the *pre-service teachers' culture* be characterized? *What kind and level of values (cultural and reading) are represented in their habits? What did reading mean to them in the different period of their lives? Have they read any books that determined their childhood?* Péterfi Rita (2011), a social-reading expert, published her research entitled *„Influential people”*, in which she discussed the reading habits of teachers. A comparison of our data with earlier regional and national ones will offer a useful base to survey reading habit tendencies. Before presenting our survey data, we shall demonstrate the results of two previous researches on which we based our investigation.

Teachers' reading habits in the early nineties

From the research report of Lőrincz – Vidra Szabó (1994) we found that in the early nineties teachers marked reading as their primary free time activity (42%). Television, radio and listening to music lag far behind primarily listed activities. Attending concerts, visiting museums and theatres, which are classified as high culture activities, appear on the bottom of the list (2-3%). Results show that 6% of pre-service teachers almost never read magazines; on the other hand, the majority reads the newspaper as a daily routine.

¹ The data was collected from Nyíregyháza, Budapest, Pécs, Jászberény. Nyitra and Székelyudvarhely between 1991-1992. The questionnaire was completed by 28 students, 11 teachers and 7 librarians (Lőrincz – Vidra Szabó 1994). In 1997 Rita Péterfi published the missing Carpathian Ruthenian results from Minerva's priests in her magazin called School culture. Since the questionnaires got back posteriorly the data could not be used in the volume of comparative essays (Péterfi, 1997).

The researchers draw the attention on the characteristic attitude of pre-service teachers living over the border. From the characterization based on numbers and interview details, it turns out that pre-service teachers from across the border have a very strong tendency to preserve their national identity. This can mainly be noticed in their cultural behaviour, reading habits and the way they use their first language (mother tongue). Compared to the youth of Hungary, young people across the border read less fiction and achieve better results in the field of literature. It is not typical for pre-service teachers to read educational material.

From the research, we also found that one third of their favourite writers are Hungarian. More people living in Hungary (22,3%) rather read American literature than the ones from cross border institutions (Székelyudvarhely: 14,6%, Nyitra: 1,6%).

The favourite genres are classic novels and short stories with a rate of 19,6%, which are followed by modern novels and short stories (12,5%), poems (11,1%), fiction (10,6%), historical novels (9,0%) and adventure novels (7,01%). On the second half of the list we find natural science and technological writings (5,0%), books on historical topics (4,7%), thrillers (4,6%), travel books (3,4%) and science-fiction (3,0%). The list is closed by religious type of literature (3,0%) and comics (0,4%).

Teachers' reading habits in 2011

In 2011, under the coordination of Rita Péterfi, a group analyzed the reading habits of high-school teachers. Since the research was based on the methodology of previous surveys, researchers used many questions taken from Táncoz Gábor's (1973) and Nagy Attila's (1997) questionnaires. Additionally to these questions, researchers included some new ones which analyze electronic reading. The questioned people were teachers from public schools in Budapest. Compared to the general adult population, Péterfi discovered a more positive reading attitude among the questioned teachers. The most important part of our research is the teacher attitude that is palpable in the reading education method. In spite of the fact that the number of books that can be bought and attending cultural events are both determined by material conditions, Péterfi underlines that teachers try hard to endear students to books and reading. Therefore, teachers use various methods and mediums in the process of education. Besides the survey, there were also interviews taken which unravelled the techniques that teachers use to educate students: *"Having discussions about books with the children". "We run an "open bookcase" from where the students can take any book and can also put books on it. We organize book collecting charity events."* (Technical-college high-school, maths major) (Péterfi 2011). In our research, we drafted that teachers' reading habits and training students to read, as professorial tasks, are basic matters.

Monitoring reading habits of pre-service teachers in the Partium region, in 2012

We conducted our research in the Partium region in the spring of 2012. The target groups were students in higher education who were preparing to become teachers (kindergarten pedagogy department, high-school teachers' department and master students pedagogy department). We completed our questionnaires in three countries in the Partium region (Hungary, Romania and the Ukraine). Within these countries we visited seven higher educational institutions from six cities². We chose those institutions which fit the pattern based on their fields of training. Our goal was to find institutions to represent all three fields of training, both from Hungary and from across the border. Hence the University of Debrecen was one of the chosen institutions which has students from four majors (liberal arts-, natural science-, and computer science- and music department). We also asked master's students at the pedagogy department from the Teachers' Training College in Nyíregyháza. The Hungarian college was represented by the Kölcsey Ferenc Teachers' Training Institute of the Reformed Theological University in Debrecen. In Hungary we surveyed kindergarten pedagogy students in Hajdúböszörmény, at the Early Childhood and Adult Education (belonging to the University of Debrecen).

In Romania we surveyed students in two locations. We asked the Hungarian speaking pre-service teachers from the University of Oradea and from Babeş-Bolyai University of Science from Szatmárnémeti.

Since in Romania kindergarten pedagogy and training-school are joined together, we asked the students in Nagyvárad to define themselves as pre-service teachers, while the students in Szatmárnémeti chose kindergarten pedagogy as their field of training.

The survey was taken online and was designed with the help of *EvaSys 5.0* software system³. We sent the questionnaires via email or through NEP-TUN (general education electronic system). The survey was sent to 902 students. The online questionnaire was fully completed by 468 students⁴. 87% of the respondents were female and 13% were male. Our aim was to have pre-service teachers from different fields of pedagogy in an equal proportion. Among respondents, there were 153 kindergarten teachers, 154 pre-service teachers and 161 master's students.

² Locations: Debrecen, Hajdúböszörmény, Nyíregyháza, Nagyvárad, Szatmárnémeti and Beregszász

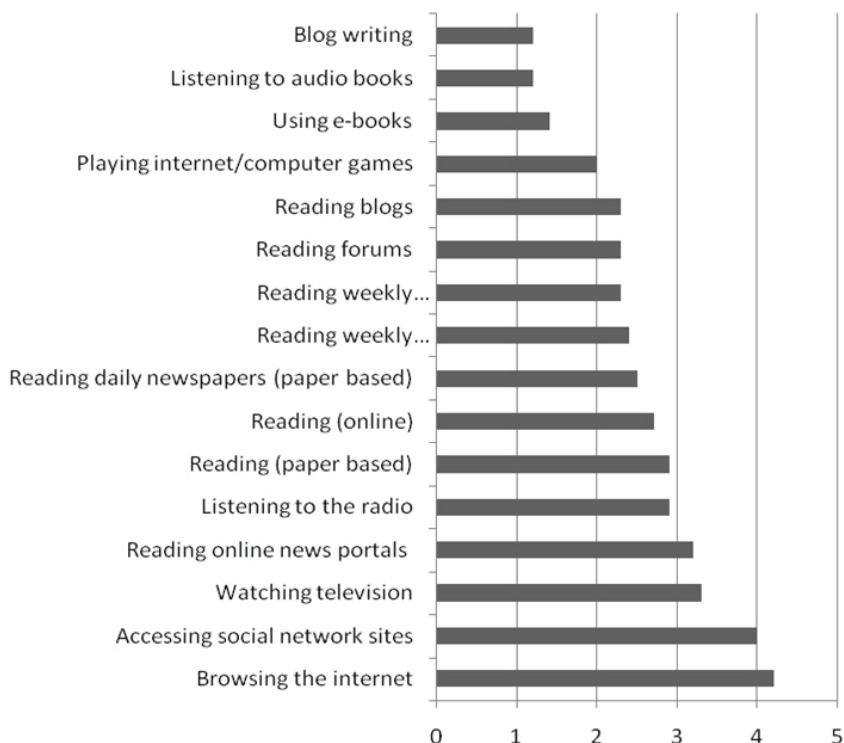
³ The owner of *EvaSys 5.0* is the University of Debrecen. The software was used with the contribution of Attila Halczmann.

⁴ This meant a high level of response rate (51,8%) which was five times more than the number of sent back electronic surveys. The success and efficiency of response is due to the contribution of the given institutions. Accordingly to previous expectations, electronic responses stopped at the usual 10%, however when the professors orally or through a confirmation email draw attention to the importance of the survey, the number filled out surveys increased. Thanks to this combined technique (email surveys + professorial urging) the amount of data proved to be enough for statistic analysis.

In the question block about reading habits, we tried to discover how often pre-service teachers use different types of readings. Our main goal here was to observe tendencies between **paper based and electronic reading**. Since there is a connection between the acts of reading, watching television and listening to the radio (negative correlation), we asked the students about these consumption habits. Based on previous research experiences and literature in this field, we also fully analyzed the habits of computer use and internet use. In the survey we asked the respondents how much time they spend doing the enumerated activities (none, a few hours/month, 2-3 hours/week, half or one hour/day, several hours/day).

Based on the frequency distribution of primary data we experienced that internet activities exceedingly overtake traditional reading activities (diagram 2.). Internet browsing and entering social network sites on a scale from one to five got a value higher than four. Within the analyzed topics the respondents put television on third place as most frequently used activity (value: 3,3), followed by another internet using habit, that is online news portals (value: 3,2). The radio appears on fifth place (value: 2,9), after which the information on actual reading are next: paper based (unconnected to learning) reading (value: 2,99), and internet book reading (2,92).

Diagram 1. Average values of reading habits, internet use, television and radio use.



As we can notice, we cannot analyze reading only based on the traditional method, for among the population of the questioned students there appears to be an equal rate when it comes to electronic, more precisely online "book reading". Only after this we found paper based newspaper reading (value: 2,4) and the frequent reading of electronic weekly newspaper/magazine (value: 2,3). Deflections are minor but it is obvious that reading tendencies are changing.

Our research clearly shows that electronic reading and the internet as a source plays a very important role in the life of pre-service teachers. Our data correspond with previous research results that already indicated this tendency (Csepeli - Prazsák, 2010; Kovács, 2007; Nagy A., 2006; Szávai, 2009). Compared to the youth research done in 2004, we notice that reading forums and blogs among pre-service teachers is as much representative as among the young population in general. The use of internet/computer games shows almost the same results as the data published by Csepeli - Prazsák (2010:65). Among the questioned pre-service teachers reading e-books (value: 1,4) and audio books (value: 1,27) is not a very widespread activity. The list of reading and internet browsing activities is closed with blog writing (value: 1,25). Pre-service teachers prefer more to read other peoples blogs than to diarize their own internet blog. This tendency corresponds with research results from 2008.

While analyzing the differences between sexes, we did not notice any significant deflection connected to e-books, internet news portals or reading electronic magazines and listening to audio books. Men and women use the internet for browsing, reading blogs and forums, writing blogs or visiting social network sites in almost the same proportion. We noticed a difference when it came to paper based reading, for women read several hours a day, while men typically spend less time (30-60 minutes) with reading on a daily basis (32,2%). Examining responses connected to electronic reading, men are again the ones who read less, but the difference is not as significant in this case. The difference between sexes in spending time on reading paper based magazines, weekly and daily newspapers is not significant.

We experienced a significant **difference between sexes** when it came to television and radio. Women were more likely "fans" of television than men, since 21,7% of men do not watch television at all (in case of women this ratio was 7,8%) while 20,8% of the girls watch it several hours a day (in case of men this ratio was only 10%). The situation is similar for radios: 27,7% of men do not listen to the radio at all (in case of women only 11,5%), 30% of the women listen to the radio daily, at least half an hour to one hour (in case of men only 15,3%). The most significant deflection can be noticed in the time spent with playing internet/computer games. The results show that the time that men do not spend in front of television or listening to the radio, is used up playing computer games. 33,3% of the questioned men spend several hours a week, or at least half an hour to an hour a day playing computer games (1/2-1 h: 18,3%, several hours/day: 11,7%). On the other hand, 50% of the women do not play computer games at all. Unfortunately, due to certain barriers we could

not dwell on the matters connected to television, radio and internet in detail; they could give us a more tinted picture about user habits, values and consumption attitude, but our given data already provides us enough information about the differences between sexes.

Based on references and previous researches on the field we were looking for the determining effect of the parents' level of qualification (Bourdieu 2008). We found that there is a significant difference between the children of parents with a higher qualification and children with less qualified parents, but only in the case of a few activities. Institutional effect can be an explanation, in other words socializing in school, which in education shows effects at some level. Higher education climate such as college and university can enhance the changes of certain values, way of living and cultural consumption habits (Pusztai, 2011). The new setting, the medium of contemporary group of people, teacher patterns have effects on students.

We learned that the **father's level of education** is in a reversed proportion to the frequency of radio listening. The more educated the father was, the less the child listened to the radio. Connected to the father's level of education, we found two more fields of cultural consumerism that were connected to each other: there was a significant connection between the attendance to popular music concerts and classical music concerts. In both cases, the father's level of education correlates with the frequency of attendance in a negative way. The less the father is educated, the less is the chance that the child will attend events of the kind.

We found a faint connection between **the mother's level of education** and the lack of forum reading. The children of mothers with a low qualification tend to use forums less frequently, i.e. using the internet as a tool to exchange information and opinions. Similarly to the father's level of education, the mother's level of education is related to the attendance at musical events. Children of mothers with a low level of education rarely, almost never attend popular or classical music concerts.

The **cultural asset index** was defined based on the size of the parents' home library. We determined the fact that between domestic book stocks and reading, respectively cultural habits, there is no significant connection. This result differs from our expectations, i.e. children should read and attend cultural institutions, depending on domestic book stock. We assume that a complex evaluation of the cultural asset index would have tinted the connections. In this way our research has not reached its aim, for we continue to believe that the cultural asset and cultural habits are evidently connected to each other (in some way). With the appropriate resorts, we could have gotten a more accurate picture, although at this stage of the research we could not change the cultural asset index.

Material circumstances significantly affected the frequency of forum reading and attendance to theatre and multiplex cinema. Students who come from a poor background almost never read forums. Similarly, in the case of students coming from a family with a bad economic situation, 35% never or

very rarely go the theatre, maybe once or twice per year (57%). Those coming from a better economic background attend cinema quite often, 23% of them watch a movie in the cinema at least once a month.

We found a connection between **religion** and cultural or entertaining activities only in two cases. Students who are not religious do not read weekly paper based newspapers or magazines on a daily basis. At the same time, more than 60% of non-religious students play internet games, while half of the religious students had never spent time playing games of this kind. In our opinion, the behaviour of religious students is defined by their values.

From the point of view of **educational achievement** we could notice a few significant differences. Based on the survey, we came to the conclusion that students who use a computer, respectively the internet as a tool for entertainment, have worse accomplishments in education. The survey also shows a negative correlation between the amount of time spent with blog reading and scholastic success. Forum reading shows similar tendencies. 40% of the eminent students never read forum registries. 11% of the students with worse achievements spend several hours a day reading blogs. Top students did not mention reading internet diaries in their spare time. Games take up a great amount of the students' free time, which leaves a mark on their credit average. More than half of the eminent students never play on the computer, while almost half of the students with bad marks spend their time playing computer games on a daily basis. Almost the entire questioned population states that they visit social network sites every day. However, the amount of time we spend in the virtual world is utterly important. Results show that 28% of the eminent students and 47% of bad average students spend hours wandering in the digital network. It makes us wonder what makes top students achieve better results. The time not spent in front of the computer, is partly spent in libraries, as 54% of the students visit the university/college library at least once a week.

Concerning cultural and reading habits, we found that pre-service teachers cannot be separated based on their **training methods**. We found significant differences only in the frequency of attending university/college libraries. About half of the kindergarten teachers and master's students visit such establishments on a weekly basis, while only 15% of pre-service teachers do the same. 50% of them visit their library only a few times per year. We assume that in the case of students across the border, the cause for this situation could be the inadequate or outdated book stock and the fact that the library owns few amounts of books written in Hungarian. We could only ascertain this assumption if we found out where the students provide the necessary literature for their studies from. For this, we would need to know the number of books, textbooks and lectures bought and to find out the amount of electronic sources given by teachers which are needed for preparation. As in this case, the cause of low library attendance is, imaginably, the fact that they have a great amount of literature that can be found online.

There are infrastructural differences between the accessible reading and cultural activities of Hungarian and cross border pre-service teachers. The

two groups are connected in three areas: reading paper based newspaper, reading news portals and attending the university/college library. Students across the border are more interested in daily news. 20% of the questioned Hungarian students never read daily newspapers. 6,3% of Romanian and Transcarpatian students read the newspapers for hours, while in the case of their Hungarian fellows the share is only 1,6%. The use of electronic news portals is also more frequent among transborder students. Almost 20% of the transborder pre-service teachers stated that they read e-news for several hours a day. Only 9,5% of the students attending Hungarian institutions do this as a daily routine. On the other hand, when it comes to library visits, we learned that the tendency of students across the border is conversed in this habit. 15,6% of them stated that they never visit the library of their higher institution. We believe that the main cause of this might be a lower infrastructural background.

Examination results: student characterization

After reviewing the basic divisions of the research and analyzing the connections between the students' reading and cultural habits, we tried to classify the questioned pre-service teachers. Before sorting students, we classified their activities concerning reading and using the internet. Besides the correlation factor, we were looking for finding the answer to this question: in what ways are electronic occupations present in the students' structure of activities. We assumed that besides all the e-activity there will not be time for traditional reading habits (books, paper based daily newspapers and magazines). We were also very curious about which activities go hand in hand with watching and listening to television and radio. The correlations⁵ are found in table 4, at the end of the study. When presenting connections, we only touched upon activities that stand in significant relation to each other.

Connections are presented based on the data inscribed in the correlation tables affixed in the annexe⁶. Watching television seems to be connected to reading paper based newspaper (0,267), also weekly paper based newspaper and magazine (0,220), and listening to the radio (0,247). The indexes of this kind of media consumption show that television and related activities appear to be traditional tools of providing information. Paper based book reading solely correlates with electronic book reading (0,333). Apart from this no other activity seems to be in connection with traditional reading. On the other hand, besides electronic reading, there is a significant share of reading e-books (0,256), following internet news portals (0,188) and reading electronic papers and magazines (0,202). E-book use is closely related to reading newspapers

⁵ Notes for colours: perfect correlation, the correlation between an activity and itself, is indicated on a grey background. Significant connections are emphasized with bold (Chi=0,000). To every activity we associated three indexes: 1. Grade and direction of the correlation, 2. Level of significance, 3. Number of components.

⁶ Correlation indexes are given in brackets.

(0,232), browsing electronic magazines (0,229), reading (0,185) and writing blogs (0,240).

To traditional newspaper reading, listening to the radio (0,165), following forums (0,258), browsing news portals (0,165), paper based- (0,388) and electronic magazines (0,220) stand close. Browsing news portals and online magazines stand in close positive correlation with reading paper based magazines (0,378) and electronic, online magazines (0,458). Reading news portal articles is strongly related to the majority of the other activities: listening to the radio (0,177), browsing the internet (0,243), following online blogs (0,320), reading forums (0,319) and using social network sites (0,259).

Reading weekly paper based magazines strongly correlates with receiving information from electronic magazines (0,371), radio (0,250) and forums (0,197), while electronic magazines are closely related to listening to the radio (0,208), reading blogs (0,222), following forums (0,231) and the frequent use of social network sites (0,187). Our data show that people listening to audio books also marked the use of e-books (0,243) and writing blogs (0,213). Nonetheless, among internet browsing persons, few checked listening to CD based books (-0,196) as an activity. People who listen to the radio tend to read blogs (0,126), paper based newspapers (0,258), news portals (0,177), electronic (0,208) and paper based (0,250) magazines more often. The second dominant activity of radio listeners is watching television which is shown in the table as having a 0,247 correlation index.

It is clear that browsing the internet mostly includes the following closely related activities: reading news portals (0,243), following blogs (0,313), forums (0,208) and actively using social networks (0,424). Reading blogs is also connected to reading e-books (0,185), news portals (0,320) and electronic magazines, besides following forums (0,420), writing your own online diary (0,313) and using social network sites (0,263). Blog writing is mostly connected to reading e-books (0,240) and forums (0,272). People visiting forums by choice also use social network sites (0,221), but read newspaper (0,165), news portals (0,319), weekly and monthly paper based news papers (0,197) and electronic magazines (0,231), as well. Concerning internet and computer games, we did not find other activities that stand in a close relation with the use of social networks. There is only a faint connection between activities that include using a computer. Nevertheless, people using social network sites strongly correlate with reading online press (0,259) and magazines (0,187).

Using factor analysis, we grouped together reading and internet activities. The main idea of factor analysis is that characteristics, features and opinions that frequently go hand in hand will be classified into one group which helps us find additional answers (table 3.).

Table 3: The factor matrix of reading, internet and television activities

	Components			
	1	2	3	4
Reading daily papers (paper based)	,772	,092	-,012	,121
Reading weekly, monthly magazines (paper based)	,736	,158	,035	,143
Watching television	,600	-,126	,045	-,406
Listening to the radio	,599	,005	,012	-,007
Reading weekly papers, magazines online	,389	,298	,248	,318
Blog writing	,013	,765	-,051	-,044
Reading blogs	,161	,556	,427	-,033
Listening to audio books	,074	,511	-,353	,211
Reading forums	,133	,511	,415	,040
Reading e-books	,186	,480	-,158	,361
Internet/computer games	-,028	,357	,153	-,120
Internet browsing	-,012	-,084	,783	,000
Accessing social network sites	,017	,111	,722	-,055
Reading online news portals	,462	,156	,495	,260
Online book reading (not connected to studying)	,041	,091	,045	,752
Paper based book reading (not connected to studying)	,058	-,201	-,050	,720

We grouped together the variables of reading, internet use and media consumption. Based on their factor loadings we classified them into four different groups of activity. In their designation we tried to demonstrate their characteristics:

- 1. Information acquiring - activity group:** reading daily newspapers, weekly papers and magazines (paper based), watching television, listening to the radio, reading online weekly papers and magazines.
- 2. E-entertaining activity group:** writing and reading blogs, listening to audio books, reading forums, e-books, internet/computer games.
- 3. Social net activity group:** internet browsing, accessing social network sites, reading online news portals.

4. Book reading activity group: reading books online, not connected to studying, reading paper based books, not connected to studying.

We used cross-tables to see whether any of our students can be enlisted in any of the categories above. Based on statistic analysis, we found no significant differences between attributes, which means that the categories mentioned above are not palpable with regard to demographics, learning method or religion. All categories include men and women, people coming from big cities and little towns, top students and average students or people with parents who are well educated and less educated. We have not experienced any differences between trainings, meaning that all kindergarten teachers, master's students and pre-service teachers can be dispersed in all four groups in the same ratio. We found a slight difference in two cases. The information acquiring group which was based only on religiousness showed significant alteration: it is more typical for religious students to be preoccupied with acquiring information than for students who are not religious. Plus, online entertainment is a more frequent activity in case of men.

Reading culture characteristics of pre-service teachers

As a summary, we can say that internet activities are dominant components in a student's everyday routine and it is an important part of their lifestyle. Online reading, information acquiring, entertaining, keeping in contact and communication are typical even without the appointed background variables. Based on our information, the reading activity has not decreased but rather has changed. Paper based books, newspapers and magazines are more and more switched to electronic sources. In the case of books this change has not emerged as much as for daily papers and magazines. News portals and online articles are becoming indisputably more popular among the analyzed population. Our data conforms to the latest research results (Péterfi 2011, Csepeli – Prazsák 2010).

The importance of the question is connected to the methodology of teachers' training when preparing for their career. If we know the lifestyle, the cultural and reading habits of the students, we can accommodate more efficiently to the altered student behaviour and learning attitude. The literature needed for studies and that is available online and the online communication between teachers and students draw up a new aspect of higher education. However, we have not touched upon the subject of teachers' teaching styles, methods or tools used in class (traditional and digital), but our data can supply useful information for a research of such kind.

Annexes

Figure 4: Factor correlation I: reading, internet, television and radio habits

	Watching television	Book reading (paper based) – not connected to studying	Book reading (online) – not connected to studying	Using e-books	Reading daily papers (paper based)	Reading online news portals	Reading weekly or monthly magazines (paper based)	Reading weekly or monthly magazines (online)
Watching television	1	-,087	-,105	-,006	,267	,118	,220	,049
		,061	,023	,893	,000	,011	,000	,293
	468	467	466	460	464	460	462	464
Book reading (paper based) – not connected to studying	-,087	1	,333	,107	,132	,076	,145	,087
	,061		,000	,022	,004	,104	,002	,061
	467	467	465	459	463	459	461	463
Book reading (online) – not connected to studying	-,105	,333	1	,256	,114	,188	,135	,202
	,023	,000		,000	,014	,000	,004	,000
	466	465	466	458	462	458	460	462
Using e-books	-,006	,107	,256	1	,232	,114	,148	,229
	,893	,022	,000		,000	,015	,002	,000
	460	459	458	460	456	452	454	458
Reading daily papers (paper based)	,267	,132	,114	,232	1	,388	,583	,220
	,000	,004	,014	,000		,000	,000	,000
	464	463	462	456	464	456	458	460
Reading online news portals	,118	,076	,188	,114	,388	1	,378	,458
	,011	,104	,000	,015	,000		,000	,000
	460	459	458	452	456	460	454	456
Reading weekly or monthly magazines (paper based)	,220	,145	,135	,148	,583	,378	1	,371
	,000	,002	,004	,002	,000	,000		,000
	462	461	460	454	458	454	462	458
Reading weekly or monthly magazines (online)	,049	,087	,202	,229	,220	,458	,371	1
	,293	,061	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	
	464	463	462	458	460	456	458	464

Factor correlation II: reading, internet, television and radio habits

	Listening to audio books	Listening to the radio	Browsing the internet	Reading blogs	Writing blogs	Reading forums	Playing internet/computer games	Accessing social network sites
Watching television	-,130	,247	,129	,093	-,009	,035	,023	,042
	,005	,000	,005	,044	,839	,450	,626	,365
	461	466	465	466	465	461	464	467
Book reading (paper based) – not connected to studying	,059	,017	,011	-,048	-,040	-,006	-,073	-,089
	,203	,718	,821	,304	,394	,901	,119	,055
	460	465	464	465	464	460	463	466
Book reading (online) – not connected to studying	,113	,078	,008	,102	,092	,118	-,009	-,010
	,015	,092	,867	,027	,049	,012	,852	,829
	459	464	463	464	463	459	462	465
Using e-books	,243	,108	-,061	,185	,240	,134	,061	-,033
	,000	,021	,193	,000	,000	,004	,191	,484
	456	459	457	459	459	454	458	459
Reading daily papers (paper based)	,106	,258	,030	,130	,112	,165	,026	,044
	,023	,000	,518	,005	,016	,000	,580	,350
	457	462	461	462	461	457	460	463
Reading online news portals	,021	,177	,243	,320	,100	,319	,025	,259
	,661	,000	,000	,000	,032	,000	,601	,000
	454	458	457	458	457	453	456	459
Reading weekly or monthly magazines (paper based)	,157	,250	,055	,148	,151	,197	,073	,109
	,001	,000	,237	,001	,001	,000	,119	,019
	455	460	459	460	459	455	458	461
Reading weekly or monthly magazines (online)	,119	,208	,075	,222	,119	,231	,127	,187
	,011	,000	,106	,000	,010	,000	,006	,000
	459	463	461	463	463	458	462	463

Factor correlation III: reading, internet, television and radio habits

	Watching television	Reading books (paper based) – not connected to studying	Reading books (online) – not connected to studying	Using e-books	Reading daily papers (paper based)	Reading online news portals	Reading weekly, monthly magazines (paper based)	Reading weekly, monthly magazines online
Listening to audio books	-,130	,059	,113	,243	,106	,021	,157	,119
	,005	,203	,015	,000	,023	,661	,001	,011
	461	460	459	456	457	454	455	459
Listening to the radio	,247	,017	,078	,108	,258	,177	,250	,208
	,000	,718	,092	,021	,000	,000	,000	,000
	466	465	464	459	462	458	460	463
Browsing the internet	,129	,011	,008	-,061	,030	,243	,055	,075
	,005	,821	,867	,193	,518	,000	,237	,106
	465	464	463	457	461	457	459	461
Reading blogs	,093	-,048	,102	,185	,130	,320	,148	,222
	,044	,304	,027	,000	,005	,000	,001	,000
	466	465	464	459	462	458	460	463
Writing blogs	-,009	-,040	,092	,240	,112	,100	,151	,119
	,839	,394	,049	,000	,016	,032	,001	,010
	465	464	463	459	461	457	459	463
Reading blogs	,035	-,006	,118	,134	,165	,319	,197	,231
	,450	,901	,012	,004	,000	,000	,000	,000
	461	460	459	454	457	453	455	458
Playing internet/ computer games	,023	-,073	-,009	,061	,026	,025	,073	,127
	,626	,119	,852	,191	,580	,601	,119	,006
	464	463	462	458	460	456	458	462
Accessing social network sites	,042	-,089	-,010	-,033	,044	,259	,109	,187
	,365	,055	,829	,484	,350	,000	,019	,000
	467	466	465	459	463	459	461	463

Factor correlation IV: reading, internet, television and radio habits

	Listening to audio books	Listening to the radio	Browsing the internet	Reading blogs	Writing blogs	Reading forums	Playing internet/ computer games	Accessing social network sites
Listening to audio books	1	,055	-,196	,040	,213	,075	,043	-,099
		,236	,000	,396	,000	,108	,353	,033
	461	460	458	460	460	455	459	460
Listening to the radio	,055	1	,025	,126	,019	,064	,025	,089
	,236		,592	,007	,679	,170	,591	,056
	460	466	463	464	464	460	463	465
Browsing the internet	-,196	,025	1	,210	-,038	,208	,115	,424
	,000	,592		,000	,420	,000	,013	,000
	458	463	465	463	462	458	461	464
Reading blogs	,040	,126	,210	1	,313	,420	,128	,263
	,396	,007	,000		,000	,000	,006	,000
	460	464	463	466	464	459	463	465
Writing blogs	,213	,019	-,038	,313	1	,272	,145	,063
	,000	,679	,420	,000		,000	,002	,176
	460	464	462	464	465	459	463	464
Reading forums	,075	,064	,208	,420	,272	1	,061	,221
	,108	,170	,000	,000	,000		,194	,000
	455	460	458	459	459	461	459	461
Playing internet/ computer games	,043	,025	,115	,128	,145	,061	1	,110
	,353	,591	,013	,006	,002	,194		,017
	459	463	461	463	463	459	464	464
Accessing social network sites	-,099	,089	,424	,263	,063	,221	,110	1
	,033	,056	,000	,000	,176	,000	,017	
	460	465	464	465	464	461	464	467

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THE FACTORS INFLUENCING STUDENT MOBILITY PLANS¹

Ágnes Réka Dusa

Academic and job mobility among students

Academic mobility is one of the main research areas of international higher education institutions, both in the case of the internationalization phenomenon (Berács 2009) and in the classification and mission analysis of higher education. It can be deduced from the studies on these topics, that in judging the higher education institutions not only the number of teachers and students they accept plays an important role, but also does the number of students (and teachers) who became connected to different credit mobility programmes (Kasza 2010a, Hrubos 2011). From the point of view of student headcount and (theoretically) of higher education funding, the students coming from abroad will play an important part (Polónyi 2010).

The pursuit of students for academic mobility and the actual fulfilment of this, however, does not only reveal a lot about the higher education institution but also about the economic and social medium of the given country or region. The literature on higher education research treats the negative tendencies of student mobility as well, which are identified, on one hand, with the phenomenon of "brain-drain", and on the other, with the widening of the gap between students (mass education vs. elite education). Notwithstanding that studying abroad has become accessible for a much broader strata, the lack of economic means (economic capital) of the families remains the most influential factor of the immobility (Tót 2005, Erdei 2005, Kasza 2010b). Therefore it is rather worrying if students with a lower economic status are left out from the academic mobility, i.e. from acquiring the special skills and knowledge that are specific to studying abroad, because a further new type of inequality may be caused in a knowledge-based society. According to a 2008 international research, the special skills and knowledge besides the command of a language are: independence, the development of general communication skills, team work, increased tolerance and empathy, the ability of dialogue between cultures through overcoming prejudice and stereotyping, as well as the easier adaptability to new, unexpected situations or unfamiliar teaching methods (Bauwens et al. 2008). These skills will play an important part later in their higher education careers and work: researchers analyzed the most important competences needed at employment and found that independent work, cooperation within a team (Fónai et al. 2012), initiative, speaking skills in a foreign

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language (Kiss 2010), realistic self-esteem and motivation (Csoba – Cibere 2012) are frequently demanded skills. Since these are competences that can be developed during a shorter or a longer period of study abroad, through it participants may gain advantages that the students remaining at home may not benefit from (Tót 2005).

The phenomenon of "brain-drain," which is the other negative tendency of mobility, can also be interpreted from more viewpoints. Thus, from the standpoint of the European Union, it is a positive tendency that requires support (Bauwens et al. 2008), whereas for the respective countries and their local employers, the emigration of their trained workforce is rather problematic – particularly if this results in a longer or final settlement abroad – and it induces numerous conflicting debates.² Analysing the connection between international and domestic mobility tendencies and university departments, Kasza draws attention upon the results according to which among the Hungarian students, those studying medical science training have already reached the highest rate of student mobility during the academic years, preceding even those departments where mobility is more self-evident (external economic relations, tourism, catering or language departments) (Kasza 2010b).

Surely the question may be asked as follows: who emigrates? Beyond the social risks and benefits, Pusztai and Nagy have put students in the centre of their analysis and examined the mobility possibilities in the border region of North-Eastern Hungary. In their paper, they surveyed the motivations of the academic mobility in the case of cross-border Hungarian students from the Partium region. Their triggering hypothesis was that the mobile group (the border crossing one) possesses distinct orientations compared to those remaining at home, while their cost-benefit calculations also lead them to another direction, respectively, their economic, cultural and relationship capital influence decisions as well. Their assumptions were tested by analysing the answers to questionnaires recorded in mobile (82 individuals) and non-mobile (329 individuals) groups in the 2003/2004 academic year. Based on this, the argument for mobility in the case of mobile students was that they have found the university departments they would have liked to attend only in other parts of Hungary. Consequently, unlike the non-mobile group, in the case of the mobile group, the eagerness to enhance personal talents and abilities preceded university proximity and the financial easement attached to it (travel expenses, accomodation, subsistence, etc.). Nevertheless, the choice to travel within the borders of Hungary was already influenced by distance: those questioned decided on Debrecen or Nyíregyháza instead of Pécs, Szeged or Budapest, which are farther away from Partium. Among the mobile students who decided to cross borders, some pre-conditions were revealed: both a higher academic qualification and a more stable position on the job market of their parents, as well as a higher economic status of their families (Pusztai – Nagy 2005).

² In Hungary the emigration of medical school graduates has come into the centre of attention, which during the political debates has led to the so-called grant agreement system.

Similar results were found by Georgina Kasza as well, who, while summing up several results of international and domestic surveys, concluded that while the willingness for mobility is relatively high, the actual fulfilment is low – and the most important hindrance for this is the socio-economic status of the students. She demonstrated the disadvantage of the students with a lower cultural-economic capital, based on the educational qualifications of their parents and the subjective economic situation of their families. The disadvantageous financial situation can have effects in many ways: on one hand, it hinders the access to particular special educational services (school for elites, private tutoring, etc.), on the other hand, the academic mobility implies some significant personal costs as well, which is not certain to be assumed by these students. Kasza stresses another hindering factor, i.e. the lack of language knowledge, which is again connected to the economic positions (Kasza 2010b). As language knowledge is part of the mobility capital, thus we can consider this an important sign anyhow.

The mobility capital may thus have an impact on the later migratory endeavours. The following attributes are measured with this new type of capital: travels, gained experiences during earlier study periods, the acquired language knowledge, the handling of conflicts and difficulties that are part of studying and working abroad, the easier adaptability to the foreign national or international milieu (Pásztor 2005, Béres 2009). The mastering of a higher level of language knowledge also appears in the study of Pusztai and Nagy: more than two thirds of the mobility participants speak, read and write in the foreign language(s), whereas less than half of the non-mobile students can do the same (Pusztai – Nagy 2005).

Willingness for mobility among Partium students

The present paper maps the willingness for mobility in the case of the students studying in the Partium region, by taking into consideration several points of view. First we sorted the respondents into three groups according to how vivid is the idea of studying and working abroad in their future plans. Afterwards, we searched for: the differences between these three groups based on the form and sort of training; social background variables (like the parent employment, the subjective economic status of the family); and finally, the mobility capital (prior mobility experiences: holiday, work abroad, study abroad, language knowledge).

Several questions from the questionnaire were quite helpful in order to constitute the groups based on mobility willingness. One of these³ was connected to employment after graduation and respondents could choose from the following answers: employment in *one of the member states of the European Union* or *in another country outside the European Union*. If the student

³ The complete question: Where do you plan to start working after graduation? A. In the county where your university/college is located; B. In the county of your residence; C. In another county within the country; D. In an EU country; E. In a country from outside the EU. Answer categories: 3. I am not planning it at all, 2. I am not planning it, but I do not rule out the option either, 1. I am planning it, 9. I do not know.

chose the categories of *I plan to*, respectively *I do not plan to, but I do not exclude*, then the answer was marked with code 1, while the answers *I do not know* and *I do not plan at all* were marked with code 0. Another question⁴ was about what the student would do in case of longer unemployment. In this case, only one answer was accepted - one of the options was the *employment abroad*, which was coded with 1, while all the other answers received code 0.

The third question used regarded the *study period abroad*: if the student viewed it as likely or highly likely to enrol in a university/college from another country, then he was given code 1, whereas the rest of the answers from the question block we coded with 0.

By using these three groups of questions, we built the typology of the students. A maximum of 4 points could have been collected, i.e. if the answers to all four questions received code 1. If the willingness for mobility was revealed in the case of four or three questions, then the respondent was attributed to the "clearly mobile" group (358 individuals, the 13.1 percent of respondents). Those who answered "positively" regarding mobility to at least one, but to maximum two questions, were considered "mobility-willing" (1536 individuals, 56.3 percent of respondents), and finally, those who did not show willingness to mobility in any of the answers were identified as "non-mobile" (834 individuals, 30.6 percent of respondents).

Let us review what kind of differences can be established among one of the three student groups, according to the above mentioned viewpoints (data on training, social background, mobility capital).

Regarding the form of training, it is noticeable that the willingness for mobility is the highest in the case of students in undivided training. This is not surprising since we count in this group the medical, dental, pharmaceutical and law students, which, according to the paper of Georgina Kasza, belong to the most mobile professions (Kasza 2010b).

Table 1: Willingness for mobility from the point of form of qualification N=2720

Form of qualification	Non-mobile	Mobility-willing	Clearly mobile	Total
BSc [%]	31,7	56,2	12,1	100
MSc [%]	29,3	57	13,7	100
Undivided training [%]	20,1	55	24,9	100
Number of components (individuals)	833	1530	357	2720
Lack of answers (individuals)	1	6	1	8

⁴ The complete question: If you did not find a job according to your expectations within a few months, what would you do? (Mark only one answer!) The possible answer categories: I would wait and continue searching, I would get registered as unemployed and apply for dole, I would accept any job, I would try employment abroad, I would register to different training programmes within the adult education system, I would look for other solutions.

In terms of parent employment we established three categories depending on whether parents worked or not: neither of the parents works, at least one of them works or both of them work. It can be seen from Table 2 that parent employment increases the probability of mobility: while 43 percent of the non-mobile students have neither of their parents employed, in the clearly mobile group only 10.6 percent have unemployed mothers and fathers. This is an important finding even if it increases the actual mobility by a small degree and the willingness for mobility is first and foremost influenced by the employment of the parents (or one of them).

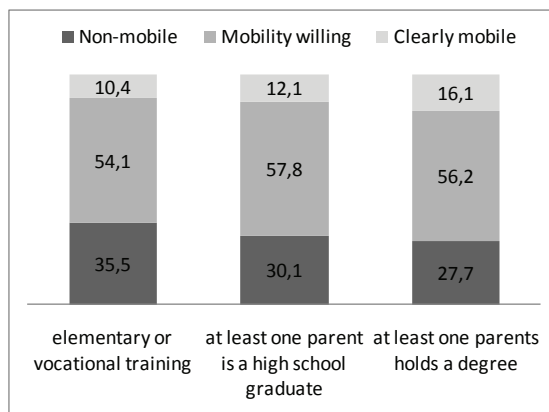
Table 2: The employment of the parents in the three mobility groups N=2568

	Non-mobile	Mobility-willing	Clearly mobile	Total
Neither parent works (%)	43	46,4	10,6	100
One parent works (%)	28,9	57,7	13,4	100
Both parents work (%)	27,8	58,4	13,8	100
Number of components (individuals)	768	1458	342	2568
Lack of answers (individuals)	66	78	16	160

We have found similar results as regards parent educational qualifications (see Diagram 1.). First we generated a new, complex variable⁵ from the highest educational qualification of both parents, which shows the influence of father and mother qualifications altogether. According to the new variable 1) parents have elementary or vocational training, 2) at least one parent is a high school graduate and 3) at least one parent holds a degree. In this case, we see that from the three columns displaying the parent educational qualifications, the mobile students reach the highest percentage for minimum one parent holding a degree, while if the joint highest educational qualification of the parents is elementary or vocational occupation, then the percentage of the clearly mobile students is decreased for the benefit of the non-mobile group which is not planning border-crossing at all. Yet, if one parent is a high school graduate, then that already slightly increases the willingness for mobility. Thus, the highest educational qualification of the parents intensifies the chances for mobility.

⁵ The creation of the new variable is the work of Tímea Ceglédi, whose help I would like to thank for here as well.

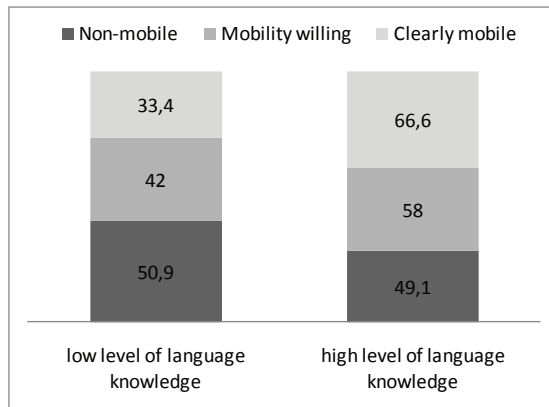
Diagram 1. Joint highest educational qualification of parents in the different mobility groups (%) N=2549



Though there were questions included in the questionnaire of the HERD research which were partially assessing prior travel experiences, they did not show a significant correlation with the willingness for mobility. However, with respect to the other element of the mobility capital, i.e. language knowledge, there is already some connection to be found. This was also measured in relation to the objective variables, for example the certification of a language exam. However, the actual mobility, whether they embark upon a study period or employment abroad or not, can be rather influenced by how the respondents evaluate their own language knowledge. The students were asked to rank the levels of their own language knowledge for three topics (reading, writing, speaking). In the present paper we focus only on English, from all the foreign languages, and in connection with this, we tried to create a variable that can jointly display the three language skills. Firstly we merged the four-level scale (not at all, weak, good, very good) into two alternatives (no, yes), then we coded them according to the three knowledge topics in such a way that the joint new variable expressing English language knowledge remained interpretable.⁶ Dividing the different groups according to their willingness for mobility into six newly created variables did not lead to interpretable findings. Nevertheless, if we only look at those students who master all three skills and at those who did not rank their English language knowledge in all three areas at least at the level of good, it can be seen that the percentage of the clearly mobile and of the mobility-willing students is higher among those who marked their reading, writing and speaking abilities as good/very good (see Diagram 2.). Therefore, similarly to the findings from the scholarly literature in the field, we can see that the foreign language knowledge is an influential incentive regarding the short or long-term migration of the young, whereas the lower-level language knowledge or the language insecurity (if someone does not master all three areas confidently) become inhibiting factors.

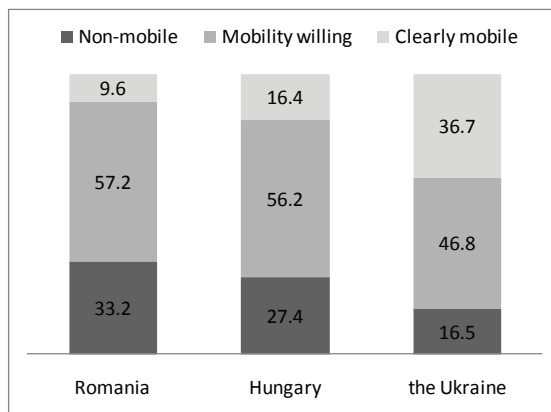
⁶ The creation of the new variable is the work of Tímea Ceglédi, whose help I would like to thank for here.

Diagram 2. The distribution of the three mobility groups regarding low and high level English language skills (%) N=2652



Finally, it could be interesting for us to see the distribution of the students in their different mobility endeavours according to country of origin. The Romanian students are characterised by a lower geographical mobility endeavour, compared to the Hungarian students, among whom both the number of those who consider mobility and who definitely plan crossing the border are high. The case of the Ukraine is peculiar, because from all the three countries, it is here where we have found the highest percentage of students wanting to remain at home and also of students planning a study period/employment abroad; however it is important to mention that the size of the Ukrainian sample was the smallest (109 individuals).

Diagram 3. The distribution of the three mobility groups in Romania, Hungary and Ukraine (%) N= 2727



Summing up, we can state that the same factors which are supporting or hindering mobility are in effect the ones revealed by prior international and Hungarian analyses in the field: the educational background of the parents and

their employment, as well as the subjective perception of the foreign language knowledge all influence the mobility endeavours of the students. Henceforth, it would be curious to continue to analyze the differences between backgrounds of mobility among the countries, along with the comparison of the factors which are influencing mobility, with the aid of more complex variables.

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THE SITUATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL AND ADULT EDUCATION NETWORK, WITH SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE PARTIUM REGION

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Introduction

The concepts of adult and professional education are still two of the most discussed and best known proposals that answer the challenge set by the changing economical and employment situation in Europe, even after many years. Not surprisingly, the European Union, which is the supreme organization for proposing and implementing policies in order to foster economical development, has included lifelong learning into the European debating framework. It is a basic element of the Lisbon Strategy¹ and the 2020 Agenda², as both action plans have been elaborated to serve as basic instructional agendas in order to turn Europe into a dynamically growing and a competitive economical region, in a worldwide perspective. Beside innovation, investment into human resources, education and the flexibility of the labour market are also key elements of both strategies and they are returning phrases that reflect on the importance of long lasting educational processes in several official EU documents³.

The situation in Romania

Unemployment is a bitter issue in Romania⁴ too, even if it does not reach such a level as in many other EU member countries, thus we believe that the necessity of educational changes in order to create a stricter synchronization between educational offer and output and labour market needs is extremely important. In this context, it is obvious that the professional training and various educational programs for adults, which can offer various educational material and content and the improvement of professional skills, could be an efficient way to increase the flexibility and the versatility of the potential employees.

¹ <http://www.etuc.org/a/652> visited for the last time on 2012.11.02

² http://ec.europa.eu/education/focus/focus479_en.htm visited for the last time on 2012.11.02.

³ E.g., EC Communications such as: http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2006/com2006_0614en01.pdf visited for the last time on 2012.11.02

⁴ <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2012/jan2012/roma-j06.shtml> visited for the last time on 2012.11.02

Another valuable aspect that significantly motivated us to conduct the research is the importance given to the maintaining elderly people as active members of the society. It is not only important from the point of view of the individuals, who probably feel less isolated, useless and depressed when being involved in various social activities and processes, but also from the whole society. The problem of the age is a general problem, even if it embodies or shows different aspects of this challenge in various places in the world. In China and other far-eastern countries we can observe a more and more numerous community of elderly people, while the next generations, due to social policies which discourage couples from having more than one child, are far too weak to ensure the provision of the elderly⁵. In other Asian countries, more or less due to central pressures, individualization is becoming more and more visible and the assurance of financial and social needs of the elderly generation barely seems to be solved.⁶

In Europe, as well, the older generation is a rapidly growing share of the society, however, an important difference is the fact that the elderly averagely have a far better social and economical situation than their counterparts in Asia, especially in Western-Europe. The reason why this social category is in permanent growth can be explained by the fact that the fertility rate is rather low in Europe⁷, as maybe the most important social topic is the choice of the women between becoming a family-oriented wife and mother or a career woman who creates her own existence. The latter might be an attractive choice, as the level of divorces is also rising⁸, but it hides the risk for women to find themselves in rather complicated or dangerous situations, lacking their own curriculum and financial background.

Among these conditions, we believe that an excellent method for the protection and long term inclusion or re-inclusion of the older population is the provision of an educational offer which would allow them to stay active on the labour market, or maybe in the civic sphere or as volunteers, if they wish, even for many years after the retirement. The concept of the life-long learning, fortunately, is widely known and promoted, but we believe, that the slogan „think globally, act locally” is also valid for this phenomenon. The local initiatives, the local offer can only assure such an educational system for the elderly, so we can assume that the long term inclusion of the older people in the active sphere of society largely depends on the existence/lack and efficiency/inefficiency of such institutions and educational programs with an adult educating profile.

⁵ <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2091308,00.html>- visited for the last time on 2012.11.02

⁶ <http://blogs.reuters.com/india/2012/04/03/india-must-prepare-for-surge-in-elderly-population-who/> visited for the last time on 2012.11.02

⁷ http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/03/world/europe/03iht-birth.2683302.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 - visited for the last time on 2012.11.02

⁸ http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Marriage_and_divorce_statistics- visited for the last time on 2012.11.02

In the Romanian context, the meaning of this principle is even more important, just like it probably is in many other countries which have been under the Soviet influence until 1989/1990. The communist regime maintained the heavy industry, the mining and exploiting in a manner that was not sustainable within free-market conditions. This, on one hand resulted in the training of an exaggerated number of experts and labour force in these fields. On the other hand, after the collapse of the centrally managed economic system, all the industrial branches which have been artificially kept alive fell apart, leaving a large number of former employees of the companies involved in these branches, with no alternative qualification and with no chance to take part in any requalification program, at that time. As having no other choice, a large number of them chose early retirement, and have tried, with more or less success, to find an alternative activity to compensate their quite low incomes as pensioners. In the cases of the persons who could not integrate themselves in the often grey- or black-shaded economy as undeclared employees, these were often isolated and, as a result of the massive migration waves, often abandoned by the families.

In our view, the existence and development of an appropriate adult-education system is not only economically important, but also a socially relevant issue, as it can help a large number of persons become active members of the society again, bringing about benefits while they do not need resources to be spent on them, or at least, not in a dramatically high ratio.

Overview on the adult education in Romania at present

We have obviously tried to find academic sources published on the topic, and we used a lot the studies of Attila Papp Z., who draws the attention over the fact that even if such initiatives meant to be a mean in order to combat unemployment and to increase the employment rate in various regions, most of the courses, organizations who propose such initiatives are rather present in the developed regions of the country, and less in those areas where these problems are real challenges. So in the regions where the level of unemployment is relatively low compared to the country's average, he found an increased number of such courses, while in the regions where the level of unemployment is more suffocating, there is a much less dense network of such programs.

One of Papp Z.'s major conclusions is that in Romania, such programs and initiatives mostly belong to the entrepreneurial sphere, are profit oriented and are usually run by companies, foundations or state corporations with the purpose of realizing profit on them.

One nationwide exception is the trainings organized and also financed by the local agencies of the National Agency for Employment (Agenția Națională pentru Ocuparea Forței de Muncă-ANOFM). For example, the local agency from Bihor County has organized fifteen courses in 2010, with a total number of 361 participants.

A different branch of the trainings belong to the institutions of education. One type of public institutions is the so called professional or technical high schools, which offer various trainings for students between ages 15 and 19. As the national legislation for education grants them the right to do so, some institutions, benefitting from the presence of the experts and the due infrastructure, also launched trainings for anybody, the so called „master programs” in various fields. We got this information via focus-group interviews realized in the frame of an EU financed research project in 2011 and it has not been published yet in other materials.

As for the legislation, the Romanian National Education Law defines three forms of education: 1) pre-university, 2) higher education and 3) life-long learning. Therefore, the concept of life-long learning and trainings in various ages has a distinguished accent in the legislative context.

Adult- and professional education in the frame of Romanian higher education

The chapter number 173 of the National Education Law indicates that the universities may take part in the life-long learning process by launching and organizing training programs, with a post-university character, but only in the fields in which they possess authorization for at least BA level programs. At the same time, the Law also offers the possibility for the universities to found, alone or jointly, companies and foundations which can run and operate these programs in a profit oriented regime.

Having these legislative specifications, we were curious to see in what way and measure the universities in Bihor County benefit from these possibilities. We intended to gather information from the University of Oradea, from the Agora University and from the Partium Christian University.

According to the current legislative indications, in order to launch any training with the right to offer a diploma for the participants, programs must be accredited by the relevant state agency and must be registered in a nationwide list. This was the nationwide source where we could find out how many registered programs have been organized in the county. We found evidence only for two programs for university level courses, both organized and registered at the University of Oradea. The first was registered in 2004 in the field of Human Resources, and the other was registered in 2007 in the field of Environmental Studies. However, controversially, the websites of all the three institutions contain references to the adult education, as if it was a general and continuous activity.

During focus-group interviews and formal and informal discussions realized in the frame of the previously mentioned research project, it was revealed that without official accreditation, the institutions took advantage of the legislative possibilities and have organized profit-oriented courses since the mid 2000s. These have covered mostly the fields of IT, foreign languages and accounting.

Beside these, a third form of programs which have appeared in the educational offers on an irregular basis have been training programs, as parts of various educational projects financed mostly by EU sources. As they were fully counted and documented only in the frame of the projects' documentation, there are no clear evidences about these, at least not at the level of the universities' archives.

From the same sources, it became clear for us that the trainings for adults have always been treated as having secondary importance, the priority has been to develop the academic offer. During the 2000s, it seemed the proper strategy, as there have always been enough students for most of the degree programs and the institutions have not been incited to develop in alternative directions, such as professional trainings.

However, in the last year, a major challenge has appeared. The baccalaureate exams in Romania have become strictly and severely supervised, and, as a consequence, the rate of passing has decreased immensely. This means that the recruitment bases where the universities can attract students from have been significantly smaller.

Another threatening issue has been raised right before the elections for Parliament, at the time when this article was written. According to a legislative project, the unitary baccalaureate exam will be diversified: there will remain the strict and competitive classical version, but also another one will offer baccalaureate certificates for those who study in technical or professional high schools. Some experts in the media have underlined the importance of not forcing all the students to take exams in various fields, but only from the ones that they were especially prepared in. The experts emphasized that there has been a massive lobby from the economical sphere, which needs young persons who in the last years have either spent their years in universities, obtaining diplomas that could not help them to get employed, or have struggled to take the baccalaureate exam, often failing 3-4 times.

In our opinion, if this proposal will attain legislative power, the universities will be much more willing to benefit from all the possibilities and rights granted for the participation in the professional trainings, than they had done before. This can lead to a restructuring of this segment in the whole country. It will be interesting to observe how the institutions from the Western part of Romania will benefit from the possibilities of partner programs with Hungarian institutions, in order to put their experiences into practice as soon as possible on the other side of the border. Should this happen, the Partium region will have a favourable condition due to the geographical situation and to the existing professional partnerships.

The purpose of the research

Having analyzed several former researches and having received a confirmation from our exploratory research too, we realized that, actually, there is no properly functioning adult educational initiative within university network in

the Partium region; thus, we focus on the causes that might have led to this lack. We were curious to discover all the institutional, system-specific, motivation and attitude-related, and any occasional reasons that resulted in a missing field of the regional education offer.

In order to endow our study with a bilateral and more comprehensive character, we were also interested in analyzing the viewpoints of local businessmen, entrepreneurs about the necessities and offers in the region, in the context of adult and professional education.

As our intention was to realize a descriptive research on adult and professional education in Bihor County and as we were not able to survey the perspective of potential employees, we have tried to search through the background aspects, legislative and motivation-related background of the issue.

We were lucky enough to have been previously involved in another research project, entitled *Promoting the integration of disadvantaged groups by cooperation in the field of training and adult learning in the Bihor-Hajdú-Bihar Euroregion*⁹, in the frame of the HU-RO CBC program. In this project we organized two focus group interviews, the first one with the representatives of institutions offering adult-education (but none of higher education), while the second focus-group interview was done with the participation of potential employers, entrepreneurs from the Partium region, who shared their experiences and expectations regarding adult and professional education in the region.

Methodological background

During our research, mostly three main forms of research techniques were applied:

- Content analysis, in the case of legislative texts reflecting the Romanian legislation regarding adult education within universities. A summary of the analysis can be found in the previous section of the present paper.
- Interviews with key persons who are in charge of the adult education department, from three universities. We had the opportunity to conduct a comparative research as we compared the attitudes of representatives of a secular, state-financed university (University of Oradea), a secular private university (Agora University) and a confessional (Christian) university (Partium Christian University); the latter is also state financed, with the difference that receives financing from the Hungarian State-budget. We studied if financial and confessional background matter in shaping the attitude towards the adult education programmes of the institutions.
- Secondary data analysis, as we relied on focus-group interviews realized in the frame of another research project¹⁰.

⁹ http://www.huro-cbc.eu/en/project_info/457?month=9&year=2012 –visited for the last time on 2012.11.02

¹⁰ http://www.huro-cbc.eu/en/project_info/457?month=9&year=2012 –visited for the last time on 2012.11.02

Summary of the focus group interviews

The trainers and educators who represented the institutions underlined the fact that a proper legislative framework is yet to be found, as the diversity of the forms of training is decreasing. They believe that the legislative motivation referring to economic benefits offered for the companies which send their employees to trainings, should be developed.

The situation of the most disadvantaged social categories was also mentioned. The interviewees emphasized that it is quite impossible to reach any progress in their case, as they do not possess the proper attitude towards the work and duties, do not speak any foreign language, or in some cases, they are simply illiterate.

The local entrepreneurs emphasized the importance and necessity of synchronizing the educational offer with the permanently changing trends in the labour-market. They believe that on mid- and long-term the most important question would be "who will finance the trainings?".

Summary of the interviews realized with key persons from the three universities

We interviewed three persons who are in charge for the development of adult educational projects at the universities where they belong. Besides them, other persons were questioned from each university. These were:

- the Vice rector responsible for scientific issues and three members of the academic staff of the Partium Christian University, Oradea
- the Vice rector responsible for scientific issues and two members of the academic staff of the Agora University, Oradea
- the Leader of the Methodology Department and three members of the academic staff of the University of Oradea

Awareness of the importance of the adult education:

All our respondents said that they were completely aware and informed about the importance and even of the necessity of the adult education programmes within the universities' educational offer. However, these programmes have never been treated as priority issues in their own institutions. Our sources say that the reason might be the fact that even if these are well known programmes and strategies in many universities around the world, including Europe, in Romania, these are still perceived as something new, which the universities are not prepared for institutionally. The universities focus on the undergraduate and postgraduate programmes that have a clear protocol for receiving authorization and accreditation and which can be managed and organized according to well known processes. Therefore, there is a need of institutional innovation and shift of paradigm in order to launch these programmes with clear determination.

Former experiences

At the University of Oradea, the further training of the educators from the region is seen itself as a form of adult education, and it has a 10 year-long tradition. The Partium Christian University, as our respondent presented, got involved in due training programmes only in the past year, after they had received state accreditation for such activities.

Agora University has, by far, the most experiences in this field, as they had launched their first adult educational programmes about 15 years ago. They have specialized education programmes in fields with significant demand on the labour-market, such as IT, accountancy, foreign languages etc.

All the three representatives said that most experiences of the type were the outcome of various EU financed projects, with especially reserved funds for such activities.

Future plans

A new legislative initiative, an order from the Ministry of Education¹¹, allows universities to launch professional reconversion programmes for teachers and educators from the pre-university system, in order to change their professional profile. The purpose of the initiative would be to ensure human-resources for a more modern education which meets the current needs.

The persons who we made interviews with believe that this could be a real breakthrough in this field and that this could be the first coherent adult education programme on the long-run, even if the target group would be exclusively made up of educators and teachers.

The representative of the University of Oradea affirmed that the real breakthrough would actually happen when not only teachers but much wider categories of the society could be involved in such training programmes.

The causes of the lack of adult education programmes within the local universities

Our respondents said that, in their opinion, the reason why the network of adult education programmes has not been developed yet is on one hand the legislation which missed clear regulations for universities and did not consider these institutions as the primary sphere for such adult educational programmes.

On the other hand, at local level, such initiatives have always existed on a theoretical level, but no important funds have been actually assigned for these and they never played a primary role in deciding upon the development direction of the faculties or the universities as a whole.

¹¹ <http://administrasite.edu.ro/index.php/articles/18413>

Case studies

Adult education program at Agora University

Agora University's adult education program began in 2006 and it is still active. It received official accreditation in 2009. The organizers tried to adapt the programs to the demands of the labour market. There is great interest in foreign languages, informatics and accounting courses. There are about 500-600 students in their program. The trainings are financed through EU applications, thus the courses are free of charge. They have plans to start further programs and develop the existing ones.

Business courses

Agora University organizes courses in entrepreneurial competences. This course offers competences in the following fields:

- communication and negotiation in business
- accounting and finance management
- business law
- business management
- project management

Graduates will receive a nationally and internationally recognized diploma.

The adult education concept of Partium Christian University

Recognizing the importance of adult education, in accordance with the Treaty of Lisbon, the directorate of Partium Christian University conceived a plan to exploit the possibilities within adult education, in 2005.

By January 2006, as a result of a decision of the Senate, the adult education program had started in an institutional form, as an alternative form of tuition at the University. In the first year, foreign language and informatics courses had started. The informatics training comprised 2 groups of 10 participants. The students who graduated from the training were examined in state university centres, since PCU did not have the right to organize final exams on the theme. The fact that there was little interest for the courses might have been caused by the fact that the courses were held in Hungarian, so the Romanian examination system might have seemed complicated for some students.

There was a greater interest in foreign language courses, which is why they were held in different locations, even outside Oradea. Because of their success at the beginning, direct steps were taken towards official accreditation, in order to gain the right to organize ELC language exams. Before the accreditation could have taken place, the institutional structures and the legal status had changed and language tuition received a different institutional form. A language centre was created within the University, hindering adult education in languages.

Further possibilities in adult education opened by connecting with other institutions in the Partium region and beyond, for instance Pannon Forrás in Békéscsaba. Between 2007-2010, PCU took part in adult education within the TÁMOP project, financed by the European Union, through a successful application of Pannon Forrás. In this course, the main goal was to train experts in social, tourism and informatics fields.

In another successful TÁMOP project, the focus was mainly on writing tourism applications. Training was held in two terms, and 30-30 students received diplomas recognized in Hungary. In 2009 there were trainings for a group of 30 participants, in the social field.

Conclusions

During our research in the Partium region, we could find no example for a well-running, stable initiative, with continuity both in the qualitative and quantitative data.

However, almost all the analyzed institutions and interviewed persons are familiar with the meaning of adult education within higher educational institutions and are also aware of the necessity of such programs. The opinion of the potential employers is similar; they also believe that on a longer term these programs will be an organic part of the educational offer.

Even if the phenomenon is not unknown to any key person, and such ideas and initiatives can also be identified on the institutions' websites, the clear ideas and determination from the institutions' side are still missing. It is hard to identify any good practice in this field, the only exceptions are those programmes that were financed from EU community sources. The market-based, profit-oriented attitude is not present yet either in the general development tendencies of the universities, nor in the everyday thinking of the persons in charge. The only exception seems to be the Agora University, which, as a fully private institution, has been the first to launch such programmes, with the purpose of increasing the incomes. It has probably much to do with the fact that it is not a state budget-financed university but it has to produce incomes to maintain itself. The other state-budget financed universities have almost exclusively paid attention to the development of the traditional graduate and undergraduate academic programmes, as the income increase through the diversification of educational offer was not a relevant issue.

A breakthrough could mean a fresh initiative from the Ministry of Education, which would allow universities to take part in the re-profiling process of the pre-university teachers, thus contributing to an educational system on pre-university level which could better meet the criteria of the society than the previous ones.

This will not solve the lack of adult education programmes, but it could help the universities in a significant measure in order to gather experiences, to develop human resources for such activities and to create the institutional background that will allow the launching of trainings with larger social categories as target groups.

If this initiative will be successful, there is a chance that it will result in a more flexible and more up-to-date attitude of the government and of the local decision makers. This new attitude should not understand the universities' educational offer through the classical undergraduate and postgraduate structure but it should offer a space for new and inventive programmes, such as adult education in the frame of the universities' educational system.

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INVESTING IN THE FUTURE – THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN LEARNING AND WORK

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Introduction

We are experiencing an important period of social changes. The manifold development brought about an increased and rapid change of our social environment, while the openness of humanity towards new things increases the aspiration for mobility. The globalization of the main dimension of social mobility has begun in the last century already, so the education and the employment market (Róbert 2000) could be characterized as main channels of mobility.

The inquiry on social mobility and within it, on occupation mobility and on its chances has become an important research area in the era of social changes; this is showed by noted researchers¹ so the relevance of mobility research cannot be questioned. Mobility theories as well as the studies of international researchers (Sorokin 1927; Blau-Duncan 1978; Treiman 1998; Borghans-Goldstein 2010) and researchers from Hungary (Andorka 1982; Ferge 1980; Kolosi 1982; Róbert 1986; Róbert 2000; Bukodi 2001; Nagy 2010; Fényes 2010) claim that the origin and qualification have an outstanding role in the process of mobilization and within it, of status acquisition. In this process human capital investment, learning at school (lower - secondary - higher education) and working while learning at school (such as work-based learning) have an important role. The competence (for the employment market) and higher education result in efficient and rapid job occupation on the labour market, in increased profession prestige, and in bigger income. In other words, it could be coupled with higher social status, not only in the long run (Mincer 1974, Becker 1975). In the acquisition of higher education qualifications and in the process of accessing the labour market, it has become very important for a lot of people to have part-time jobs while studying. This functions as an opportunity for practice and obtaining experience, a source of income, an income supplement and other opportunities such as competence development. Active learning in schools both in formal and informal frameworks could be perceived as a bridge, which connects us (most likely) with the world of work and a higher social status.

Nowadays, working while learning is a reality which affects a lot of people. People worked while learning and they learned while working, in the past as

¹ e.g. the work of Pitirim A. Sorokin, Seymour M. Lipset, Hans L. Zetterberg, Donald J. Treiman, Peter M. Blau, Otis Dudley Duncan, Karl Ulrich Mayer, Walter Müller, Albert A. Simkus, Paul DiMaggio, Robert Erikson, John H. Goldthorpe, Lucienne Portocarero, Karin Kurz, James N. Baron.

well: we can think of the appearance of adult education in the 19th century, when we could speak about a multiplication of cases of people who learned while working in bourgeois societies and in the ones in process of embourgeoisement. There is no doubt that a channel of social mobility was born then. [Csoma 1985].

Definition of terms

Before we speak about the advantages of learning and working and about the idea of continuous learning, we consider it important to define the meanings of 'attitude', 'work attitude', 'working while learning'. Behind human capital-investment (e.g. time and energy invested in working while learning) and the need for continuous skills development, there are human behaviours, while behind the latter there are psychological processes, which we consider important to discuss in our interpretation framework.

Attitude

In the scholarly literature there are a lot of definitions of 'attitude'. In the following we shall present some noted researchers' reciprocal complementary formulations.

One of the "fathers" of psychology, Allport (1993) says that 'attitude' is one of the most frequent terms in theoretical and experimental psychology. It means that the neuropsychological state of readiness for mental and physical activity additionally excludes the influence of inheritance and environment: attitude is a standby state, which has been organized through experiences, it has governing and dynamic effects on the person's every reaction to objects and situations regarding him/her [Allport 1993: 188]. Thomas - Znaniecki (quoted by Allport: 1993) describes it as a mental process, which determines the person's actual and potential reactions in the social world, i.e. in the social environment. The 'attitude' is "the person's state of mind toward a value" [Allport 1993: 184].² Katz (1967) thinks that it is an aptitude, which helps the person to evaluate symbols, objects, sights of his/her world in a favourable or unfavourable way. Using a functional approach, there are four functions performed by attitudes towards the individual: 1. Instrumental, balancing or utilitarian function 2. Ego-protecting function 3. Value-expressing function 4. Knowledge function.³ In Andorka's definition (2006), 'attitude' is a competence, which allows people to react in a determined way in certain situation to persons, objects, while behind the reaction there are values. The attitude expresses how particular behaviour results from conscious or unconscious acceptance of certain values.

²The data collection and statistical methods [method of opinion gathering, a priori scale, rational scale], related to the empirical study of attitudes, developed quickly [see: Allport 1993, 179-198.]

³For details see Daniel Katz (1967): The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes. In: Attitude Theory and Measurement (Ed. Fishbein, M.) New York 457 – 469.

Work attitude

Friedeburg (1986) associates the helping and determining components of satisfaction with work attitudes (safety of workplace, treatment of leaders, etc.), and he highlights the subjective evaluation of the individual, which is affected by demographic and social-economic background, as well as the institutional context.

The theoretical framework of the study of work attitudes was established by Arne Kallerberg. In her model, attitudes are determined by⁴ job properties and values related to the job. Satisfaction results from compliance with a normative and a perceived component. Through these two, a lot of other effects influence work attitudes (quotes Medgyesi – Róbert 1998). In the concept of Kóródi (2006), work attitude means: 1. the meaning of work in a person's life 2. the characteristics of "good life" and their relation to work. Fényes (2010) calls for a more comprehensive study of attitudes in education, by genders. Kóródi (2006) took over an idea of Ericson about the investigation of work attitudes displayed by young age, which is closely connected to Fényes's concept: "work attitudes are deep-seated ideas, which are already formed in a person's childhood as a result of the impulses from society, later on these ideas can "only" be formed through new experiences" (Kóródi 2006:290). In forming the youth's work attitude the following characteristics are indispensable: work experience acquired during the period of higher education, influence of parents and other adults e.g. peer group (Fényes 2010).

The coexistence of learning and working

The coexistence of learning and working is a particularity of our era, as a powerful phenomenon is mentioned since the second part of 20th century, but in the 19th century a lot of people had already been affected by it. Nowadays, it is a factor which forms the lifestyle, it is a part of people's everyday lives and it could be defined as a channel of mobility. The spread of the idea of working during higher education was influenced by continuous transformation, by the development of our economical – social environment and the concepts of life-long learning.

Csoma (1985) has dealt extensively with the coexistence of working and learning. In his formulation, learning and working have a dual nature: 1. on one hand, they have a special place in our life's time structure 2. they have a special contact between each other. Thus the term (coexistence of work and learning) contains the criteria of these two activities, which comes from their special relation. From another angle: the "beside work"-nature of learning means its time structure-place and its relation with work. Naturally, the question of childhood and youth doesn't come up in the context of time structure of learning, in these ages the most important role is played by learning. After

⁴ The properties of work in Arne's model: remuneration, position, properties of task.

joining the employment market, the place of learning is taken over by work. Csoma (1985: 13) calls the learning process of youth “the main occupation-learning” and notes that “learning instead of working” could be put in opposition to “learning while working”. No matter how we see the coexistence of work and learning, it is ascertainable that in the beginning it created new and strange learning situations, which had been “outside” the classical didactic approach from schools for a long time (Csoma 1985). Nevertheless, today there are only a few persons who are not affected by it.

Altörjai and Róbert (2006) have differentiated two types of attitudes when investigating human capital investment in Hungary, between 1989 and 2005: 1. instrumental (money-oriented) 2. committed (value-oriented) work attitudes. In their research they show that the money-oriented had no advantages in comparison with the value-oriented people; and this was an unexpected result.

Forray (1986) highlights the gender-differences in work attitudes. Gender differences in the 1980’s showed already that the most important features of work are, for boys, a good income opportunity and small intellectual effort, whereas for girls, good working conditions, the social character of work and its aesthetic values. Fényes (2010), while investigating differences between gender properties in education, underlines the importance of differences between work experience and work attitude of higher education students. In his opinion, it is important to investigate this phenomenon, because it predicts students’ success or failure on the labour market; this is a consequence of distribution by gender on the labour market (horizontal and vertical segregation) and work attitude-differences. While analyzing the properties of learning - free time - work, he enumerates different causes as an explanation for the fact that students start working sooner than graduating:

- The long and independent, young stage of life.
- As a result of the expansion of higher education among the low economic capital students, who had to generate income supplement.
- The level of student demand, its changing components, its homogenization.
- Changes of requirements on the labour market, intensifying work experience requirements, the value of voluntary and charity activities.
- As a property of Bologna process, training is oriented after the requirement.
- Typical work distribution in student placements (typical girl and boy jobs).

Fényes (2010) considers that working besides learning (within higher level education) is a kind of informal learning, which is supported by the law of higher education: in the process of credit imputation, work experience is a form of informal learning.

We must mention that the work attitude of students, who work besides learning, differs by geographical regions too. In Hungary, the occupational indicators are different by county, between some counties there could even be

a 10-15% difference.⁵ In the higher education system of Hungary Szabó and Marián (2010) found a similar but a lower, 7-10%, difference in employment. Mainly, with the application of the data base and flash report of Ifjúság 2008 (Youth, 2008), a Regional Youth Strategy was created, presenting lacks of domains, as well as needs and development opportunities related to youth, in the world of work. Regarding learning and working, the research of Kozma - Pusztai (2006) "Students on border" is quite relevant. Besides the Hungarian properties, the research of Hungarian students outside of Hungary highlighted a problem: beside higher education, there is a remarkable amount of unemployment, which is a region specific phenomenon that is going to have other influences on young life plans. An innovative life plan could be the idea of working abroad: the negative economical influences, unemployment with and without diplomas determine more and more young people to work abroad.⁶ It is questionable if this could be graded as a worrisome thing, or maybe could be determined as a positive mark of territorial mobility. The results of Kozma - Pusztai's research (2006) show that work attitude of individuals on the labour market is largely influenced by the economical environment and the labour market's manpower needs.

Justifying life-long learning

In the following we will not directly focus on the concept of life-long learning – as it is described in a number of scholarly works – but we will try to justify the life-long learning concept with rational arguments and with the model of human capital investment.

The concept of life-long learning is very popular in today's society. Is it because the "citizens" of this accelerated world are not content with the 10 - 15 - 20 years of learning in schools and continue learning? This is also part of the correct answer, but we need to take into consideration the fact that in order to catch up with our rapidly evolving society we need learning and we also need non-organized forms of education. All of the above were defined as life-long learning – conceptually – although the content and thought of the concept is not new at all, as in the 17th century Comenius already formulated the idea of life-long education, which can easily be identified with life-long learning (Haragi 2004). This means that no matter how fashionable this concept seems to be, it cannot really be called new, as even the philosophers from previous times urged the importance of self-development (Haragi 2004).

Life-long learning has been discussed since the 1960's, articles have been written, as it was often identified with adult education, or interpreted as

⁵ Szócs (2011) was researching Hungarian and international indicators, and confirmed the fact that the Hungarian regional occupational indicators differ from each other in economical and natural conditions. The differences show a shift between occidental, central and eastern regions.

⁶ Szabó - Marián (2010) reported that 4% of the people who live in the Northern-Alföld region have already worked abroad. This is similar to national average (5%). In an understandable way, in Hungary, Southern Transdanubia has the highest the rate of young people working abroad (7%). At the same time 30% of the 15-29 year old age group plans to work abroad.

substituting missed school education. Very many people have obtained their general and secondary education diplomas within the framework of the national adult education system, in the evenings, after work (see <http://www.ektf.hu>). The concept has a much wider meaning now, thanks to Philip H. Coombs, who, with his research started in the 1970's on behalf of UNICEF, created the three notions of formal - non-formal - informal education (*Simon* 2009).⁷

We might rightfully think that a determining element or reason for continuous learning is the performance-oriented market of today's society, which can exclude and/or include anything in a very short time, and this can be the result of the missing or existing professional qualifications. Furthermore, we - as human-capital investment on the labour market - very frequently acquire new skills and competences and "paper providing" qualifications in a formal or non-formal fashion. We consider that it is suitable to speak about human capital investment as every kind of self-development is in fact an investment in our professional career.

Human capital - investment in the career

The theory of human capital was created in the 1960's by economists in the United States. The old economic concepts, which were limited to physical capital, needed to be reformulated because of the quick economic growth. Such reformulated concepts are the labour-market, the investment, the capital⁸ (*Drjenovszki* 2009).

Ehrenberg – Smith (2003) discuss the basic model of human capital investment from several aspects: firstly, from the point of view of the individual, secondly, from the point of view of society, taking into consideration the expected short and long term effects. As it is known, the job offer always includes a starting investment on the behalf of the labour force, may it be an entrant or a "proficient" workforce. Thus, there is need for three types of investment of the workforce to successfully be placed on the labour market: 1. education and participation in vocational training, 2. emigration, 3. the search for a new workplace. All these are called human capital investment. Investment implies expenses, which are "invested" with the hope of future turn-out, and in this context it can be categorized based on the type of expense: 1. direct expenses or ones covered out of the pocket, 2. lost expenses, 3. psychological losses⁹ (*Ehrenberg – Smith* 2003).

The ones who apply (and at the same time develop) the model focus on the large-scale change of the demand for higher education, with a special regard

⁷ Simon (2009) gives a detailed presentation of Coombs' innovation in his article entitled "Jegyzetek az élethosszig tartó tanulásról" [Notes on life-long learning]. We can find a further description of life-long learning in Harangi's paper (2002).

⁸ Jacob Mincer, Theodore Schultz and Gary Becker: the creators of the human capital investment model: they analyzed the investments from the empirical point of view as well.

⁹ The ones who learn quickly, or the ones with higher abilities are less frustrated during the period of training, and as such, they "lose" less (*Ehrenberg – Smith* 2003). Becker draws attention to the fact that there can be differences between the individuals regarding abilities and family background as well (quoted by *Drjenovszki* 2009).

to the number of male and female applicants,¹⁰ then they weigh the expenses and the efficiencies. It is provable that, for some, the expenses of a part of the investment are returned (especially due to the lifestyle of the students, the opportunities to spend free time, the interest in courses), and from this point of view, higher education is defined as a “consumer good” (*Ehrenberg – Smith* 2003: 319). The partial or complete short time return of the human capital investment is a fact in higher education.

In one of his articles on life-long learning he analyzed how much the Hungarian educational system is in line with the requirements of the EU documents. He stated that one of the most significant obstacles of life-long learning is the recreating and conserving nature of the Hungarian educational system and not its characteristic of decreasing social inequalities. In addition, he considers that one of the greatest obstacles of efficient employment is that adult education is only slightly and on a small scale capable to help the conformation to the labour market of the underprivileged groups.

The recommendations of the European Union initiate such interventions which adjust the work force offer to the necessities of the economy. More precisely they make suggestions referring to raising the level of employment, as besides the politics of education and qualification focusing on the school system and on adult education every member state should strive to satisfy the needs of the work offer.¹¹ This “wish” of the Union refers to competitiveness: if there is no qualified and experienced workforce, their so-called production implies expenses. The setback of several member states of the European Union refers to lower qualified, blue collar work-force, as well as to the highly qualified, when speaking of research and development work force (*Dávid – Holczér* 2008).

Active and successful participation on the labour market – this meaning work itself – needs to be characterized through human capital investments as well; it is made up of different professional or educational forms.¹² The ones who apply the model have pointed out that the income of full time workers increases with the level of education, that the increase of income happens most intensely in the first half of the active years, as well as the fact that the differences in income connected to the level of education increases in the later stages of life and that the income increases more widely in the case of men

¹⁰ In the case of men the ratio of enrollment is the following: 1970 – 55.2%, 1980 – 46.7%, 1996–60.1%; in the case of the women they detected a constant growth from 48.5% to 69.7% in the same period.

¹¹ Employers’ Analysis of the Key Challenges Facing Europe’s Labour Markets http://www.ueapme.com/docs/various/2006/061030_employers_analysis_labour_mkts.pdf

¹² The fact that learning has become a central issue has several reasons. The main purpose of social and economic development is the continuous evolution of the professional knowledge and ability of the work force (life-long learning), thus the increase of the individual’s social extent and security. On the international level as a result of the global competition between 1997 and 1999, a system of aims and tasks regarding the increase of education was created, which was then integrated into the labour and development guidelines of the European countries. See Zachár for details (2008).

(Ehrenberg – Smith 2003). One of the important conclusions of the investment model is the increase of income based on the level of education. Regarding the different stages of age we can notice the steep rise in income and then a more even stage (and even decrease in some cases). Studies have shown - referring to whole careers - that the increase in income is the most intensive in the first ten years of the active life. The dynamics of human capital investment as well as that of income can then decrease as the participants in the labour market are less and less willing to invest (Ehrenberg – Smith 2003). Human capital investment can be attained during three interconnected but different ages:

Table 1: The process and characteristics of human capital investment

Young childhood	The parents make the decisions, but the social context and the peers are also determining in capital accumulation
Teenage and young adulthood	Human capital resulting from high school studies, then from university studies / other forms of education
Adulthood	Human capital resulting from the entrance on the labour market, professional training during work and outside work, self-training, non-formal training

Source: personal edition (see Ehrenberg – Smith 2003).

The timeliness of learning while working

Given what we have described in the previous chapter, we need to mention that in our constantly modernizing and globalizing economic environment not only for the employers, but also for the employees - including students who work beside their university training - it has become more and more important to develop their professional skills and their “international nature” on the labour market.

An outstanding figure of the capitalism of the 20th century was Henry Ford, whose name is forever linked with everything that was connected to such kind of production, employment and workplace culture (Csoba 2006). As a parallel we can speak about the emblematic figure of the scientific, technical and most importantly informational revolution of the 21st century, Bill Gates. We can schematically state that while the labour culture of the 20th century, and everything that is connected to it can be determined as Fordism, the 21st century is much more characterized by Gatesism.

In the following we will shortly present the most important characteristics of the two worlds of work mentioned above.

Fordism:

– *Predictability*: in the workflow the employee was not urged to learn continuously, as the workflow was standardized to the smallest details. As a result in certain workplaces the employee did not need a quickly and easily adaptable

knowledge. This resulted in the fact that the employee was not urged to learn continuously.

Gatesism

In order to confirm the need of learning at the workplace we need to take into consideration the requirements a 21st century employee needs to face.

- *Competition for the best trained employees.* Access to work assets is far from being open to everyone. This also means that only the best ones have admittance to work assets. Being the best qualified means quick, mobile and easily adaptable knowledge.

- *The temporary employment becomes more and more characteristic.* The employers are interested in employing mainly for projects and for shorter periods of time.

As a result, self-management becomes very important, as it includes continuous learning and it implies the importance of taking place in continuous trainings.

Based on the above, we can state that in a more and more “international” labour market it is indispensable that the employees possess the needed “international abilities/skills”. As a result of the continuous and endless development of ITC, learning has become a constant and unavoidable part of work.

We also find it important to mention that the workplace is an organization that needs constant and continuous learning, adaptation. As such the scholarly literature speaks about the concept of learning organization (Stuart 1997, Beke 2001, Stocker 2004). Based on this, organized learning can be interpreted as a process which facilitates the creation of new “knowledge” based on past experiences for the organization. It is also important to be able to disseminate these within the organization and introduce them in the organizational culture, and as such to urge the employees to learn new things.

The conceptual framework of learning in the workplace

Determining the concept of workplace learning is not an easy task. After consulting the scholarly literature on the topic, we had to come to the conclusion that the different specialists take a different hold on the concept and the image is further complicated by whether the training at the workplace is formal, non-formal or even informal. Nevertheless, there is a general agreement regarding the fact that such trainings are included in the concept of life-long learning (LLL). The conceptual presence of workplace learning varies, nevertheless there is consensus regarding the basic concept, i.e. the fact that it is connected to the workplace and to the world of work. Elkjaer (2006) describes this briefly as follows: workplace learning is a personal learning activity which is materialized in the world of the workplace. The following terms can all be found in the scholarly literature:

- Workplace learning
- Learning at work

- Learning at the workplace
- Work based learning

Besides the above presented terminological variegation, other, content-related issues can also be interesting in determining the area and dimensions of workplace learning. A basic question is the following: what can and cannot be considered to be workplace training. If we continue on this path we need to ask the following question: is workplace instruction workplace training, the teaching of the workflow, the education regarding job preservation or training on the managerial level? Sz. Tóth János differentiates three main types of workplace learning in his article written in 2006. (Table 1)

Table 2: The types of work learning

Learning directly connected to work	Work-related learning	Work-oriented learning
The location of work and learning is identical.	The conscious distinguishing of work and learning. (e.g. training courses, vocational training)	Centrally organized learning (within organizational framework). Non firm/organization specific

Source: Sz. Tóth, 2006

Outlook on the methodology of CLI and ELLI

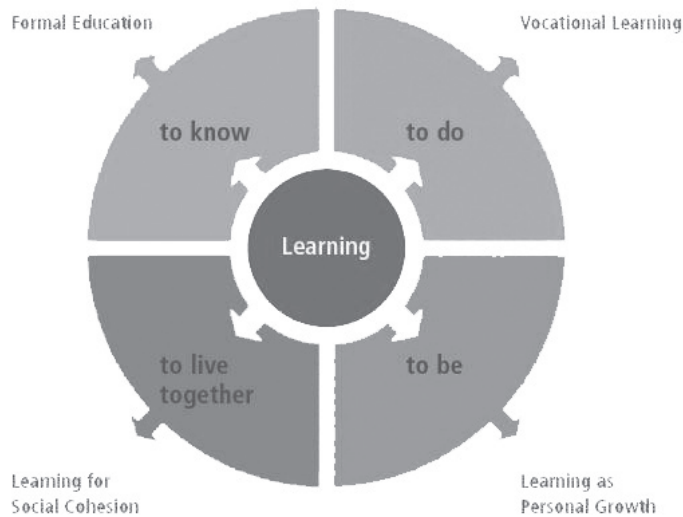
Analyzing workplace training and workplace learning has become more and more important in the research of adult education. It is interesting to map the research done on this topic more widely. In the following, we will present the methodology of the international research regarding workplace training.

CLI (Composite Learning Index)¹³

The survey method called Composite Learning Index (in the following: CLI) is the one used by the Canadian Council on Learning which measures the participation of the Canadian population in life-long learning, every other year. One of the novelties of the method is that its indicators and measuring units are able to survey the dimensions of learning taking into consideration every area of life. Its other novelty aspect is that it is also able to measure the activity within life-long learning on the national, regional, sub-regional and municipal level.

¹³ Taking the CLI as a model the ELLI - the European Lifelong Learning Indicator was created, which, taking into consideration the European characteristics, created a measuring system with the help of which the dimensions of life-long learning can be measured in the different European countries.

The CLI measuring system stands on the following pillars:



Learning to know – the main area of the survey is the educational institution

Learning to do – the main area of the survey is the workplace

Learning to live together – the main area of the survey is the small community/community

Learning to be – the main area of the survey is the family

The CLI is a unique concept which uses a survey system which gives an overall score regarding the chosen area mainly from the statistical point of view. It is used on a large scale, on the level of finance and government in analyses, in the determination of tendencies on the national or regional level. Based on the four pillars of learning, it uses 17 indicators as well as 4 measuring units in surveying life-long learning.

The above described four indicators from another point of view:

1. *Learning to know – learning to gain knowledge*
2. *Learning to do – learning to acquire practical knowledge*
3. *Learning to live together – learning to acquire the rules of social coexistence*
4. *Learning to be – acquiring the knowledge needed for human life (it is especially important in our “modern” world)*

We are going to focus on the pillars regarding workplace training (learning to do):

- *availability of workplace training*
- *participation in job-related training*
- *access to vocational training institutions*

It is important to mention what becomes obvious from what is described above, i.e. that in this method of analysis regarding the training referring to the workplace/to work the emphasis is moved from the formal educational frame to the interpretation of non-formal learning. Nevertheless, the non-formal

nature does not result in learning which is foreign to the world of work, but on the contrary, we can speak of the direct increments on the labour market of the development of skills needed for a direct employment.

ELLI - The European Lifelong Learning Index

As a European adaptation of the previously presented CLI, the European Lifelong Learning Index (ELLI) was created. This adaptation was an important milestone as with its help Europe's first indicator and measuring tool was created. Due to this tool, life-long learning became measurable in several dimensions and hence the dimensions of life-long learning in the different European countries according to a coherent methodology are also measurable. Similarly to the CLI, the ELLI also has four pillars. We could also say that, as a result of adaptation, they are the same four pillars. Following the Canadian model we can observe a territory-based system of measurements which analyses the life-long learning activities in 23 European countries.

While the aim of the CLI is to measure, compare and analyze the different learning activities manifested and realized in the different areas of learning, the ELLI (due to its territorial confinements) has an international comparison, as its goal, including the presentation of regionality. As a result of these, we can state that the ELLI is a more complicated measurement system, as in the different European countries it aims to cover, measure and compare different systems of administration, education, adult education and statistics.

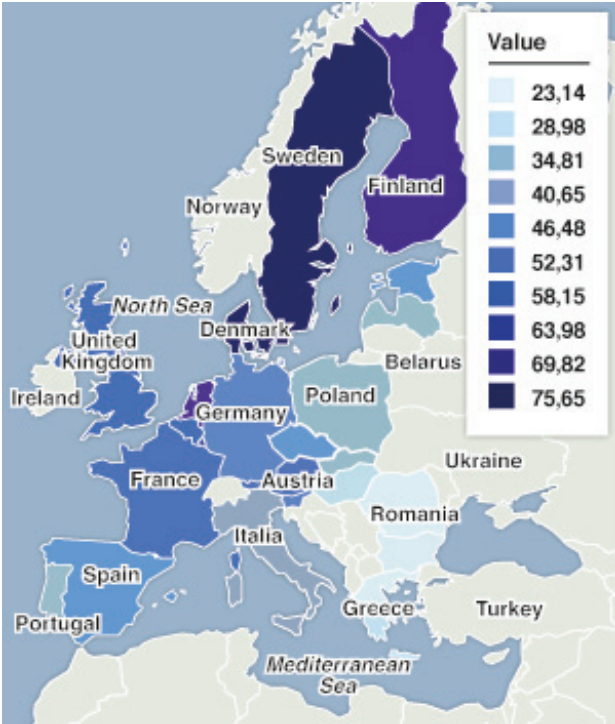
Based on the results of the ELLI we can state that in life-long learning the Northern European countries exceed the European average and consequently they are in a leading position regarding life-long learning. The worst scores referring to life-long learning can be found in connection with the Southern and Eastern European countries. We do not wish to draw any conclusions referring to these data, but we can state for sure that the learning activities of the different countries are higher in countries where social inequalities are much less frequent.

By analyzing the OECD (EUROSTAT) statistical data regarding organized adult education we can state the following (see figure 1, 2, 3):

1. Taking into consideration the learning activity of the adult population (25-64) we can state that if we only take into consideration institutional learning, our score will be much smaller. This difference in the case of Hungary is tenfold. We can thus state that including informal education in the survey of learning activities does not change the European ranks of comparison.

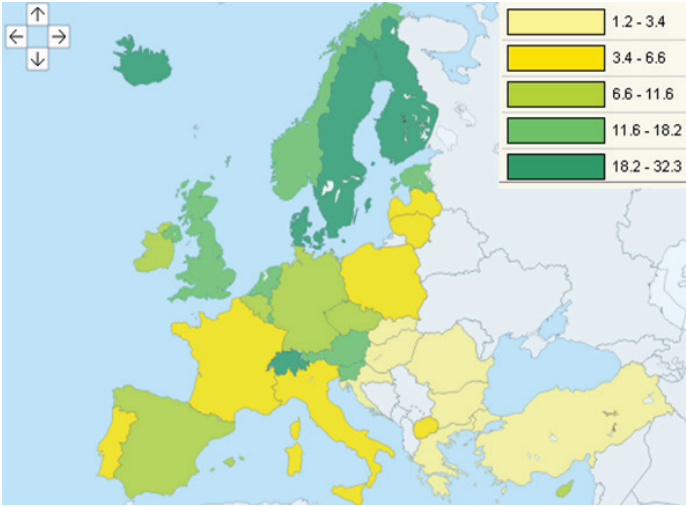
2. Based on the data below we might say that regarding learning activities, the European ranking (the narrower or wider interpretation of learning) is similar. The countries where there was a higher score regarding institutional learning also had higher scores if taking into consideration learning as a wider concept. One case is different, that of France. In the ELLI survey it is on the 9th place, while in the Eurostat survey it finished on the 18th place in the European system of comparison.

Figure 1: 2010 ELLI index



Source: <http://elli.org/> (downloaded on 20 December, 2012)

Figure 2: Eurostat 2010



Source: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm...> (downloaded on 20 December, 2012)

Figure 3: Life-long learning based on the ELLI 2010 index and the 2010 Eurostat data (%)

	ELLI-Index 2010			Eurostat 2010 (élethosszig tagtó tanulás 25-64 éves korosztály- körében)	
1.	Dánia	75.65%	1.	Dánia	32,5%
2.	Svédország	71.23%	2.	Svédország	30,6%
3.	Hollandia	66.13%	3.	Finnország	23,0%
4.	Finnország	64.96%	4.	Egyesült Királyság	19,4%
5.	Luxemburg	58.48%	5.	Hollandia	16,6%
6.	Belgium	57.32%	6.	Szlovénia	16,2%
7.	Egyesült Királyság	56.92%	7.	Ausztria	13,7%
8.	Ausztria	53.91%	8.	Luxemburg	13,4%
9.	Franciaország	53.48%	9.	Észtország	10,9%
10.	Németország	47.77%	10.	Spanyolország	10,8%
11.	Szlovénia	47.62%	11.	Németország	7,7%
12.	Spanyolország	46.09%	12.	Csehország	7,5%
13.	Csehország	42.20%	13.	Belgium	7,2%
14.	Észtország	40.86%	14.	Olaszország	6,2%
15.	Olaszország	36.76%	15.	Portugália	5,8%
16.	Portugália	33.24%	16.	Lengyelország	5,3%
17.	Szlovákia	31.17%	17.	Lettország	5,0%
18.	Lettország	29.71%	18.	Franciaország	5,0%
19.	Lengyelország	29.35%	19.	Görögország	3,0%
20.	Magyarország	27.11%	20.	Magyarország	2,8%
21.	Görögország	23.42%	21.	Szlovákia	2,8%
22.	Bulgária	20.07%	22.	Románia	1,3%
23.	Románia	17,31%	23.	Bulgária	1,2%

Source: ed. based on <http://elli.org/>, <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm>

Conclusions

In the second decade of the 21st century, the concept of life-long learning has a determining role in thinking about education and training. According to Tuijnman - Boström (2002) life-long learning has become widely acceptable as the leading idea of the knowledge-based society of the 21st century.

This individual process seems to contribute to social development and it also improves the quality of human life: learning at the individual level can contribute to outcomes at the aggregate level. In order for these to be present in the life of the individual there is need for personal motivation and teachability, in which the professionals working in formal and non-formal education have a determining role.

In our article we have written about the concept of continuous learning and the advantages of the coexistence of learning and work, as it is a double human capital investment for the young adults learning in the system of

higher education. Such a double investment has both a short and a long term positive effect, as besides gaining experience and income, more and more skills are learned and as thus they are more likely to get jobs on the labour market than their peers who do not undertake work while learning.

At the same time, we reflected on the methodology of two international researches taking into account a number of international research results regarding life-long learning.

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PARTIUM CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY GRADUATES ON THE LABOR MARKET

Gábor Flóra

Introduction

The specific requirements of higher education for minorities tend to be regarded as marginal and often neglected by national governments and policy making agencies conducting the implementation of current educational reform. Rather surprisingly, taking into account the rich multicultural and pluralistic tradition of European education, the reference to the minority cultural and educational needs is almost completely absent from the dominant “Bologna” discourse at the European level, and the implicit globalizing and homogenizing message transmitted in this way has its corresponding effects at national level as well (Flora 2009). In such circumstances, the autonomous existence and legitimacy of small-size institutions with specifically defined ethno-cultural and ethno-linguistic profiles might be questioned not only by changes in the internal political context, but also by a series of pressures originating from the expectations of the ongoing reform of higher education and the consequences of its expansion and internationalization (Belényi et al 2012, p.130).

As pointed out by several authors, the process of transformation which is currently under way inclines to favor the establishment of large institutions, having an important research component, with standard procedures and evaluation criteria (Flora 2009). Although the four main purposes of education – „preparation for the labor market, preparation for life as active citizens in democratic societies, personal development and the development and maintenance of a broad, advanced knowledge base” - should be seen “as part of a whole, and they reinforce and complement each other”, personal development, which is intimately linked to problems pertaining to identity development, has been largely ignored in the Bologna discussions (Bergan 2006). It is worth to mention in this respect that, according to information provided by European University Association, less than 25% of European higher education institutions have introduced specific policies concerning minority ethnic groups or immigrants (Sursock -Smidt 2010, p. 70).

In such circumstances, the institutional policies of the universities designed to respond to minority needs, play a crucial role. Drawing on the results of the first Romanian nationwide survey conducted in 2010-2011 that tracks the relationship between university studies and the careers of young people, this paper focuses on the case of Partium Christian University (PCU), one of the two recently accredited Hungarian language private higher educational institutions in Romania. Our basic aim is to discuss the ways in which the institution fulfills the objectives enshrined in its institutional mission and

responds to the expectations of the employers and of the larger social environment within the region. In order to achieve this, the main survey outcomes concerning PCU are analyzed both in intra-institutional and national comparative perspectives, in view of the regional employment offer available to Hungarian minority members.

Research methodology

University Graduates and the Labor Market is a national research conducted by the Romanian National Authority of Public University Financing in partnership with the International Centre for Higher Education Research (INCHER) Kassel and with public and private higher education institutions in Romania. The research tracked the relationship between university studies and the careers of young people, its main role being that of increasing the institutional capacity of the universities for developing monitoring studies constantly. The project aims to provide higher education institutions with monitoring instruments that allow the correlation of the study offers and the employers' requirements. It is hoped that the instruments developed and the experience gained this way will create the premises for a long term approach, in which this type of research will be repeated at national level annually (UGLM 2011).

A first survey was conducted in 2011, on 2005 and 2009 graduates, and another survey followed next year, on the 2006 and 2010 graduates. The Partium Christian University was one of the 55 public and private universities tracking their own graduates in this phase. As the results from the second phase are not yet available, this paper draws exclusively on the data collected during the first phase. The research consisted in the application of a questionnaire that surveyed the graduate's background starting with his/her university studies, continuing with getting his/her first job and then with other issues that were important for his/her professional evolution. The questionnaire was accessed on-line. A paper questionnaire was also available and sent, at request, to those who did not have access to the Internet (UGLM 2011).

During four contact stages, each university sent invitations to ask its graduates to participate in the study. Using regular mail and e-mail as back-up, the universities sent a first letter of invitation and three reminders. The filling in of the questionnaire ended on 31st March 2011, resulting in 39293 graduates who accessed it (UGLM 2011). The Partium Christian University sub-sample consisted of 148 of its graduates who accessed the questionnaire [of which 72 graduated in 2005 and 76 graduated in 2009]. The overall response rate of PCU graduates was 40% (51, 06% in the case of the 2005 graduates and 33, 18% in the case of the 2009 graduates).

Landmarks of institutional history

„After the revolutionary changes of 1989, the chronologically first initiative to establish an autonomous private Hungarian higher education institution in Romania dates back to 1990, when the Reformed Church District of Királyhágómellék decided to set up the Sulyok István Reformed College in Oradea, with the official task of training lay collaborators for the church.

Beyond its officially assumed mission, however, the aim of the founders was to go beyond the Reformed denomination's own educational needs in order to establish a fully-fledged university under Christian ecumenical leadership, in the service of the entire Hungarian community. This intention was transformed into reality in the period 2000–2008, when Partium Christian University was first founded as a private educational institution, then recognized by the government to function provisionally, and finally – after a four year waiting period in the parliamentary commissions – established by law as a private university of public interest, part of the higher education system of Romania.” (Belényi et al 2012, 121).

As a Hungarian language higher education institution of Romania, Partium Christian University has assumed to offer professional training in order to respond to the needs of Hungarian minority to have specialists with a good mastering of both Hungarian and Romanian language, and it is the only institution of higher education within the region with this kind of academic offer. The overwhelming majority of its students (99%) are Hungarian ethnics, a fact which underlines the strong ethno-regional character and profile of this institution (PCU 2011). According to its mission statement, „besides the educational and scientific challenges, the University has a strategic role in terms of national politics as well. Its purpose is to assure the equal educational opportunities for the Hungarian community in Partium and in Transylvania, and to educate well-trained and internationally competitive experts, according to the most excellent educational and research requirements. By forming intellectuals, the University also fulfills a cultural mission: it educates new professionals who will transmit and further develop the Hungarian culture” (PCU 2010).

Socio-educational and regional background of the student population

In the scholarly literature, „intergenerational transmission of educational achievement is described in well-known models of social reproduction. Blau and Duncan (1967) have shown that a great part of intergenerational transmission of social statuses occur through mechanisms of educational reproduction” (Hatos-Bernáth 2006, 42). In Romania, recent research pointed out that „every generation that was born after 1974 had more educated parents than those from the previous cohorts. Thus, at the level of instruction of the youngest respondents' parents we find the highest rate of parents with high school and third level education” (Hatos-Bernáth 2006, 48). In analyzing our data, we have been interested therefore to have a clearer and more nuanced picture of

the extent to which student recruitment to various fields of study at Partium Christian University contributes to the intergenerational reproduction of cultural capital within the Hungarian community living in the region.

In this regard, our data shows significant differences between different fields of study. The proportion of graduates coming from families where at least one parent has university degree is the highest in case of Humanities, where 38% of the graduates' mothers and 28% of their fathers graduated from higher education. (The corresponding values in the national sample stand at 18% and 21%, respectively). On the basis of the information available to us concerning the types of intellectual occupations practiced by PCU graduates in Humanities and by their parents, a possible explanatory factor of such high rates of cultural reproduction might be connected to the influence of the intergenerational transmission of pedagogical vocation within families.

Table 1: The highest education level attained by graduates' parents (mother) (%)

	U	T	SP	Ec	A	#Total
Mother's education level						
Primary school (1-8 forms)	7	100	47	13	14	19
Vocational school	21	0	24	29	14	24
Secondary school	25	0	18	39	29	29
Higher education	39	0	12	13	29	23
Post-graduate education	7	0	0	0	0	2
Other	0	0	0	6	14	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	28	1	17	31	7	84

Table 2: The highest education level attained by graduates' parents (father) (%)

	U	T	SP	Ec	A	#Total
Father's education level						
Primary school (1-8 forms)	7	0	11	3	22	8
Vocational school	45	0	63	46	33	47
Secondary school	17	100	5	26	22	19
Higher education	28	0	21	17	22	22
Post-graduate education	3	0	0	3	0	2
Other	0	0	0	6	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	29	1	19	35	9	93

Abbreviations of fields of study: U - Humanities, T- Theology, SP – Social and Political Sciences, Ec – Economics, A - Arts

As it can be seen, the socio-educational background of Economics graduates presents us a rather different picture, having an important segment of student population coming from families where the highest educational level attained by parents is vocational school. This means that for many families, supporting a family member in becoming an Economics graduate appears as a potential intergenerational channel of ascendant socio-occupational mobility. This perception is likely to be present even more strikingly in families of Social Work students, where 47% of the mothers of our subjects finalized only primary education. In these cases it is even possible to speak about an implicit university's assumption of a role in overcoming disadvantaged social situations through intergenerational educational mobility.

It is worth to mention in this respect that the institution offers a series of financial resources to its students (scholarships based on learning performance and/or on demonstrated social needs, tuition fee waivers and special prices etc.), which make it particularly attractive to potential students coming from disadvantaged social groups, who otherwise could not afford the cost of university studies.

Table 3: Student access to scholarships (%; multiple responses)

	U	T	SP	Ec	A	#Total
Type of scholarship						
Social scholarship	13	67	20	7	11	13
Learning scholarship	69	67	50	49	22	53
Merit based scholarship	9	0	15	9	22	11
Rural scholarship	0	0	0	0	0	0
Performance based scholarship	0	0	0	11	1	
Other scholarship	0	0	0	2	0	1
Never accessed a scholarship	25	0	30	42	44	34
Total	116	113	115	109	111	113
Number of respondents	32	3	20	43	9	107

Although PCU is a private university as far as its legal status is concerned, in practice it assumes the community task to support the access to higher education of Hungarian minority members and also of all those who wish to study in Hungarian. For this purpose, the University is financing a numerically important segment of its student population from its own funds, offering tuition-free places as well as scholarships based on merit or on disadvantaged social situation. As the result of these efforts, as it results from the national survey, only 34% of PCU graduates did not access any scholarship during university years, compared to 62% in the national sample.

In addition, an important feature of university life is the numerically important presence in its student body of the mature students, who are already engaged in work at the moment of their admission. The mentioned category of students is particularly well represented in Humanities, Theology and Social Work. In order to attract an even higher number of such students, the university will need, however, to adopt more flexible academic programs to assist students in combining efficiently study with employment. The opportunities to adopt specific institutional policies in this field belong to the university's autonomous sphere of decision-making, being at the same time closely related to both the overall national social and economic situation and the existence of national policies or strategies on widening participation and life-long learning. (Sursock and Smidt 2010, p. 70)

Concerning the territorial distribution of students according to their place of origin, the results of the survey confirm that Partium Christian University acts as a primary pole of attraction to high school graduates from Bihor, and also as a secondary pole of attraction to potential candidates coming from the neighboring counties Satu-Mare and Sălaj, both inhabited by a large proportion of Hungarian ethnics.

Table 4: Distribution of graduates by residence during primary school and secondary school (%)

	U	T	SP	Ec	A	Total
Country of residency						
Arad	0	0	0	6	0	2
Bihor	55	100	47	66	60	58
Bistrita	0	0	5	0	0	1
Covasna	0	0	5	0	0	1
Harghita	10	0	16	13	30	14
Hunedoara	3	0	0	0	0	1
Maramures	3	0	0	0	0	1
Mures	6	0	5	0	0	3
Salaj	10	0	5	6	0	6
Satu Mare	13	0	16	9	0	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	31	1	19	32	10	93

According to the survey data, almost two thirds of PCU graduates are from Bihor, a result which denotes that the institution appears as an attractive choice primarily to the secondary school graduates of its immediate surrounding area. The neighbor counties Sălaj and Satu-Mare are also numerically well represented within the student population, making up together 21% of the total number of respondents. A smaller proportion of graduates (around 10%) are coming from Harghita and Covasna counties, located in South-East Transylvania, pre-

dominantly inhabited by Hungarian population. In contrast, the central part of Transylvania and particularly Cluj County are almost completely absent from the attraction zone of PCU, being covered mainly by Babeş-Bolyai University, Sapientia University and the University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Târgu Mureş.

The distribution of graduates according to the regional location of their first workplace after graduation denotes a strong tendency of returning to the students' original home region, which can be regarded as another confirmation of the university's regional role. Most graduates found their first job in Bihor County (72% compared to 58% who originate from this county). Only 10% of graduates have chosen employment opportunities outside the North-West Development region, mostly residents of Harghita and Covasna, who returned home after finishing their university studies. Migration of graduates to other geographic regions of the country is numerically insignificant.

Table 5: Distribution of graduates by the county of their first employment after graduation (%; only graduates who obtained employment after graduation)

	U	T	SP	Ec	A	Total
Country of residency						
Arad	0	0	0	3	0	1
Bihor	70	50	71	81	40	72
Cluj	7	0	0	0	0	3
Covasna	0	0	7	0	0	1
Harghita	4	0	14	0	20	5
Mures	4	0	0	3	20	4
Salaj	0	0	0	6	0	3
Satu Mare	15	50	7	6	20	11
Salaj	10	0	5	6	0	6
Satu Mare	13	0	16	9	0	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	27	2	14	31	5	79

Most graduates find employment in Romania, a fact which is important from the perspective of fulfilling the institution's ethno-regional mission that is to contribute to the socio-economic development of the country and simultaneously to the perpetuation of Hungarian minority community's national identity. At the same time, beyond obtaining a bilingual learning experience together with the chance to achieve a good knowledge of an international language (preferably English), the opportunities of studying abroad part-time within the framework of foreign exchange programs are also highly valued by Hungarian students and encouraged by their university. According to the results of the national survey data Partium Christian University students are in a larger proportion involved in international student mobility (22%) compared to the Romanian average level (11%).

Table 6: Participation rate in international student mobilities (%)

	U	T	SP	Ec	A	Total
Did you participate?						
Yes	21	33	40	14	22	22
No	79	67	60	86	78	78
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	34	3	20	44	9	110

The possible explanatory factors of this difference might be connected with the geographical location of the institution within the Hungarian-Romanian border area, the cultural-linguistic affinities and the numerous university partnerships established across the border. In the first years of its institutional existence most of the international partnership agreements of PCU have been concluded with universities of Hungary, also as a consequence of the fact that the institution had no rights to participate in European Union mobility programs (ERASMUS, TEMPUS etc.) before achieving final accreditation in 2008. Both the number of non-Hungarian European partnerships of PCU and the number of students and teaching staff involved in international mobility programs have increased significantly after that year.

Labor market orientation of PCU graduates

The results of the survey point to the fact that the linguistic competency of PCU graduates (their Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism together with the knowledge of a foreign language of large circulation) tend to be positively valued by potential employers. As shown by the relevant research indicators, the percentage of PCU graduates who successfully found a job within professional fields linked with their studies was 41%, compared to only 27% measured in the national sample. According to survey results, the institution also has a higher proportion of graduates who obtained employment in professional fields outside their field of university studies (26% compared to 17% at national level).

Table 7: Situation after graduation (%; multiple responses)

	U	T	SP	Ec	A	Total
Situation after graduation						
Employed in his/her field	44	50	35	35	50	39
Employed in another field	44	0	10	25	10	26
Continued in the same workplace	18	6	0	35	25	0
Started a personal business	13	0	5	5	10	8
Engaged in practical training	0	0	0	0	20	2
Engaged in voluntary work	3	0	10	8	0	6
Continued with MA studies	19	0	25	20	10	19
Maternity leave	3	0	10	0	0	3
Engaged in housework	0	0	5	3	0	2
Did not find a job	3	0	15	10	30	11
Extended vacation (journey)	4	9	0	0	3	0
Other situation	0	50	5	15	10	9
Total	144	100	155	148	140	146
Number of respondents	34	3	20	44	9	110

The proportion of graduates who found a job outside their own fields of study is comparatively high in the case of Humanities (40% compared to only 15% in the country-wide sample). One possible explanation of this situation might reside in the relatively restricted scale of occupational options available to this category of student population, primarily oriented by their professors (and ultimately by the very nature of their professional fields) towards the teaching career.

This orientation, rather clearly defined already from the first university year, might well be to the students' benefit, offering them the chance of a secure career path on the long run. However, to the Humanities graduates who, for a reason or another, find it impossible to engage in a pedagogical career, there are rather limited options remaining open within their own fields of study. That is why such students will likely find jobs outside their own professional fields, or alternatively, they might be able to start their own businesses (which is the case of 16% of respondents).

In contrast, Economics graduates enjoy larger opportunities to find jobs in concordance with their field of study, some of them being able to secure employment already during their university years. The proportion of mature students, who are engaged in jobs connected to the field of their university studies at the moment of their admission, is the highest among Social Work students. At the opposite pole, to Arts students, job opportunities in their own fields are typically opening up only after graduation.

State schools of primary and secondary education where the teaching language is Hungarian are a preferred employment target for graduates of teacher training specializations, particularly in the Humanistic fields. Social workers also have a chance to be employed by a public institution within their professional field, although in their case the institutions belonging to the NGO sector (and particularly the organizations linked to Hungarian minority churches) are important potential employers too. It is worth to mention that such institutions are often using both Romanian and Hungarian as working languages, which means, that they have a higher absorbing potential of graduates who are able to use both languages.

**Table 8: Ownership type of the employer organization
(%; only graduates who are employed)**

	U+T	SP	Ec	A	Total
Type of working contract					
For undetermined period	48	53	77	0	56
For determined period	36	40	19	67	33
Without contract	8	7	0	17	6
Free lancer	0	0	4	17	3
Started his/her own business	8	0	0	0	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Count	25	15	26	6	72

In contrast, Economics graduates of PCU tend to choose private sector companies, rather than public institutions or non-profit organizations. Although one possible explanation here might be constructed around the higher attraction offered by salaries in the private sector, less visible exclusionary mechanisms related to the larger socio-ethnic and socio-linguistic environment might also act as barriers preventing Hungarian minority graduates from obtaining employment in the public sector. Although discrimination on ethnic ground is of course forbidden by law, at informal level ethnically selective employment policies in public institutions to the detriment of members of the Hungarian minority might still occur, in spite of the fact that the bilingualism of Hungarian employers could be – at least on medium term – an advantage for potential employers not just in the competition-bound private sector, but also within public administration.

The employment contracts of PCU graduates at their first jobs after graduation are for a determined period of time in case of 32% of those questioned, 7% higher than on the national sample. The proportion of graduates with temporary employment contracts is by far the highest in the case of Arts graduates, perhaps also due to the specificity of work in the artistic field. The survey data denote, on the other hand, that young graduates tend to view the employment with a contract for a determined period only as a solution which is acceptable

only in the case of their very first job. It would be perhaps correct to forecast that in the forthcoming years this mentality will change and the proportion of graduates employed with contracts on determined period will increase, as the result of aligning the Romanian legislation and employment practices to European Union guidelines.

**Table 9: Type of first employment after graduation
(%; only graduates who obtained employment after graduation)**

	U	T	Ec	A	Total
Ownership type					
Public institution financed from the state budget	27	31	0	33	18
Public institution with mix (state and private) financing	0	8	12	33	9
Private firm	41	31	81	17	52
NGO or religious foundation	5	23	0	0	6
Self employed	14	0	4	0	6
Other situation	14	8	4	17	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Count	22	13	26	6	67

An important aim of the graduate tracking study has been to obtain information concerning the orientation of BA level graduates towards MA studies and/or work. The results show that PCU graduates who finished their studies in 2005 or 2009 continued in Master's programs in a proportion which is by approximately 50% less than the country average. At the same time, however, the number of PCU graduates who expressed their intention to continue their studies at MA level in the coming years is higher than that of those who were effectively enrolled. This situation points to the lack of convenient opportunity for the continuation of studies in the years before the final accreditation obtained from the university. After the start of the first accredited MA programs at PCU in the academic year 2009-2010, the number of BA graduates integrated in Master's studies at PCU increased from year to year, even though for methodological reasons this improvement could not yet be fully revealed by our survey results.

Final remarks

Regional higher education institutions such as Partium Christian University, which assumed the ethno-cultural mission to contribute to the reproduction of the Hungarian minority intellectual elite and of the population with higher studies, are fulfilling very important social functions. To the potential students belonging to the Hungarian community of Bihor and of the neigh-

boring regions, this young, recently accredited institution aims to combine the opportunity to study in native language in a small-size community type of educational settlement with financial and other advantages deriving from its geographical proximity to the students' residences. At the same time, the university also acts as a focal point for anyone who wishes to receive higher education in Hungarian.

Most Partium Christian University graduates work and live in Bihor County and in the neighboring counties from which the institution aims to attract its future students. The opinions of graduates and their memories concerning the years they spent at the university are important, as these alumni can influence the orientation of future generations of students to their old Alma Mater, through their social community networks.

According to the estimations made by the graduates who participated in the survey, the opportunities of interactions between students and members of the teaching staff outside formal classes are better at Partium Christian University compared to the country average. Graduates also tend to highly value the quality of individualized guidance and supervision they received during their studies. This generally positive feedback is reinforcing the veridical image of a communitarian type of university, as envisaged by its founders.

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WHAT NEXT? STUDENTS' PLANS REGARDING EMPLOYMENT AND ADULT EDUCATION

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Introduction

For the generation of the 21st century, the labour market formulates basically different requirements than for the generation of the 20th century, which grew up and worked based on other values of work. Youth is searching for the statute of existence in this dual socializing field; their success is basically defined by their competence to profit from this duality or else, they become victims of the opposite direction of the duality.

Regarding the research on values in the lives of the majority of youth, work from a social perspective already lost its central role in the 90's and its role was not replaced by any other similar principle aimed at organizing society. Rifkin says that this is the reason why youth remain without a "sensible cultural code", they become discouraged in the system of the various requirements. And in the case of the majority of the generation the competence of adaptation becomes low, thus the integration on the labour market is unsuccessful. (Rifkin 1995) In his book entitled "Arbeit und Essen" written at the end of the 80's Vobruba speaks about the decrease in the significance of work. He has drawn the attention to the complex crisis of labour market-adaptation, "the dual crisis of working under contract" and he argued that for work under contract, a traditional definition of work would not be "satisfactory in quantity or in quality" for the growing generation (Vobruba 1989:71).

This affirmation has a dual message for the world of work: on one hand, the concept of work created in the industrial society is necessarily changing in the "network society". On the other hand, similarly, it has to change the perception of the debutant generation about work, the expectations and value-systems connected to work. The study of the latter is in the focus of our analysis; as well, we wanted to know how this change reflects the youth's perception on work and their expectation-system.

The dual norm of work

The concept of work has inevitably changed in the last decade. The change is necessary because the majority of employees do not fit into the frame of "work under contract", which was formed in the 19th century and became general by the middle of the 20th century. Because of the social expenditures of working under contract, production has gradually exited the European area and the number of people who choose alternative living forms has grown significantly.

The defining element of work, “work under contract”, or the traditional employment form has often been mentioned as “Fordism”, since the middle of the 90’s. (Hoffmann–Walwei, 2000:2.) In order to define the concept, specialists borrowed Ford’s name, because this employment form which was organized by him clearly expresses the matter of employment under contract: the employees doing hard physical labour, with relatively low skills worked in production in heavy industry, on one hand, and, on the other hand, in the light industry, in production employees worked on a low technical level, working along conveyor belts, in an achievement system for a fixed income. “Fordism”, beyond being a method of social regulation, was a production model and a determiner of a certain consumption norm, which can be characterized by the following properties: Taylorian work organization, gradual increase of work production, increase of national product, mass-production of consumption goods, spectacular expansion of mass-consumption, limitless expansion of commodity production. These optimistic basic features, which have their roots in the belief in infinity, formed the base of normal or general work conditions. (Tremblay, 1995).

Together with the change in the economic and social environment, new employment conditions and norms have been born in the 21st century. The frames of traditional contracted work have loosened and instead of typical work forms, atypical forms were born. The presence of atypical employment forms was presumed to be merely temporary by many; and after the temporary handling of problems induced by economic depression, the return of “normal” work conditions was forecasted, but this did not occur. The atypical work form (which unfolded step by step) is slowly replacing the work forms which can be considered to be typical for the 21st century and not even in the time of intermittently experienced economical growth does it turn back to general employment in the Fordian sense.

The new model was named after Bill Gates as “Gatesism” by G. Tremblay, professor at the University of Montreal. (Tremblay, 1995) “Gatesism” defines a series of basic changes as opposed to Ford’s work concept. The fact that nowadays the cost-reducing and profit-increasing influence of mass-production is not functioning is what causes this change. The emphasis has gradually been shifted from quantitative production to qualitative production and the creation of immaterial goods. Instead of mass-production the symbolic value helps people remain stable on the market. *Normality is the moment of stagnation, which blocks the demand.* According to the new model, every stagnation is an obstacle which should be dissolved. (Gorz, 2000) The essence of “Fordism” is the series of fixed activities: standardized mass-production, endless conveyor belts, repeated movements, military hierarchy, little leeway, rigid, minutely elaborated series of movements, lots of unproductive leaders, supervisors. According to Gates’s model, if employees think, half of the employees are enough for production: there is need for highly skilled specialists, having special abilities in development and in operation of systems. The self-operating system is unimaginable without labourers who control automatic systems.

The requirements regarding the employees have changed: instead of fidelity mobility, elasticity, over and over again renewing knowledge and competence, and instead of routine and experience, rapid adaption competence, initiative, creativity have become more important. The process should be understood, should be assumed responsibility for, and problems should be resolved in a creative and independent way.

Let's compare the change found in "Gatesism" of the criteria of normality of "Fordism"!

Table 1: Comparing the standards of Ford's and Gates's workforms

The dimensions of differences between the two models	"Fordism"	"Gatesism"
Working hours	indefinite period, 8 hour workday	flexible working hours for definite period, atypical employment forms (e.g. part-time job, seasonal employment)
The income	continuously and equably increasing, calculable income, specified by a collective agreement	performance oriented, irregular, incalculable income, which is directed by an individual salary negotiation
Safety	compulsory social insurance	there is no (or a low degree) insurance liability
The career	linear career path	career path with a shape of a bell, mostly with an excellence at the age of 40
The determining values	fidelity, experience, reliability, predictability, solidarity, strong social cohesion	flexibility, creativity, responsibility, innovation, versatile capabilities, competition

Source: Edited by Csorba, Judit based on her volume entitled "Tisztes munka" (Respectable work)

The "dual rationality" of youth regarding work

The "dual vision" of entrance level employees is basically achieved by the fact that two norms and two connotations are simultaneously present in society. The middle generation (in respect of their own socialisation) formulates its requirements according to Ford's model. The presently dominant conservative political rhetoric presents this model as being ideal and places it in front of the newly graduated youth, while economy, production, as well as the employers, formulate the new expectations for labour relations which are different from the Fordian employment relations. Gatesism does not aspire to the creation of undetermined work contracts, as income is more connected to achievement

than in the case of the former model; in creating income safety, the employer undertakes a decreasingly important role, and as well, social safety, the system of social insurance gradually declines and the importance of personal thinking and responsibility becomes more and more emphatic. The competition for work requires constant consciousness, good skills, creativity and continually renewing specialized knowledge. This is not yet about easy acquirement of knowledge or routine but about abilities, habits, which could be worked up slowly, continually. In the absence of these abilities and competences, a significant part of employees are excluded from the world of work and career path.

The essence of "Gatesism" as an employment form is summarized in a relevant way by Sennet: "...people should provide yields and create new values over and over again without rigid rules or handholds in the middle of chaos. *These properties are owned only by winners*. The personalities, who do not own these properties will be lost in the jungle of modern capitalism" (Sennet, 2000:70).

According to our hypothesis the change between the two models, the formation of the new habit of employment occurred only to a limited degree among the tested students. The above mentioned two norms and two employment forms are present together in their requirements regarding work. It is possible that this "dual rationality" is highly influenced by the phenomenon of society surrounding the youth with a "congested" value system and formulates dual requirements in the course of dual socialisation, despite the fact that Ford's and Gates' norms are denying each other (all these happen because of the difference between generations and the conservative habit). According to this, students who find themselves in the moment of formulating their requirements regarding work/future are continuously fluctuating between the two models. In the majority of cases, in the case of direct asking, at the manifestation of values, the need for the categories within the Gates' model of employee is recognized. In the case of control issues, mainly in the case of issues which are not in contact with opinions but with actions, activities or planned activities, latent values are determinative, being mostly closer to the Fordian categories.

Nevertheless the "dual rationality", the contradiction of manifest and latent values basically determines the employee's chances of employment and the future successful employment career.

Research dimensions of the empirical study

For justifying our hypothesis, we have chosen two dimensions of analysis. On one hand, we tested how the requirements regarding work reflect standards of work forms chosen as a theoretical frame. In the process of research¹

¹ The study is based on the database of the HERD 2012 research of the Center for Higher Educational Research and Development of the University of Debrecen, where 2728 high school students from 3 countries (Romania, Hungary, the Ukraine. Students studied at institutions from the historical region of Partium) were involved in a questionnaire-based research. In the research

we firstly used the last question (numbered ME1) of the questionnaire, which referred to the importance of the different values of the interviewed students. The hereby obtained results were completed with others, which were received by analysing additional factors in connection with employment, such as the willingness for employment (J3, M4) or work experience (PV4, M2).

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Table 2: measuring dimensions of the standards of the Fordian and Gatesian workforms (based on the dimensions of question ME1)

The dimensions of differences between the two models	"Fordism"	"Gatesism"
Working hours		Flexibility D. D. It should be such a job where everyone can freely decide when to work Flexible hours
The income	MATERIAL SAFETY A. The obtainable income should be high	PERFORMANCE O. The job should be performance-centred
Safety	SOCIAL SAFETY B. A job should be safe (with a low possibility of layoff) N. The co-workers should be friendly and helpful P. Besides work there should be time for the family as well S. The place of employment should be close to the residence W. It should be a reported job	

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The career	PRESTIGE/SAFETY V. The company should be famous	SUCCESS/CARREER C. There should be good opportunities for advancement T. The job should be a professional challenge U. There should be opportunities for further qualifications
The determining values	THE HUMANE/SERVICE F. There should be good mood H. One should have the opportunity to meet people I. I. The job should be beneficial to the society K. The work should not be demanding M. The work should provide opportunities to help others	RESPONSIBILITY/SELF-REALIZATION E. The work should be interesting G. G. The work should provide a sense of achievement J. The job should involve responsibility L. Most decisions should be made individually Q. The job should be eventful and diverse R. One can be part of a group

The other dimension researched by us was the willingness to invest in the future. Regarding the questions of the questionnaire on adult education (J1, J5, J6, J7, IK4, EL4, EL5, EL9) we wanted to find out the extent at which the normality of investment in learning and of development of abilities and competences are present among the students. The condition of individuality, creativity, flexibility, and becoming a part of knowledge (which are required by the Gatesian model) is continuous learning and the intentions, activities in connection with it. An undisputed sign of identification with Gates' model is considered to be the willingness to invest in learning. The changes in economy and labour market of the 21st century formulated challenges, which were a base for the recognition formulated in Hungary and Romania as well, according to which learning cannot be finished with school education. In order to face the challenges of the employers and the market economy there is need for continuous education and training, while knowledge is gained throughout life (Váradi-Várnagy 2001).

The results of the research

The factors affecting the expectations of the students regarding work

The expectations of the students regarding work are determined by their everyday experience. This experience has been negative in the past 10 years from several points of view. On one hand *"the situation regarding the access to the labour-market has gotten definitely worse in the past 20 years - the authors wrote 10 years ago - the unemployment rate of the youth is high compared to the general employment rates"*. In 2000 in 15 member states of the European Union the general unemployment rate was 8.4%, while in the case of the generation younger than 25 this was almost double, more exactly 16.1%. The jobs with uncertain duration became more and more frequent. The wages dropped to half of the wages of adult employees. In the present the young generation needs to face a much longer period before achieving a stable position on the labour market. Not even an excellent university degree offers any guarantees referring to the acquisition of the job as the competition for employment is becoming more and more acute. Success on the labour market greatly depends on the personal conditions and experiences of the youth" (Ványi-Földi 2002: 50).

The situation is further complicated by the appearance of the students who have obtained a degree in the Bologna system of education together with the uncertainties regarding the doubling of degrees and the value and competence of the graduates. Uncertainty and lack of information are both present within the groups of employers and employees. There is no established status of the ones who have a degree obtained in the different levels and the employers often relate a double disappointment regarding BA/BSc: less knowledge and higher wage expectations are what define the newly graduated youth.

In many cases it is true that the employers do not have a clear-cut system of expectations regarding the skills and competences of the graduates. And if there are no expectations, no clear goals, than many of the students *"drift into higher education with a lack of alternatives and explicit notions and with no better options, and they resign themselves in being "parked" in a longer educational process, but in one with lesser content and excitement"* (Gázsó-Laki 2004: 75).

The evolution of the strategies tackling the participants in higher education is not easy in this world of constant economic and social change. The success of labour market integration is basically determined by the career profiles and the concepts which the students and the parents supporting them develop, taking into consideration the changes in the environment, as well as by the ways they adapt to these supposed expectations during their formation. The ones who quickly identify the conditions of the labour market shaped by the post-industrial society can adapt to these more promptly and can fit into the world of labour more successfully.

The study of the standards of the Fordian and Gatesian work forms

During the survey on the shift in the model regarding the work attitudes of the students, we were looking for the answers to the following question: how characteristic is early orientation in accessing the world of labour? Do students look for jobs before obtaining the degree or they wait until they finish? Do they look for job opportunities fairly quickly or they wait for it? Can the present student generation be characterized by a conscious, active, initiative attitude, or more by paternalism?

In the case of 43.6% of the students, they **look for the suitable job** even while they are still learning. There are slight differences between the activity of the Hungarian and the Romanian students. While 42.7% of the Hungarian students responded with yes to the question on early job seeking, 44.6% of the Romanian students did the same. We found a significant relation between the job seeking activity and the year the queried students were enrolled in, especially in the case of BA/BSc students. Only 37.4% of the freshmen, 46.6% of the second year students and 50.6% of the third year students seek a suitable job. The 4th and 5th year students - the majority of which enrolled in an MA/MSc program or in an undivided educational system - turn to the labour market with a slightly decreased intensity (42.6% of the 4th, while 47.2% of the 5th year students). As opposed to our original hypothesis, there is no significant relation between the gender, residence of the students or the educational qualification and status of the parents. There is a lesser than expected correlation between the material situation of the students and their early job seeking activities. 46.5% of the ones who received social scholarships in high-school (9th-12th grades) seek jobs, while 42.5% of the ones who did not receive social scholarships join the seekers. Undoubtedly the ratio of the ones who do not receive social scholarships and do not look for a job is much higher (57.2%). We found significant correlations between previous jobs and early job seeking. The ones who never worked during their higher education studies start to seek a final job later than the students with work experience. Their disadvantages in finding their future jobs is thus twofold: their chances are lessened by the lack of experience but also by the fact that they start to find jobs at a later point in life.

Table 3: The correspondence between paid student work and the present job seek (%)

	Did you have a job during high school?		Did you have a job during college/higher education?	
	presently looking for a job	presently not looking for a job	presently looking for a job	presently not looking for a job
has never worked before	40.6	59.2	35.1	64.6
has occasional jobs	52.7	47.3	45.2	54.8
has worked regularly	54.5	44.0	55.0	44.3

The intensity of job seeking does not reach 50% even in the case of last year students either. We might rightfully ask: how do these students who start later see where their jobs could come from. The dominance of the waiting attitude supports the fact that according to the majority of the students inquired, the state should provide a job for the newly graduated. On a scale from 1 to 5 the students answered with an average of 3.78 to such a role of the state, the most frequent answer was 4. 56.1% of the men, while 66.5% of the women totally agree that the state should provide a job for the newly graduated. Only 2.9% of the men and 2.4% of the women declared that they do not agree with such an expectation. Nevertheless, the majority represents and approves of the paternalistic waiting attitude, which lies very far from the attitude of the postmodern employee. 55.2% of the ones not seeking a job agree that the state has the obligation to ensure this status, while only 44.5% of the ones who look for a job agree with this statement. 65.4% of the ones who have never worked totally agree with the state ensuring jobs, while only 59.8% of the ones who worked agreed with this. 67.2% of the Hungarian students, while 58.3% of the students in Romania consider it obvious for the state to have such an employment ensuring role. *Although the employment ensuring role of the state has been gradually reduced in the changing context of the labour market, while the status creating role of the market participants is increasing, the majority of the students expects the state and not the market participants to ensure employment after graduation.*

The place where the students imagine their lives after graduation is also telling from the point of view of the initiative, flexibility and openness of the students. The least mobile are the women with a BA/BSc degree, the majority of whom wish to get a job in their hometown or close to it. A substantially larger group of the younger generation (under 21) than those over 22 (27.1%) can imagine their employment abroad, but within Europe (31.4%). Although the proportions are more reduced, there is a similar trend regarding employment outside Europe as well. 15.8% of the ones under 21, while 11.8% of the ones over 22 can imagine being employed abroad (outside Europe). The most flexible students regarding employment are the ones learning in the undivided educational system. 38.4% can imagine being employed in Europe, while 22.8% can imagine finding a job outside Europe, while in the case of the ones owning a BA/BSc these values are 29.4% and 13.6%. Concluding the characteristics of territorial mobility we can state that the largest group of the students would like to find employment in their hometowns (BA/BSc 49.8%, MA/MSc 47/9%, undivided education 41%), in the location of the educational institution (BA/BSc 45.2%, MA/MSc 54.5%, undivided education 34.8%). Only the students learning in the undivided educational system presented a higher flexibility regarding finding a location for their employment. Only the ratio of the ones wishing to find a job in their hometown is higher (41%) than of the ones who wish to find employment in Europe (39.4%).

Regarding the willingness for mobility, the Hungarian students present a somewhat higher degree of flexibility than their colleagues living in Romania.

The most important difference regarding mobility between the students living in the two countries can be identified in the case of moving to other counties. 28% of the Hungarian students can imagine working in another county after graduation, while only 11.9% of the students in Romania declared the same.² We can conclude, in the case of both subsamples (Romanian, Hungarian), that finding employment in the native town or village and the location of education is dominant (around 50%); territorial mobility can be found in a small compass in the conceptions regarding the place of employment. The attachment to the present place of living, the dominance of social security is a defining element of the Fordian model which characterizes the analysed sample.

In the following, we tried to find the different *kinds of jobs the students seek* and what the factors that define the characteristics of the sought status are.

On the scale from 1 to 4 referring to the characteristics of work the youth from both countries underlined the value of legal employment (average 3.61), the importance of balance between work and family (3.59), security (3.56), the good mood in the workplace (3.47) and the insurance of possibilities for success (3.41) regarding the expectations of employment.³ The values from the category of social security exceed the values attained in several dimension by far.

The emphatic presence of the factors of security and legal employment is not only due to the financial crisis. The phrasing of the security of the workplace as a need is connected to the traditional values which were left behind by the period of complete employment.

The least important of the expectations is that the job be famous (2.67), not demanding (2.81) and the work-time be flexible (2.86). Among the less important factors the queried mentioned some aspects which are highly valued in the financial competition: independence (2.92), responsibility (3.01), achievement-centeredness (3.02).

The Gatesian values characteristic of the postmodern labour market received low averages. A specifically low average was that of flexibility (2.82) and performance (3.02), but low averages were also found in regards of self-realization/responsibility (3.18) and success/career (3.2).

² The fact that in Romania the native county also engulfs a Hungarian language minority presumably has an important role in such a decision. That is why besides the territorial dimensions there are other, cultural dimensions which are determining in choosing another county.

³ The scale values were the following: 1=not important at all, 2=not important, 3=important, 4=very important

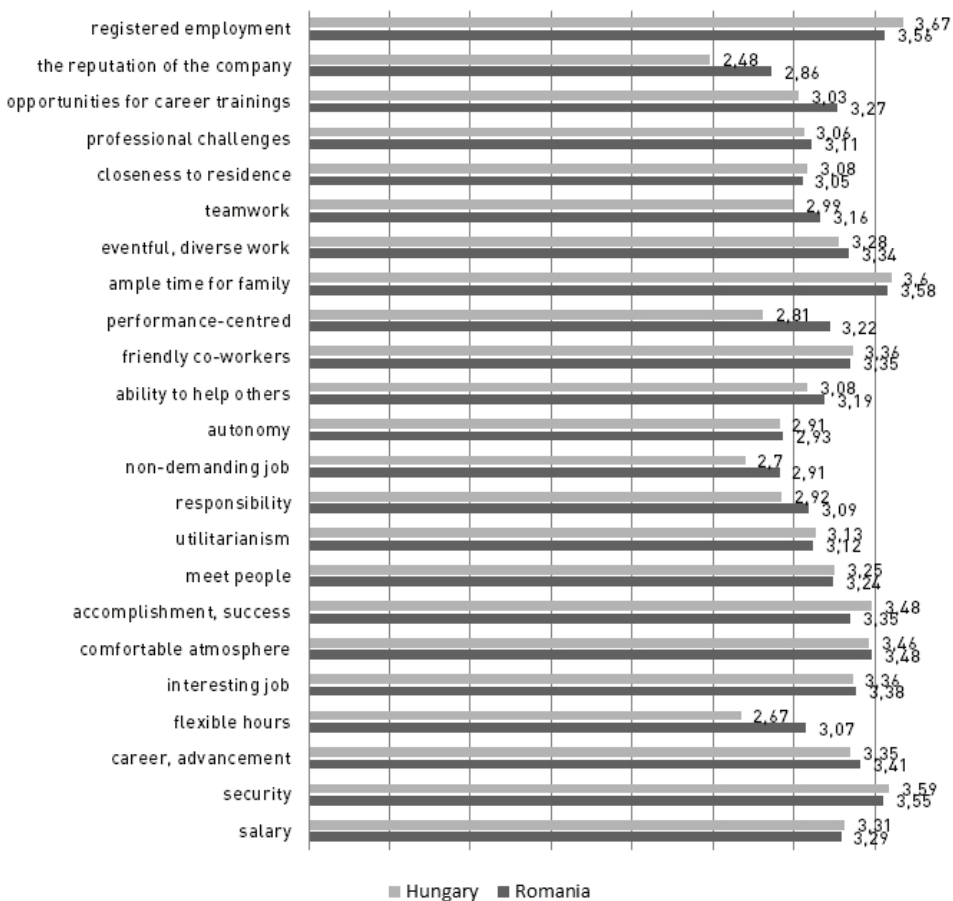
Table 4: The average values of the factors of the different models

The dimensions of differences between the two models	"Fordism"	"Gatesism"
Working hours		Flexibility D. It should be such a job where everyone can freely decide when to work Flexible hours 2.86
The income	MATERIAL SAFETY A. The obtainable income should be high 3.3	PERFORMANCE O. The job should be performance-centred 3.02
Safety	SOCIAL SAFETY B. A job should be safe (with a low possibility of layoff) 3.56 N. The co-workers should be friendly and helpful 3.35 P. Besides work there should be time for the family as well 3.59 S. The place of employment should be close to the residence 3.07 W. It should be a reported job 3.61	
The career	PRESTIGE/SAFETY V. The company should be famous 2.67	SUCCESS/CARREER C. There should be good opportunities for advancement 3.37 T. The job should be a professional challenge 3.08 U. There should be opportunities for further qualifications 3.17
The determining values	THE HUMANE/SERVICE F. There should be good mood 3.47 H. One should have the opportunity to meet people 3.25 I. The job should be beneficial to the society 3.13 K. The work should not be demanding 2.81 M. The work should provide opportunities to help others 3.14	RESPONSIBILITY/SELF-REALIZATION E. The work should be interesting 3.37 G. The work should provide a sense of achievement 3.41 J. The job should involve responsibility 3.01 L. Most decisions should be made individually 2.92 Q. The job should be eventful and diverse 3.3 R. One can be part of a group 3.07

Traditional work values, such as material security [3.3], social security [3.44], the humane/service [3.21], as opposed to the Gatesian values, show a substantially higher average.

Regarding the values connected to work there are typical differences between the students from Hungary and Romania. There are fairly significant differences between the values connected to the Gatesian norms in favour of the students from Romania. Regarding performance-orientedness (HU: 2.81, RO: 3.22), flexible work hours (HU: 2.67, RO: 3.07), responsibility (HU: 2.92, RO: 3.09), the importance of continuous education (HU: 3.03, RO: 3.27), the importance of professional challenges (HU: 3.06, RO: 3.11), the students in Romania presented higher averages. Differences can be identified regarding traditional values - although the differences between the values given by the students of the two countries are not as high as the ones given for the Gatesian values: the importance of reported jobs (HU: 3.67, RO: 3.57), the importance of safety (HU: 3.59, RO: 3.55), the level of demand (HU: 3.31, RO: 3.29), the opportunity to deal with people (HU: 3.25, RO: 3.23). The Hungarian students follow a much more traditional model when formulating the expectations regarding their future employment than the students from Romania.

Figure 1: The average values regarding the expectations in connection with work



The most dynamic group of participants in adult education is the higher education graduates. In our study we focus on the youth who learn in higher education. We wish to examine whether they are characterized by the openness to broaden their knowledge or not, or whether they recognise the necessity of training and if yes, if they resort to the services of adult education in practice. We study whether there is a shift in the thinking of the youth from the classical system of values to the postmodern one, whether they follow or apply the Gatesian norms or not, whether they are flexible or not, do they change and are they willing to invest in education.

As a result of the system changes in higher education the diploma has become a basic requirement in an increasing number of jobs. Besides these, in order to fill a job there is need for more than qualification, training and experience. As a result of the quickly developing working conditions the need was born for a continuously re-educable, developable, quickly adaptable to change and renewal type of employee. Employers are looking for workers who have the knowledge which is not only connected to their profession, but also with the characteristics necessary for effective performance, such as good communication and problem-solving skills, a convincing reasoning, the ability to quickly recognise situations, willingness to compromise, flexibility, mobility, heavy work load, tolerance to stress, openness and creativity. All of these mean that one of the explaining factors of labour market exclusion could be low educational qualification and the lack of competence, as well as the Fordian way of thinking and the traditional approach to work.

14% of the queried students (371 people) did not start their academic studies immediately after finishing high school. 242 of them (65.2%) enrolled in some kind of course (e.g. OKJ) in the period between their high school and university education. Out of the 242 students (8.9% of the total respondents) only 95 (3.9%) were the ones who finished some kind of an adult training outside the school system and therefore they were eligible for plus points because of a OKJ or technical training course in the year of graduation from high school. Thus, the students who did not start their university education immediately after high school, although a significant part of them started some kind of a training, their majority (61%) did not finish it, or started a training that did not provide a certificate and eligible points. It is also possible that they learnt a language or were preparing for the new baccalaureate. When analysing these questions in the questionnaire we did not get a specific answer whether the training was a kind of "a parking lot" (hobby type education not connected to higher education) or an element of conscious career building (a training providing extra credits in higher education or connected to the choice of career, or to the job undertaken), but the outputs mainly support the first variant.

Many of the students plan to learn in the school system in the future. The majority of the respondents (53%) plans to continue their studies in a master's program, nearly one third (31%) would like to enter a PhD program, and more than one quarter (27.6%) responded that they would like another BA/BSc training and/or participate in a postgraduate program (26.3%). This rather high

willingness to learn could be the sign of both models. On one hand it is appropriate to the Gatesian way of thinking, we can look at it as a response to the challenges for a wide array of competence acquisition. Thus the investment into learning becomes more and more valorised. The high ratio of the ones who wish to continue their studies may represent an uncertainty on the labour market as well as the wish to “park” for a while which is also connected to this uncertainty. In order to be able to decide which of the two motivations have a determining role, we included further variables into the analysis. We compared learning before higher education with the intentions regarding training after that, implying some kind of connection between the two. We considered the coexistence of these two and that the conscious choice of learning is prevailing in the Gatesian model. Our experience is that there is a significant correlation between taking part in certain previous education and the BA/BSc and PhD training. Taking part in adult education after high school determines learning in a BA/BSc program, but not as previously expected: the ones who take part in an adult education program before their university education wish to obtain a(nother) BA/BSc degree to a smaller extent than the ones who did not take part in such a training program. There is a similar correlation regarding PhD studies, a lower proportion than expected of the ones taking part in previous education programs works to obtain a PhD degree. The obtained degree – unlike what was expected – does not urge the concerned student to obtain a new one, to build a conscious, manifold professional profile, and create a base for a flexible adaptation to the labour market, but to finish the training and thus (mainly in the school-type system) to shorten the possible career. The majority of the students – especially the ones who have at least two professional degrees – consider the extension of the period of school-type education, they consider getting involved into the newest types of education to be parking and not a new possibility within which learning the competences expected by the labour market is possible. This is also supported by the fact that only a little more than one quarter of the respondents (26.3%) wish to take part in post-gradual training.

We also analysed learning intentions regarding the future. We wanted to find out what determined whether the respondents took part in adult education in the future or not.

Table 5: What influences you to take part in adult education and training?

	Number of respondents (capita)	Percentage of respondents (%)
The amount of the needed financial investment	1285	49.3
The amount of the needed time investment	848	31.5
The possibilities for professional evolution	1499	55.7
Increase of employment opportunities	1574	58.5
Possibility to learn new knowledge	783	29.1

As we can see from the table above the possibility for professional development or the increase of employment opportunities are a determining condition of taking part in adult education and training. This is what the students expect from adult education, and these factors have a substantially stronger role than the framework conditions that control it (material and time investment). This approach can be considered very positive as the respondent students approach higher education and training with an investment approach and not a deficit one. They place a higher emphasis on the expected profits than on the costs when formulating their responses. At the same time, although the respondents could formulate not one but three aspects, as well as influencing factors, the possibility of gaining new knowledge motivates only one third of the students. The further questions change the seemingly positive image presented above.

Regarding adult education we focused on the situation where the respondents imagined that they would not get a desired job after graduation. 36.4% of the student would wait and search for the job, 20.2% would accept another job or would work abroad (22.5%), 9.9% would register as unemployed and **only 9.4% would take part in further education**. This means that less than 10% of the respondents would enrol in further training if he/she does not find a suitable work. According to this, as many of them would like to obtain further degrees (BA/BSc/MA/MSc/PhD/post-gradual), but after that they are less open to new education. They would not learn even if they were unemployed. The majority of the respondents would not like to invest further energies in learning after obtaining the previously desired degree in the educational system. This model of "finished training" is obviously the traditional or Fordian model of the labour market specific to the period before the 21st century, in which the knowledge obtained in the educational system could be used for decades. The notions regarding the future of the majority are widely determined by this model although this model has lost its validity decades ago. The knowledge obtained in the school system becomes obsolete in 5-8 years and there is need for the continuous renewal of the process.

During the research we also analysed the proportion of the ones who would continue learning even though they could not get a job with their university/higher education degree. In this respect the proportion of the ones wanting to learn is very high, 84.7% of the respondents would still learn. Nevertheless, it is true that only one fifth (20.5%) of the ones deciding to learn would definitely learn, and a further two thirds (64.2%) would have conditions regarding this respect: if there were be quick results, if it were not very demanding.⁴ 11.0% would not take part in any type of training.

Table 6: In case you could not get a job with your qualification, would you be willing to take part in adult education and training and in different training courses

	Number of respondents (capita)	Percentage of respondents (%)
No	283	11.0
Yes, if my employment opportunities substantially increased in a short time	1347	52.5
Yes, if it is not too much trouble	300	11.7
Yes, definitely	525	20.5
I don't know	109	4.3
Total	2564	100.0

The gender of the students has a definite influence on the plans regarding adult education and training in case they would not get a job. Men (16.8%) decided in a much higher proportion than women (8.5%) that they would not finish training and as opposed to women (22.8%) there was a smaller proportion among them who would unconditionally continue learning (18.4%).

The school education of the mother/foster-mother is determining, but it has an opposite effect than expected. The ones whose mother or foster-mother has a vocational degree or baccalaureate chose not to learn even though they would not find jobs more often (vocational worker: vocational school 7%, baccalaureate: 9.5%) than when the mother/foster-mother finished technician school (technician: 13.5%, higher education: 13.9%, university education: 16.4%, scientific degree: 18-2%).

The children of the mothers with low degrees would learn to an extent higher than expected (less than 8 classes: 37.5%, 8 classes: 31.0%), while the children of mothers with higher education (at least a university degree) would learn to an extent lower than expected (college degree: 20.8%, university degree: 17.6%, academic degree: 6.8%). *With the increase of the level of education of the mother there is a proportional decrease in the number of those who would learn unconditionally.*

⁴ When analyzing the intention to learn we asked questions regarding both education within the school system and outside it.

The material situation of the family also has an impact on further learning. In the case of the children of wealthier families - to an extent higher than expected - we found that they would not learn (15.9%), and that they would learn in any case to a lesser extent (18.2%). These were the ones who declared (57%) that they would learn if as a result of that their opportunities for employment improved in a short period of time. The ones living in the worst material conditions ("it is frequent, that they do not have enough money to cover their daily needs") said that they would definitely not learn in the highest proportion (17.9%), but they include the most students who declared that they would learn in any case (30.8%). Surprisingly they are the ones who answered to the least extent (2.6%) that they would learn if it were not very demanding for them. The higher status students - although they could afford it - would invest in formal education to a lesser extent when developing their personal career, in comparison to their lower status colleagues. It is assumed that individual careers are assured by members of this group with a accumulation of alternative forms of capital. As opposed to this, the lower status students who do not possess alternative capital forms, consider the capital of knowledge achievable in formal education to ensure their increase in status, and because they have lesser conditions, they are willing to invest in this activity, if they can afford it.

Table 7: The correlation between previous work and the willingness to take part in adult education.

The willingness to partake in courses or formation	Did you work during your studies? [%]								
	Worked during holidays			Performed paid work during the school year			Worked on the family farm		
	never	occasionally	regularly	never	occasionally	regularly	never	occasionally	regularly
No	10.7	14.2	8.3	11.9	11.0	7.7	12.0	9.1	11.8
Yes, if my employment opportunities substantially increase	54.5	54.5	58.8	54.6	55.2	62.6	52.5	60.6	58.1
Yes, if it is not too much trouble	12.6	13.8	9.7	12.3	13.7	7.7	14.1	11.2	8.0
Yes, definitely	22.2	17.5	23.2	21.2	20.0	22.1	21.3	19.0	22.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

We have found some correlation between plans regarding adult education and whether the interviewed person had worked besides learning during high school or university. For the ones who worked regularly during school breaks we received the fewest answers (8.3%) regarding the fact that they would definitely not learn and the most answers (23.2%) regarding the fact that they would not get a job with their qualification. A significant number of the ones who worked during holidays state that they would not learn (14.2%) and the percentage of those who would definitely learn is the lowest in this group (17.5%). From the ones who worked and were paid regularly during school we received the fewest answers (7.7%) regarding the fact that they would definitely not learn and they are the ones (22.1%) who would learn if they could not get a job with their degree.

During their university/college years almost half of the students worked on family farms. Analysing the opinions on andragogy it is ascertainable that the ones who had occasionally worked in family farms, have formulated their requirements in the most rational way. 9.1% - the smallest proportion - would definitely not learn, while 19.0% would definitely learn and 60.6% would learn if in a short period of time their position on the labour market significantly improved.

All in all, regarding every previous work form, the ones who regularly work are the ones that are least afraid of a demanding job, as in the case of every type of work (during holidays, during the school year, working on family farms) these were the ones who chose in the smallest proportion the answer that they would learn for another degree only if it were not too demanding. This is the group which least isolates itself from learning and would definitely undertake education if there were no other possibilities to find work. The regularity of work brings about the regularity of learning as well. Thus emphasis is on regularity and this contributes to the creation of an active, participant, investment initiating habit, which equally determines work and learning.

The intention to learn also depends on whether the work is connected to higher education or not. The ones who work in fields connected to their studies are the ones who distance themselves from further education. They are the ones who consider that with their present qualification they have a good chance in getting certain jobs even if they are temporarily unemployed.

We can see that the ones who would not learn if they could not get a job with their present qualification are typically men, their mothers/foster mothers are highly qualified, they have a complex foreign language degree which they obtained in high school, they do not work during their education, but if they do, it is something connected to their field of study. The ones who would definitely learn if they could not find a job with their qualification have a lower status, their mothers/foster mothers have a lower qualification, they live in worse material conditions and work regularly.

In conclusion, regarding our research referring to the intention to learn we can state that the student with disadvantageous backgrounds would invest in further education, while the higher status students would not. The young

adults living in less favoured situations are most likely motivated by material safety and that is why in order to be employed they are willing to make sacrifices in connection with learning.

The discrepancies between expectations/plans and activities

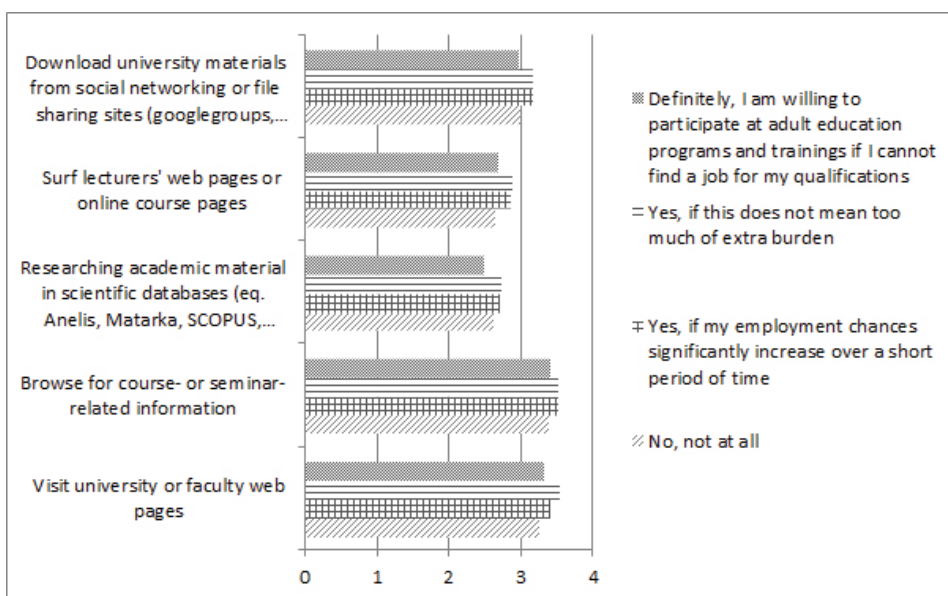
In the following part of our research we wanted to find out the extent to which the acknowledged necessities become part of everyday action, the shift between the Fordian and Gatesian models is only manifest, or latent, on the level of decisions and activities as well. That is why we started analysing whether the intention to learn is present only on the level of plans or it is part of everyday practice: is the intention to learn connected to actions? We examined the average percentage of classes the respondents attended, how often they learn or read in the university libraries, if they read books and use the internet for professional reasons.

The ones who do not plan to continue learning attend classes to the least extent and the number of those who have an 80-100% attendance is surprisingly low. The classes are mostly attended by the students who would learn if their chances on the labour market substantially improved through it. The ones who say that they would learn if they could not get a job show a mixed picture regarding attendance intensity, but still low attendance is what mostly defines them. The proportion of those who go to the library is the lowest in the group of those who do not wish to continue learning (48.6% attend "less frequently"), while it is the highest in the case of those who definitely wish to continue learning (42.1% goes to the library at least once a week). The ones who do not wish to continue learning even though they cannot get a suitable job show a surprisingly low proportion in connection with book reading, but the ones who wish to continue studying read less frequently than expected as well and 21.5% do not read books. Everyday investments support previous intentions to work in a relatively small area.

Table 8: The correlation between the learning activity and the willingness to partake in courses of formation

The willingness to partake in courses or formation	In this school year during a regular week, what percent of your classes did you attend? %					Do you read books? %	
	80-100%	60-80%	40-60%	20-40%	0-20%	Yes	No
No	9.7	12.4	17.0	9.1	17.8	10.3	16.2
Yes, my employment opportunities would increase	57.1	55.3	49.0	50.0	48.9	56.6	49.4
Yes, if it is not too much trouble	11.2	13.0	12.9	17.0	11.1	12.4	12.6
Yes, definitely	21.9	19.3	21.2	23.9	22.2	20.7	21.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

We have found a significant correlation in the case when unemployment is linked to the intention to learn and surfing on the internet for information related to higher education institutions.⁵ The students mostly choose the least professional materials from the respective database. The most interesting fact is that those who said that they would definitely continue learning tend to choose easier, non-professional materials.

Figure 2: How often do you perform these activities on the internet?

⁵ On a scale from 0 to 4 where 0 means "never", 1 means "rarely", 2 means "once a month", 3 means "once a week", 4 "daily".

All of the possible answers in all of the cases show that these internet activities are similarly rare in the case of the ones who would definitely continue learning in case of unemployment as well as in the case of those who refuse continuing learning. In the meantime, those who are sensible are far more active. Those who choose to learn further on some conditions tend to use the web with a professional purpose (gathering information, finding databases etc.).

When adding up the opinions about training and the factors that move the strings from behind the scenes we can experience that the library is the place where the highly motivated students make a real difference through their presence. We could not see any other relations with the rest of the activities and intentions. The ones who wish to continue their studies do not exceed neither in attendance, not in reading, nor in internet-based information and material gathering. In fact, in many cases we get the same results as in the case of those who say that they would not learn anymore even if they faced unemployment. In the case of those individuals where the intention and the activities are closely connected, who participate in a training only if their conditions improve in a short period of time by getting new job opportunities and if all in all it is not too demanding for them.

Relying on the previously mentioned factors those who want to learn can be divided into three main groups. There is a student group with a better status. The members of this group will not learn more even if they could not find a job that corresponds to their studies. They are passive from the point of view of learning. They do not invest in learning, they do not attend classes frequently, they do not go to library and they do not spend too much time reading. They do not value formal learning and they do not bother with it. They are the "alternative carrier building elite" (12%). The second group has a disadvantaged position. The members of this group would learn for sure in the case of unemployment, but they are passive from the point of view of learning, as well, and they show some activity at employment. Their declared intention of learning does not show up as a real, visible pattern. Relying on their answers they do not want to invest in learning. Despite the fact that they know the values and the benefits of such investments they do not do anything to achieve these goals. They are the members of the "midway breaking off lower - middle class" (21%). They reached the necessity of the model change in a manifest declaration, they respond to the questions about the importance of learning by the expected values, but in their everyday life they live according to the "Fordian" routines. The third and the most popular group is the one that contains sensible teenagers. They will undergo another training if that meets certain conditions but they learn a lot more than the members of the other three groups. They see the value of learning and they act in a way to fulfil those investments to reach their goals. They are the "model changing uprising middle class" (67%).

Conclusions

In conclusion we can state that the attitude towards work of future employees shows basically traditional patterns towards total employment, the relationship with wage workmanship and being an employee. Among the students of institutions of higher education - against all expectations - the shift from the Fordian categories to the Gatesian ones that would have changed the attitude of workers towards their jobs did not take place. In many cases we could experience the opposition of the manifest and latent values amongst the students that took part in the research. Despite the fact that they know most of the factors and behavioural patterns that helps employment to a great degree they do not tend to follow these rules and they are not acting in a way in which they would fulfil the above mentioned criteria. That is because most of the asked teenagers want to learn even further and many of them would complete other trainings if they could not find a suitable job. But in most cases this remains only a plan, an intention. The intent to invest into studying mostly appears only in a manifest way and it could not be proven by showing any kind of daily investments and work. The students' attitudes towards adult education are controversial: although they know the importance of education and training, they are not willing to act according to their opinions and commitment regarding studying. According to the study, most of the teenagers do not act according to the values and needs that are accepted by them on a cognitive level. The expectations of the post-industrial society that demands life-long learning appeared only in the manifest way. The actual activities do not reflect the changes of the state of mind. The activity structure that is based upon "Fordian" traditions concentrates on the first phase of higher education and not on the processes or phases that arise after graduation and it shows signs of "post-Fordian" patterns. Although the teenagers are aware of the fact that their positions on the labour market are consolidated by learning and participating in adult training, only a handful is willing to take on this investment regularly.

The model shift from the era of employment that was not performance-oriented and did not include any dangers, to the attitudes that adapted to the challenges of the private sector, only happened in one part of the highly trained groups of employment (halfway modernisation). Despite the recession or maybe as a result of that, the work related attitudes show traditional tendencies and advantages while being informed, creative and trained are not recognized and are not used. The work attitudes within the examined group correspond to the values of the mid 20th century even in the labour market of the 21st century. Thus fitting in encounters difficulties. The safety, the priority of the family and the good atmosphere at the workplace are more important than responsibility, performance, success and career. The question remains: is this a choice of values of the Z generation that follows the Y generation that used to place human values before the economic one, or can we witness the evolution of a late modernising process on the Eastern-European labour mar-

ket, where the expectations regarding work, as well as the behavioural patterns, are connected to a Fordian image of work, on a labour market which has significantly changed and which functions based on the Gatesian norms throughout its elements and expectations.

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PROFESSIONAL VS. SOCIAL COMPETENCES. WHAT DO EMPLOYERS EXPECT FROM YOUNG EMPLOYEES

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Introduction

This article is aimed at mapping the expectations of employers in what young employees are regarded, as well as to offer an insight on the expectations and preparedness of young adults for the labor market.

Young adult unemployment is one of the greatest problems modern society has to face. In the 27 member states of the European Union, the unemployment rate reached 10.4% in June 2012. However, the unemployment rate among young adults below the age of 25 was around 20%. According to Eurostat data, the unemployment rate among young adults was 21.4% while among active-age individuals it was 10.3% in 2011. (Table 1)

Table 1: Unemployment rate by age, 2011(%)

	← 25 years	25- 74 years	15- 74 years
EU 27	21.4	8.3	9.7
Romania	23.7	5.8	7.4

Source: Eurostat

According to certain researchers (Coenjaerts et al., Mártonfy), one of the causes of the high rate of unemployment of young adults is that the professional training they get does not comply with the needs of the labour market. It is no longer sufficient to be a university graduate to find a job more easily, taking into consideration the fact that labour market needs are oriented towards certain qualifications and new skills. Skill, ability and competence have become common concepts nowadays. We often come across them in the world of work, though their meanings sometimes merge.

It is very difficult for employers to find appropriate candidates for vacant positions in their companies, as human resource studies show (Manpower Group, 2011). Employers rather have their existing staff take all responsibilities than hiring new employees, due to the constraints of the economic downturn. Thus, candidates should show a specific set of qualifications and competences in order to attract employers' interest. University graduates have serious drawbacks in accessing the labour market due to insufficient jobs and to the disparity between labour market needs and competences developed during the study period.

The employment of young adults represents a worldwide challenge. The socio-financial development, the lack of possibilities to find a job, weak vocational education or no vocational education at all represent factors that aggravate the situation (Mártonfy, 2007; Coenjaerts et al., 2009). Creating congruence between education and the labour market can contribute to reducing unemployment among youth.

The selection process is successful when there is a best match between the number and requirements of vacant job positions and the qualities of the applicant (Chircu, 2011).

The data provided above draw the context of the present topic. The importance of our study emerges from laying down the premises of matching labour market needs (i.e. the expected competences which are deemed important and necessary by employers in order to successfully apply for a job) with the offer provided by young adult entrants.

Our study is focused on analyzing 2 sets of data. One was the result of a research carried out in Bihor County, in the North-Western part of Romania, and it explored the opinions of local entrepreneurs in what the skills and competences expected from newly graduates are concerned. The other is basically the data resulting from a previous research - the HERD project (*Higher Education for Social Cohesion – Cooperative Research and Development in a Cross Border Area*) within the Hungary-Romania Cross-Border Cooperation Programme 2007-2013, which described expectations and preparedness of students from Bihor for the labour market.

The study contains more parts. The first section briefly presents the key concepts used in this article, such as competence, key competence, job competence and social competence. The second part is an analysis of relevant theories, offering an insight into the scholarly literature on the subject. The third section contains the results of our research, the assessment of the interviews and the methodology used. The subjects of our research are leaders of small- or medium-scale enterprises. The expectations employers have toward young employees will be explored and presented.

Skill, ability, competence

Defining the general concept of competence requires the definition of the concepts of skill and abilities as well, which is not an easy task since in everyday discourse they are used interchangeably. *Ability, capacity* means the existence of an aptitude, a talent to perform something. *Skill*, on the other hand, is related to learning, it refers to something the individual has learnt to do (playing the piano, riding the bicycle, etc.) (Szakács & Bánfalvi, 2010, pp.12). Acquiring a skill is based on the knowledge of various rules. Ability offers a possibility to develop skills via learning; that is, abilities can be developed, while skills are learnt (Nagy, 2000).

Our endeavour is to define the concept of competence, its variants while also touching upon the concepts of key competencies, job competence and

social competence. The common meaning of *competence* refers to aptitude, to the possession of certain knowledge and the ability to apply it. However, it bears a scientific meaning as well, which is applied in fields such as pedagogy and education policy or when describing labour market processes (Vass, 2006).

According to the Hungarian Pedagogy Lexicon, it is “basically a cognitive ability in which motivation, abilities and other emotional factors also have a major role” (Vajda 1997, pp. 266). Competence is more than a simple skill because, in addition to the skill, it entails consciousness as well (Szakács & Bánfalvi, 2010).

J. Coolahan proposed that competence and competencies should be regarded “as the general capability based on knowledge, experience, values, dispositions which a person has developed through engagement in educational practices” (Key Competences 2002, pp. 13). Competence is the complex relationship between skills, abilities, knowledge and attitude, a collection of agencies that are needed to perform a certain activity (Szakács & Bánfalvi, 2010).

Summing up the plethora of definitions of competence, we can outline five components:

- Knowledge: the information the individual has got
- Skills: the ability to perform certain physical or mental tasks
- Self-esteem, social roles, values: attitudes considered important by the individual
- Character traits: psycho-physical factors that generate certain reactions to certain situations, information
- Motivation: it directs or influences behaviour in a certain direction, as far as behaviour is concerned. (Jakó, 2004; Szakács & Bánfalvi, 2010, pp. 17).

According to the European Union, competence is the network of referential knowledge, ability and attitude, while *key competencies* represent a transferable, multifunctional package of knowledge, skills and attitudes that all individuals need for personal fulfilment and development, inclusion and employment. Key competence is a competence that is conclusive in the frame of one of the following three capitals: cultural capital (continuing learning, for instance), social capital and human capital (employability).¹ Key competence is a term used in professional terminology and it refers to competencies that are mandatory in order to perform various tasks (Szakács & Bánfalvi, 2010).

The European Union has elaborated a reference system which defines eight areas of key competencies. These competencies are indispensable in a knowledge-based society in order to be able to integrate into society and become employable. The key competencies are the following: Communication in the mother tongue, Communication in foreign language, Mathematical literacy and basic competences in science and technology, Digital competence, Learning-to-learn, Interpersonal, social and civic competences, Entrepreneurship, Cultural expression.²

¹ Implementation of „ Education and Training 2010” Work Programme, pp. 3, pp. 6

² Implementation of „ Education and Training 2010” Work Programme, pp. 7-8

Competence research cannot be carried out without considering research done by OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). OECD documents contribute to the standardized definition and analysis of the concept of competence. The research started in 1997, *The Definition and Selection of Competencies: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations (DeSeCo)* and it defines the key competences needed in order to have a successful life and be able to integrate into society. It also emphasizes the necessity of continuous improvement of competences, which can be accomplished through life-long learning. The research results also point out that, besides key competencies, new competences are required on the labour market. Special competences such as the ability to use information and communication technologies ITC are considered important on the labour market.³ The OECD research carried out in the period between 1997 and 2000 in 12 countries concludes that the following competencies are important: flexibility, creativity, independence, ability to make decisions, ability to act, speaking a foreign language, self-confidence, critical approach, exploration of possibilities, responsibility.

Another concept to have in mind, besides competence and key competence, is *job competence*. The term has been coined in order to be able to define the competencies needed in various fields of activity. Job competencies are formed, to a large extent, by means of learning.

Job competencies include: flexibility, creativity, ability to make decisions independently, ability to speak a foreign language, assertiveness, critical approach, the ability to uncover possibilities, responsibility, capacity, leadership abilities, ability to motivate others, to learn from mistakes, to form and maintain contacts, ability to influence others, ability to make decisions, focus on results and the path leading to these, create a strategy, ethical attitude (Jakó, 2004).

The social and interpersonal competences “cover all forms of behaviour that one must master as an individual in order to be able to participate in an efficient, constructive way and resolve conflict in social life, in interaction with other individuals (or groups) in personal, family and public contexts”.⁴ Social competence is a changing system that activates elements needed in order to achieve one’s goal and it is also a network of skills regulating one’s social behaviour. Social competence is composed of hereditary and acquired components (Nagy, 2000). Cooperation, self-assurance and integrity blend in social competence. Socially competent people are those who are able to have functional, stable human relationships and are able to confront others focusing on the problem while representing oneself (Henczi, 2009, pp. 32).

In our study competence is defined as the collection of skills, knowledge, abilities and attitudes, which allows any individual to perform a certain activity.

Although skills and abilities have an important role in fulfilling a task, personality traits also need to be taken into consideration since they influence the level of success and the results in one’s job. Developing competencies

³ Competences for the Knowledge Economy

⁴ Implementation of „Education and Training 2010” Work Programme, pp. 16

allows rectifying the quality of human resources, the increase of the rate of knowledge-based employees on the labour market. In addition, the visibility of competencies increases the success of transactions on the labour market (Jakó, 2004).

A brief insight into the related scholastic literature

J. Hernández-March et al. (2009) argue that both technical field-specific knowledge, as well as interpersonal skills are mostly valued by employers when hiring newly graduates. They explain that *“within the latter lie those related with interacting and dealing with other people—in particular the ability for teamwork—as well as those related to personality: attitude and motivation towards work.”* On the second place, competencies understood in a methodological manner (such as the capacity to learn) are evaluated by employers. And then, there are soft cognitive abilities (communication, computer skills and knowledge of languages). As well, the authors state that higher education is valued both positively (i.e. fast learning skills) and negatively by employers (i.e. too much theory in respect to the realities of the labour market). Thus, when hiring, employers are less interested in the grades obtained by the student.

The 2010 ANBCC report revealed that newly graduates have difficulties in finding a job, either because employers expect personnel to have better skills or to have some practical experience. The results are reinforced by previous reports of the European Commission (2008): employers focus more and more on transversal key competences, such as problem solving, analytical thinking, self-management and communication skills, language competences etc. Another study adds the ability to learn fast and the ability of finding new opportunities for the company's interest, as well as coordination skills. The most important specific skills that were valued as significant in recruiting new staff are carrying out professionally complex responsibilities, efficiency, professional involvement, organization, efficaciousness, etc. Other types of skills that are valued positively by employers are personal traits such as honesty, punctuality, good time-management, originality etc.

Another report issued in the same year by the UECNCFPA shows that cross-cutting skills (knowing a foreign language, ITC skills etc.) are better valued by recruiters than specific skills when on-boarding for a first job. Recruiters assess cross-cutting skills more or less comparable with interview appearance and the type of personality the candidate has. Also, in spite of graduating from a prestigious university, employers are more interested in graduates' skills and their previous work experience.

One Romanian report, referring to the Romanian employer and the labour market (The Agency for Governmental Strategies, 2008) explored the evaluation criteria used when hiring new employees. The 5 most important selection criteria chosen by respondents (private and public employers) were previous work experience (42%) – preferably 6-12 months; work performances (39%); skills (30%); competence certificates (26%); general intelligence (25%) – for leading

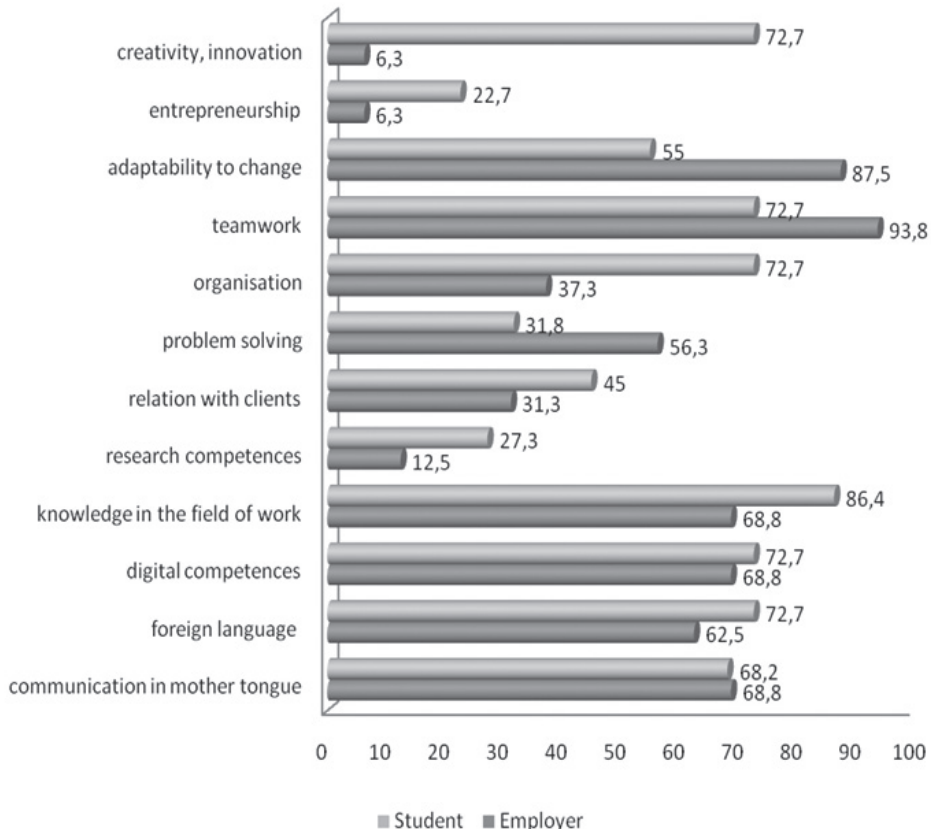
positions; for execution positions the criteria are work experience - 50%, skills - 47%, knowledge - 32%, performances - 30%, physical capacity - 23%. Moreover the study outlined that the most important qualities requested for leading positions are organization skills, competitiveness, decision-making abilities; while for execution positions, the expected qualities refer to competitiveness, responsibility, teamwork abilities. Minimum computer skills are highly valued (56%) when recruiting new employees, as well as having a driving license (44%); to a lesser extent, language skills are considered necessary (34%).

M. Zaharie (2011) dealt with the current topic of expected competences reflected by candidate selection criteria. Employers are focused more on personal characteristics and specific competence more likely than on formal education. Thus, the most significant criteria were found to be promptitude and efficient use of time, as well as honesty, trust, solution-oriented attitude, work motivation and attitude, in spite of school performance, Ma degree, teacher recommendation etc.

Chircu E. S. (2011) explored the differences in the value given to competences and the expectances of employers and students. She tries to define the selection process and finds that there is a match between the vacant position and the applicant for the job when physical and psychosocial qualities of the individual match professional requirements. Not only education status, previous work experience, but as well personal qualities, knowledge, aptitudes and behaviours are positively valued by employers.

The graphic below (Figure 1) shows what competences are considered very important by both employers and students. It is curious to see that employers value adaptability to change, the ability to work in a team and problem solving competences as highly important, while students visibly have a lower appreciation for these competences.

On the other hand, it seems that the competences least valued by employers are entrepreneurship and research competences. However, a significant percentage of students (18.2% and 4.5%) think that adaptability to change and teamwork are not important, while employers consider these two of the main competences needed (none of the employers valued these 2 competences as less important). This may result in gaps of competence for the students that employers may not overlook when hiring.

Figure 1: Competences perceived as very important by employers and students (%)

In what the expectances of employers and the students at the work place are concerned, Figure 2 shows the differences between them. Apparently, orientation towards results, personal development, initiative, integration in the organization's culture and the capacity of maintaining enthusiasm in time are highly expected by employers, and much better valued by them than by students.

Figure 2: Employers' and students' expectancies at the work place (%)

Preparing our research has also been supported by the research (Mártonfy, 2007) done upon social and learning competencies; it was carried out among employers, providers of education and training and participants in the learning process in Hungary. The enterprises and educational institutions participating in the research deemed the following competencies as the five most important ones: precision, trustworthiness, honesty, orderliness and compliance with rules. The aim of the research was to present the factors of achieving success on the labour market.

The research carried out by Imre Kabai and his colleagues (2012) in career tracking has proved most useful to our research. Their research synthesizes the opinions of employers, students and recently graduated students. Researches listed thirty competencies, participants picked out the most important ones from a scale of five items, and thus, only sixteen competencies were included in the final selection. They deemed important competencies such as knowledge of theory, ability to apply this knowledge in practice, problem-solving ability, good work rate, speaking abilities, writing abilities, ability to use a foreign language, ability to deal with conflicts, teamwork, anticipation, being able to lead others within a given profession, ability to learn, time management, ability to work individually, general knowledge (Kabai et al., 2012).

Based on the research, the expectations of employers were defined. The research also highlighted the existing shortcomings and the discrepancy

between expectations and competencies considered necessary. The discrepancy reflects the faulty acquisition of the various competencies and the competencies that need to be further developed (Kabai et al., 2012).

The above-mentioned researches represent a pillar to the present survey, they offer a guideline both to select the appropriate research method and to define competence categories.

The presentation of the research

The research had two parts, one focusing on employers, while the other focused on students.

The part referring to employers consisted of qualitative study, a series of 15 semi-structured interviews carried out between November 2011 and February 2012. The interviews were applied to entrepreneurs from Bihor County, Romania, leaders of small- and medium-scale enterprises. The condition for an enterprise to participate in the research was to have employed a young adult entrant in the past three years. Participants in the research were selected randomly.

The interviews were carried out by volunteer researchers, who also participated in elaborating the questions. Each interview lasted approximately one hour.

We defined small and medium-scale enterprises based on generally accepted standards in Europe. Small-scale enterprises employ less than 50 people and their annual turnover is under 10 million Euros, while in middle-scale enterprises the number of employees' ranges between 50 and 250 and their annual turnover is under 50 million Euros, according to Government Ordinance nr.27/2006. (Table 2)

Table 2: Company category

Company category	Employees	Turnover or	Balance sheet total
Medium- sized	← 250	← E 50 m	← E 43 m
Small	← 50	← E 10 m	← E 10 m
Micro	← 10	← E 2 m	← E 2 m

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/sme/facts-figures-analysis/sme-definition/index_en.htm

Questions enlisted in the interview can be grouped as follows: general questions referring to the enterprise; the second set of questions refers to competences that are expected from candidates, while the third set of questions tackled the professional preparedness of young adults. (The interview questions are presented in the appendix.)

The other part is an analysis of a database from the HERD project (*Higher Education for Social Cohesion – Cooperative Research and Development in a Cross Border Area*) done in 2011, in the frame of the Hungary-Romania Cross-

Border Cooperation Programme 2007-2013. It helped us describe the expectations and preparedness of students from the 2 main universities existing in Bihor County for the labour market, i.e. the University of Oradea, Emanuel University Oradea and Partium Christian University. Even though the research also included students from Hungary, we selected responses from the Romanian side of the border. A sample of 1323 students from Romania were included in our analysis and questionnaires were applied through self-completion. A combination of multistage and quota sampling was used at the University of Oradea. Quota were designed to obtain proportionality of sample with the entire population of MA and BA students by faculty, year of study and type of tuition. At Partium Christian University the complete query sampling procedure was used to survey students learning at the BA level. At the Emanuel University Oradea, groups of students in the years 1 or 3 enrolled in MA and BA programs or 1,3 or 4 in undivided BA programs (like Medicine) or all years, were selected on a random multistage basis, faculty and year of study, following the criterion of proportionality.

Presentation of the sample of enterprises

Analyzing the answers to the first set of questions, we have categorized the small- and medium-scale enterprises based on their field of activity and size, in the following tables:

Table 3: Number of companies by size

Company size	Number of companies
Medium	4
Small	8
Micro	3

According to Table 3, most enterprises are small-scale ones, eight altogether, with the number of employees ranging from 10 to 20 people. Three micro-scale enterprises have also been included in the study, having 3 or 4 employees. Within the four middle-scale enterprises, the numbers of employees range between 25 and 200.

The next table groups companies by field of activity:

Table 4: Number of companies by type of activity

Type of activity	Construction	Agriculture	Commerce	Services
Number of companies	4	1	3	7

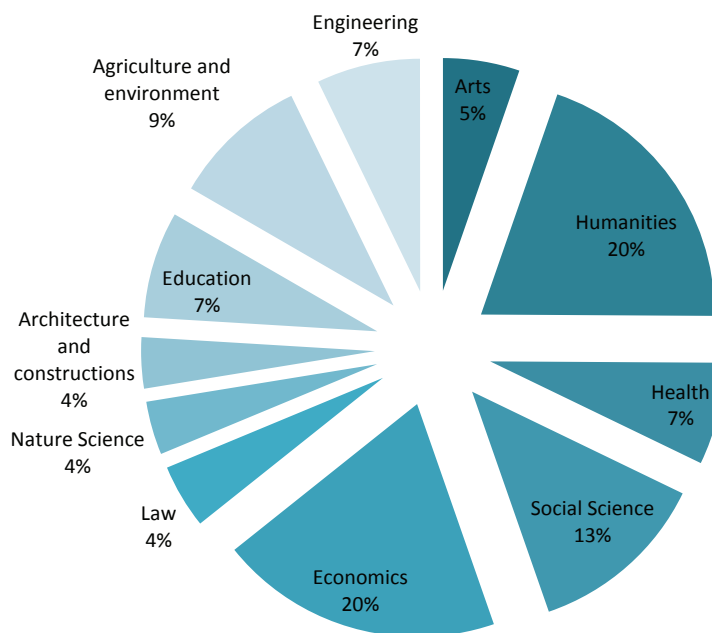
The fields of activity of the 15 enterprises range from commerce and constructions to various services. As far as services are concerned, entertain-

ment, appliance repair services, accounting, publishing, travel agencies are included.

Presentation of the sample of students

There were 1323 Romanian students who responded to the questionnaire. The faculties they attend vary from economics and humanities to architecture or law. The percentages are expressed in the graphic below (Figure 3).

Figure 3: The faculty students attend



37% of the students are freshmen, while 34% of them are in their second year of studies and 29% in their third or fourth year of studies. There are more female respondents (62.8%) than male respondents (37.2%).

Results

Employers' expectations

Our second set of questions referred to the expectations of employers toward their employees. We attempted to map the criteria on which they chose their employees and the skills and abilities the chosen candidates had.

All interviewed subjects referred to professional knowledge as an important competence, yet they all highlighted that there are other important factors

as well when hiring, such as general demeanour (respect, precision, willingness to learn etc.). One of the entrepreneurs answered:

"I do not hire employees based solely on their knowledge, but the general demeanour as well. Respect is one of the key elements in a work relationship. I expect tasks to be performed precisely and also willingness to learn." (Gy. Developer-medium size enterprise)

One of the managers did not consider former professional experience important:

"Professional experience is not important. The advantage is that they do not have bad experience. With patience anyone can be taught anything." (F developer-small enterprise)

Since they emphasized several times that the applicants have little or no practical skills, the probation period, which is also the period in which they develop these skills, gains an increased importance. In more than half of the cases, the probation period was important because young applicants not only learn the work they have to do, but also show their skills and abilities:

"I get to know their work style and the competences acquired by now." (Gy. Developer-medium size enterprise).

The question referring to their expectations toward employees provided the most useful answers in what the necessary competences are when applying for a job. Based on the answers provided by the managers of enterprises, we can define the following categories of competences:

Table 5: Competences expected by employers

Competences	Frequency (%)
Professional skills	93
Precision	8
Reliability	66
IT skills	60
Communication, ability to speak	40
Ability and willingness to learn	33
Cooperation, teamwork	33
Ability to work individually	20
Ability to speak a foreign language	13
Decision-making	13
Wide range of professional skills	13
Problem-solving abilities	6

The results specified in Table 5 show the competences required by employers nowadays. We found that the most important competences, which can even be considered selection criteria when hiring, were professional skills, precision, reliability and IT skills. Precision, reliability, communication skills,

cooperation, teamwork, decision-making, and problem-solving ability belong to the category of social competences.

Our hypothesis is supported by the fact that along with professional skills, social competences also gain ground, as the 4 most important competences expected by employers include 2 social competences. The interviews also reveal that information technology skills have become a basic requirement on the labour market (Table 5). Comparing these categories of competencies with the results of previous researches, we may establish that the result of researches in Romania and Hungary differ to a little degree. The results also validate the view that learning competences are indispensable in a successful participation on the labour market. Compared to the OECD research results, only the order of competencies differs. In our region, the above mentioned competencies have priority, and not creativity and decision-making which resulted from the OECD research.

The interviews also revealed that the subjects do not emphasize further training or vocational adult education. Two subjects claimed that there are no further training courses that would enrich the professional skills of employees in their field of activity.

According to the interviewees, the ability to speak Hungarian and Romanian is vital, rather than speaking another foreign language. Only two employers highlighted the importance of knowing a foreign language (e.g. English), since carrying out day-to-day responsibilities is almost impossible without using it.

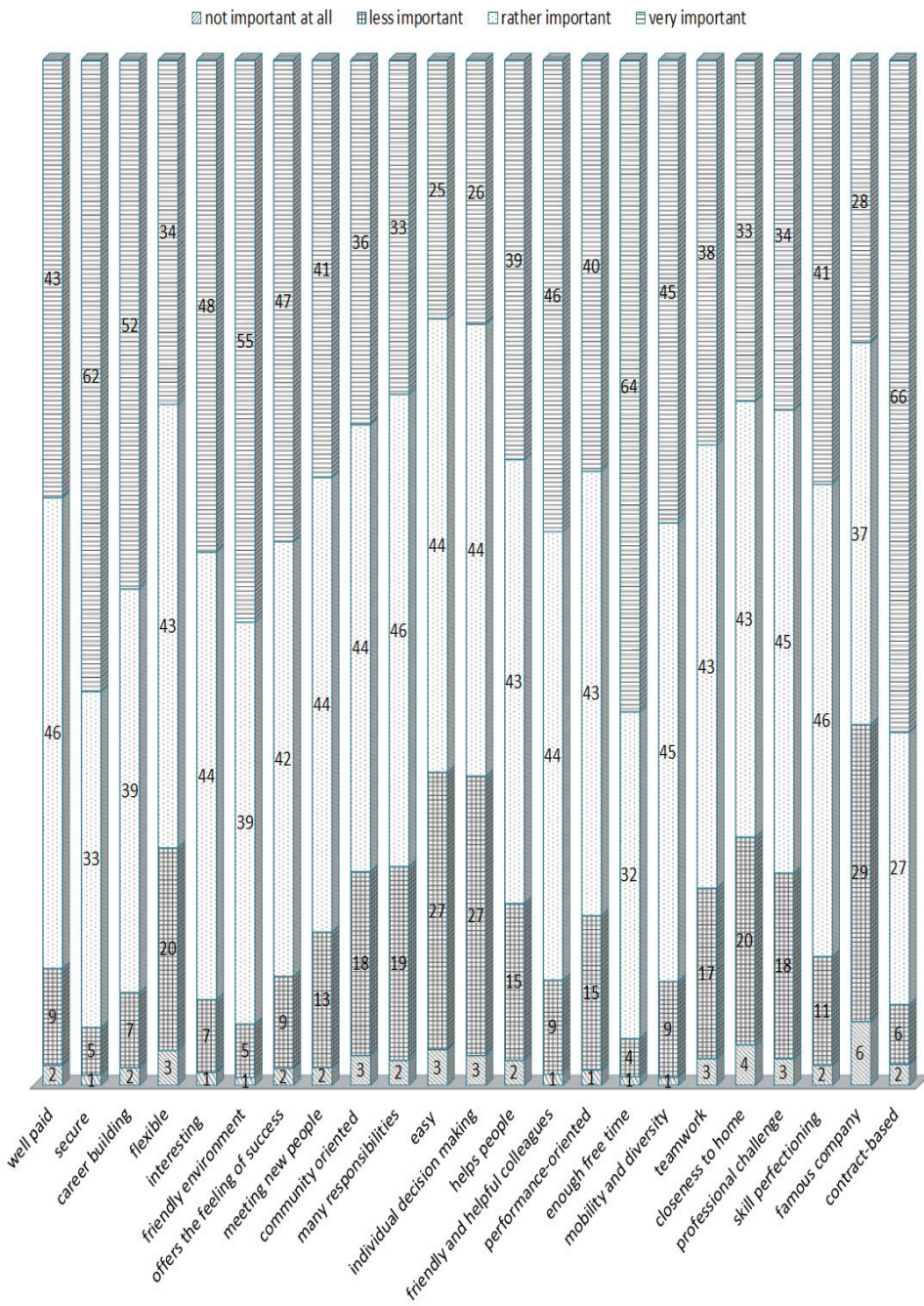
The interviews highlighted the necessity of competencies such as punctuality, reliability, willingness to learn, ability to work on one's own, teamwork, decision-making ability, communication and others. These answers reflect the importance interpersonal relationships and personality traits have for employers (Table 5). Almost half (46%) of the competences mentioned by respondents were social competences.

Based on the present findings we noticed that the demands of domestic employers are in line with international ones since technical skills are often required, as reflected in the research carried out by the OECD (*Competences for the Knowledge Economy*).

Students' expectations

We were also curious to determine what students expect from a potential job. A job that offers enough free time, security of the work place, a friendly environment and the possibility to be promoted are the characteristics deemed as very important by the students from Oradea. Figure 1 presents the ranking of all the characteristics students were questioned about.

Figure 4: How do students value the characteristics of a potential job (%)



Preparedness of young adult for the labor market – employers' opinion

The third set of questions tackled the preparedness of young adults on the labour market.

All interviewees emphasized the lack of practical skills of young entrants; young adults do not have proper practice, though this would facilitate acquiring practical skills and applying theoretical knowledge.

"The Romanian government produces unemployed, since schools teach material which students will not be able to use. Abilities should be developed in already secondary education." (G. Entrepreneur-medium size enterprise)

"It is important that one should be brave enough to start a business on their own, to be both the employer and the employee. It is sometimes difficult, yet on the long run, it is rewarding. One needs further training as well, but practice is the most effective method of learning." (M. Entrepreneur- medium size enterprise)

Thus, education is not practice-oriented enough in the eyes of the respondents.

We also asked the interviewees whether they would accept students for professional practice. Only two respondents responded affirmatively, the others would refuse or were not sure they would accept. This is quite contradictory to their request for better skilled people with previous work experience.

"Our team is made up of young, energetic people who like and can work hard. Therefore, we are glad to hire young graduates or accept students for professional practice. We only ask punctuality, reliability and willingness to work. Practice is about doing something and not idling about and only watching how work is done." (N. entrepreneur- medium size enterprise)

These results reflect the difficulties young adults have when applying for a job. It highlights that professional skills and experience are both important, while their acquisition is not successful in school, which hinders young adults from getting a job.

Students' preparedness

An enquiry in students' satisfaction with higher education studies in Oradea revealed that students actually believe that the studies they pursue offer a good base for getting a job. More than 75% of the students said university offers them high or rather high possibilities to find work. However, employers put a greater accent on previous work experience than on studies.

But 85.5% of the responding students have started their studies immediately after high school graduation. The major part of those who have not entered university immediately have become employed. 46.4% have worked during their studies, at least once, while 48.7% have never worked during their studies. However, 76% of the students have gained some previous work experience, and around 50% have found a job that was related to their studies. Only 57.7% have elaborated a CV in Romanian (as part of their preparedness for work). Language competence is not very widely spread among students from Oradea, as only a quarter of the respondents have a language certificate.

In what their personal achievements are concerned, only very few of the respondents, 4.8% of them, have been self-employed and another 7.8% have been leaders of an NGO. And another 19.7% have had other types of personal achievements (participation in research projects, investments, exhibitions).

Social skills and competences of the students are also less developed among students. Only 4.9% of the respondents were responsible for representing students' interests in the Faculty Council and 21% of the respondents were class responsible.

Conclusion

Research regarding competence has become a popular field of research within education policy and education development. This can enable the improvement of education and training in Europe to a greater degree.

The European Union considers the development of key competences, based on the development of skills and abilities, a major priority of education. This is the guiding principle behind lifelong-learning programs. The fast-changing world, the developing economy and the knowledge-based society represent a challenge and we must face the need to be always updated as far as professional skills and knowledge are concerned.

Unfortunately, the ability to learn does not develop as fast as science and technology do. When training, students need to learn not only the skills but also the ability to manage themselves later on, the ability to learn. It is considered an asset if one is able to renew oneself and their knowledge and skills and apply what they learned in new situations as well (Vass, 2006).

Competence may turn one into a successful individual in a given field of activity. Thus some become important figures, while others more or less successful individuals on the labour market.

Our research shows that along with professional skills, other competencies such as precision, reliability, information technology skills, communication, cooperation, teamwork, ability to learn and independent working ability are also considered important by employers. The results show that social competencies dominate the list of requirements (supplementing the professional skills), however, the ability to learn and information technology skills are also pivotal.

The interviews also revealed that formal education in Romania is not practice-oriented. This may be considered the message of the present study, namely that creating harmony between expectations of the labour market and education is absolutely necessary.

The study offered the possibility to employers to give voice to their expectations and create the possibility of dialogue between education and the labour market. The expectations of one of the key factors of the labour market, the employer, should be an important consideration in education. The feedback provided by both students and employers should improve education; this is the only way a real professional could be created. It is not only the amount of knowledge one possess that counts, but also the quality of it.

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Appendix

Interview Questions

Expectations of Small- and Middle-Scale Enterprises toward Their Employees

I.Group: Enterprise

- Presentation of enterprise: field of activity, functioning, work schedule, employees

- What position the interviewee holds within the firm
- What is their scope of duties
- Number and composition of employees

II. Group: Competencies

- What are your expectations toward recently hired colleagues?
- Based on what criteria do you hire anyone?
- If further training is required what are the competencies you as an employer focus on?

III. Group: Professional preparedness of young adults

- How do you perceive education nowadays? Is it practice-oriented within your field of activity?
- How competitive is young adults' preparedness (positive and negative characteristics)?

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