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Piotr Dlugosz*

INTRODUCTION

The research *Youth in the Borderlands of Central-East Europe* is an attempt to answer the question concerning functioning of youth in peripheral locations, which impose limits connected with their life chances.

Youth as a sociological category are located in the margin of social structure (Giddens, 2001) and have just begun the process of entering adulthood, which in conditions of social risk is longer (Beck, 1992). The period of attending schools is extending, more and more youth take up studies and upon graduating they still want to continue their education. The period of looking for a job after finishing formal education is extending as well. Job becomes unsteady, earnings are low, hence youth are more and more often called *precariat* (Standing, 2011). The age of getting married and giving birth to a first child is shifting as well. Youth more often choose living alone, and if they decide to enter a formal relationship, they enter it after graduating from a university and finding a job. In general, the situation of youth is becoming more difficult and it is stressed that the young generation will not have a better life standard in comparison with their parents, as it used to be so far (Stiglitz, 2012).

Such are current trends and the results of globalization. The standing of the young generation in borderlands where negative effects of globalization in the form of increasing inequalities may be far more harmful to youth (Długosz, 2016) sparks interest connected with the aforementioned phenomena. Borderlands are treated as peripheries located far from their centres. They are usually developed to a lesser extent in socio-economic terms, unemployment is higher, infrastructure is worse, income lower and emigration higher. The aforementioned unfavorable conditions for development may to a great extent generate anomie (Merton, 1968) and have impact on life strategies taken by youth in borderlands. In other words, by paying attention to different aspects of functioning of youth in borderlands makes the research focused on the “borderland effect” or rather “borderlands effects”. This effect consists in the fact that specific conditions in which societies from borderlands function (culture contact, diffusion, proximity of the border and making use of it) shape social personalities which are different from the ones of individuals inhabiting different areas of a given country.

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It is assumed that a borderland is an area, a territory located near the border or far from the center, in which socio-cultural contacts between two or more nations or ethnic groups take place. As a result of these contacts, shaping of a new man and his culture (cultures) in terms of norms, values, attitudes, economic activities, migrations (Sadowski, 1995, p.13).

While analyzing the society functioning in borderlands, one should bear in mind two issues. First of all, the phenomena in borderlands are specific and autonomous in comparison to the processes taking place in centres of bordering societies. In such a situation a borderland is treated as a clearly separate quality, and the reasons for processes which take place there may be - and should be - placed within the borderland. Secondly, borderlands are mainly or to a great extent parts of more extensive wholes and even though their certain individuality and the fact that different processes take place there is not negated, the fundamental reasons are located outside the borderland. Nonetheless, these paradigms shall not be treated in terms of competition, but complementarity (Babiński, 1997, p.51).

The articles presented in the following issue of "Youth in Central and Eastern Europe. Sociological Studies" derive from research initiated by Piotr Długosz who is also the author of methodological concept for the research. On the basis of the previous research conducted with Svetlana Szczudło in Polish-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Polish borderlands in 2012 (which were in a sense the pilot of the project) more extensive research was carried out in other borderlands in Poland, Ukraine and Hungary in 2015. The main aim of the project was to compare youth's daily lives in borderlands (Zielińska, 2003) and determine to what extent youth on both sides of the border are similar in terms of functioning in a similar socialising space and to what extent their values, aspirations, attitudes, identity, lifestyle are different in terms of socio-cultural factors of the inhabited country.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to all the participants of the research for engaging in the project with hope to broaden knowledge about youth living in different parts of the borderland. In the conditions of shortages in resources which might be used to develop these areas, youth may be the only factor which gives real chances to develop these areas. Thanks to innovativeness, dynamics, aiming at changes (Mannheim, 2011) they are the driving force which can be used for modernisation and integration of this area with other regions by the society.

What are the youth living in the researched borderlands like, what are their lives like, what are the problems they have to deal with, do they in majority become homogenized because of globalization or to what extent their strategies are differentiated by the type of a borderland - these are the questions to which the authors of the articles presented in the following issue would like to find answers to.

The conducted research was initiated by the author of the following article. The research was carried out in 2015 in the western borderland in Zielona Góra and Słubice – a border town in the Lubuskie voivodeship. Youth from Racibórz in the Silesian voivodeship in the southern borderland, located on the border with Czech Republic also underwent the research. Other borderlands are located in the area of Podkarpacie voivodeship. The southern borderland on the border with Slovakia is represented by youth from Krosno, Rymanów, Dukla. Rzeszów – the capital city of Podkarpacie voivodeship where approximately two thousand students from Ukraine study is also included in the research. The research covers the whole eastern borderland which is in the area of Podkarpacie voivodeship as well. All the schools from Lubaczów to Przemyśl, Ustrzyki Dolne, Lesko and Sanok were surveyed. On the other side of the border in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, youth in Drohobych and its vicinities which belong to the Lviv Oblast underwent the research as well. The survey was also conducted in Uzhhorod, which is the capital city of the Zakarpattia Oblast. The city is located in the Ukrainian-Slovak and the Ukrainian-Hungarian borderland. The research was also conducted in Kharkiv, the capital city of Kharkiv Oblast in the Ukrainian-Russian borderland. The last place where the survey was conducted is Nyíregyháza – a city with comitatus rights in the North-East part of Hungary, the capital city of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg comitatus. It is located in the Slovak-Ukrainian-Romanian borderland.

Finally, it is necessary to mention particular contributors to the project. The manager of the whole project and the initiator of the research was Piotr Długosz. The research of the eastern borderland was conducted by Piotr Długosz in the East European State Higher School in Przemyśl. Hubert Kotarski from the University of Rzeszów, who conducted the research in the Polish-Slovak borderland and Rzeszów joined the research. Thanks to the funds from the University of Rzeszów the surveys for Drohobych were printed and the data from the questionnaires from Drohobych, Uzhhorod and Nyíregyháza was obtained. In the West Borderland in Zielona Góra the research was carried out by Joanna Róg-Ilnicka and Agnieszka Urbaniak. The survey in Słubice was conducted by Beata Halicka and Magdalena Abraham-Defenbach from the Polish-German Research Institute of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder). The research in Racibórz was carried out by Jan Róg from State Higher School of Vocational Education in Racibórz. The field work in Drohobych was led by Svetlana Szczudło from Pedagogical University. The research in Uzhorod was carried out by Natalia Varha from the Uzhhorod National University. The survey in Hungary was conducted by Klara Kowacz from the University of Debrecen. The research in Kharkiv was carried out by Ludmila Sokuriańska from the National University in Kharkiv.

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Piotr Dlugosz*

YOUTH IN THE SITUATION OF ANOMIE IN THE EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE BORDERLANDS

The aim of the following paper is to present youth in the borderlands of Poland, Ukraine and Hungary as well as to determine the level at which they became adapted to the socio-economic system. The research was conducted with the use of the survey method and the auditorium questionnaire technique, the sample was of quota character. The results of the research indicate that the country determines the occurrence of anomie to a greater extent rather than the inhabited borderland. The majority of different symptoms appeared among Hungarian youth. Less symptoms were observed among young Ukrainians and the least in Poland. The most characteristic symptom of anomie is employing innovative strategies in striving for life goals, economic values spreading to other spheres of life and strong etatist, egalitarian and authoritarian orientation. The level of optimism is low as well.

Keywords: *anomie, youth, borderland, East-Central Europe, life aims, life strategies, optimism.*

INTRODUCTION

Marginal status of youth in social structure and limited access to social statuses reserved for adults exposes youth to deprivations in the world of advanced consumerism. Peripheral location of borderlands regarding centres may make the social-economic situation bad for them, which may unfavourably influence the process of entering adulthood.

Unfavourable economic situation in peripheries, marginal social status in social structure and deepening difficulties connected with achieving independence may create the state of anomie. The „Indignados Movement”, „Euromaidan” in Ukraine or the dissent against Polish political situation in 2015 which was the outcome of parliamentary and presidential elections may exemplify the protest against socio-political reality, which is aversive for youth. Youth as a sensitive and affectionate participant of social life may feel system tension to a greater extent. It is probable that youth’s reactions to system dysfunctions are more sudden and become conspicuous earlier (Parsons, 1964; Nowak, 2009; Wertenstein-Żuławski, 1998; Szafraniec, 2002).

Emil Durkheim notices that all the political and economic tremors have negative impact on social structure (Durkheim, 1951). Axio-normative chaos comes to being, individuals do not know which goals to strive, which norms are valid, how to function in new conditions. Robert Merton (1968) also pays attention to the conflict between cultural values and institutionalized norms. In

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the author's opinion anomie occurs when despite using appropriate measures an individual cannot gain culturally defined aims. System norms collapse and deviatory strategies are employed. Merton enumerates examples of such strategies, i.e. innovation, ritualism, dissent and withdrawal. The state of anomie may threaten the social system and individuals functioning in it. Unavailability of fulfilling goals perceived as right, lack of unambiguous rules which should be followed, lack of faith in achieving success are some of the symptoms of anomie.

Durkheim and Merton's theory of anomie was elaborated on by Polish researchers regarding the socio-economic crisis taking place in Poland in the 1980s and the period of major changes in 1989 (Nowak, 2009; Sztompka, 1982; Sztompka, 2000). Stefan Nowak on the basis of Merton asserts that blocking human needs and goals in Polish society in the 1980s delegitimized the system (Nowak, 2009, p. 232). Piotr Sztompka gives attention to main forms of crisis: deprivation, anomie and alienation (Sztompka, 1982). On the other hand, Jerzy Wertenstein-Żuławski (1998, p. 145) asserts that Polish youth in the 1980s of the 20th century felt forsaken and alone in a hostile world heading towards a disaster, had the feeling of not having chances and perspectives, the need of having bond in a small group, escape from unwanted and besieging reality into rock music, relationships and drugs perceived as psychological remedy against the threatening world, desperate need of finding the meaning of values, the fulfillment of which is usually impossible.

Talcott Parsons (1964, p. 221) puts emphasis on different aspects. The author states that constant social changes make adjusting capabilities of the system to youth's demands impossible. Moreover, increasing individualization, lack of support in making key life decisions from social groups and institutions, leaving them to their own fate, imposing demands which are difficult to fulfill or create conflicts also lead to anomie.

On the other hand, Krystyna Szafraniec by analyzing Polish youth in the context of the theory of anomie at the beginning of the 21st c. presents two models of anomie of the transformation period. The first one derives from Durkheim – the model of „anomie of chaos” covers early 1990s of the 20th c. The second one refers to Merton's model of “structural disharmony”. In the first case the period of transformational transition from one social system to another, from the foregoing political age to a new one by nature gives rise to normative havoc and chaos, creates a situation in which former norms become invalid, while the new ones are not fully constituted yet. In the conditions of coexistence of two cultures representing two different social worlds and social realities are characterized by certain vagueness, indeterminateness, lack of directions and solid reference points (Szafraniec 2002, p. 456). In the second case, in the economy model liberal solutions appear. The system bases on individual contributions, while material success is the measure of human value. Youth

from upper social classes find it easier to fulfill these goals, whereas the youth of lower status have to struggle with obstacles on the way to success. As Szafraniec (2002, p. 457) puts it: „in the language of theory of anomie it is a classic example of disharmony in a society which is stable, nonetheless not rich enough for the cultural offer to be equally available to all. Hence the noticeable turn to deviations from the norm and deviatory behaviours, putting more emphasis on pragmatics of acting rather than its moral attributes and increased social assent to normatively “laid-back” attitudes. It is worth noticing that the consequence of immersing into anomous world is the sense of anomy thus helplessness, abandonment, losing the sense of life, being lost, lack of hope” (Szafraniec, 2002, p. 473). Authoritarianism and escapist tendencies shall be included in psychological consequences as well.

In the situation of post-transformational society which has run out of the hitherto ways of development, the system becomes insufficient and economic and political crises occur. Both models of anomie may exist simultaneously, at the same time creating favourable context for deviatory behaviours. On the one hand, normative chaos resulting from ideological change in Poland, Hungary and Ukraine comes to being. On the other hand, it is noticeable that the hitherto norms which would lead to success do not bring the expected outcomes, e.g. higher education does not lead to high social status because of educational inflation, which may undermine the meaning of trust in system rules and the system as a whole. An additional factor influencing the rise of anomie may be youth’s place of inhabitation, that is the borderland, which is connected with a decrease in the effectiveness of system norms and rules. Peripheral location evokes the occurrence of economic crises and multidimensional deprivations resulting from poorly developed economy and unemployment being higher in such a case as well as an insufficient number of workplaces for specialists.

This paper aims at finding answers to the following questions:

- Are the symptoms of anomie noticeable in the youth living in the borderland?
- Does a given type of borderland have impact on the occurrence of symptoms of anomie among youth?
- Is the anomie determined by the stage of transformation at which certain countries are?

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

The conducted research was initiated by the author of the following article. The research was carried out in 2015 in the western borderland in Zielona Góra and Ślubice – a border town in the Lubuskie voivodeship. Youth from Racibórz in the Silesian voivodeship in the southern borderland, located on the border with Czech Republic also underwent the research. Other borderlands

are located in the area of Podkarpacie voivodeship. The southern borderland on the border with Slovakia is represented by youth from Krosno, Rymanów, Dukla. Rzeszów – the capital city of Podkarpacie voivodeship where approximately two thousand students from Ukraine study is also included in the research. The research covers the whole eastern borderland which is in the area of Podkarpacie voivodeship as well. All the schools from Lubaczów to Przemyśl, Ustrzyki Dolne, Lesko and Sanok were surveyed. On the other side of the border in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, youth in Drohobych and its vicinities which belong to the Lviv Oblast underwent the research as well. The survey was also conducted in Uzhhorod, which is the capital city of the Zakarpattia Oblast. The city is located in the Ukrainian-Slovak and the Ukrainian-Hungarian borderland. The research was also conducted in Kharkiv, the capital city of Kharkiv Oblast in the Ukrainian-Russian borderland. The last place where the survey was conducted is Nyíregyháza – a city with comitatus rights in the North-East part of Hungary, the capital city of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg comitatus. It is located in the Slovak-Ukrainian-Romanian borderland.

Therefore, the survey research was conducted in different borderlands: eastern, western, southern. These borderlands are internal and external borders of the European Union. Observations were carried out with the use of the survey method, employing the auditorium questionnaire technique. The sample was of quota character. On the one hand, an attempt to grasp the representation of „the whole” youth in a selected region was taken. In this case an attempt to maintain quotas regarding the school time and place of inhabitation was taken. On the other hand, it was also planned to conduct the research on secondary school leavers, who seem to have particular plans and goals for the future. The research was conducted on the following number of youth: in Przemyśl 1232, Krosno 406, Rzeszów 570, Raciborz 187, Słubice 258, Zielona Góra 336, Nyíregyháza 359, Drohobych 392, Uzhhorod 468, Kharkiv 428.

The search for symptoms of anomie among youth is carried out in two fields. The first one refers to the classic model by Merton (1968), in which it is verified whether the preferred means of achieving goals by youth are consistent with the system rules. Anomie occurs when the means preferred by youth are inconsistent with systemic presumptions (meritocracy, professional competences).

The second field refers to institutional indices of anomie. On the one hand, it will occur if it is observed that material values such as individualism, universalism, striving for achievements dominate in social life of an individual. On the other hand, ideological values such as egalitarianism, etatism, authoritarianism, fatalism, the sense of perpetration, acceptance of socialism will be observed. Thanks to this it is possible to verify to what extent the preferences of youth are consistent with liberal and market ideology.

EMPIRICAL DATA ANALYSIS

Life Goals

On the basis of data presented in Table 1 one may observe patterns of youth's life aims. First of all, youth have a hierarchy of life goals which may be described as universal. In each of the researched borderlands the most important life goal is happy family life. Developing one's interests and talents, having friends, leading a calm, far from every-day troubles life was found in a slightly lower, yet universally accepted rank. Accumulating great wealth, high income, having people's respect, independence and helping others are highly popular among all of the respondents. The surveyed people care about having power or starting their own business less.

While writing about the observed differences one should bear in mind the fact that they are divided into two types. The first type is connected with the differentiation between countries. On the basis of the gathered observations it may be said that the value of higher education has a lower rank in the borderlands in Poland, whereas higher in Ukraine and Hungary. In the case of aiming at leading life for pleasures and fun a similar division is observed. This aim is chosen less often by youth in the borderlands in Poland, while more often in Ukraine and Hungary. The case of aiming at finding a good job is similar. This life goal may be described as a key one for youth entering adulthood. Material standing and consumption possibilities depend on the job. They have impact on making a decision of starting a family. Among Polish youth this aim scores higher than in Ukraine and Hungary.

Differences between countries and borderlands occur as well. They are observed in the case of religiosity. Aiming at leading a life according to rules set forth by religion is the highest in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland – 66% in Przemyśl, in the Polish-Slovak borderland – 64% in Krosno, 65% in Rzeszów, 76% in Drohobych and 63 in Uzhhorod. Lower popularity of this aim is observed among youth from western and southern (Polish-Czech) borderlands of Poland. Significantly lower importance was given to this aim by youth from Kharkiv (36%) and Nyíregyháza (29%).

Analogical situation occurs in the case of starting one's own business. The data indicates that the spirit of entrepreneurship is manifested more strongly among Ukrainian youth rather than Polish or Hungarian. Nonetheless, slight differences may be observed in acceptance of this aim in Polish borderlands. Entrepreneurship in Polish society is more noticeable in the western borderland rather than the southern or eastern ones.

Table 1. Youth's life goals and aims (Data is presented in %)¹

	Przemysł	Krosno	Rzeszów	Zielona Góra	Stubice	Racibórz	Drohobych	Uzhhorod	Kharkiv	Nyíregyháza
Graduating from a higher school	77	78	60	75	68	71	92	88	94	90
Happy family life	95	96	96	96	98	94	95	95	96	96
Starting one's own business	37	35	43	45	47	31	65	70	75	51
Living the moment and living life for pleasures and fun	56	59	72	66	64	60	70	73	77	95
Developing one's talents and hobbies	93	96	92	97	95	93	94	90	95	96
A calm, far from every-day troubles life	84	87	81	84	80	81	83	86	79	92
Accumulating wealth, high income	86	88	87	87	92	86	65	82	79	85
Having people's respect	88	90	91	89	89	88	93	85	87	87
Finding a good job	95	96	97	97	96	96	86	78	87	81
Living according to faith	66	64	65	45	48	54	76	63	36	29
Independence from others	87	90	85	90	89	85	90	86	87	91
Helping others	83	85	81	83	81	83	91	85	84	86
Having friends	91	95	93	93	92	91	93	90	92	92
Having a high position at work	71	75	75	76	80	65	69	76	79	87
Having power	23	24	24	18	22	23	28	58	45	13

Aiming at having power is differentiated as well. In the Hungarian-Romanian borderland it is a marginal aim. It has a bit higher popularity among youth in Polish borderlands and the Polish-Ukrainian borderland. Power is appreciated the most in the Ukrainian-Slovak and Ukrainian-Russian borderlands.

¹The Table contains the answers *I highly care +I care*.

Summing up, the analysis of life aims has shown that certain life goals are universal and result from general cultural trends and the specificity of the life stage and psychosocial needs which are related to it. Socio-centric, family, affiliative, self-realization, altruistic and individualistic goals are included in this syndrome.

In the case of educational and employment orientations, the country rather than the type of a borderland has a higher meaning in shaping life goals. In this case Polish youth give more attention to finding a job rather than graduating from a higher school. In the case of “the spirit of entrepreneurship”, religiosity, having power, the influence of borderlands was higher. “The spirit of entrepreneurship” occurs more often in Ukrainian borderlands and to a lesser extent in the western borderland in Poland. The observations indicate that entrepreneurial attitudes are more common in the borderlands with a richer neighbouring country. Higher religiosity was observed in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, which may be the legacy of the times of Galicia in which traditionalism and conservatism were dominant. While comparing these two variables one may observe similarities between the western borderland in Poland and the eastern borderland in Ukraine as well as the eastern borderland in Poland and the western borderland in Ukraine.

MEANS LEADING TO ACHIEVING GOALS

Finding a job, starting a family and becoming independent are often listed among the criteria of adulthood. In life goals of the researched young people especially in Poland the job is in the highest rank in the hierarchy of life aims and in the remaining borderlands job is often perceived as a priority.

Job in modern societies is the basis of defining one’s social status. It gives an opportunity to earn money and influences most important life decisions, such as the one regarding starting a family. Job determines consumption possibilities of an individual, which in the post-modern world is an index of social status. The higher the level of consumption, more often exchanging things into new ones, the higher the social status.

The analysis of life goals indicates that the majority of youth choose adaptation and conformism in the relations with the social system. Job becomes an instrumental goal, thanks to which a young person can enter adulthood.

In the conducted research the respondents were asked what in their opinion decides about finding a good job upon graduating.

Taking into account percentage division of answers to the above question, youth most often indicated that protection and good contacts determine finding a good job. Such an opinion was dominant in all the Polish borderlands and in the Hungarian borderland. This factor is indicated less often in Ukraine, especially in Drohobych.

Table 2. Means of finding a „good” job (Data in %)²

	Przemysł	Krosno	Rzeszów	Zielona Góra	Stubice	Racibórz	Drohobych	Uzhhorod	Kharkiv	Nyíregyháza
Contacts and protection	92	92	91	94	90	90	61	74	70	93
High professional qualifications	93	93	91	92	89	91	92	87	95	93
Education	85	85	82	81	81	79	84	82	83	90
Initiative and entrepreneurship	76	76	66	83	73	72	81	79	86	82
Parents' wealthiness	48	52	48	48	50	48	42	62	57	44
Occupation, type of a job	86	83	81	85	82	77	80	83	84	83
Solid and diligent work, well performed	84	82	83	82	82	81	90	86	89	89
Place of inhabitance e.g. a big city, countryside	60	60	43	55	62	57	46	58	48	59
Cunningness	43	39	39	50	40	38	67	74	72	79
Luck, chance	44	47	43	49	44	44	48	63	58	69
Social origins	30	32	32	31	26	34	32	56	43	64
Looks, personal charm	52	58	52	59	53	54	42	57	58	91
Political views	18	17	17	10	11	19	20	34	29	40
Prestige of the higher school	66	73	68	70	69	59	64	65	62	78
Command of foreign languages	92	96	91	95	97	91	85	86	84	96

High professional qualifications and skills are unanimously acknowledged as the most important means of finding a profitable and prestigious job. A similar case is with the command of foreign languages. Among Polish and Hungarian youth language skills were more often indicated than among young Ukrainians. Higher education also scored highly. A little less attention is given to the obtained profession. Solid and diligent working has also a high influence on finding a “good” job. In Polish borderlands this feature is indicated less often, whereas more often in Ukraine and Hungary. An effective means of

² The table contains the answers *definitely yes* + *yes*.

finding a job is initiative and entrepreneurship. The prestige of the higher school from which one graduates scored a little less. In Poland, except from Racibórz, in all the borderlands the influence of this means was indicated less often. In Ukraine the prestige of higher school was taken into account less often, whereas more often in Hungary. Even less importance in relation to finding a good job is given to the place of inhabitation. In Poland this factor was indicated a bit less often by the students in Rzeszów. In the remaining borderlands this influence scores more.

Lower importance is assigned to parents' wealthiness. Looks and personal charm was indicated by more than a half of youth. The meaning of this factor was indicated the least often in Drohobych, and most often in Nyíregyháza. Cunningness was chosen as a vital element of finding a job more often in Ukraine and Hungary.

Analogical percentage of the respondents indicated that luck and coincidence have influence on finding a job. In all the Polish borderlands and in Drohobych opinions were similar. In Uzhhorod and Kharkiv and in Hungary the respondents were more often counting on a stroke of luck. The influence of social origin on finding a job scored lower. Approximately one third of respondents in Poland in Drohobych indicated the existence of such a relation. This fact was more often noticed by youth in Uzhhorod and Kharkiv and most often in Hungary. According to young people, political orientations have the smallest influence on finding a good job. In this case youth from Polish borderlands and Drohobych have given consistent answers. Still, the respondents from Uzhhorod, Kharkiv and especially Hungary evaluated the influence of political orientations on finding a good job higher

On the basis of the gathered data a few conclusions can be drawn. First of all, youth is characterized by more similarities than differences in strategies of finding a job. It is especially noticeable in Polish borderlands. Secondly, taking into consideration the situation of anomie which occurs when an individual attempts to achieve culturally defined goals with the use of illegitimate rules, it may be stated that the intensity of anomie is especially high in Polish and Hungarian borderlands. Youth in Poland and in Hungary believe that good contacts and protection are the best means of finding a job. It may be possible that the command of foreign languages often indicated in Poland and Hungary as important means of finding a job is rooted in the fact that the researched youth are going to look for job abroad, which would mean that escapist strategies are employed. Moreover, if the level of approval to legitimate rules among the whole population of youth is taken into account, it should be stated that in Poland qualifications, command of foreign languages, education, profession and diligently performed work are most important. In Ukraine this hierarchy looks a bit different. Qualifications, diligently performed work, education, initiative and entrepreneurship are considered priorities in Ukraine.

On the other hand, Hungarians enumerate command of foreign languages, high qualifications, personal charm and education. Finally, the conducted analyses indicate that in five cases the opinions of youth from Drohobych were more similar to Polish answers rather than those of their Ukrainian peers. This phenomenon may be perceived as convergence of youth from West Ukraine (Drohobych) with European culture. It is worth adding that the situation in which youth from Drohobych inhabits the area between the East and the West may lead to a situation which may result in anomie. The fact that Polish youth are more anomous than Ukrainian youth may be surprising, which is indicated by the fact that Poles use more deviatory models of adaptation. Nonetheless, the conclusions which may be drawn from the analysed research are similar to those conducted by CBOS. According to the representative study, the acceptance of meritocratic rules among youth is decreasing, whereas the importance of deviatory behaviours is increasing. The previous groups more often indicated the importance of higher education, whereas now moving abroad or nepotism scored higher (Młodzież 2013, 2013).

INSTITUTIONAL INDICES OF ANOMIE

While searching for a broader look at anomie, the theory of institutional anomie by Messner and Rosenfeld which assumes that in the situation when the values typical for market institutions dominate over the values connected with different institutional spheres, the phenomena characteristic for social deregulation may occur is worth mentioning. Individualism, universalism, aiming at achievements and commodity fetishism are the values from the field of economic social institutions (Bieliński, 2013, p. 148). Anomie is also understood as certain psychological dispositions, in which fear of future, authoritarianism, uncertainty are included. Yet another sign of it is rejection of ideological assumptions which are understood as entrepreneurship, dominance of free market, competition and acceptance of meritocracy as well as acceptance of the existence of social inequalities.

Similarly to previous analyses, a part of the measured indices of anomie is identical for all the youth, and part of it changes depending on the type of borderland or country. The importance of success is almost universally accepted among youth regardless of the researched borderland. Nevertheless, in the question whether one needs help from other people in order to achieve success different answers were given. If the index of individualism which presents social atomisation is to be taken into account, the highest score was reached in the West borderland of Poland (Zielona Góra 47%, Słubice 54%) and the South borderland 55% and the East borderland of Ukraine 51%.

Table 3. Institutional-ideological elements of anomie (Data in %)³

	Przemysł	Krosno	Rzeszów	Zielona Góra	Słubice	Racibórz	Drohobych	Uzhhorod	Kharkiv	Debrecen
Achieving success in life is exceptionally important for me	92	92	93	94	95	91	94	96	96	94
I don't need help from others in achieving success	42	40	45	47	54	36	43	55	51	39
If I work hard, I will get everything I want	67	64	70	67	69	56	86	80	88	59
Now in our country every entrepreneurial man can come to fortune	41	37	39	37	35	37	37	43	45	26
In the present socio-economic conditions people like me don't have a chance in the future	29	28	26	25	27	33	22	37	26	24
I don't have much influence on things that happen to me	39	39	36	33	42	37	47	57	42	25
Our country needs a strong leader rather than democracy	47	43	51	42	46	40	57	68	60	48
Finding a job for everyone who wants to work should be the responsibility of the government	84	82	88	79	86	85	94	87	87	95
The gap between the lowest and the highest income of the people who work is definitely too big	83	85	81	77	81	78	86	82	84	94

³ The table contains the answers *definitely yes+yes*.

Socialism gives countries better opportunities for development rather than capitalism	27	24	34	29	28	26	42	54	45	42
Economy will function better if majority of companies will belong to private entrepreneurs	44	41	41	45	42	33	42	47	49	38
Close contact with the West (the European Union Member Countries) poses a threat to culture and economy of our country	31	27	35	30	29	31	17	32	36	41

On the other hand, the lowest score was given in the South borderland of Poland (Racibórz 36%) and Nyíregyháza in Hungary 39%. Anomie would be in correlation with individualization which is the strongest in the West border of Poland and in the South and East borders of Ukraine.

In the case of trust in success of hard work, the highest affirmation of this opinion is noticed in Drohobych 86%, Kharkiv 88% and least often in Hungary 59% and Racibórz 56%. In the remaining Polish borderlands this statement was accepted by approximately three quarters of respondents. 35-45% of youth in Polish and Ukrainian borderlands were convinced that an entrepreneurial man may come to fortune. Young Hungarians accepted this standing less often (26%).

Approximately one third of respondents agrees with the statement that in the present socio-economic conditions youth have no chance in the future. Noticeably less such voices were gathered in Drohobych (22%) and more in Uzhhorod (37%). Lack of hope and pessimism have touched a small group of youth. In the next statement, the level of fatalism the intensity of which in the researched population reached between 33% and 47% was measured. The highest level of it was noticed in Uzhhorod (57%), whereas the lowest in Nyíregyháza (25%). On the other hand, the authoritarian syndrome was observed among approximately 40-51% of respondents. It was the strongest in Ukrainian borderlands (Drohobych 57%; Uzhhorod 68%; Kharkiv 60%). This may be connected with disorganization and chaos resulting from the political conflict in Ukraine.

The support for etatism was high and exceeded the number of 80% respondents. The school-leavers from Drohobych 94% and Nyíregyháza 95%

most often agreed in the question whether the government should provide jobs for everyone. The acceptance of the postulate of regulation of remuneration and limiting income inequalities was analogical. The majority of youth in all of the borderlands agree with this statement. The highest percentage of support for egalitarianism was noticed in the Hungarian borderland (94%) and the lowest in Zielona Góra (77%).

Nonetheless, youth evaluate socialism differently. In Poland, 24-34% of respondents were convinced that socialism gives better development opportunities. In Ukraine such an opinion was stated by 42-54% of respondents. In Hungary there were 42% of supporters of socialism. Privatisation of economy was supported by approximately 40% of respondents from the whole population. The lowest percentage of such indications was noticed in Racibórz (33%), whereas the highest in Uzhhorod (47%) and Kharkiv (49%). Fears connected with further cultural and economic expansion with the European Union Member Countries were indicated most often by youth from Kharkiv (36%) and Nyíregyháza 41%. The least fears connected with cultural-economic integration were noticed among youth from Drohobych (17%).

By summing up the gathered observations on different spheres of anomie in borderlands it is necessary to state that the majority of youth aims at achieving success. This is a feature of the generation. Taking into account the institutional elements of anomie it is necessary to notice that among the population faith in one's determination and driving force, hope for the future, individualism are most common. Youth believe in entrepreneurship to a lesser extent, the level of fatalism is low. The second aspect connected with political system preferences shows that youth are egalitarian, etatist, authoritarian. Nonetheless, the minority of school-leavers evaluates socialism positively, majority is against privatization and one third of respondents believes that further integration with the European Union Member Countries will pose a threat to culture and economy. In other words, higher anxiety is noticed in the ideological sphere, since the political views of youth are different from liberal-market assumptions.

Most answers gathered in borderlands are similar. If there are differences, they most often appear between countries. The level of individualism, entrepreneurship and determination was the highest in Ukraine, whereas lower in Poland and even lower in Hungary. Lower fatalism was noticed in Ukraine, whereas higher in Poland and the highest in Hungary. The highest level of etatism was observed among Hungarian respondents, while lower among Ukrainian respondents and the lowest in the case of Polish youth. The affection for socialism was expressed by Ukrainian youth, then by young Hungarians and the least often by Polish youth. Privatisation of economy also has the majority of supporters among Poles and Ukrainians, less among Hungarians. The feeling of European Union posing a threat to culture and economy most often appeared

among Hungarians, less often in Poland. Internal polarization within a group was also noticed in Ukraine. In the West Ukraine the fears were at the lowest level, whereas in the East Ukraine definitely higher. This confirms the cultural gap between the East and the West of Ukraine, where one party strives for integration with the European Union, while the second aims at integration with Russia.

It is surprising that the majority of symptoms of anomie was noticed in Hungary, which may be explained by the current political situation in this country. The system with elements of „*welfare state*” is introduced by the government which focuses on supporting country capital, while neoliberalism is rejected. These ideological changes in the recent years may have led to changes in attitudes of youth.

It is necessary to state that the chances of achieving one's goals were evaluated at the highest level in Kharkhiv (66%), Drohobych (64%), Uzhhorod (63%). Lower level of optimism was observed in Polish borderlands in Zielona Góra (51%), Rzeszów (51%), Racibórz (43%), Przemyśl (39%), Krosno (36%). The lowest degree of faith in success was observed among young people from Nyíregyháza 27%.

Therefore it may be said that the index of anomie is the highest in the Hungarian borderland and the lowest in the Ukrainian borderlands. It is possible that the optimism and enthusiasm of Ukrainian youth results from the changes taking place in connection with the Euromaidan revolution. In Poland the feeling of lost chances is observed in the Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Slovak borderlands. Youth in the remaining borderlands evaluate their chances better. Hungarians assess the conditions in their borderlands the lowest, which confirms that they are prone to anomie in post-transformational conditions.

CONCLUSIONS

The anomalous behaviours are noticeable in the relations between cultural aims and system norms. Youth seems to pursue society expectations, by striving to find a job, get education, start a family, have friends and be independent. Nevertheless, means of achieving these aims are not fully approved by society. Nepotism and protection are highly valued strategies. It is especially observed in Poland and Hungary, which may indicate an innovation in the field of rules. In Ukraine cleverness and cunningness is given high importance. Hence the disharmony connected with common approval to deviatory strategies taken by school leavers. The meaning of knowing foreign languages which may be used in the process of looking for a job abroad may be interpreted analogically. In this case the question of innovation arises, as success is the goal and the means of achieving it is emigration. In general, high importance of deviatory strategies among young people indicates the occurrence of anomie.

The other index, which concerns institutional anomie, indicates clearly that individualism, universalism, aiming at success are present among the researched youth. Market values have entered different fields of social reality, which indicates the occurrence of anomie. The situation is even worse if ideological values of youth are taken into account. It is clear that they are significantly different from the promoted ones and on which social system is based in the researched countries. Youth are in contradiction with market solutions. Egalitarianism, etatism, authoritarianism are dominant among youth. The researched youth lives in a world which is not their reality. Moreover, a part of youth has fatalist attitude towards reality and has a feeling of limited chances for achieving life goals in their place of inhabitation. Therefore, fatalism and pessimism are further symptoms of anomie.

The assumption that the type of borderland determines the occurrence of anomie has been refuted. In this case it is necessary to refer to the standing of Grzegorz Babiński (1997, p. 51) who states that borderlands are mainly or to a greater extent parts of a whole, and even though certain individual nature and differences between processes that take place there are not completely negated, some of their fundamental reasons are located outside a borderland. The following research confirms this thesis: the extent and level of anomie among youth was differentiated to a greater extent by the country in which they live rather than the type of borderland. This means that youth in the borderlands is a social mirror in which phenomena typical for certain societies are reflected.

Taking into consideration all the analysed symptoms of anomie it can be stated that it is most noticeable in Hungary, a little less in Ukraine and the least in Poland. It is possible that different stages of advancement in modernisation processes in the countries from the discussed region and normative chaos resulting from cultural, political and social changes in Hungary, Poland and Ukraine have influence on differences in the occurrence of anomie. As shown, rapid and extensive changes give rise to positive attitudes towards the world which is rightful, certain and the order of which is protected by a powerful ruler, who provides stability and shares equally.

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CONFLICTS AND METHODS OF SOLVING THEM IN THE OPINION OF YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE POLISH WESTERN BORDERLAND. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONCEPT OF PRO-CONCILIATORY ORIENTATION

The article presents the results of opinion surveys by high school graduates in Zielona Gora regarding conflicts and methods of solving them, related to the characteristics of judicial authority as well as extrajudicial alternative forms of dispute intervention. The respondents were asked a projection question regarding their future, potential engagement in a conflict situation. They were also asked to evaluate statements pertaining to such a situation. A consistent picture of views presenting elements of clearly conciliatory attitude which are important for the respondents, including, among others: an independent, extrajudicial compromise, as acceptable for both conflicted parties, a mindset defined by looking for real solutions to problems which underlie the dispute, the relevance of the question of compensation for the aggrieved party. With a view to the results obtained, the notion of “pro-conciliatory orientation” was proposed to denote a set of beliefs, as characteristic for an individual or group of people, concerning preferred ways of managing disputes with conciliatory and amicable intensity, typical for alternative methods of dispute resolution and distinguishing it from the “pro-confrontational orientation”, wherein elements and solutions are preferred as derived from the features of judicial authority.

Keywords: conflict, alternative methods of dispute resolution, mediation, court, young people, pro-conciliation orientation, pro-confrontational orientation

INTRODUCTION

This study was developed as a result of an international research project “Młodzież na pograniczach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (PL-DE)” [“*Young People at Central and Eastern Europe’s Borderland (PL-DE)*”]. This is the reference to a portion of the research material obtained within a part of the research executed by the Institute of Sociology of the University of Zielona Gora in March 2015 including a group of 336 Zielona Gora high school graduates. The text presents the results obtained based on an originally conceptualized block of questions regarding the school-leavers’ opinions on their preferred ways of dealing with potential conflict situation, located within the perspective of judicial authority or alternative methods of dispute resolution. Each of the respondents was asked to imagine him/herself in a conflict situation

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considering, in the pursuit of a solution, bringing a case to a court. From this perspective, the respondents referred to statements which were narrower in scope, corresponding to areas being relevant from the point of view of locating individual views, developed on the basis of elements defining each of the areas.

AT THE BOTTOM OF THE ANALYSES: THE CONTINUUM OF THE FORMS OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

In accordance with the concept of the “continuum” of the forms of administration of justice, as established by the theoretical legal thought (Zienkiewicz, 2007, p. 242), I assumed that ”dispute management” (Zienkiewicz, 2007, p. 23) refers to definitionally different methods of reacting to a conflict situation (“amicable” and “adjudicational”), encompassing diverse courses of conduct: “contract”, “conciliatory”, “arbitral”, “judicial” (Morek, 2009, p. 22), involving various mechanisms of dispute intervention: constructive “resolution” or confrontational “settlement” (Zienkiewicz, 2007, p. 23).

Table 1. The court vs. alternative methods: constitutive elements

Judicial procedure	Alternative methods of dispute resolution (mediation) ⁴
”Settlement” ⁵	”Resolution”
Arbitrary decision	Subjective decision
”Win-Lose”: unilateral victory, one party’s satisfaction	”Win-Win”: mutual satisfaction, mutually accepted agreement
Decision-making perspective: ”Past-Present”	Decision-making perspective: ”Present-Future”
Finding the guilty one	Resolving the problem
Punishment of the perpetrator ⁶	”Compensation” for the aggrieved party

⁴ **Alternative Dispute Resolution** is ”amicable and conciliatory methods of solving conflicts and resolving disputes based on the idea of pursuing agreement and finding a compromise way out of a conflict situation.” (Kalisz, Zienkiewicz, 2009, p. 26). Mediation is considered as the ”most important and, at the same time, the simplest form of ADR, sometimes termed as the mother of ADR.” (Morek, 2009, p. 21).

⁵ In the source literature, dispute **settlement** is understood as ”the process of unilateral, authoritative imposition of a decision terminating a dispute in relations to one or both parties to the dispute, most frequently by a third party in the form of an administrative body (the administrative method, referred to as the managerial type of application of law), a state judicature body or an arbitrator of a court of arbitration (adjudication – the judicial type of application of law, the quasi-judicial type of application of law). Dispute **resolution** is a process in which a neutral third party – mediator – (usually) takes part, who persuades the disputing parties to conclude an agreement, not being competent to take binding decisions in the case.” (Zienkiewicz, 2007, p. 23).

⁶ The understanding of the problem of punishment is essentially different in both areas under scrutiny. As A. Zoll points out with reference to judicial authority, ”(...) the sense of justice is deeply rooted in us as shaped by the law of talion and its modern expression in the form of retribution based on the principle of retaliation. The symbol of justice so administered is

Source: Authoress's own work based on: (Kalisz, Zienkiewicz, 2009 p. 23; Moore, 2009, p. 30; Zoll, 2009, p. 16-18; Seremet, 2011, p. 9).

The extremes of this continuum are thus represented by litigation, on the one hand, and alternative methods on the other, mainly conciliatory mediation. An analysis of the source literature offers elements which are constitutive for both forms, which was presented in Table No 1.

Simultaneously, I made the preliminary assumption that individuals have certain views, whether more or less conscious, regarding narrower areas to be analytically isolated within the general, overall attitude towards a potential conflict situation. These views can be assigned as either closer to the idea of judicial administration of justice or alternative methods. The views within specific areas may be independent of one another or comprise coherent systems, related to a more or less conscious and consistent declaration in favour of one of the methods of dispute intervention. The distribution of responses for both view groups is presented in Table No 2.

Table 2. Distribution of views: the court vs. alternative methods

Area/indicator	Judicial authority	Alternative mediatory methods
1a. Main area of searching for a solution for a conflict situation: judicial authority	Relevant	Irrelevant
1b. Main area of searching for a solution for a conflict situation: extrajudicial forms	Irrelevant	Relevant
2. Arbitrary determination of the rightfulness of either party	Relevant	Irrelevant
3. Parties' decision-making in the process of developing an agreement	Irrelevant	Relevant
4. Pursuit of victory at any cost	Relevant	Irrelevant
5. Searching for solutions acceptable for both parties	Irrelevant	Relevant
6. Finding the guilty one	Relevant	Irrelevant
7. Solving the actual problem which underlies the dispute	Irrelevant	Relevant
8. Punishment of the perpetrator	Relevant	Irrelevant
9. Compensation for the aggrieved party	Irrelevant	Relevant

Themis, with her balance, sword and blindfold. The punisher is not supposed to see the person, but to measure out the distress contained in the punishment, according to the wrong done by a felonious act." Only restorative justice, representing alternative methods, "(...) sees felony as a conflict of the perpetrator with the victim and the environment in which the crime has been committed. The goal is to dispose of the conflict, wherein the perpetrator, the victim and the environment are involved in the disposition. " (Zoll, 2009, p. 16, 18).

Source: Authoress's own work

Thus, the respondents' views regarding individual issues under scrutiny can be referred to the specific types of basic forms of dispute management (judicial and extrajudicial). In the most general sense, these are distinguished by the presence of amicability-consensuality (alternative methods) or confrontationality (judicial administration of justice).

CONFLICT: IN COURT OR OUT OF COURT?

The first question which the respondents were asked pertained to evaluation of the court as the best institution from the point of view of bringing an end to a dispute. The results obtained are presented below.

Table 3. Perception of extrajudicial administration of justice

The best way to bring an end to a dispute is going to court	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	5.7
I rather agree	17.2
I rather disagree	50.5
I definitely disagree	13.9
It is difficult to say	12.7
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

The material thus obtained clearly shows that a majority of responding high school graduates did not point at the court as the best institution in their opinion. Only as few as 5.7% of the respondents definitely agreed that the legal action was the best way out of a conflict situation.

Complementary to this question is another one regarding evaluation of attempts to reach an agreement without a need to use judicial authority. For (49.7%) of the respondents agreement is rather, and for (34.6%) definitely, the best activity to take.

Table 4. Evaluation of agreement

The best way to bring an end to a dispute is an attempt to reach an agreement without a need to go to court	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	34.6
I rather agree	49.7

I rather disagree	6.6
I definitely disagree	1.2
It is difficult to say	7.8
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

The distribution of the statements becomes even clearer if the responses: I definitely agree and I rather agree are treated collectively as the acceptance category, and the responses: I rather disagree and I definitely disagree, as a generalized category of objections. We can ascertain then that 84.3% of the respondents accept the statement presented. Only 7.8% do not think that the best way to terminate a dispute was an attempt to reach an agreement without having to go to court.

IS IT IMPORTANT TO BE RIGHT?

The next step was to ask the respondents about the court in the context of the arbitrary determination of the rightfulness of one party, as representative for this procedure. As can be seen in the table below, a vast majority of the respondents (43.5%) rather, and 14.5% definitely disagreed with the presented statement. Hence, the generalized objection category refers to more than half (58%) of the results obtained.

Table 5. Rightfulness of one party

It is expedient to go to court as it can determine unequivocally if I am or my opponent is right in the dispute	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	3.9
I rather agree	23.6
I rather disagree	43.5
I definitely disagree	14.5
It is difficult to say	14.5
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

SHALL WE DECIDE ON OUR OWN?

In question No 4, regarding advantages of developing agreement on one's own, most of the high school graduates under scrutiny rather agreed with the statement, as presented, that extrajudicial attempts to develop an agreement is

expedient because the parties themselves know best what is good for them (51.2%).

Table 6. Party decision-making

Extrajudicial attempts (independent or with the support of an expert) at working out agreement are expedient as the parties themselves know best what is good for them	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	19.7
I rather agree	51.2
I rather disagree	15.2
I definitely disagree	4.2
It is difficult to say	9.7
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

In the research material obtained, a decisive majority, 70.9% in aggregate, of the respondents acknowledged advantages resulting from attempts at working out agreement on an independent basis. The total percentage of objections in this respect is 19.4% of the responses given.

IS IT IMPORTANT THAT I WIN?

One of the most important aspects that differentiate views on preferred ways to resolve disputes seems to be the degree of openness to the other party and selection of such methods which position the negotiation with a view to strike a balance, or, on the contrary, express one's pursuit of victory, even at the cost of the other party. From this perspective, the young people were asked about their perception of the competitive aspect of the dispute. A slight majority (47.2%) of the respondents taken in the aggregate did not agree with the statement that in a conflict situation one should aim to win, i.e. determine the dispute to one's advantage. The respondents who consented to this statement represent a total of 35.8% responses. The distribution of the responses obtained is presented in Table No 7.

Table 7. Pursuit of victory

In a conflict situation, one should aim to win (determine the dispute to one's advantage), even at the risk of losing to the opponent	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	10.0
I rather agree	25.8
I rather disagree	34.5
I definitely disagree	12.7
It is difficult to say	17.0
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

ONLY MY SOLUTION?

Another question referred to the fundamental issue distinguishing conflict attitudes, which is the inclination to seek mutually acceptable solutions. For a prevailing majority of the respondents, rather (39.7%) and 37.9% (definitely), searching for solutions that would be acceptable for both parties, is desirable. The total percentage of consents pertains, in case of this question, to 77.6% of responses, with only 13.7% of objections overall.

Table 8. Solution acceptable for both parties

In a conflict situation, one should aim at such a solution which will be acceptable for both parties	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	37.9
I rather agree	39.7
I rather disagree	10.6
I definitely disagree	2.7
It is difficult to say	9.1
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

IS IT RELEVANT WHO IS TO BLAME?

The next aspect under consideration with a potential to differentiate the young people's opinions comprises issues regarding their attitude towards the relevance of the question of assigning guilt to one of the parties. A majority of the people surveyed (35.4%) rather agreed that in a conflict situation the most

important thing is to determine which party is guilty. However, just not much fewer (29.0%) rather disagreed with this statement. The distribution of collective responses indicates a 48.8-percent share of consents, with 35.1% of objections. Therefore, it is fair to state that the respondents are rather willing to consider as relevant determination of the guilty of the given conflict situation. (Table 8), although opinions in this respect were quite balanced.

Table 9. Determination of the guilty one

In a conflict situation, it is the most important to determine which party is the guilty one	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	13.4
I rather agree	35.4
I rather disagree	29.0
I definitely disagree	6.1
It is difficult to say	16.1
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

At the same time, when in the next question the young people were asked to take an attitude towards a statement in which the aspect of determination of guilt was set against the prospects of solving the problem, a decisive majority of the surveyed people (66.3%) regarded failing to find the guilty one but solving a problem as more important in a conflict situation.

Table 10. Solving a problem

In a conflict situation, it is not the most important to find the guilty one but to solve the problem	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	29.2
I rather agree	37.1
I rather disagree	17.6
I definitely disagree	6.1
It is difficult to say	10.0
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

MOST IMPORTANT: TO PUNISH?

The way in which the relevance of punishment of the perpetrator is perceived can be regarded as a factor which differentiates the views of the respondents. This element is clearly present in the judicial procedure but less material in alternative forms. In the material obtained, 49.0% of the people, disagreed, to a varying degree, with the statement which presented punishment of the perpetrator as the most important element of a conflict situation. Simultaneously, 25.4% of the surveyees rather, and 8.8% definitely, are willing to regard punishing the perpetrator as the crucial thing.

Table 11. Punishment of the perpetrator

In a conflict situation, punishment of the perpetrator, e.g. in a court judgment, is the most important thing	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	8.8
I rather agree	25.4
I rather disagree	36.0
I definitely disagree	13.0
It is difficult to say	16.8
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

IS IT WORTH COMPENSATING FOR THE WRONG?

The last question that the respondents were asked referred to fundamental differences regarding both methods of dispute intervention. Thinking in terms of actions serving to compensate can be regarded as one of the foundations of extrajudicial alternatives. It is much less present in the traditional judicial procedure. A prevailing majority of the people surveyed (69%) agreed with the statement that in a conflict situation the most important thing is to reach an agreement and compensate the aggrieved party. Only 16.6% were of the opposite opinion. The detailed results, as obtained, are presented in Table No 12.

Table 12. Agreement and compensation

In a conflict situation, the most important thing is to reach an agreement and compensate the aggrieved party	Zielona Gora – response distribution (%)
I definitely agree	24.2
I rather agree	44.8
I rather disagree	13.0
I definitely disagree	3.6

It is difficult to say	14.2
Total	100.0

Source: Authoress's own work

CONCLUSIONS

The analyses of the presented material offer a quite coherent picture of Zielona Gora school-leavers' views on the issues in question, wherein the following claims seem to be of utmost significance:

- the court is not the best institution to terminate a dispute;
- the best way is attempts to reach an agreement without a need to use judicial procedure;
- the participants in a conflict situation themselves know best what is good for them;
- one should not pursue victory and decisions to one's advantage at any cost;
- although the question of determining the guilty one polarizes, solving the problem is more important than finding the one to blame;
- punishment, however invoked, is not essential;
- the most important thing is to reach an agreement and compensate the aggrieved party.

The picture resulting from the above study suggests that a notion be introduced into the area of conflict analysis of "orientation", which in sociological reflection is understood as "an attitude characteristic of an individual or group towards respective areas of life and one's self, expressing itself with different intensity in a variety of declared or actual activities" (Ganczarczyk, 1994, p. 7). The research presented in this work does not only identify the views of the young people under scrutiny. They show, first of all, that these views may comprise certain more or less conscious and coherent attitudes towards this fragment of social reality which pertains to a conflict situation. Therefore, I propose to use the notion of "**pro-conciliatory orientation**" to denote a set of views characteristic of an individual or group regarding preferred ways of managing disputes with conciliatory and amicable intensity, typical for alternative methods of dispute resolution and distinguish it from the "**pro-confrontational orientation**" wherein elements and solutions are preferred as derived from the features of judicial authority, in which attitudes are relevant regarding decision arbitrariness, the question of guilt and punishment, as more important than reaching an agreement. The pro-conciliatory orientation would pertain to the inclination to agree in order to develop a mutually acceptable solution to a dispute situation, in a form to compensate the aggrieved party, if any. And despite the fact that the results of the research presented herein may not be by any means considered as conclusive within the subjective

scope of the question, the picture, as emerging therefrom, of the high school graduates in Zielona Gora, may be interesting with regard to questions, being asked more and more frequently, about the desired form of judicial authority or attitudes towards disputes and methods of dispute resolution which are to respond to the challenges of the present day. The clearly perceptible conciliatory inclination, the pro-conciliatory orientation in terms of this work, of the young people's views seems to be the more important that it is the extrajudicial alternative forms, their high humanization potential (Urbaniak, 2013), that offer an opportunity to solve at least some of the problems typical for the area of present-day conflicts and optimal methods of managing these.

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Hubert Kotarski*

BORDERLAND YOUTH: SELECTED COMPONENTS OF THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL AS WELL AS THE SOCIAL IDENTITY OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE BORDERLANDS OF POLAND, HUNGARY AND UKRAINE

The purpose of this article is to confront the theory of cultural capital and social capital social reality in cross-border regions of three countries of Central and Eastern - Poland, Hungary and Ukraine, with particular emphasis on the role played by the intelligentsia and middle class in these societies. This confrontation will include both theoretical reflection on the nature, focusing on the problem of the application of the theory of cultural and social capital to describe societies of Central and Eastern Europe, and also the results of empirical studies carried out among the students of high school in Poland, Hungary and Ukraine. The specific objective of the article is to analyze the concept of cultural capital and social capital as a factor of identity and social position and political youth among high school students from Poland, Hungarian and Ukraine.

***Keywords:** Cultural capital, Social capital, Identity, Central and Eastern Europe, Youth, Intelligentsia, Middle class.*

INTRODUCTION

The main problem addressed in the research was the question whether the cultural and social capital are the factors standing behind the identity and the formation of the social position of the youth in the borderlands of the three East-Central European countries – Poland, Hungary and Ukraine, within the middle class and the intelligentsia. It needs to be mentioned that the research was conducted in the borderlands of Poland and Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic, Poland and Ukraine, Ukraine and Poland as well as Ukraine and Hungary. The operationalization of the research problem came down to the question: does the cultural and social capital, as the factors standing behind the identity and the social position of the youngest generation, make the borderland secondary school students (Poland, Hungary and Ukraine) similar, or whether it is possible to issue a statement that they may be seen as the beginning to the middle class or the intelligentsia. On the theoretical level, the aim of the article is the systematic confrontation of Pierr Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and the theory of social capital with the social reality in the borderlands of the five

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East-Central European countries. This confrontation encompasses the theoretical consideration, which focuses on the use of Bourdieu's theory and the theory of social capital by four other authors in the description of the societies of the East-Central European countries as well as the results of the empirical research conducted among the secondary school students in the borderlands of Poland, Hungary and Ukraine.

The results of the analyses presented in this article were obtained in the research conducted from March to June 2015 in three countries – Poland, Hungary and Ukraine. It needs to be pointed out that, although the research was conducted in three countries, it encompassed the borderlands of five countries. The research sample consisted of the secondary school students in: Slubice, Zielona Gora, Raciborz, Krosno, Rzeszow, Przemysl, Hrubieszow (Poland), Debrecen (Hungary) and Drohobych and Uzhhorod (Ukraine). The research was conducted with the use of the technique of a random survey conducted in the randomly selected schools. The total number of the research sample amounted to 2900 students.

THE SOCIAL POSITION AND IDENTITY OF THE YOUTH IN THE EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

The intelligentsia was defined as a certain historic type of the educated strata whose fundamental internal awareness lied in the participation in rational knowledge universal for the entire European civilization. In the social context, the prominent role of the intelligentsia was expressed though the formation of the adequate groups and strata and the conceptualization of this phenomenon in the sphere of symbolical culture. The intelligentsia had separate bidding norms and separate lifestyle which went hand in hand with the network of social contacts and matrimonial policy (Sdvižkov et al., 2011, p. 16-17).

In the Polish sociological literature we encounter four concepts of the intelligentsia. According to the first concept, the intelligentsia is the collectivity of people who are different than others in terms of their high intellectual, artistic and moral qualities, regardless of their social condition. In this case, the intelligentsia makes a relatively small elite which stands out in a given society thanks to their distinguished features and merits. According to the second concept, the intelligentsia is the collectivity of people who do intellectual or artistic work. In this case, the criterion for distinguishing the intelligentsia from the rest of the society is the type of work they do, their source of income and a historically determined level of education necessary to do a given job. In comparison with the first concept, the collectivity of the professional intelligentsia is considerably bigger and more homogenous. We can say that the supporters of this concept try to present the intelligentsia as a numerous and complex meritocratic and professional group. It also needs to be pointed out

that, in this case, the variable historic indicators of the adequate level of education are of vital importance, e.g. in the interwar period, in Poland, every person with the secondary school education belonged to the intelligentsia, whereas, after the Second World War, some of the supporters of this concept only considered people with the higher education as the intelligentsia.

According to the third concept, the intelligentsia is the collectivity of people who base their existence on intellectual work and, therefore, they have a certain position in the social structure. They also carry out specific functions in the society and the country. According to this concept, the intelligentsia is most frequently regarded as a social stratum situated between the higher and lower classes and can be compared to the middle class or bourgeoisie of the Western Europe. The fourth concept can be described as cultural. Here, the intelligentsia is a distinguished group not only because of the work they do or their documented education but also because of a particular type of an axiological orientation which results from their intellectual competences. The fact that the intelligentsia is better educated than other groups stimulates the formation of a pro-social orientation which consists in the actions in favour of the common good, limits the private or group interests and which, at the same time, is more socially universal than in other social groups. Using Florian Znaniecki's definition, intellectual competences make the intelligentsia "the cultural guides" in a given society and their duty towards other collectivities may be regarded as a mission. On behalf of and for other collectivities the intelligentsia serves the role of a guide in the sphere of values: super-arbiter, the leader – universal or local, or the representative of other groups and values (Kurczewska, 1998, p. 339). The concept of the intelligentsia evolved together with the political, social and economic changes taking place in the Polish society. In the common opinion, the intelligentsia, as a social stratum, played an important role during radical political transformations which started in Poland in the middle of 1989. According to Kurczewska, groups with a clear intelligentsia lineage played a key role in the process of the formation of the economic, civilization and cultural attitudes in the market economy and democracy. Moreover, Kurczewska points out that many theoretical, historic and cultural studies on the status of the intelligentsia in the new political system assume that it is a social category (the collectivity of people with higher education who do intellectual work), the social unity (internally diversified with a sense of internal identity and external distinctiveness, which is very often called a stratum rather than a class) or an ideological construction consisting in specific features and group tasks. It is characteristic for this concept to define the intelligentsia through the traditional or modified ethos (Kurczewska, 1998, p. 342-343).

Modern Polish intelligentsia is more and more often defined by the ethos characteristic for the Western middle class. Kurczewska emphasises that freedom, individuality, independence and responsibility for oneself perform a

crucial role in the modern ethos of the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia, earlier than other social groups (i.e. in the 80s), learned the individuality in the sphere of private life, the instrumental collectivism in professional life and highly calculated life activity. At the beginning of the 90s, it was, apart from the business circles, the centre of life orientations assigned to the Western middle class. However, individualism, formed on the new basis, did not manage to eliminate the intelligentsia ethos of pro-social values, especially the value of national or group solidarity. Holding to certain pro-social values makes it difficult for the intelligentsia to transform into full middle class in the new political conditions (Kurczewska, 1998, p. 343).

The term “middle class” creates a number of problems for present researchers of the social processes. It is because of the fact that this collectivity is composed of so many different categories that it is difficult to pinpoint one denominator which would be a good referral point to regard certain individuals as middle class. If we used a classic definition of a social class, we would have to refer to a special aspect which would force us to situate the middle class in the middle of the social hierarchy. However, we cannot depict it only in these categories because, in such case, the middle class would have existed in every age and in all social systems. It is due to the fact that it would be possible to distinguish a middle position in all hierarchic social systems. Meanwhile, we are talking about the category which appeared in a particular age and in a particular economic and cultural context (Domański, 1999, p. 18). Commonly, the researchers think that the main indicators for belonging to the middle class are: ownership, good professional position, prosperity and lifestyle (Domański, 2012, p. 27). Permanent features of the middle class, confirmed by the research results, are their higher aspirations towards their children’s education and more ambitious plans for their professional carrier compared to the working class (Lamont, 1992). Parents of the middle class children not only give higher importance to education but also they are more aware than the working class of what needs to be addressed in the first place in the process of education, which school their children should attend and what they need to do to finish university and have a better professional start (Domański, 1999, p. 22). This discussion brings us to the conclusion that the middle class is a promoter of certain behaviour, orientations and lifestyle rather than a separate social class (Domański, 1999, p. 22). To sum up, we may say that the middle class is a wide collectivity of people who have different jobs which require various qualifications and the level of education. They also run their own companies or enterprises (mostly small ones) and, therefore, they have a decent, yet not elitist, material standard (Sztompka, 2012, p. 412).

Social position is the term of a high degree of generalization, which defines the place of an individual in the social structure. The understanding of a social position will change depending on the way we will define the social

structure (Gorlach, Wasilewski, 2000, p. 164). An interesting characterisation of the term was performed by Piotr Sztompka who defined the social structure in four interconnected dimensions: 1) a normative dimension (“the way it should be”) in which the social structure is defined as institutionalized obligations. From the perspective of an individual this dimension is defined through the social role; 2) awareness – an ideal dimension in which social identity is defined as a set of convictions, opinions, ideas and thinking habits related to the things “as they are”. From the perspective of an individual this set may be defined as “a positional mentality” – a set of opinions, typical for a given social position, particularly concerning the position of the group in relation to other collectivities; 3) an interactive dimension in which the social identity is defined through the main directions and channels of activities as well as the partners of the interaction. From the perspective of an individual this dimension is characterised by typical contacts with others – “interactive options”; 4) the dimension related to the interests, in which social identity is defined as an access to the desired goods and, at the same time, to the range of life opportunities. From the perspective of an individual different access to the goods (including prestige, wealth, power etc.) is usually defined as a social status (Gorlach, Wasilewski, 2000, p. 164). Sztompka says that the sociological explanation of what an individual does, thinks and aims at always requires to refer to the position an individual has in a society and in the social structure. At this point four structural correlates of the position need to be mentioned: the role, the mentality, the option and the status. Due to the correlation between the four dimensions of the structure, any single-dimensional explanation must be regarded as invalid (Sztompka, 1989, p. 58). When analysing various connotations of the term “social position”, stronger focus on certain aspects at the expense of others do not discredit a fundamental content of the term. “Social position” always refers to the position of an individual (group) in the social structure and it always takes into account a few dimensions (although one of them may be regarded as determinative). The position in the structure is always defined through the relations between various positions (Gorlach, Wasilewski, 2000, p. 167).

The term “identity” also requires deeper analysis. Identity may give a crucial meaning to the process of one’s own perception in the society, their perception of others and, finally, their perception of the society (Wojakowski, 2007, p. 70), especially when it comes to borderlands. Borderland may be defined as an area where social and cultural contacts between two or more nations or cultural ethnic groups take place and the consequences of those contact, i.e. the formation of a new person and their culture (Sadowski, 1992). The problem of differences and similarities, which exists among the representatives of the youth in the borderlands of East-Central Europe, is scientifically interesting. In sociology, the term “identity” most frequently refers

to the sphere of auto-definition of a social actor – individual or collective. Therefore, we can define it as a set of concepts, opinions and convictions of that actor towards themselves (Bokszański, 2002, p. 252). The term “identity” is frequently used interchangeably with the term “identification” or “awareness”. It also needs to be emphasized that the classic sociological theories of identity (based on the model of healthy identity, interactive model of identity and ideological model of identity) rely on the assumption of individual identity. However, in many social studies we have been recently observing a tendency towards the generalization of the term “identity” and the expansion its scope into the collectivity. In this case we can consider various forms of collective identity: ethnic groups, social movements or nations (Bokszański, 2002, p. 252). To sum up, we can assume that identity is a solidified and, therefore, relatively stable form of awareness. Identification means individual identity. If an individual is able to define themselves, we can talk about their self-identification or auto-identification. This is a certain type of self-awareness, i.e. becoming aware of your own “I”, perceiving your own personality, views and behaviours. Individual or personal identity is also related to social identity, i.e. collective identification, social awareness or identity (Lewandowska, 2003). Social identity is a supra-individual set of auto-definitions irreducible to the auto-definition of an individual. It is based on a lived and internalized tradition, the present and the future defined by the group. It is, therefore, similar to the term “collective awareness”, ‘collective representations” and “collective concepts” (Banaszczyk, 1989). Considering the character of the research and treating the representatives of respective borderlands as subjects of the research analysis, I will focus on the social identity.

First analysed element of the social identity was a sense of connection with family, nation, place of residence of the respondents, region as well as Europe. Each dimension was analysed respectively for each nation participating in the studies. One of the analysed dimensions was a sense of connection with the nation. The strongest connection was declared by the youth in Ukraine and Poland. The respondents of those two countries were characterized by a strong and a very strong sense of connection with their own nation (a sense of being Polish – Ukrainian) and by the lowest number of declarations about the total lack of connection (4.4% and 8.4%). The youth living in Hungary declared the weakest connection with their own nation. One in fifth respondent did not feel any connection. The detailed presentation of the data is included in table 1.

Table 1. A sense of connection with the nation vs the country of origin (%)

How strong is your relation with YOUR OWN NATION	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
Very strong	20.5	19.1	4.2
Strong	42.1	47.3	26.3
Weak	29.0	29.2	49.4
I don't feel the connection at all	8.4	4.4	20.1

Source: own material

The second analysed dimension was a sense of connection with family. The level of declarations in respective countries was similar. The youth in Ukraine and Poland declared a slightly stronger sense of connection with family.

Table 2. A sense of connection with family vs the country of origin (%)

How strong is your relation with your FAMILY	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
Very strong	68.9	72.6	64.3
Strong	24.8	22.2	29.7
Weak	5.2	4.7	6.0
I don't feel the connection at all	1.1	0.5	0.0

Source: own material

The strongest relation with the place of residence was declared, once again, by the youth living in Ukraine and Poland. When it comes to the youth in Hungary, a sense of connection with their place of residence was on a noticeably lower level.

The analysis of the level of declarations on the identification with the region revealed that it is relatively dimly perceived by the youth in all three countries, regardless the geographical location. It can be related with the already discussed (in the literature) problem of the weak identification with the mezzo level of social structures. It is confirmed by the studies conducted by Bohdan Jałowiecki and Grzegorz Gorzelak who discovered that the level of identification, regionalism and the attachment to the region in post-socialist countries is very low (Gorzelak, Jałowiecki, 1993).

Table 3. A sense of connection with the place of residence of the respondents vs the country of origin (%)

How strong is your relation with the PLACE OF YOUR RESIDENCE	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
Very strong	16.3	15.2	7.8
Strong	44.9	48.4	37.7
Weak	30.7	34.2	43.4
I don't feel the connection at all	8.1	2.1	11.1

Source: own material

The research results presented in this article also prove that our identification with the micro level (family, place of residence) and macro level (nation) is much stronger than with the region which can be regarded as the mezzo level of a social structure.

Table 4. A sense of connection with the place of residence of the respondents vs the country of origin (%)

How strong is your relation with the REGION	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
Very strong	5.1	7.8	4.2
Strong	25.3	39.3	16.9
Weak	49.1	43.2	53.9
I don't feel the connection at all	20.5	9.7	25.0

Source: own material

Also, similarly to a sense of connection with the region, the youth in all three countries was characterized by a relatively poor sense of connection with Europe.

Table 5. A sense of connection with the place of residence of the respondents vs the country of origin (%)

How strong is your relation with EUROPE	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
Very strong	8.7%	10.2%	8.3%
Strong	27.2%	30.1%	21.9%
Weak	41.4%	41.5%	36.9%
I don't feel the connection at all	22.6%	18.2%	32.9%

Source: own material

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL OF THE YOUTH IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

Social and cultural capital has recently become one of the most frequently used terms in the social studies. The theories on those two types of capital turned out to be particularly useful in the attempts to explain the transformations taking place in the social structure of the post-communist countries. Those transformations may be analysed in terms of the changes in the attitudes and behaviour of the representatives of various social categories. We can also aim at presenting the consequences of those transformations on the level of general mechanisms and the vertical mobility – strata and classes, or horizontal mobility – between various segments of the social structure (Bartoszek, 2003, p. 7). Ivan Szelényi said that Pierr Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, as well as the idea of cultural capital, is very useful in the analysis of the changes taking place in the societies in East-Central Europe after 1989. He wrote that the unprecedented increase of the value of the cultural capital is strongly visible when we analyse the composition of the political class which has come to power in the past few years. The authorities in the post-communist societies are fully controlled by the intellectuals and the specialists. Presidents, prime ministers, minister, members of parliament, mayors and almost all leading personalities in the ruling parties and in the opposition are intellectuals or specialists. In the capitalist societies, specialists (usually lawyers or economists) play an important role in politics. Humanistic intelligentsia rarely reaches the top of political ladder. Meanwhile, in the post-communist societies, reaching the key positions in the political structure by the humanistic intelligentsia is more of a rule than an exception. The leading post-communist politics include playwrights, historians, sociologists, anthropologists and philosophers (Szelényi et al., 1995, p. 17).

In the scientific literature, the term “cultural capital” is mainly used with reference to the Pierr Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction, developed together with Jean-Claude Passeron. According to P. Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron, the cultural capital of an individual is conditioned by the level of education and the profession of the father and has an influence on the school achievements of the children (Bourdieu, Passeron, Neyman, 1990, p. 130-131). Cultural capital of the students coming from higher classes gives them a clear advantage over the students coming from lower classes in winning the social selection, starting from the earliest educational years. They also take up prestigious courses at the university and they achieve better results (Bourdieu, Passeron, Neyman, 1990, p. 152-153). To sum up, we can say that the concept of such explicated cultural capital allows us to better understand the role of the social status of the parents in reaching higher positions by their children (Bartoszek, 2003).

In the research presented in this article, two factors were treated as the main measurement tools of the cultural capital acquired at home: the education

of parents and the number of books in the home library. On the basis of the answers to the three questions, a synthetic indicator was developed which included the education of the father (importance 33.3%), the education of the mother (importance 33.3%) and the number of books at home.

Table 6. The indicator of a family cultural capital vs. the country of origin (%)

The level of the indicator	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
Low	35.1	20.9	31.3
Medium	32.1	47.5	31.0
High	32.8	31.6	37.6

Source: own material

The highest level of the family cultural capital characterised the youth living in Ukraine. A slightly lower level characterised the youth in Hungary and the lowest level – the youth in Poland. It is also worth noticing that, in general, mothers were better educated than fathers. Also, another interesting dependency was the fact that the level of education of parents determined the size of home library. On the basis of the gathered results concerning the level of the family cultural capital we can come to the conclusion that, in the case of the secondary school students, their inherited cultural capital may become a factor conditioning the access to higher education. This can be confirmed by the analysis of the answers to the question about the educational and professional future and the preferred field of studies. The youth with a higher level of cultural capital more often declared the willingness to undertake the studies and they more often chose those fields of studies which were socially prestigious, such as medicine or law.

Among the researchers dealing with the problem of social capital we may encounter subtle differences in what they think the fundament of social capital is. However, there is no doubt that, for the majority of them, the common structural element of social capital is social trust. Social trust is a fundamental element of social capital and one of its most precious varieties (Sztompka, 2007, p. 244). For many theorists, trust is a key category and value and its presence indicates a high level of social capital (Szawiel, 2006).

When analysing this dimension of social capital, a synthetic indicator of social trust, consisting of six elements – indicators, was prepared: 1) *Can the majority of your neighbours be trusted?* 2) *Are people living in your neighbourhood ready to take advantage of you?* 3) *Can the majority of the residents in my city/town be trusted?* 4) *Is your lecturer (teacher) a person you can turn to?* 5) *Can I count on the majority of my friends at school?* 6) *Are the majority of local authorities trustworthy?*

Table 7. The indicator of social trust vs the type of borderland (%)

The level of the indicator	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
High	9.4	9.1	12.9
Medium	54.5	58.3	66.0
Low	36.1	32.6	21.1

Source: own material

The highest level of social trust was observed among the students in Hungary. The lower level was observed among the students in Ukraine and the lowest level – among the youth in Poland.

SUMMARY

The studies revealed the differences in the level of the resources of the cultural and social capital. It was noticeable in the differences on the level of the analysis of identity and the social position of the youth – secondary school students in the borderlands of the three East-Central European countries – Poland, Hungary and Ukraine. The aim of the study was the attempt to measure the level of identification with the social structures on macro level – the nation and Europe, mezzo level – region and micro level – family and the place of residence of the respondents. The studies showed that the strongest relation with the nation was declared by the youth in Poland and Ukraine and the weakest relation by the youth living in Hungary. The analysis of the level of declarations on identification with the region showed that it is relatively low regardless the geographical location of the respondents. The strongest relation with the place of residence was declared by the youth in Poland and Ukraine. The analysis of the relation with family showed a similar level of declarations in all three countries.

The analysis of the resources of the cultural and social capital of the youth in East-Central Europe revealed a few interesting problems. In order to search for the specificity of the youth living in three different countries, the type of borderland (which was described in the introduction) was selected as a unit of the analysis. The highest level of family cultural capital was observed among the youth living in the borderlands of Poland and Germany, Hungary, Ukraine and Slovakia as well as Ukraine and Poland. The lowest level was observed in the borderlands of Poland and the Czech Republic and Poland and Slovakia. Parents of the students living in the borderlands of Poland and Germany as well as Ukraine and Poland had the highest level of education. The highest level of social trust was observed among the youth in the borderlands of Poland and the Czech Republic. Slightly lower level of social trust was observed among the students in the borderlands of Poland and Germany and Poland and Slovakia. The lowest level of social trust was observed among the respondents in the

borderlands of Hungary, Ukraine and Slovakia and Ukraine and Poland. It was also discovered that the synthetic indicator of social trust was correlated with the analysed elements of social identity: a sense of connection with family, nation, place of residence, region and Europe. High level of trust was related to a strong sense of attachment with the respective elements of social identity analysed in the research. When it comes to the analysis of the level of trust and a sense of connection with the nation, the Sommers' rank correlation coefficient d revealed the strongest relation in the borderlands of Poland and Slovakia (the value of Sommers' d coefficient = 0.315), Poland, Ukraine and Slovakia (Sommers' d coefficient = 0.276) and Hungary, Ukraine and Slovakia (Sommers' d coefficient = 0.252). The analysis of the correlation between the level of trust and a sense of connection with family was strongly visible in the borderlands of Poland and Slovakia (Sommers' d coefficient = 0.307) and Poland and the Czech Republic (Sommers' d coefficient = 0.141). In the case of the analysis of the level of trust and the relation with the place of residence of the respondents, the strongest relation was observed in the borderlands of Poland and Slovakia (Sommers' d coefficient = 0.450), Poland, Ukraine and Slovakia (Sommers' d coefficient = 0.261), Poland and Germany (Sommers' d coefficient = 0.254) as well as Poland and the Czech Republic (Sommers' d coefficient = 0.234). The analysis of the correlation between the level of trust and a sense of connection with the region was strongly visible in the borderlands of Ukraine and Poland (Sommers' d coefficient = 0.309). The strongest relation between the level of trust and a sense of connection with Europe was observed in the borderlands of Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine – the value of Sommers' d coefficient was 0.262.

The studies presented in this article are only a fragment of a very interesting research problem, i.e. the studies on the youngest generation entering the adult social, citizen and professional life. The analysis of behaviour and the resources of the cultural and social capital may have a key meaning in the future. It is because of the fact that those young people will soon create the foundation for the intellectual elite in the borderlands of East-Central Europe.

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PRACTICES OF LEISURE OF TEENAGE YOUTH OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE'S BORDERLANDS AS A SPACE OF THEIR VALUE PREFERENCES REALIZATION

This article deals with a comparative analysis of recreational practices and values of adolescents who live at the border areas in Central and Eastern Europe. In particular, countries such as Ukraine, Poland and Hungary is considered. Based on a survey of graduates of these countries, authors have found out that leisure of teenagers enters the virtual space and unifies, home entertainment dominates the public one, passive dominates over active. The terminal and instrumental values of teenage youth of Ukraine, Poland and Hungary are analyzed, their hierarchy is defined. The trend of modernization and postmodernization of teenagers' values is founded. It is proved that there are more common characteristics of value orientations and recreational practices among Ukrainian, Polish and Hungarian teenagers than differences. It was concluded that it is conditioned by the characteristics of the youth age, including the life style of youth, and by the fact of living at "the borderland of cultures and peoples". The prospects for further study of the subject is revealed.

Keywords: *adolescents, leisure practices, values, leisure virtualization, modernization and postmodernization of teenage youth's values.*

The success of the declared by Ukraine course towards European integration depends largely on how intensive are contacts between the citizens of our country, including young people, and citizens of neighboring European countries. It is through these contacts young ukrainians include into European culture, in particular into the world of values of neighboring countries. The teenage youth living at the border areas of Central and Eastern Europe has some preferences on this. In view of this, with the efforts of the creative team, which included sociologists of Poland, Hungary and Ukraine in March and June 2015 a sociological research among the schoolchildren of some border regions of this countries was conducted. In Poland there were interviewed graduates of such cities as Peremyśl (n = 413), Zielona Góra (n = 336) and Rzeszów (n = 294) and villages that are situated close to these cities ; in Hungary the research was held

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in Nyiregyhaza (n = 359). In Ukraine the study was conducted in Kharkiv and Kharkiv region (n = 428), in Drohobych and villages situated close to it (n = 392), in Uzhgorod and Transcarpathian region.⁷

Resorting to this research, we, including, tried to identify common and different features in leisure practices and values of teenagers from different countries, what, as we hope, will give a possibility to predict the opportunities and prospects of their cooperation in the future, points of a solidarity and confrontation. The latter fact, in our opinion, extremely actualizes our survey of high school students of borderlands of Central and Eastern Europe.

The main hypothesis of the research is that a choice of recreational practices of teenagers depends on their orientations on certain values. In formulating this hypothesis, we proceeded from the fact that the implementation of values and value orientations of adolescents takes place in two main spaces of their life: education space and leisure space.

The aim of this publication is to reveal the features of the recreational practices of the adolescents living at the borderlands of Ukraine, Poland and Hungary.

To realize this goal, first of all we need to find out the theoretical and methodological foundations of our study. We are going to begin from the phenomenon of the adolescence, which was discovered, as it is believed, by US psychologist Grenville Stanley Hall (Омельченко, 2004). In terms of the academic, the period of the adolescence is accompanied by spiritual restructuring of personality, which is forming (socializing) (Омельченко, 2004, p. 71-72). It is manifested not only in the internalization of cultural norms and values, that dominate on macro - and micro-level, but also in bringing in into society of new axio-phenomena that is especially true for modern societies that rapidly change. A teenager's environment, a social context in which he or she socializes, play a huge role in this process. In this regard, we would like to emphasize that many researchers, such as K. Griffin, pay extra attention to the formation of the adolescence's context, which in terms of the researcher, is the basic phenomenon both in the construction of youth identity and in the construct 'youth, including teenagers, as a social problem' (Griffin, 1999). The latter was very important for our research, because during the research we tried to determine how the sociocultural context of the borderland influences the process of the formation of an adolescent's personality, his or her world of values, practices of leisure etc. In this regard, we note that a border area as a space of intensive interaction between cultures and peoples is actively studied by the different socio humanities today (Fraczek, Karolczuk, 2015; Кравченко, Мусиездов, Филиппова, 2012; Филиппова, 2010), which, in particular, focus

⁷ In this publication, while analyzing leisure practices and values of youth, surveyed in Ukraine, we refer only to array data of Kharkiv and Kharkiv region and Drohobych.

on the process of cultural transmission in conditions of this space and their influence on the formation of value-ambivalent personality.

One more theoretical clarification concerns the conducted by us analysis of value orientations of youth of borderland. We have made it basing on the Scheler-Rokeach typology of values (Scheler, 1931), according to which values can be divided into the terminal, ie value-goals and instrumental, ie value-instruments. We proceeded from the understanding of values as conceptions of life preferences of the personality (or social group), that reflect his or her ability of understanding of environment sense making, evaluative attitude to it, as well as its emotional (affective state), involutive intentions, and act as the main motivators of behavior and activities of a social subject (Сокурянская, 2006, p. 117). Note that as the instrumental values we examined the answers of the surveyed students at the question about the factors of an achieving of a success in life.

As for recreational focus of our research, we note the following. To become a 'mature and adult' a teenager should integrate into social institutions, in what various mechanisms of social and cultural mediation helps him or her (Омельченко, 2006). A leisure is one of such institutions. We consider the leisure, basing on the definition given by V. Yadov: 'Leisure is a part of the free time, which, unlike the sphere of job, is associated with the personal consumption of material and spiritual wealth and is self-worthy activity oriented to meet the needs of recreation, entertainment and self-development' (Ядов, 2013, p. 59). As L. Gordon notes, leisure, as well as a wider phenomenon - free time - is not a time of certain activities, but the time of such acts and such periods of activity in which there is an element of self-worth (Гордон, 1967, p. 67). This essential feature of free time as a specific way of self-realization makes a study of the recreational practices of adolescents in the context of their value preferences significant. In this way it is possible not only to get the most complete picture of all the diversity of activities that the person elects according to his or her own inclinations, but also the information about motives of this choice (Арбенина, 2000, p. 110).

And now we turn to the empirical analysis of the information received by us within the international research described in the introduction to this article. First of all we analyze the structure of practices of leisure of adolescents, which lives at the border areas of Central and Eastern Europe (Table 1).

Table 1. Types of activities at a free time of adolescents who lives at the borderlands of Central and Eastern Europe (% of those, who answered)

	Leisure practices	Leisure practices' regularity					Rank
		Daily	Several times a week	Several times a month	Several times a year	Almost never	
1. Sports							
Kharkov		32,4	39,9	19,7	4,6	3,4	6
Drohobych		19,6	44,4	27,6	6,7	1,6	9
Zielona Gora		23,6	43,2	22,1	6,9	4,2	5-6
Rzeszow		26,0	47,7	17,5	5,6	3,2	5
Nyiregyhaza		28,5	38,3	21,5	7,3	4,5	6
2. Tourism, outings							
Kharkov		6,1	16,4	30,9	35,3	11,3	15-19
Drohobych		5,0	11,0	37,9	37,6	8,6	17
Zielona Gora		11,2	13,3	40,2	31,4	3,9	11
Rzeszow		9,8	19,6	31,2	28,1	11,2	13
Nyiregyhaza		3,4	4,8	21,7	56,1	14,1	20
3. City walking							
Kharkov		20,5	35,9	29,1	9,1	5,3	9
Drohobych		34,5	43,1	15,7	3,4	3,4	5
Zielona Gora		20,4	40,4	30,4	6,1	2,7	7
Rzeszow		29,6	32,4	26,4	4,9	6,3	11
Nyiregyhaza		28,0	39,3	20,1	8,5	4,2	7
4. Travelling abroad							
Kharkov		6,4	2,0	4,7	31,1	55,9	30
Drohobych		2,4	2,9	4,7	28,9	61,1	30
Zielona Gora		2,2	3,7	10,5	48,9	34,8	23
Rzeszow		3,3	5,9	4,8	27,9	58,1	24
Nyiregyhaza		4,0	4,0	3,1	50,4	38,5	26
5. Just rest							
Kharkov		49,5	30,7	12,4	2,7	4,7	3
Drohobych		59,5	23,9	10,6	3,1	2,9	3
Zielona Gora		35,4	29,9	19,2	5,8	9,8	5-6
Rzeszow		44,2	27,7	14,0	5,3	8,8	4
Nyiregyhaza		49,6	26,6	13,6	5,9	4,2	3
6. Friends meeting							
Kharkov		38,9	38,7	17,0	3,4	2,0	4
Drohobych		33,0	47,1	15,2	3,4	1,3	4
Zielona Gora		22,4	48,3	25,7	1,8	1,8	3
Rzeszow		30,5	45,3	20,7	1,8	1,4	6
Nyiregyhaza		33,6	38,4	20,3	5,9	1,7	5
7. Visiting discos, clubs							
Kharkov		4,4	14,8	25,1	14,5	41,1	23-24
Drohobych		3,9	16,2	26,1	17,8	36,0	18-22
Zielona Gora		1,8	6,9	37,8	28,4	25,1	18

Rzeszow	4,9	6,0	44,9	21,1	22,8	19
Nyiregyhaza	4,2	10,1	44,7	20,7	20,4	17
8. Chess and checkers playing						
Kharkov	4,2	12,5	21,7	24,4	37,2	25-28
Drohobych	2,6	8,9	21,4	22,9	44,3	26-28
Zielona Gora	2,7	4,8	10,3	21,5	60,7	28
Rzeszow	1,8	6,8	7,1	21,0	63,3	26
Nyiregyhaza	1,7	3,6	8,9	19,3	66,5	30
9. Cafe and bar-going						
Kharkov	5,5	15,9	37,5	24,3	16,9	15-19
Drohobych	3,9	19,5	49,0	17,4	10,2	16
Zielona Gora	3,0	10,1	49,4	25,3	12,2	15
Rzeszow	2,5	14,8	39,8	17,6	24,3	28
Nyiregyhaza	7,3	14,4	39,0	22,9	16,4	13
10. Board games (dominoes, backgammon)						
Kharkov	7,2	13,1	24,0	23,0	32,7	21-22
Drohobych	3,9	11,7	19,0	22,9	42,6	24-25
Zielona Gora	2,5	1,5	3,4	13,5	79,1	30
Rzeszow	0,0	4,9	8,1	10,5	76,5	30
Nyiregyhaza	3,1	3,9	16,9	33,1	43,0	25
11. Card Games						
Kharkov	9,9	20,2	22,7	21,4	25,9	15-19
Drohobych	6,5	11,7	23,8	25,3	32,6	18-22
Zielona Gora	3,7	7,3	21,1	33,9	33,9	20
Rzeszow	2,8	11,9	18,9	24,2	41,8	22
Nyiregyhaza	8,2	7,9	23,2	32,3	28,3	18
12. Pool Games, Bowling						
Kharkov	5,0	8,9	22,3	32,9	30,9	25-28
Drohobych	2,9	8,3	19,5	28,8	40,5	26-28
Zielona Gora	2,1	6,4	13,7	42,1	35,4	22
Rzeszow	1,8	13,4	18,7	31,8	34,3	18
Nyiregyhaza	3,1	9,0	25,6	36,9	25,4	19
13. Magazines and newspapers reading						
Kharkov	15,1	24,9	24,4	15,6	20,0	14
Drohobych	14,6	25,5	25,8	16,1	18,0	14-15
Zielona Gora	9,4	24,2	35,2	14,2	17,0	12
Rzeszow	9,5	23,5	33,3	13,0	20,7	14
Nyiregyhaza	11,5	19,0	33,3	19,6	16,5	11
14. Fiction reading						
Kharkov	26,4	27,6	27,4	10,8	7,8	10
Drohobych	22,2	34,5	23,8	11,0	8,6	11
Zielona Gora	9,6	9,9	20,1	24,8	35,6	17
Rzeszow	2,1	13,8	16,6	19,8	47,3	23
Nyiregyhaza	10,4	15,1	23,8	28,3	22,4	15
15. Watching TV						
Kharkov	42,0	28,9	11,1	5,2	12,8	7-8
Drohobych	40,2	29,5	13,3	6,0	11,0	7-8

Zielona Gora	38,3	31,0	17,6	4,0	9,1	4
Rzeszow	50,4	23,4	17,0	4,6	4,6	2
Nyiregyhaza	36,6	25,7	19,8	7,0	10,9	8
16. Computer games						
Kharkov	27,9	25,5	18,4	6,9	21,3	12
Drohobych	25,8	25,5	12,2	8,1	28,4	12-13
Zielona Gora	32,7	21,7	18,0	10,1	17,4	9
Rzeszow	34,6	29,3	15,7	6,4	13,9	7
Nyiregyhaza	21,8	17,3	17,0	11,7	32,1	12
17. Social networks communication						
Kharkov	71,7	18,9	5,5	2,0	2,0	1
Drohobych	71,8	16,6	4,7	2,6	4,4	1-2
Zielona Gora	55,4	22,0	7,8	3,6	11,1	2
Rzeszow	51,2	22,6	8,5	7,8	9,9	3
Nyiregyhaza	71,3	16,9	5,9	3,1	2,8	1
18. Active rest						
Kharkov	18,5	24,6	29,1	17,7	10,1	13
Drohobych	11,9	18,6	33,9	25,3	10,3	14-15
Zielona Gora	10,1	21,7	27,8	22,0	18,3	13
Rzeszow	21,4	29,5	25,6	16,1	7,4	10
Nyiregyhaza	10,9	14,7	24,1	29,9	20,4	14
19. Film-going						
Kharkov	5,5	14,4	36,0	32,0	12,2	15-19
Drohobych	6,3	6,5	26,0	37,2	24,0	18-22
Zielona Gora	2,4	5,5	32,4	48,8	10,9	16
Rzeszow	2,1	8,8	35,1	48,4	5,6	16
Nyiregyhaza	5,0	10,6	34,5	40,6	9,2	16
20. Music listening						
Kharkov	68,8	15,1	8,9	4,2	3,0	2
Drohobych	70,0	16,0	7,2	4,1	2,6	1-2
Zielona Gora	81,2	10,8	3,7	2,2	2,2	1
Rzeszow	75,4	13,0	3,2	6,0	2,1	1
Nyiregyhaza	71,1	11,9	5,1	8,8	3,1	2
21. Theatre and museum-going						
Kharkov	4,7	8,9	29,0	39,6	17,8	21-22
Drohobych	4,2	3,4	23,6	46,8	22,1	23
Zielona Gora	2,1	2,1	10,4	43,6	41,5	26
Rzeszow	3,5	4,6	9,6	38,3	43,6	27
Nyiregyhaza	4,8	4,5	25,3	40,9	24,4	21
22. Concert-going						
Kharkov	5,5	6,2	22,6	36,1	29,6	25-28
Drohobych	2,7	6,4	18,7	40,0	32,3	24-25
Zielona Gora	,9	3,7	9,9	53,3	32,2	24
Rzeszow	2,5	5,0	22,9	48,7	20,4	21
Nyiregyhaza	2,0	3,7	20,6	43,6	30,1	24
23. Church-going						
Kharkov	5,0	9,9	15,3	39,1	30,7	25-28

Drohobych	5,9	32,8	34,1	18,6	8,5	12-13
Zielona Gora	2,1	13,4	26,4	19,5	38,6	19
Rzeszow	5,8	29,9	41,4	11,2	11,9	12
Nyiregyhaza	2,8	5,7	10,5	24,4	56,7	28
24. Participation in collective amateur clubs						
Kharkov	12,3	14,6	24,2	26,2	22,7	15-19
Drohobych	5,7	11,2	21,9	28,7	32,4	18-22
Zielona Gora	2,2	7,1	7,7	12,0	71,1	29
Rzeszow	1,8	12,5	8,1	16,1	61,2	29
Nyiregyhaza	3,7	5,4	7,4	14,2	69,3	29
25. The Arts						
Kharkov	14,8	16,5	19,0	17,8	31,9	20
Drohobych	9,1	13,8	15,6	16,4	45,2	18-22
Zielona Gora	5,8	7,3	9,2	13,5	64,2	27
Rzeszow	5,3	6,0	11,3	5,3	72,0	25
Nyiregyhaza	9,8	12,1	14,3	14,0	49,7	23
26. Technical creativity						
Kharkov	6,4	11,9	13,9	17,3	50,5	29
Drohobych	4,4	5,5	9,9	16,1	63,9	29
Zielona Gora	5,5	8,6	9,8	16,5	59,6	25
Rzeszow	1,8	15,9	16,2	18,1	48,0	20
Nyiregyhaza	59,2	7,9	12,7	17,5	2,8	27
27. Additional work						
Kharkov	8,0	14,8	15,8	21,0	40,5	23-24
Drohobych	3,9	10,7	13,9	22,0	49,5	26-28
Zielona Gora	4,9	10,5	17,5	24,0	43,1	21
Rzeszow	4,0	13,0	19,9	22,4	40,8	17
Nyiregyhaza	4,2	9,9	18,9	39,4	27,6	22
28. Housekeeping						
Kharkov	23,9	47,0	19,9	5,0	4,2	7-8
Drohobych	23,1	50,4	17,7	4,4	4,4	7-8
Zielona Gora	13,2	21,8	21,8	8,9	34,4	14
Rzeszow	16,2	37,8	27,3	10,8	7,9	8
Nyiregyhaza	19,2	35,5	32,4	7,3	5,6	10
29. Self-education						
Kharkov	34,4	38,6	18,4	4,9	3,7	5
Drohobych	40,6	28,9	18,0	5,7	6,8	6
Zielona Gora	15,4	30,5	21,5	8,8	23,9	10
Rzeszow	10,6	24,5	26,6	15,6	22,7	15
Nyiregyhaza	31,1	24,0	24,6	11,3	9,0	9
30. Learning foreign languages						
Kharkov	20,1	33,7	23,1	12,8	10,3	11
Drohobych	30,1	35,0	13,7	9,1	12,2	10
Zielona Gora	20,5	46,4	16,3	6,6	10,2	8
Rzeszow	17,4	41,8	18,4	11,0	11,3	9
Nyiregyhaza	37,7	38,6	15,5	4,8	3,4	4

As we can see, the most common (daily) activities of teenagers that form a typical teenage youth's lifestyle are the following practices of leisure:

- *social networks communication* (72% in Ukraine, 71% in Hungary and about 53% in Poland do it every day);

- *music listening* (for about 69% in Ukraine, 78% in Hungary and 71% of Polish teenage youth it is a daily leisure);

- *just rest* (55%, 50% and 37%, in accordance);

- *friends meeting* (36% , 34%, 27%, in accordance).

Somewhat less common (around one third of teens polled in the three countries, does it daily) are following kinds of leisure:

- *watching TV* (this type of leisure appropriate for 41% of Ukrainian teenagers, 37% - for Hungarian, 44% - Polish);

- *self-education* (38% teens of Ukraine, 31% teenagers of Hungary, 13% teenagers of Poland);

- *computer games* (27% of Ukrainian, 22% of Hungarian and 34% of Polish adolescents do it daily);

- *city walking* (28% of Ukrainian, 28% of Hungarian and 25% of Polish adolescents do it daily);

- *sports* (26% of Ukrainian teenagers do it daily, 29% of Hungarian teenagers and 25% of Polish teens).

More less common types of daily activities (inherent for every fourth or fifth teenager of Poland, Ukraine, Hungary) are:

- *learning foreign languages* (25% of teenagers of Ukraine, 38% - Hungary, 19% - of Poland);

- *housekeeping* (24%, 19%, 14%, in accordance).

In view of the above, we can conclude that the most widespread type of leisure among the surveyed teens are so-called passive leisure activities, that primarily are implemented at home⁸. Also we have another confirmation of a trend, fixed by numerous sociological studies, namely virtualization and unification of the youth's, especially teenage's, leisure.

The next stage of our analysis was the identification of types of entertainment, which, because of their specificity can not be daily, but they also form the lifestyle of modern teenage youth. These are such free time activities, which, with a regularity of several times a week or several times a month, are held by about every second teenager of Poland, Ukraine and Hungary. They include:

- *cafe and bar-going* (almost the same indicators for all of the countries);

- *cinema-going* (the indicators are also quite similar for all the three countries);

⁸ In this context, we emphasize that, as indicate numerous sociological studies, homely, passive leisure activities dominate in Ukrainian families (Скокова, 2015, p. 95-96).

- *tourism, outings* (for Poland and Ukraine this indicator is a little higher than for Hungary).

Quite common among adolescents are also following leisure practices (approximately every third respondent do it with a regularity of several times a week or several times a month):

- *visiting discos, clubs* (this indicator is a little higher for Poland and Hungary if to compare with Ukraine);

- *theatre and museum-going* (teenagers from Ukraine visit these institutions more often);

- *concert-going* (approximately similar indicators for all the countries).

Thus, on the one hand, we capture the diversity of activities at the free time, on the other hand, it is hard not to note that the entertainment and recreational forms of leisure are dominant.

As our study showed, the least popular leisure practices are different kinds of creative leisure practices (in Kharkiv and Drohobych – *technical creativity*, in Zielona Gora – *participation in collective amateur clubs, the Arts*, in Rzeszow – *the Arts*, in Nyiregyhaza – *participation in collective amateur clubs*), and also *chess and checkers playing, board games (dominoes, backgammon)*. *Travelling abroad* is not common among the Ukrainian and Hungarian teenagers, while the practice is more popular in Poland.

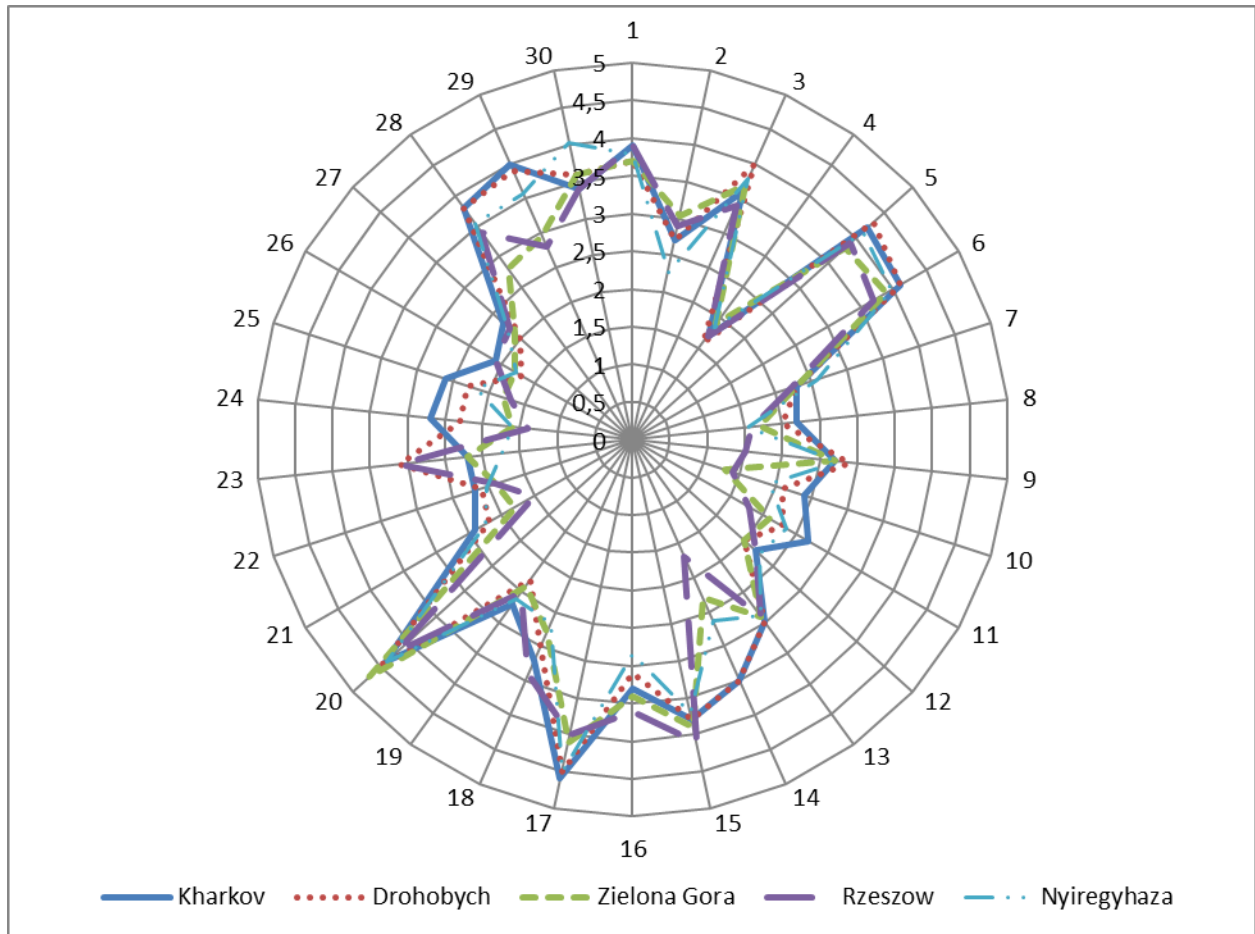
So once again we saw that passive (mainly virtual) leisure displaces active, herewith the most ‘suffered’ are creative leisure practices, which are a kind of ‘a serious leisure’, that requires certain competences and skills (Стеббинс, 2000, p. 68). Teens willingly occupy their free time with practices which do not require advance preparation (music listening, social networks communications, just relaxing). Creative activities and board games that are developing leisure activities are on the periphery of the space of the recreational practices of teenage youth.

And now let us turn to the analysis of differences in leisure practices of teenagers of the three countries which we have identified through a survey (Figure 1).

As we can see, the Polish teenagers (if to compare with adolescents in other countries) much more often watch TV and play computer games; travel abroad and have an additional job. Ukrainian teenagers are more focused on self-education, reading fiction. Hungarian teenagers spend more free time studying foreign languages.

Note that Hungarians are more similar in their leisure preferences with the eastern Ukrainians and Polish teenagers - with the western Ukrainians, at least in terms of some kinds of leisure activities (visiting churches, museums and theaters).

Figure 1. Leisure practices of adolescents of Eastern and Central Europe's borderlands⁹



Source: self-prepared

Now let us turn to the analysis of the relationship between leisure practices of teenagers of borderlands of Central and Eastern Europe and their value orientations. In this context, first of all, we should note that the analysis of the orientations of our respondents on the terminal values we have made (see details: (Сокурская, 2015)) showed an extremely high level of significance for teens of Ukraine, Poland and Hungary such value as *family*: in the hierarchy of terminal values of schoolchildren of Kharkiv, Drohobych and Nyíregyháza and it has the first rank place, Zielona Gora – the first-second, Rzeszów – the second rank place. Similarly high rank for Polish students has *creative work* (for students of Rzeszów it is even slightly more important than *family*). At the same time, the results of our research showed differences (quite significant in some of the cases) in value preferences, on the one hand, of Ukrainian, on the other - Polish and Hungarian students.

⁹ The list of leisure practices of adolescents of Eastern and Central Europe's borderlands is presented in the Table 1.

While analyzing differences of axio-discourse of the surveyed adolescents, we focused on such values as *high education* (this value is more significant for Ukrainian students – rank positions 2-4; interviewed in Zielona Gora students put it on the 10-11th, in Rzeszow – the 13th, in Nyiregyhaza – the 6th position) and *the creative work* (in Poland the rank of this value is the highest (the 1-2nd rank positions) in Ukraine – a little lower (Kharkiv - the 5th, Drohobych – the 8th rank position), finally, the Hungarian students put *the creative work* only on the 9-10th rank position in the hierarchy of their value orientations). In this context we need to emphasize that for the schoolchildren, surveyed in Hungary, the most important (after *the family*) value is entertainment (the 2nd rank position), *quiet life without worries; friends and self-realization* (the 3-5th rank positions).

Epy study of value orientations of school graduates of Ukraine, Poland and Hungary showed a surprising unanimity of our respondents in their relation to such values-goals as *creating their own business* and *the ability to have the power*. These values occupy the last rank position in the hierarchy of values of the surveyed youth.. We emphasize that among those who would still like to have a business, a little over 40% surveyed in Ukraine and Poland added that it will allow them to provide a normal life for themselves and their families; each fifth in both countries among the reasons of the creating of his or her own company called the wish of having of high incomes; almost the same number of the respondents noted, that it will help them to realize their creative potential.

And now we turn to the analysis of the instrumental values of surveyed students (ie, values-tools by which, including, terminal values - values goals can be realized). Remember that for this analysis we used the respondents' answers on the questions about the factors of life success.

First of all, note that students in all the three countries, expressing their attitude to certain considerations about their own life, at first spoke about their desire *to achieve success in life*. And they were unanimous in the opinion that if to work a lot, you can achieve everything you want, and believe that do not need outside help to succeed.

While analyzing the hierarchy of the instrumental values of the school graduates of the three countries, again, as in the case of terminal values, we found unity of values of Ukrainian students and a difference of their value preferences from the axio-discourse of Polish and Hungarian students. While in the hierarchy of the instrumental values the first rank place has such value as *a high level of professional competence*, the second – *industry*, the 3-4th (in Drohobych) and the 3-6th (in Kharkiv) shared such values as *foreign languages skills, initiative, enterprise, high education diploma and others*, for Polish and Hungarian schoolchildren the main instrumental values are *foreign languages skills* (the first rank place in the both countries), *contacts, protection of parents, relatives and friends* (the second place in Poland, the 3-4th – in Hungary), *a*

high level of professional competence (the third place in Poland and the second in Hungary), *appearance, attractiveness* (the 3-4th place in Hungary). The biggest differences in the estimates of the life success factors (instrumental values) among Ukrainian students, on the one hand, and the Polish and Hungarian, on the other hand, we found in their relation to such values as *contacts, protection* (the surveyed Polish and Hungarian schoolchildren estimate it, as we have underlined, much more higher, than Ukrainian schoolchildren), *initiative, venturesomeness* (the situation is opposite in this case: a higher level of orientation on this value is a characteristic of Ukrainian schoolchildren), *appearance, attractiveness* (the lowest rate comes from the schoolchildren of Drohobych, the highest – from Hungarian schoolchildren). The only one instrumental value, which showed the similar position of all the respondents is political views (the last 15th rank position in all the countries).

Thus, the high importance of higher education for schoolchildren surveyed in Ukraine, was confirmed in their relation to instrumental values, including the high rating of the professional knowledge and skills as the most important factor of success in life. Not by chance 70% of students surveyed in Kharkov, and 75% – in Drohobych after school planned to continue their education at the departments of various educational institutes; another 25% and 20%, in accordance, plan to combine a study with a work. 89% of graduates of Kharkiv schools wish to enter the higher educational institution, as 82% of graduates of schools of Drohobych. With this in mind, in our analysis of the correlation between value orientations and recreational practices of the surveyed Ukrainian teenagers we primarily focused on the relationship of activities of our respondents in their free time and the value of *the higher education*.

It turned out that among those who believes that higher education is extremely important, more than 37% daily and 42% several times a week are engaged in *self-education*. Among those for whom *higher education* is not a significant value, in accordance, 11% and 17% are engaged in *self-education*.

We found a similar trend regarding to such leisure practice as *learning foreign languages*. Among those for whom high education is very important, there is more than 21% who learn a foreign language as an addition to the school program daily, and more than 37% who do this a few times a week. Among those who do not think it is necessary for them to enter high educational institution, additionally learn foreign languages in accordance about 18% and about 12%.

What about such type of leisure practices as reading fiction, among those who defines higher education as one of the main terminal value, 28% reads fiction daily, 32% – several times a week. Instead, among those for whom high education is not important, 17% read fiction daily, 11% – several times a week.

The same could be said also about such practice as the Arts. Remember, that this practice of leisure is not common for the surveyed teenagers of all the

three countries. Nevertheless, among those Ukrainian respondents, in the value hierarchy of whom the high education has a dominant positions, more than 15% are daily engaged in the Arts (write poems, draw etc.), 17% do it several times a week, more than 21 % – several times a month. Among those who do not think high education is an important value, the Arts are daily for 6%, 12% do it several times a week, 5% – several times a month.

Teenagers who are distinguished by a high level of focusing on the value of high education are more likely than those for whom education is not an important value, resorting to such practices in their free time, as chess and checkers playing, etc. (5% of respondents do it daily, about 11% – several times a week, about 21% – several times a month).

Otherwise, such free time practice as just relax (to Натомість такий спосіб проведення вільного часу, як просто відпочинок (to lie, to sit, doing nothing), first of all is a characteristic of schoolchildren, in which value discourse does not have dominant place (75% of them do it daily, 25% – several times a week). Those one, who think high education is very important, almost never resort to such leisure practice as just relax, each tenth of the surveyed.

While analyzing the relationship between value orientations and activities of adolescents in their free time, we also paid attention to such values as self-realization, development of abilities and talents. We proceeded from the fact that the implementation of values by a person is possible, in particular, through obtaining of high education by him or her. As our correlation analysis showed, among adolescents, for whom self-realization is a very important value, about 40% are daily engaged in self-education, 39% do it a few times a week. Among those for whom self-realization is not important, there is no one who devotes his or her free time every day or several times a week for self-education.

Our analysis also showed a close correlation between self-realization and such leisure practice as reading fiction. among those who seek for self-realization about 31% read fiction daily, more than 28% of our respondents do it several times a week. In contrast, among teenagers, for whom self-realization is not an important value, the vast majority (60%) read fiction only a few times a year.

Thus, our analysis of the information on recreational practices of the teenage youth of border regions of Central and Eastern Europe and on value orientations gave us a possibility to find both similarities and differences in the axio-discourse and the space of free time of our respondents. And there are much more similarities than differences in the leisure of the teenagers of the three European countries.

We have found out that the leisure of teenagers enters the virtual place and unifies, home entertainment dominates the public one, passive dominates over active.

As for the discourse of value of Ukrainian, Polish and Hungarian teenage youth, our analysis showed its of modernization and postmodernization.

The analysis of correlation between the value orientations and leisure practices of the surveyed Ukrainian teenagers proved that such an intellectually rich active types of activities in free time as self-education, including learning a foreign language, reading fiction, artistic and technical creativity, are, first of all, inherent for teenagers for which the values of high education and self-realization are extremely significant. The further analysis of the data obtained in the survey, the results of which form the basis of this article, we are going to devote to identify the relationship between value orientations and recreational practices of Polish, Hungarian and Slovak adolescents.

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TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT OF THE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES (IN TERMS OF THE BORDER AREA OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE)

After the disintegration of the Soviet regime and expansion of national borders of the European Union, the concept and subject of the border area became particularly interesting to study. A border area of the former Soviet Union is considered as an area of transitional societies in which the process of political, economic and cultural transition takes place. The process of functioning of the border area it self involves the presence of many value-regulatory systems, formal and informal mechanisms for the achievement of vital goals, but it can be interpreted as well as freedom of activity of the individuals in terms of the absence or attenuation of the general value-normative systems of the regulation of behavior. In terms of an international comparative study 'Youth of the border area of Central and Eastern Europe' (May-June, 2015), a number of issues was devoted to the topic of the graduates` employment experience, main areas of employment and views on the essence of work.

Keywords: *occupation, employment, border area, part-time employment, self-employment.*

INTRODUCTION

New conditions and mechanisms for the establishment of specific forms of relations with the border areas of neighboring countries occur as a result of a special geopolitical and geo-economic location. Among the advantages in the process of developing and implementing external relations which border areas possess we can identify the following ones: close distances to the border areas; intensification of the manufacturing interactions; mechanisms for the implementation of the borderline socio-economic relations.

Considering the characteristics of the geographical location of border regions, level of development of productive forces and benefits available to the population of the given territories, and other specifics of functioning of the border areas, the following interests can be identified: in particular socio-economic, which are implemented within the cross-border cooperation, rational, comprehensive and complete use of local natural and demographic resources and recreational opportunities of the region in order to enhance the efficiency of the social life of the region, employment of the working-age population and improve the quality of life; implementation of scientific, technical and production cooperation; development and strengthening of the borderland

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infrastructure.

The article aims to explore basic strategies of involvement of school graduates of the border area prior to the unofficial temporary employment which are based on the results of the international survey 'Youth on the border of Central and Eastern Europe'.

THEORIES OF FUNCTIONING OF THE BORDERLINE AREA OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

In terms of modern international approach, a border is a line used for the delimitation of national territory. Moreover, it is a physical boundary which defines the territory of a particular state. A border determines the main function of the state, which consists in the formation of a territorial basis for the operation of all systems and subsystems of the national sovereignty.

The term 'space' is actual to use in terms of the border regions, which in turn can combine three types of border areas: zones, so-called 'poles' and administrative units. Residents of border areas are more socially mobile and enterprising. Rhythm of life of the population of border regions significantly differs from the rhythm of life in other areas (central area for instance). Based on this, the conditions and trends in functioning of border areas is an extremely interesting topic for studying.

Firstly, it is necessary to consider the concept of border areas within the notion of 'center' and 'periphery'. Hierarchical differentiation of the modern world in core, semi-periphery and periphery is presented by the theory of Wallerstein (Валлерстайн, 2008, p. 21-25).

Within this theory, conceptualization of the border territory is ontologically linked to the typologization of this part of area, which is located at a considerable distance from the center, where a certain content and resources are forming and accumulating. Herewith, a 'center' is defined as the accumulation of resources totality of which allows it to dominate over the periphery.

A Ukrainian sociologist Y. Savelyev (Савельев, 2012) also studies the notions 'center' and 'periphery' when considering the possibility of European integration for Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, calling these countries 'Eastern-Euponean frontier'.

However, it should be noted that the border area is not a periphery in the literal sense of the word. Place of the border territory in the theories is quite ambiguous. Border area is rather a zone between two or more centers. If the periphery borrows identity from civilizational centers, attracted to them like a magnet, and often turns to the center for the help of symbolic meaning, the 'borderline' carries its own meaning of the demarcation on the other hand.

Border of the crossing civilizations is a place of contrast between different cultures, ideologies, combats of different identities. We can easily say that two

types of cultural processes are going to be localized on the border territory: the crystallization of opposition and mutual adaptation of the main practices of interaction. The result of crystallization is the segregation of cultures and settlements, and increase in the competition between the parties. The result of the process of adaptation is the interpenetration of cultures (Hungarian, Slovakian, Romanian words penetrate in the language of the population of the Transcarpathian region(Ukraine)).

The process of transferring the content of the term periphery on the term border area is underlined in the paradigm of the border areas of Eastern and Central Europe. According to this concept, if a border area is considered as a form of a periphery, it is directed to different centers, which articulate different values. Herewith, the territory and its` population may be attracted two different civilization centers at one time. The result of this process can be a valuable 'desolation' of the border area. If we consider a border territory as a kind of a periphery, then it represents the outflow of all creative points of view to the civilization centers, hence, a border population as the population of the periphery poorly expresses main values and cultural specificity of the center. Such a decisive position determines a center area as a preferential zone of identities and resources which attracts other areas. This concept follows the conceptualization of the term 'core-periphery' represented by Wallerstein.

However, these approaches are fairly criticized primarily by the lack of clear criteria of the process of selection, on the basis of which you have a possibility to predict the migration from border areas to the center. Borderline territories are not necessarily seen as the areas of segregation; hence the borderland population may have more than one attractive center, (such as the Transcarpathian region or South Tyrol). In addition, the population of border areas is not directed to a certain center, considering their borderline territory as a self-contained place for living and functioning.

Another conceptualization of a border area is defined by a network theory, which reveals the difference between the center and periphery which are determines as networks of different densities and different intensity of interaction between the subjects. Considering a borderland from the point of view of the network approach. In a given approach of networks, new meanings and values are producing, but it does not possess sufficient means for its` articulation and consolidation, as the periphery is fully dominated by weak links. On the one hand, living in the areas of the periphery, people create a variety of ideas and values different from the center, but on the hand even if a creative activity of the subjects of the periphery creates a unique practice, these different ideas only increase the process of fragmentation of experience and do not fix in practice by the presence of limited resources.

A border territory is often knowns for the collision of different cultures and new ideas, but the frequency and intensity of interactions is not sufficient to

be fixed in its` daily practice. The predominance of weak links and networks of low density determines the severity of an unambiguous acceptance not only of common values, but also common strategies of a daily activity.

A network approach determines a borderland as a territory which builds thematic 'bridges' between the values and logics of cultures belonging to different civilizations. In this context a scientist P. Tamash (Тамаш, 2011). determines a border area as a transcultural zone. In this case we should identify his analysis separately away from the term 'center-periphery': this territory is not seen as someone's periphery, it is an integral territory, characterized by its own separateness, act as a place of 'meeting and transition of its and others', or 'the One and the Other' People of the border area do not separate themselves from each other (their from others), it is manifested in an automatical co-existence and functioning. Functioning of a border area is often self-sufficient and complete at least for the residents of the given territory.

Modern Transcarpathia – consciously or unconsciously – demonstrates itself as a borderline area in all possible dimensions. It combines fragments of different socio-cultural directions that reflect its multi-vector relationships and trends.

The formal criterion, namely the national borders of these countries are not sufficient: in the era of rapid development of transborder informational flows and globalization, national borders are losing their former meaning. A border area is firstly characterized by the persistence of an unofficial status of the cultural (and often political) uncertainty, incompleteness of the processes that occur there. This exact characteristic of a borderline territory is not directly related to external relations and manifestations of its culture, it is rooted not in its territory, but rather in the latent structures of the given culture.

The idea of singling out this border sub-civilization combines two criteria – the territorial and cultural, territorial defines a region and cultural reflects cultural characteristics which allows to refer a certain region to a sub-civilization. Features of the Eastern-European border area are not shown in radical varieties specific to its standards and values, but that the 'borderline' conditions of the existence in these countries (regions) prevent the implementation of values and practices of everyday life declared by the population. The existence of a border territory implies the presence of many value-normative systems, formal and informal mechanisms for achieving goals in life, but they can be interpreted as freedom of the subjects' activity under the conditions of absence or attenuation of the general value-normative systems of the regulation of behavior.

TEMPORARY, SECONDARY EMPLOYMENT OF THE GRADUATES OF THE BORDER AREA: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

One of the two blocks of questions from the questionnaire in the international comparative sociological survey was dedicated to the research of views of the school graduates living in a borderland. It was regarded to the topic of a temporary employment, enterprise and attitude to the work. The research was held in 2015 in Ukraine in the following towns (Lviv region (Drohobych), Transcarpathian region (Uzhgorod), Kharkiv region (Kharkiv)), also in neighboring countries – Hungary (Nyíregyháza) and Poland (Rzeszów, Przemysl).

Transition of the students to the labor activity is linked with a number of factors, both objective and subjective. First of all students were given several questions concerning their view on the notion of labor and its semantic load. 35,5% of the interviewed students of Kharkiv (Ukraine) gave the answer that work is a possibility to provide themselves and their families with a normal life. For the 54,1% of the Transcarpathian region youth (Ukraine), 8,9% of the youth of Lviv region (Ukraine) and 18,4% of Rzeszow (Poland) it is an opportunity to receive high profits.

In the responses of the youth labour takes a material direction and becomes means of financial benefits. 22,3% of the interviewed students of Nyíregyháza (Hungary) and 5,5% of the youth of Kharkiv region (Ukraine) have clear position that those people should work who really want to work. A number of values that define the vector of life of today's youth has a very low critical degree of importance, for instance: 'realization of your abilities' – 11,7% in Nyíregyháza (Hungary) to 17,0% in Rzeszów (Poland); 'bringing benefits to the city, village' 1,4% in Nyíregyháza (Hungary) to 9,9% of the responses of the students in Lviv region (Drohobych). A well-known Maslow's theory of motivation where dominate basic values such as food, protection, development and self-realization associated with reproduction of a self-identity. This situation confirms the position followed by a number of scientists, that in the youth environment the notion "work" has lost its intrinsic value and is perceived as a tool for achieving certain goals in life and a way to ensure a normal life for themselves and their families.

Table 1. Statements on Labour of High School Graduates (in %)

	Ukraine (Uzgorod, Transcarpathian region)	Ukraine (Kharkiv, Kharkiv region)	Ukraine (Drohobych, Lviv region)	Hungary (Nyiregyhaza)	Poland (Rzeszow)
Realization of Your abilities	13,9	16,1	16,1	11,7	17,0
Ensuring a normal life to You and	54,1	35,5	50,8	49,9	41,8

Your family					
Obtaining high profits	12,8	17,1	8,9	17,5	18,4
Gaining independence, self-determination	6,0	5,1	3,3	8,4	7,1
Offering benefits to the city, village	6,2	8,2	9,9	1,4	2,4
Someone who wants to work - should work	9,2	5,8	6,9	22,3	7,1
Work is the most important thing in life	6,6	8,4	10,5	2,8	2,4

Youth is more likely to be employed in temporary jobs. For young workers, changeable employment is a so-called springboard for the integration into the labor market, it makes it possible to combine work and studying, get the necessary experience and gain some experience, the availability of which is now one of the primary conditions that is put forward by employers of young workers. The greatest risk of actual underemployment exists for persons of retirement age (60-70 years) and youth (15-24 and 25-29). On the one hand, they are less interested in getting jobs for full time than other age groups, on the other hand employers are more likely to hire members of other age groups under the same equal conditions.

A set of non-standard forms of employment varies and can include a variety of forms of activity. Part-time are considered to be workers with employment contracts for a specified period of time or who perform a certain amount of work, and also do seasonal, occasional or one-time work (Капелюшников, 2014, p. 252). Temporary, changeable or occasional employment (employment based on fixed-term contracts on the basis of contracts for a certain amount of work, seasonal employment etc.) has become widespread in our country under the conditions of a transitional economy, as a strategy of adaptation to changing conditions. These forms nonstandard employment in terms of rational use of working time were beneficial only to the employer since it allowed to hire workers on short time and do not have a staff member who will not be loaded with work for a certain period of the year, and whom an employer needs to pay a fixed salary; or overload already existing staff of workers that would definitely lead to a deterioration in the quality of products or services. For temporary or occasional workers a rational use of working time does not play any role, and these forms of nonstandard employment may only deteriorate their situation in terms of employment guarantees, level of remuneration, etc., but not for students who are studying.

There are two main approaches to the definition of underemployment (part - time employment) - quantitative and qualitative. In the first case, the fully employed include workers with ordinary working hours less of a norm (usually 35 or 40 hours a week), the second - the workers with labor contracts for part-time. This kind of employment was used in our country during the Soviet period, but its scope has increased in the 90's of the XX century.

Self-employment, composed of employers, members of production cooperatives and self-employed in the narrow sense (own - account workers) is characterized by the fact that this group of workers are not employees. Persons belonging to this group, use their entrepreneurial skills for the organization of labour activity. Characteristic feature of self-employment is the use of working time, the employee is interested to achieve maximum results of work for the minimum possible time since it will affect his/her income and length not only of working time, but free time as well. In market economy conditions self-employment is a progressive form of employment. Self-employment is a measure for solving a problem of poverty, since most of self-employed people lead and work their own households (Титаренко, 2013).

Household employment – these are persons who produce goods or services in house conditions or for sale in the market or for their own consumption. In many countries (including Ukraine) household employment allows to produce products for both domestic consumption and place this production on the market, using the the work of family members. Home work (a form of employment in which the employee works exclusively at home) allows the employee to allocate time on your own and use it rationally. It was one of the first forms of work which is characterized by flexible working hours.

For the students who work, labor market flexibility is manifested in the possibility of creating a temporary, incomplete or unofficial jobs, helping parents and obtaining a financial benefit. Considering the structure of a part-time (partial) employment, we can conclude that the proportion of partial employment is much higher in the cities where you can find random undermining easier, but on the other hand rural areas are characterised by a temporary employment, which corresponds to a seasonal agricultural work. The opportunity to combine studying and job may become one of the strategies to overcome the crisis in Ukraine, motivate young people to gain some level of education and will form the experience of independence and autonomy among the graduates. Main tasks of the temporary employment may include the following elements as: involvement to the working process, getting a professional experience that can help with the determination of the future profession and spheres of activity, expansion of the service sector which is provided by young people in the labor market and improvement of the quality of these services, gives a possibility to adapt to the staff and learn to be responsible for the work you do, spend free time usefully, gaining for it a financial reward. It

should be noted that the demand for youth in the secondary labor market in terms of crisis may be high, but the mechanism of implementation, organizational phase and employment process is much more difficult.

Regarding the experience of employment, the formal employment (employment contract, agreement) with a significant advantage prevails among graduates of Nyíregyháza (Hungary), it contains 33,7%. It is related to those factor that most of the respondents are 19 years old, meaning that they can work officially, combining studying and work and volunteer activity which can serve as an experience for getting a future profession. However, it should be noted that unofficial work without a contract generally prevails among the interviewed respondents; it contains a third part of all respondents. Full or part-time employment prevails among the respondents of the towns Transcarpathian region (Ukraine) and Kharkiv region (Ukraine) – 11,9%. Unofficial work without a contract receives the highest percentage among all the respondents (from 32,7% to 44,9%) not including the respondents of Nyíregyháza (Hungary). 44,9% of the students of Rzeszów (Poland) work without an employment contract. This fact confirms that unofficial employment is characteristic not only for our country.

It should be mentioned that students in Hungary (86%) and Poland (85,7%) have experience of employment, but only 60%t of all interviewed students in Ukraine have such an experience. Perhaps this is due to a number of facts, namely an age, graduates in these countries have about 19 years; the conditions and ability to underwork in terms of the given state.

Table 2. Main Areas of Employment of High School Graduates (in %)

	Transcarpathian region (Ukraine)	Nyiregyhaza (Hungary)	Rzeszow (Poland)	Lviv region (Ukraine)	Kharkiv region (Ukraine)
Paid work (employment contract, agreement)	9,4	33,7	17,3	2,7	5,8
Full or partial working day	14,7	7,8	4,4	6,7	11,9
Unofficial work without a contract	32,7	10,9	44,9	35,11	37,9
Volunteerism	3,8	44,3	19	13,2	6,5
Paid practice	2,4	5,4	10,5	0,2	3,0
Another type of work	1,5	12,2	5,1	0,75	4,2
Did not work	36,3	14	14,3	39,5	41,4

According to the results of the given study, most of the interviewed respondents in their ideas about their future work stick to the opinion that a stable, reliable work which you can perform both at work and at home (for instance, a distance work with a help of use of the Internet, computer or mobile

phone) is more attractive to them, than a stable, reliable work which you daily do several hours a day work at the same time at the same workplac. The exception are the graduates of the town Rzeszow (58.8%). On the other hand, a work at the same workplace with a stable salary (wage) occupies the second position in the answers of the interviewed respondents. Working at home, regardless of the duration and type of employment agreement concluded with the employer, a full-time work with the possibility of further undermining is more desirable for young people than a stable work with a permanent contract or temporary contract.

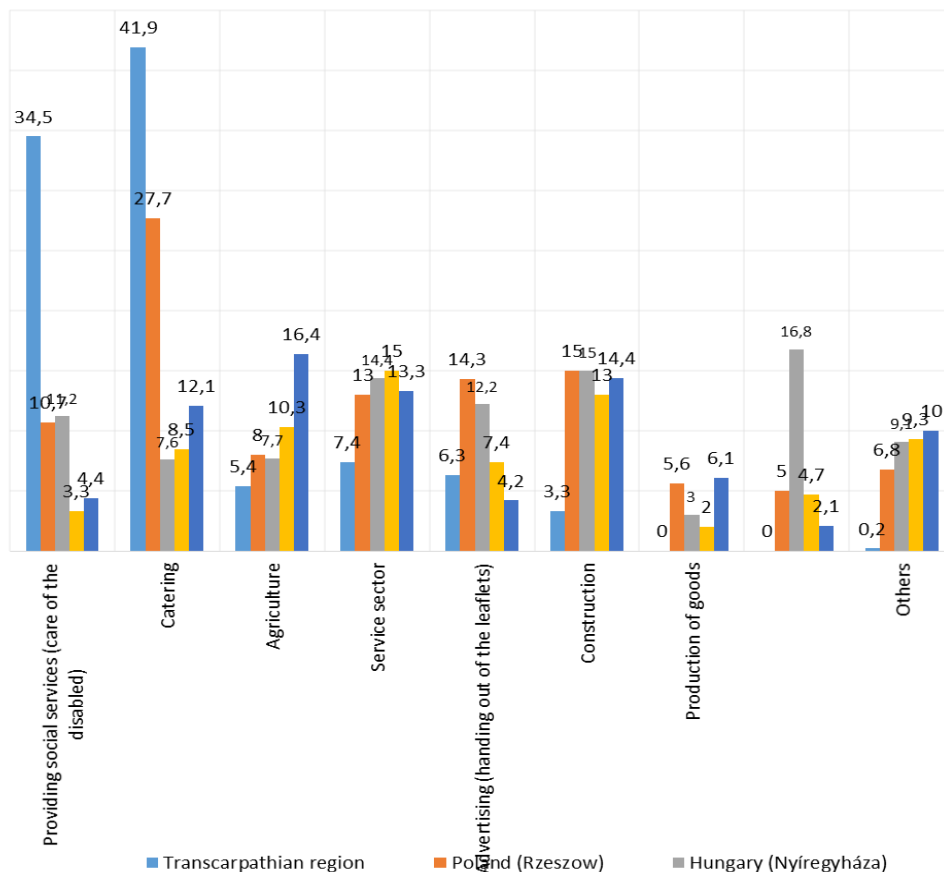
As a result of the global informatization of society, the development of a modernized computer opportunities a telework becomes increasingly popular –a telecommuting out of the office. A number of employees of the given sphere of work, so-called ‘freelancers’ is steadily increasing every year. With the development of information technology and the Internet freelance work is becoming more popular, which allows employees to perform certain tasks in a more comfortable environment. This is the main positive feature of this type of employment. Positive aspects of this type work include the following: a free choice of profession and place of work, comfortable schedule, no restrictions on age and sex, which promotes the increase of productivity of work and availability of more free time.

Table 3. The Idea of a Future Occupation of High School Graduates (in %)

	Transcarpathian region (Ukraine)	Nyiregyhaza (Hungary)	Lviv region (Ukraine)	Rzeszow (Poland)	Kharkiv region (Ukraine)
Stable, reliable work- daily work for several hours at the same time at the workplace	34,0	25,9	34,7	58,8	28,0
A stable, reliable work, which can be performed both at work and at home	41,2	44,3	52,0	19,7	52,3
Work at home, regardless of the duration and type of contract concluded with the employer	5,3	6,7	4,8	8,5	4,9
Full-time work with the possibility of further undermining	7,3	17,0	2,6	6,1	5,8
Work according to the agreement, temporary contract	6,2	1,7	3,8	1,0	1,6
Other	3,2	3,1	0,8	2,4	3,3

Main types of work for the juveniles are the following: employment in agriculture, repair works, in the locksmith, furniture workshops, underworking in advertising, courier services, utility work at industrial enterprises, trading, catering, social services (care for the elderly, disabled) (Дидковская, 2007, p. 132-135). Seasonal employment in the sphere of construction (41,9%) and production (34,5%) dominates among the interviewed graduates, especially among the graduates of the Transcarpathian region (Ukraine). Perhaps the students were involved in these types of work during the summer holidays, which allowed them to combine studying and work at one time. Work in advertising prevails among the respondents of the Lviv region (Ukraine) – 16,4% and Kharkiv region (Ukraine) – 10,3%. Employment in agriculture prevails among the respondents of the city Rzeszow (Poland). Employment experience in the trade area was marked in the questionnaire of the graduates of Rzeszow, Nyíregyháza and Lviv region – 15%. This fact is quite surprising, as far a significant number of people living in the border areas is involved in commuting which is related to the difference between the prices of border areas. Perhaps this type of trade is a smuggling in most cases that's why it was not marked in the answers of the interviewed respondents.

Figure. 1. Fields of Employment of the Graduates



Providing social services (16,8%) and volunteering prevails among the respondents of the city Nyíregyháza (Hungary). This can be explained by the fact that the survey was conducted among the students, most of whom had the desire to receive education in Social Work, before entering the university and havin practice in the social sphere.

Main desire of the graduates concerning their future occupation is employment in the private sector. Probably the majority of respondents relates a private sphere to high incomes and significant material benefits. Desire to work in this area significantly exceeds among the interviewed graduates of the Lviv region (Ukraine) – 50,8%. About a quarter of respondents willing to create their own business (23,5% –28%), while only 3,3% of the interviewed graduates in the Lviv region. The largest percentage of the interviewed graduates of the city Nyíregyháza (Hungary) has the desire to work in the public sector, perhaps it is due to the quite good social guarantees and wages of civil servants. About a quarter of the interviewed graduates wish to create their own business, except for the 3.3% of respondents in the Lviv region. This rate is quite high among the interviewed, because in general, only about 10-15% of all people have a tendency to start an entrepreneurial activity, which is always correlated with risk, initiative and persistence of each character. Regarding the desire to move abroad, the largest percentage of respondents also prevails among the graduates of the cities Rzeszów (Poland) – 19,7%, Transcarpathian region (Ukraine) – 18,0% and Nyíregyháza (Hungary) – 15,6%. The theory ‘center – periphery’ prevails at this territory, according to which we canobserve the outflow of the population to more advanced centers.

Table 4. Answers to the Questions about the Future Fields of Employment (in %)

	Transcarpathian region (Ukraine)	Nyiregyhaza (Hungary)	Rzeszow (Poland)	Lviv region (Ukraine)	Kharkiv region (Ukraine)
A state enterprise, institution	16,9	22,8	16,1	13,6	14,0
A private company	18,7	5,6	50,8	23,8	21,3
A foreign company	12,7	17,0	8,9	11,2	11,0
Likely to create their own business	24,4	23,7	3,3	23,5	28,5
Likely to work in the company of parents, engage in a family business	3,7	5,8	9,9	0,7	1,4
Working abroad	18,0	15,6	0,5	19,7	13,6

CONCLUSIONS

We come to the following generalizations that informal employment of the youth in Central and Eastern Europe during the transitional period contains both positive and negative elements. Positive aspects include the opportunities of earning first own savings, gaining personal experience and independence by combining work and study.

Informal, secondary employment allows to some extent to provide mobility and a higher employment rate in this case reducing the risk of unemployment and increasing the chances of employment. Negative aspects include low quality of work, lack of basic rights in the field of labour protection under the absence of an employment contract and health insurance. The structure of informal employment is one of the most important features where where the largest proportion of informal workers is observed in agriculture, construction and service industry. Therefore, there are some methodological difficulties which do not allow to estimate a real percentage of temporarily employed youth in the sphere of informal economy.

It is definitely corresponds to the interests of workers. It gives an opportunity of underwork, chance to get your first money and feel independent. It should not be forgotten that the employee primarily considers a nonstandard employment with the lack of social protection. The objective disadvantages of informal employment for the workers include a low level of payment, lack of control over the safety of the workplaces and in most cases – lack of career prospects.

The results of our research demonstrate the interest of high school graduates in the subject of their future occupation. As well as the representatives of foreign countries (Poland, Hungary), Ukrainian graduates are also primarily motivated by material factors, the ability to earn for themselves and their families, The consideration of labor as means of achieving material prosperity dominates among the respondents. In terms of difficult employment situation young people will have, perhaps, sacrifice their professional expectations and orientations. There is no significant difference between the respondents from different regions in their answers to the questions what a work, future jobs and employment experience present in whole. Of course, in the current conditions young people have to adapt by implementing high labor mobility. Important fact is young people show their willingness to do beneficial work, work hard to ensure the material well-being of their families, regardless of whether the character of future occupation will match the obtained specialty. In addition, they show their willingness to change professional activity due to the appearance of various non-traditional, non-standard forms of employment in the labor market which allow combining work and studying.

Additional earnings and partial employment of the school students can be viewed as a part of 'growing up.' Getting your own money is considered as a

proper practice of adaptation to adult life. In addition, due to the working experience graduates have the possibility to accumulate human capital and social connections, communication skills, ability of adopting to different situations. Basic ways of getting a proper job are probably social connections, contacts and networks of mutual support which may become a valuable social capital in the nearest future.

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Victoria Riul**

THE INFLUENCE OF THE BORDER ON THE MOBILITY AND MIGRATION PROCESSES OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE (ON THE EXAMPLE OF UKRAINE, POLAND AND HUNGARY)

The influence of the border on the mobility and migration processes of the youth is analyzed in the given paper. The phenomenon of the transborder areas in modern science, its interpretation, different approaches and classification of the borderland is investigated in this paper. In the context of this investigation we regard three transborder zones, each one with its specificity (Transcarpathian region – Hungary, Lviv region - Poland and borderland of Kharkiv region). In the result of this investigation were have revealed common and different features of various transborder zones, each with its own structure, under which it is functioning. It was concluded that a significant impact on the young people make the transborder areas where the young people live, and ties with the neighboring country are very close in many cultural and social spheres and promote youth mobility of the borderline areas.

Keywords: border, borderland, borderland, youth mobility, neighboring country

INTRODUCTION

The term 'border' and concepts, expressed by this term are significant, they are used in different social contexts and have different statuses (Беспмятных, 2008). They occupy a special position in a mental-geographical mapping: they are periphery of the country on one hand, but on the other hand, they become the centers of the particular region, in which the processes are determined by the factor of the border (Бреский, Бреска, 2008). The way of people's life in the border area, the form of its display demonstrate and implement a special measure interactions between the countries which have a common border. Borderland is not only a distance, but it is also the means of relationship between the countries. The border area demonstrates the process of 'layering' of different social and cultural meanings, making these areas 'privileged' in development, that solves not only the problem of international relations, but also creates new problems. As a rule, this process is usually caused by different levels of development of the countries, which have the common border. In border areas, the social structures (spaces measuring) on the geographic (physical) space community is taking place (Кривицька, 2015). Thus, border areas, are specific socio-cultural and ethno-social spaces, located on the border of cultures, ethnic groups, certain political formations, which

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allow to treat it not only in territorial, local, but also in symbolic limits. The common border is a special space, which does not belong entirely to any of the cooperating countries. But only this space provides the possibility of different kinds of communication, on the level of everyday life, as well as on the level of long-term planning of international relations. Border areas always are characterized by a high degree of various kinds of movement (migration), usually in both directions of the border (Гуль, 2012). The population of border areas, namely young people, are also involved in various kinds of transborder movements, that's why it is actual to study the impact of borderland on the migration of young people.

The aim of the research is to identify the influence of borderland on the mobility and migration processes of the young people who live there.

We define social mobility as a process of movements of individuals between hierarchically organized elements of the social structure. Pitimir Sorokin defines social mobility as any transition of individuals or social objects, that is, everything created or modified by human activity, from one social position to another. (Сорокин, 1992) In the context of our research, social mobility of young people, is the intensity of border movement in border areas, their plans to study and live in the neighboring country, and also socio-cultural cooperation of the young people in the borderland between two countries. Borderland as a territory of residence, activates mobility, both vertical and horizontal. Borderland can be defined as a socio-cultural phenomenon, which is in a certain localized region with social, cultural, economic and political specific characteristics. Therefore, borderland should be considered not as a physical space, but as a populated space. It is socially assimilated, intelligently interpreted by the people, inhabiting it and has become a part of their "life-world". Borderland as a spatial-social and spatial-cultural phenomenon, appears only in a particular interpretation. This idea has already happened and concepts on key issues: what is what and who is who. Analysis of the borderland as a socio-cultural phenomenon should begin with the consideration of borderland in the line of transformation, that has been taking place in the political culture in the late twentieth (Hastings, Wilson, 1998). This has found its expression in changing opinions, ideas about the role of state (government) in cultural policy, organization and management of the areas.

One of the displays of this transformation is a transborder cooperation, the main participants of which are not central authorities, but border administrative-territorial units and civilian communities (Бреский, Бреска, 2008).

By itself, the term 'border', that became the Russian-speaking translation loan word of the English term 'Borderland' is multimeaningful. Its use in the European and American scientific tradition at the beginning of the XXI century is actual for archeology, history, sociology, political science, humanitarian geography, religious studies, philosophy. Within the theory "borderland";

different kinds of limits – “borderland studies”, “border studies” and “boundary studies” are arising. Each category is translated as a “limit”, but has different semantic nuance. For this reason, in the English humanitarian space, there are several “Border” theories, that are constantly interacting with each other, gradually wiping off the border, changing into one complicately organized area of scientific research (Martinez,1994). Applied theory, connected with study of the border, originated in the 50's of the XX century in the USA, as the sphere of research borderland problems. Since 1976, the Association of Borderland Studies (ABS) was founded in America, and became a leading Academic Association of the North American researchers (Бреский, Бреска, 2008). They are involved in regular research of the borderland zones.

Table.1 Scientific approaches to the interpretation of “Borderlands

Theoretical approaches of the general theory of borderland	those which are analytical models, related to geographical space, and then in their developing the most important are historians, political scientists, anthropologists, geographers, archaeologists	theories that consider mental, social, cultural boundaries; to study these limits within a particular discipline is impossible	
Typology of the phenomenon of “borderland”	“transitional” borderland - a region of active cultural interaction, smooth change a set of cultural traits from one geographically stable culture to another;	‘joint’ (junction) borderland –the area adjacent to the borderland between stable cultures on the condition that the main function of such border is a barrier;	‘frontyrne’ borderland is the region of development. This borderland migrates in the direction of culturally advanced territory to the territory which is mastering, colonizing
The degree of cultural distance between bordering socio-cultural community is divided into	cultured variative, which represent close coexistence of cultures	cultured-opposed, where the bordering communities belong to different civilizations	
By the degree of dominating one of the interactive cultures, the	symmetrically cultured	asymmetrically cultured	

borderland can be divided into			
According to the dominating functions in the “work” of the borderland (state border)	open borderland	close borderland	

Source: self-prepared

The theory of borderland emphasizes, that along with that, border can itself act as a subject of study (political, administrative, military divisions), it causes a variety of other types of borders. It often seems to a researchers that the line (limit) is something secondary relating to the space itself. However, it is the boundary (border-border) in theory of borderland, determines all other kinds of boundaries and the type of social space (Кочан, 2008).

So, Parker identifies five types of boundaries:

1) geographical (climate, nature features, ecology, environment, natural borders - rivers, mountains);

2) political (administrative division, military power, political dynamics, political domination, colonization of borderlands, ‘close borderland’ / open borderland, moving borderland);

3) demographic in a broad sense (interaction of ethnic groups, population, health, gender classification of the population, demographic shifts, hidden migration, character of settlements, the nature of ethnogenesis, merging or fragmentation);

4) cultural (linguistic, religious, artefact, cultural practices);

5) economic (production, ecosystem, engagement of migrants, transport, border trade, control) (Parker, 2006).

Richard Alba grounds three types of border changes: their “boundary breaching”, at which the assimilation of the individuals into dominant culture is taking place; “Boundary shifting”, when identifying designation of “who is who” becoming problematic. ‘Erasing borders’ is a process, where cultural boundaries are losing their ‘rigidity’ and constraint character, and individuals are provided with ample opportunity of cultural and identification selection (Alba, 2005).

Of course, if it is said about the limits of social organizations, status, symbolic fields, than these limits are too tied to a special territory, but methodological approach of research will be another than in the first version. First of all, social researcher may be interested in the subject itself - collective (group) or individual and his or her ability to build the limits of their presence in public space.

Applying the concept of borderland (in its three-measuring sense: territorial, socio-cultural and personal) makes possible to explain the specifics of ethnic identificational processes in borderland regions, and understand the peculiarities of formation ethnic identity in the Ukrainian socio-cultural space (Сухомлинов , 2008).

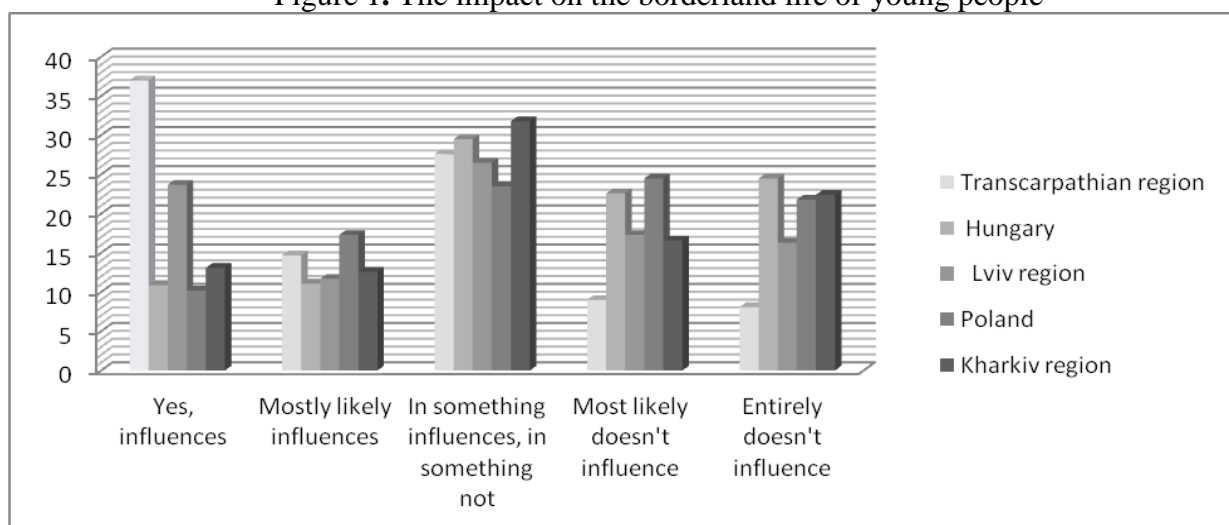
PATTERN AND METHODS

Analyzing the mobility of youth in borderland areas we have investigated the young people in borderland of Ukraine (Transcarpathian, Lviv and Kharkiv regions), Hungary (and Poland (Rzeszów)). The analysis of the mobility of young people in borderland areas was conducted by the relevant questionnaire.

For interpretation the results of the study we have focused our attention on these three border areas, namely on the borderland of Hungary and Transcarpathian region, the borderland of Poland and Lviv region and the borderland of Kharkiv region. It would be appropriate to analyze the Kharkiv region borderland together with the borderland of Russia, where the study was not carried out, that's why the borderland of Kharkiv region will be analyze in one-sided context.

Positively answered about the impact of the border on the life of youth (37,0%) in Transcarpathia and (23,7%) in Lviv region. But the majority of young people, living on the border have said that something causes, something not. The youth of Hungary and Poland, and to some extent in Kharkiv region are convinced that living on the border does not affect their lives. In total 60.0% of young people are convinced that living on the border affects their lives to some extent, especially the young people of Transcarpathia, as far as Transcarpathia is the most multinational and multilingual region, which borders with four European countries(Figure 1).

Figure 1. The impact on the borderland life of young people



As for socio-cultural interaction between the residents of borderland, it is characterized by very active interaction of two neighboring countries. In the context of our study, three bordering areas (Transcarpathian region - Hungary, Lviv region - Poland, Kharkov region - country, with which it borders with Russia). The youth of the Ukrainian borderlands (Transcarpathian region, Lviv region and Kharkiv region) have noted that they are making purchases in the neighboring country more actively, than the youth of the foreign borderland (Hungary and Poland). That's why the youth of Lviv region do shopping in the neighboring Poland, the youth people of Kharkiv region in Russia, with which it borders. It should be noted that the young people of Transcarpathia do shopping not only in neighboring Hungary, but in Slovakia and Romania, depending on the place of residence in the Transcarpathian region, where the border crossings exist.

Parents of the respondents in Transcarpathian and Lviv regions are working in the neighboring countries, which are typical for these areas (labor migration caused by a high level of unemployment).

Table 2. The socio-cultural interaction between the residents of borderland

	Transcarpathian region	Hungary (Niregyháza)	Lviv region	Poland (Rzeszów)	Kharkiv region
Do shopping in neighboring country	46,2	21,2	42,3	19,7	30,4
Your parents work there	26,3	7,2	24,5	8,8	13,1
Your relatives live there	55,8	37,3	56,1	47,3	62,4
Your friends live there	45,5	50,1	46,4	31,6	51,6
Celebrate holidays of the neighboring country	29,3	16,7	18,6	11,6	33,6

As result of the survey has shown, we can state, that majority of the respondents indicate that their relatives and friends live on both: the Ukrainian border (Transcarpathian, Lviv and Kharkiv regions) and on the foreign border (Hungary and Poland). Holidays of the neighboring countries are celebrated in the families of Kharkiv region (33,6%) and in Transcarpathian region (29,3%), which is a result of common historical past with the neighboring country (Table 2).

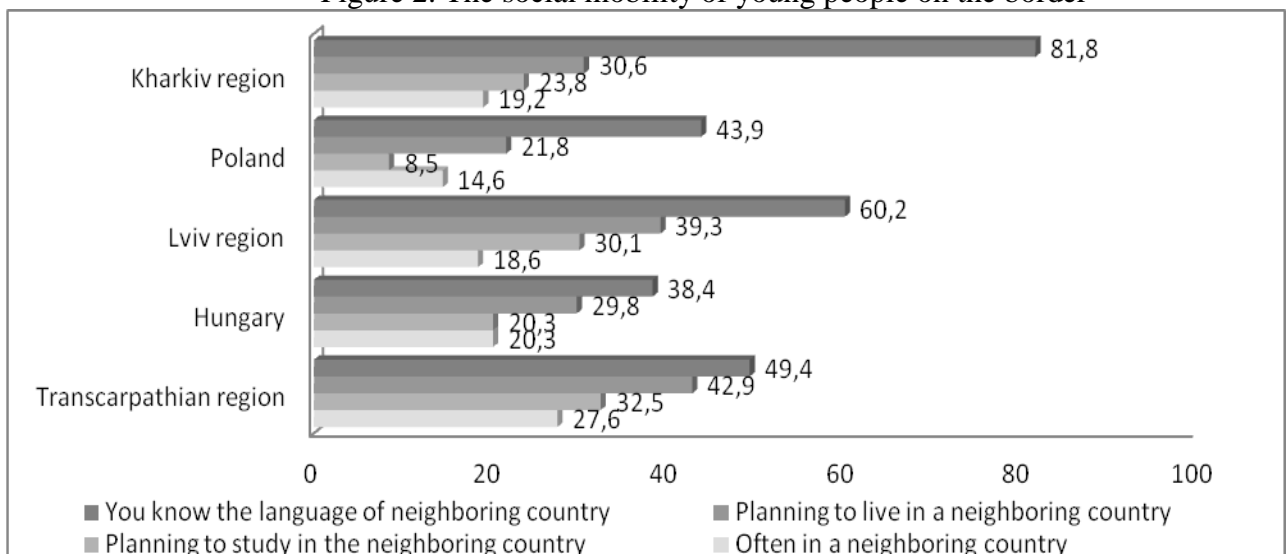
The most frequent trips are between residents of Transcarpathian region (27,6%) and residents of Hungary (20,3%), as far as for each of parts it is

profitable. For example, the population of Transcarpathian region not only does shopping in the supermarkets and shopping centres at low prices in the neighboring Hungary, but they are taking a course of examination and treatment in the hospitals of Hungary. The residents of Hungary very often visit Transcarpathia buying goods, which are cheaper than in Hungary (fuel, cigarettes, alcohol, food, and cheap clothes). Lower indexes as for the frequency of trips to neighboring countries is in the Lviv region (18.6%) and accordingly, its neighbor Poland (Rzeszów) (1,6%).

Young people of Transcarpathian (32,5%) and Lviv regions (30.1%) of the borderland have shown more desire to study in the neighboring country, that is in Hungary and Poland, because it is the only perspective in getting good job abroad with a diploma of the European standard. According to the results of investigation, the young ptole of Transcarpathian region (42,9%), Lviv region (39.3%) are planning to live in the neighboring country, that is emigrate from Ukraine, and (30.6%) young people of Kharkiv region are also planning to emigrate, not only to Russia, but to some other country.

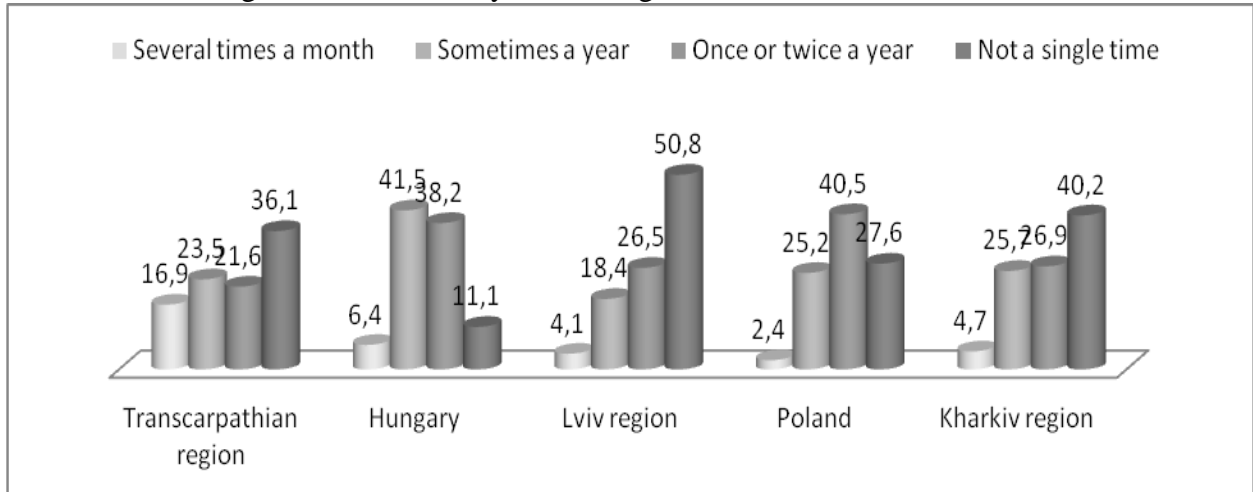
According to the results of research, young people of Transcarpathian region (42,9%) and Lviv region (39,3%) are planning to live in a neighboring country, that is emigrate from Ukraine, and (30.6%) young people of Kharkiv region are planning to live in Russia. The young people of Europe (Hungary – 29,8% and Poland – 21,8%) are planning to take up a permanent residence in more promising than theirs, European countries. The young people in Lviv region (60.,2%) and Transcarpathian region (49,4%) know the language of the neighboring country, i.e. Polish and Hungarian. The young people in Kharkiv region (81,9%) know Russian.

Figure 2. The social mobility of young people on the border



Characterizing the intensity of moving the residents of borderland, regularly visit neighboring country young people from Transcarpathia (16.9%), the rest of respondents go abroad several times a month, once or twice a year (Figure 3).

Figure 3. The intensity of moving the residents of borderland



The main purpose of travelling the residents of borderland to the neighboring country, has become tourism, visiting relatives, friends and business trips which are peculiar for the residents of Transcarpathian region, and are connected with buying foodstuffs and manufactured goods, and then selling them at the markets of the region (Table 3).

Table 3. The purpose of travelling the residents to the borderland countries

	Transcarpathian region	Hungary (Niregyháza)	Lviv region	Poland (Rzeszów)	Kharkiv region
Tourism	35,2	66,4	41,3	48,0	35,0
Business trip (sale and / or purchase of goods)	21,4	8,9	8,4	2,4	6,1
Visiting relatives, friends	31,4	23,4	17,8	9,5	25,5
Medical treatment	5,5	1,7	1,9	1,7	3,7
Studying, probation	2,4	8,3	4,6	5,8	3,3
Other	7,5	10,9	11,2	6,8	3,7

Quite high for young Hungarians and a little lower for the young people of Poland, is tourism, as a purpose of their trips to Transcarpathia. It is due to the development of the tourism industry in Transcarpathia in the last decade and

moderate prices, which suit the ordinary young people from European countries.

So, borderland is a special social space, where the intersection of cultures, filled with a special meaning, is taking place. The significance of the borderland (borderland) in modern world is determined by socio-cultural transformation, processes of regionalization, changes in the nature of state border and changes in people's outlook, way of living, which is taking place in this area (Хлестакова, 2006). Borderland is multilateral and diverse socio-cultural phenomenon, and give it a precise definition is difficult (Шевчук, 2010). To determine the borderland, is possible only in general way. Its conceptualization can be made only on the basis of different grounds. Borderland differs from usual social-cultural formations by its another attitude to stranger, foreigner. A stranger (foreigner) takes a concrete and detailed image. Borderland, as a socio-cultural phenomenon has its own sociodynamics, which is implemented in the external and internal measurements. Changes of borderland are connected with general socio-cultural dynamics of the mankind and with a nature of intercultural interaction, within the region of borderland (Кравченко, 2010).

Peculiarities allow us to consider borderland (area attached to border) from three points of view. The first, shows socio-cultural approach, according to which, borderland (area attached to border) represents contacts between two or more ethno-cultural communities, localized in space. The second, realizes spatial geographical approach, which treats borderland only as a territory, which is attached to the borderland and is far from the center. The third approach, provides personal and cultural discourse. It focuses attention on the fact, that borderland is a place of formation a certain type of person of borderland society (Rosler, 1999).

SUMMARY

We have considered the example of functioning life in borderlands in the light of youth vision and have determined the influence of borderland on the mobility of young people. In the context of our research, these are three borderline zones, each with its specificity (Transcarpathian region - Hungary, Lviv region - Poland and borderland of Kharkiv region). As a result of our research, we have found differences and similarities of different border zones, each with its own socio-economic structure, under which it is functioning. A significant impact on the young people, living in these areas, has borderland, and ties with the neighboring country are very close in many culture-social spheres.

Each side of the borderland has its benefits, which they make use of (material goods and certain services) and they also are well-oriented in the social space of the borderland, know the characteristic peculiarities of the mentality of neighboring nationality and freely communicate with each other.

Further researches on the given subject are very perspective, as far as the young people of the borderland (borderland), are more mobile and disposed to migration in search of better, that they can get in their own country. Research in this area will never lose its urgency, because these processes are integral part of the existence of border areas. In future our research should be focused on the young people, who wish to leave our country, because these are serious losses of the progressive young people for our country. Research of the intensity of youth migration flows, can be used as an indicator for improvement or deterioration of the situation in Ukraine.

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Bohdanna Hvozdecka*

THE BORDERLAND OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AS A SPECIFIC AREA FOR PRACTICES AND IDENTITIES OF YOUTH

The article analyzes the identities of youth (high school graduates) of a borderland of Central and Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Poland and Hungary) and provides us with the research of practices that contribute to this identity. Borderland of Central and Eastern Europe is a socio-cultural space that produces a certain identity and identificational practices since identity is always the product of complex relationships of the objective and subjective, external and internal. Results of our study show that the boundary area is the focus of certain identities (Ukraine - Poland – the dominance of regional and ethnic identity, Ukraine – Hungary – the domination of a strong tie with the family and civil identity). Youth of the Ukrainian borderland are convinced of the fact that the status of the border region has an impact on the daily lives, while young people beyond the border disagree with it. This influence is carried out through such "means of communication" as language skills, the presence of relatives and friends beyond the border, active cross-border migration etc.

Keywords: borderland, identity, youth, border, school graduates, space.

Constant processes of globalization and transformation, accompanied by the rapid growth of cross-border flows of people, information, goods, capital, energy, impact of cross-border subjects in different fields of activity are increasingly attracting attention of scientists to the study of a border and its borderland. This perspective is substantially updating, compared to previous years. The increasing "transparency" of borders makes a borderland an active subject of international politics and – to a lesser extent – the core of complex processes of reformatting the territory and creation of new identities.

Researchers consider a border as a social construction, a mirror of social relations, a factor of identity formation (Бреский, 2008). Territorial tendencies gain more and more weight in the social development. This means that the identities formed on the territorial basis will become more significant. Under these conditions, regional and local identities begin to acquire meaningful significance for humans.

Nowadays a borderland is not only the contact zone among the inhabitants of the border area, between states and its nations, but it is also a special area of identities. A. Filippova notes that "the global nature of the current economic and political processes is the precondition of characteristics of modern borders which are getting less dependent on their location. In the period of

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globalization a border can no longer be regarded as a certain panacea that saves you from "evil" because physical boundaries less than it was before, provide protection against external dangers, and on the other hand they cannot prevent problems arising in the middle of the national territory" (Филиппова, 2010, p. 395).

In this case, problems of correlation between European, national, regional and local identities are actualized. Their deregulation leads to an imbalance of the individual with the social environment, which manifests itself in the reduction of social status, uncertainty of value orientations which especially concern young people, the value world of whom is in the process of formation.

The aim of the article is to study the identities and practices of young people (high school graduates) of the borderland of Central and Eastern Europe (Ukraine, Poland and Hungary).

In this study we presume that identity is the totality of the phenomenon of object or personality itself, its qualitative self-identity in the vector of time. The identity of the given individual is based on its self-consciousness (Євтух, 1997, p. 68). It is the result of personal and group identity, the foundation of which is a variety of psychological, geographical and socio-cultural aspects: traditional characteristics (patterns of behavior, racial, linguistic, psychological) and modern ones (products of socialization and politicization of the society and its individual groups) (Прибиткова, 2001, p. 60).

Within the context of socio-cultural approach, where socio-cultural environment is considered as a space of identities and identification practices, identity is not only a social phenomenon or a social product, but a more complicated socio-cultural form, in which personal, cultural and social components interact between each other. This means that identity is multidimensional by its nature. It can be connected with personal, cultural or social sources and at the same time with all of them. So in some cases we are dealing with mostly personal, cultural or social identities, and in others - with some integral identities that involve union of all of the components (Ручка, 2002, p. 11). R. Shulga in her work pays more attention to the second socio-cultural component – culture. He notes that "without a clear understanding of the specificity of culture, we cannot understand the essence of the processes taking place in the social sphere" (Шульга, 2002, p. 127). The researcher believes that this factor prevails in the process of identification: "If we consider the manifestations of identity and various kinds of identifications exactly in the socio-cultural space, so in our opinion, the main problem that deserves special attention is the understanding of the specificity of the flow of processes of in the living environment that, on the one hand undergoes radical social transformations, and on the other – is marked by considerable inertia in relation to changes in the cultural sphere " (Шульга, 2002, p. 127). The researcher considers a "socio-cultural" as a definition, where `the cultural` defines a value

discourse of 'the social'. Hence, socio-cultural environment is considered as a formation or space where constant processes of different identifications take place. Since a person aims to a comfortable existence in this space and wants his/her identity to be consistent with the norms and values consistent with the norms of the society, thus a person is always looking for the accordance of his/her own system of values to the values of the surrounding sociocultural environment (Шульга, 2002, p. 131). This is especially applied to the youth.

Thus identity is always the product of complex relationships of the objective and subjective, external and internal, hence a borderland serves as a socio-cultural environment that produces a certain identity and identificational practices.

The Polish scholar A. Kloskowska draws attention to the borderland as a special space. She notes that "life of the individual in terms of a borderland has a special sense. It has a double impact on the consciousness of the individual regarding his national determination: on the one hand, the situation of a borderline culture intensifies this consciousness and causes safety guidelines for an alien nationality and culture, or vice versa - strengthening various cultural influences, leads to their uncertain, complicated national self-identity or to the absence of any clear determination of the individual "(Kłoskowska, 1992, p. 139).

It is not necessarily to consider a borderland of neighboring cultures in terms of geographical and political senses. It can be regarded in terms of proximity or amalgamation of individuals of different ethnic identifications. Impacts of different cultures, at least their fragments should not be restricted only to the situation of the geopolitical borderland or status of ethnic minorities in a multicultural society. It can be the result of traveling, participation in various international movements and institutions, finally, the general cultural information broadcasted by media. This kind of cultural influences, of course, do not definitively lead to a radical change in an individual national identity - instead, may strengthen or weaken national self-determination of the individual and his identification with national culture (Бреский, 2008, p. 37). In this regard Ukrainian researcher G. Korzhov notes that: "On the territory of the borderland it is often observed the intense migration, amalgamation of different people and establishment of strong regional identities which push national identity into the background" (Коржов, 2010, p. 108).

Polish researcher Z. Jasiński notes that the sense of identity is stronger when more changes took place in the territorial affiliation of the borderland. At the borderland we are dealing with fewer cases of the nationality changes. Frequent changes of the state nationality may lead to a reluctance to define your identity (ethnic or national), while people are more willing to choose regional identity instead (Jasiński, 1997, p. 88-89).

K. Shestakova (Шестакoвa, 2005, p. 90) suggests to characterize existing contexts and perspectives of regional identity (as the border area is a part of some of those regions), thus similar to the typology of factors of ethnic identity a suggested division requires an integrated application of all components:

Psychological perspective. Its key element is a measure of personal identification with the region, its society and culture. This identification is often expressed by the willingness of altruistic actions in favor of the region.

Sociological perspective. It suggests the division on `we` and `they` and provides with the sense of disparity that operates in the public consciousness. In this perspective, regional identity is often manifested through the appeal to a small Fatherland by symbolic or real conflicts.

Geographical perspective. Main key of this perspective is the affiliation with the territory, precisely the place and space.

Ethnographic perspective. The most significant determinant of regional identity is clothes, customs, cultural heritage, awareness of meanings and symbols of material culture and its correlates. In sociolinguistic and linguistic perspective language, dialect, local or regional literature is its particular element.

Historical perspective. It is characterized by individual and collective link with the actions of the given region, its heroes and historical institutions. In describing and interpreting this important link it is necessary to apply the perspective of long duration (*la longue durée*). The term was introduced to the social sciences by famous French scholar Fernand Braudel.

Economic perspective. Particular importance attained in terms of market economy and social transformation. The global nature of economic cooperation, inflow of capital, ideas and examples weaken well-balanced shapes of identity, based on regional management.

Urban-architectonic perspective. It is primarily a question of national and traditional forms of construction, when in terms of globalization regional differences are erasing and becoming clear (for instant, in the case of modern spread of block buildings) (Шестакoвa, 2005, p. 90-91).

Regarding the future of the perspectives of locality and public identification researchers believe that local and regional identity inevitably disappear in the process of crystallization of public and ethnic consciousness. Instead empirical studies note a continuous growth of local identities, both in Poland and in Ukraine. M. Schepansky even argues that regional identity is the most significant to the borderline space. Describing it as a regional identity the author foremost connects it with individual and social (collective) or cultural identities (Шестакoвa, 2005, p. 92).

The empirical basis of the analysis are the results of the international survey "Youth on the border of Central and Eastern Europe" (detailed analysis of the methodology and research methods are presented in the introductory of the given article). Spatial boundaries of the the research object included the

following towns in Ukraine: Drohobych, Uzhgorod and Kharkiv, in Hungary - Nyiregyhaza, in Poland – Rzeszów, Przemyśl and Zielona Góra.

Results of the study were quite controversial. It should be noted that from the side of Ukraine quite different borderline spaces were chosen. Although the town of Drohobych and Uzhgorod representing the "old" western border area of Ukraine, but they considerably vary among itself. Drohobych is a part of the bio-cultural borderland, while Uzhgorod is the center and crossroads of multiculturalism. On the other hand, Kharkov presents the eastern borderland of Ukraine. Among the objectives of the study was to reveal the identities of young people of the border area. Results of the survey to the question "How much do you feel the relationship with these communities?" were obtained in the form of an index (a scale within 1 - 4 points, the highest score points a greater link with the given community).

According to the data obtained school graduates of the town Drohobych strongly feel a connection with their ethnic group and its region, respectively 3.6 and 3.5 point according to the scale. Youth of Uzhgorod indicated only a weak relationship with the citizens of their country and family, respectively 2.7 points, the rest - within 1 point, which shows a complete lack of connection with other communities. In 2010 the Department of Sociology of the Institute of Sociology, Psychology and Social Communication of the National Pedagogical University behalf of M.P. Dragomanov conducted a study of the western borderland of Ukraine which included Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Chernivtsi and Transcarpathian region and revealed that ethnic identity remains secondary among youth, while regional identity is a predominant one (Гвоздецька, 2011).

Representatives of the eastern borderland (Kharkiv) noted a close relationship with their family, respectively 3.7 points and a weak connection with their city - 2.7 points respectively. Youth of the borderland of Hungary (Nyíregyháza) feels a strong connection with its family - 4 points respectively and a strong relationship with Europe - 3.4 points, public and ethnic identity - 3.2 points. Polish youth noted a very strong relationship with its region - 4.1 points and with its district - 3.9 points (Rzeszow) and 3.1 points (Zielona Gora); a strong connection also with Europe and ethnic group - 3.8 points (see. Table. 1).

Results of the study revealed that the youth identities are related to the borderland within the scopes of which they are formed. Thus we observe the dominance of regional identity on the border of Ukraine - Poland, the dominance of a strong connection with the family and public identity on the border of Ukraine - Hungary. It was important to find out the opinion of young people, high school graduates whether the status of the border region affects their lives and through which kind of practices it is carried out.

Table 1. Distribution of answers to the question "How much do you feel the connection with the given communities?" (in points)

	Ukraine			Hungary	Poland	
	Drohobych	Kharkiv	Uzhgorod	Nyiregyháza	Rzeszow	Zielona Gora
Citizens of their country	2,6	2,4	2,7	3,2	3,3	2,4
Family	1,6	3,7	2,7	4,0	2,4	1,4
City (village) in which you live	2,8	2,7	1,5	2,8	3,2	2,3
Their region	3,2	2,3	1,1	2,6	4,1	2,9
Their district	3,5	2,2	1,8	2,6	3,9	3,1
Europe	3,4	1,8	0,9	3,4	3,8	2,9
Their ethnic group	3,6	2,1	1,0	3,2	3,8	2,7

Any state border has natural, geometric and ethnographic characteristics. If we take into consideration the Ukrainian national and state history, it is worth noting the features of the western border of the country. According to A. Gumenyuk: "On the one hand, the official western border is often considered as the boundary of the eastern civilization in cultural, religious, political and legal terms. On the other hand, it rather combines than separates residents of the borderland who have a similar history, relatively young statehood and similar civilization experience. In the 1990s, these communities started a process of exclusion of a socialist world with its organizational, political and industrial structures" (Гуменюк, 2003, p. 60).

Based on the above, we can say that the integrity of our country and not only of our country and its future development depends to some extent on the socio-demographic group which will play a leading role in social processes. Young people possessing high intellectual potential, the ability to see the future in new paradigms, characterized by its mobility and flexibility, can influence the public process and determine the future trajectory of social development.

Researchers arise an important question whether young people are ready to perform an important function in the development of their state under the influence of the atmosphere and everyday practices of which their personality and values are forming. This is particularly true on the territory of the borderland where the formation of a young person can be influenced by the outlook and customs of the neighboring country. The results showed that most respondents of the youth of Uzhgorod (36,8%) and Drohobych (23,7%) believe that their status of the borderland has an strong impact on their lives. Most part of young people of the Ukrainian towns Kharkov (31,8%) and Drohobych (26,5%) and the Hungarian town Nyiregyhaza (29,5%) indicated the position of "in some cases affect, in some - not". Most young people beyond the border

indicated that the borderline status does not affect their lives. The youth of Rzeszow (24,5%) and Zielona Gora (24.1%) follow the views that this status does not likely affect their lives, while the youth of Nyíregyháza (24,5%) indicated that it does not affect their lives at all (Table. 2).

Thus, Ukrainian youth is mostly convinced of the fact that the borderland has an impact on their lives, while young people beyond the border believe that such influence is insignificant.

Table 2. Impact of the borderland status on the life of youth (%)

	Ukraine			Hungary	Poland	
	Drohobych	Kharkiv	Uzhgorod	Nyíregyháza	Rzeszow	Zielona Gora
Yes, it influences	23,7	13,3	36,8	10,9	10,2	18,2
Likely influences	11,7	12,6	14,3	11,1	17,3	15,2
In some case influences, in some -not	26,5	31,8	27,6	29,5	23,5	21,4
Likely does not have any influence	17,3	16,6	8,8	22,6	24,5	24,1
Does not influence at all	16,3	22,4	7,9	24,5	21,8	18,5

We tried to find out which kinds of practices could connect the youth of the borderland with the neighboring countries or influence it. Picture 1 presents which kinds of practices were singled out by the half of the respondents, namely language knowledge of the neighboring country – Kharkiv (81,8%), Zielona Gora (62,5%), Drohobych (60,2%); relatives living abroad – Zielona Gora (70,2%), Kharkiv (62,4%), Drohobych (56,1%), Uzhgorod (55,8%); friends living abroad – Kharkiv (51,6%), Nyiregyhaza (50,1%), Zielona Gora (49,1%). The smallest percentage was indicated to such positions as: "your parents work in a neighboring country", "celebration of holidays in the neighboring country", "frequent visitors of the neighboring country", "planning to study in the neighboring country".

So generally, our results indicated that the borderlands are the focus of the specific identities of young people. It can be seen from the borderline space of Ukraine - Poland, namely the dominance of regional (Drohobych – 3,5; Rzeszow – 4,1) and ethnic identity (Drohobych – 3,6; Rzeszow – 3,8), Ukraine – Hungary - the dominance of so called `strong connection with the family` (Nyiregyhaza – 4,0; Uzhgorod – 2,7) and public identity (Nyiregyhaza – 3,2; Uzhgorod – 2,7).

Unfortunately, the events that are now taking place between Ukraine and the Russian Federation, made it impossible to include in the research the study

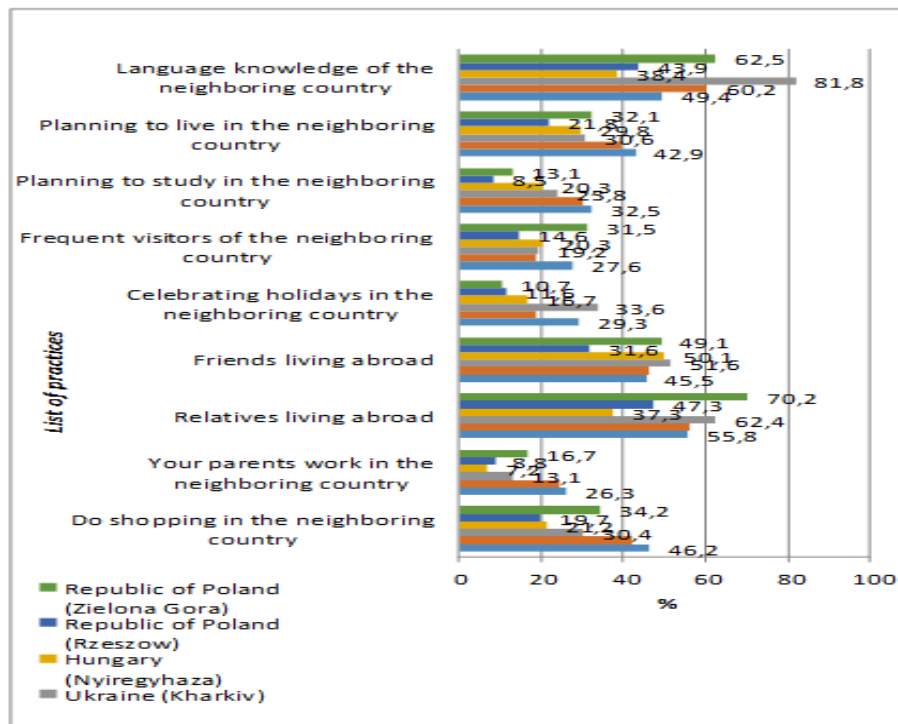
of the borderland of the Russian Federation which in some case made a significant gap in the borderland of Ukraine – the Russian Federation. The youth of Kharkov was distinguished by a strong connection with the family and local identity. Young people of the neighboring countries beyond the border marked a strong link with a non-national identity - European, what concerns Ukrainian borderland, only the youth of Drohobych pointed this kind of connection.

Reserchers indicated a clear difference of opinions of young people concerning the impact of a borderland territory on their lives. Answers of the young respondents of the borderline part of Ukraine indicate that the cross-border nature of the region at the level of everyday life greatly affects their lives. But the youth of the borderland of Hungary and Poland noted that the border character of the region does not affect their lives at all.

Main practices which show the connection of young people with the neighboring countries are language knowledge of the neighboring country, relatives and friends living abroad. Looking at the Figure 1, we can see that the responds of Ukrainian young people are characterized by a more likely tendency to active practices.

Events which nowadays are taking place on the territory of Ukraine is an evidence that the issue of the borderline impact on youth is extremely relevant and important because it can have both positive and negative effects on the formation of the outlook of young people. Therefore, we should take into account the importance of cross-border position in the further formation of identity and values of young people living on the borderland of cultures.

Figure.1 Youth practices within the borderline space



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GLOBALIZATION, LOCALIZATION AND INDIVIDUALIZATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN NYÍREGYHÁZA

In the first part of our study we examined the attitude of the high school students of Nyíregyháza to international mobility, with special attention to the neighbouring countries and different ethnic groups. In connection with that, we also wished to find out about the relationship of the young people to their own region, how powerful their local consciousness is, and what chances in life they envisage. Their international experience and plans, their bonds to their respective region are examined in interrelation. In the second part of the study we concentrate on the international experience of the students related to crossing the borders: how much they have travelled and for what reasons, would they like to study and/or live abroad, and what factors influence these plans. In part three of the study we examine some of the characteristics of the life of the secondary school students of Nyíregyháza at an individual level: the patterns of their leisure activities, their satisfaction with their own life and well-being. Our survey is based upon the data base of an inventory research conducted among 11th grade (senior high school) students in 2015. Locality and regionality play an important role in the life of these students, but their personal relationships reach beyond the national borders. It is clearly seen from the results that students coming from a higher socio-economic status have had more opportunities to travel abroad. Their free time is dominated by social solitude, whereas their satisfaction with life is largely influenced by their social activities and their subjective social situation.

Keywords: *cross border mobility, locality, leisure, satisfaction with life*

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INTRODUCTION

Areas close to the national borders constitute special geographical, economic, cultural, social and educational regions (Süli-Zakar, 2010) – and these regions are often peripheral (Ilyés, 2004). In Hardi's definition, a "border zone is one the daily life of which is largely influenced by interactions with the territories across the border" (Hardi, 2008, p. 4). Border regions may also be interpreted as transitory zones: they screen global phenomena for the local area and the individual on the one hand, and collect and focus local and individual phenomena, processes and attitudes on the other (Süli-Zakar, 2010).

That is why it is interesting to examine the regionality among the young people (11th grade secondary school) in one particular city, Nyíregyháza, in the border zone. It is important to see how these students are connected to the region and the location or how mobile they are at regional, international or global levels. Bonds to the location and region indicate a certain integration into a group, a community, thus it is worth examining the students concerned from the aspects of individualization. For the latter, we used an approach through the ways they spend their free time and their ideas about their own well being.

In the first part of our study we examined the relationship of the students to their own region, how powerful their local awareness is, and what chances in life they envisage there for the future. The international experience and plans, local and regional bonds are also examined in an interrelation with each other. The second half of our study concentrates on the plans and experience of the respondents in connection with international mobility. We intended to survey how often the young people of Nyíregyháza travel within the region but across the borders, and how open they are to the possibilities of studying/working abroad. As social distance may be an indicator of global approach, openness to internationalization, we probed into the attitude of the students to various ethnic groups and the nations living in the neighbouring nations. In the third part of our study we focus on some of the individual features of the life of secondary school students of Nyíregyháza: how they spend their free time and how satisfied they are with their own lives as factors related to their way of live and well-being.

PATTERN AND METHODS

The inventory research, upon which the study is based, took place in May and June 2015. It was carried out as part of an international project (Youth in the Central and Eastern European Cross-border Areas), with the participation of secondary school students, preparing for their GCSE, living in the border zones of the Ukraine, Poland and Hungary. In Hungary, Nyíregyháza was chosen as the location of the research. The purpose of the project was mapping the attitudes of the students living in the respective regions to studying, work, foreign countries and their own regions, and surveying their way of life and social background. Since we wished to contact young people preparing for their

GCSE, we visited vocational secondary schools and grammar schools. 359 students attending the 11th grade in five institutions (two grammar schools and three vocational secondary schools). 132 of the respondents attended vocational schools, 201 came from grammar schools, whereas 26 of them did not specify the type of the school they went to. When creating the panel, attention was paid to select approximately the same number of students in each country. With data received from the Közoktatási Információs Iroda [Information Bureau of Public Education], we carried out a stratified group sampling, selecting 18% of the students at both types of schools.

After an introduction of the most important basic statistical data, we analysed the influences of the most important variables of social background (gender, place of residence, qualifications of the parents, parents' occupation and position, objective and subjective financial situation¹¹) on the issues concerned. For the examination we used variance analysis and chi-square tests. The findings were compared to the results of the survey entitled Magyar Ifjúság 2012 [Hungarian Youth, 2012] (Székely, Nagy, 2013), and the subsequent Nyíregyháza ifjúsága 2015 [The Youth of Nyíregyháza] (Husztai, Hüse, Takács, 2016) in which they concentrated on young people of 15-29, partly in the issues subject to our own research.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL IDENTITY

The historical changes that have taken place in the region since the early 1990s, including the free travelling across the borders, the "birth" of the regions, controlled from above, and accession of some of the countries into the Europe Union, have gradually become a part of people's daily lives.

The young generation of our society was born into these changes, so crossing the border freely or living in administrative regions is natural for them. Various research projects (Egedy, 1996; Ristić, Nagy, Kicošev, 2013) indicate that young people approach their place of living, their region, country, the neighbouring countries and Europe primarily from an emotional aspect. Research into regionality (Somlyódiné Pfeil, 2007; Palkó, 2009; Murányi, Szoboszlai, 2000; Nárai, 2009; Paasi, 1989; Ludescher, 2009) have been dealing with regional identity, the attitude of people to locality for decades. Any research into the local identity of young people is, however, only present in

¹¹ The questionnaire testing the respondents' objective financial situation: Please indicate, which of the following does your family possess: 1. Dishwasher, 2. Mobile phone, 3. Plasma, LCD or LED TV, 4. Computer, 5. Notebook or NetBook, 6. Weekend cottage, 7. Automobile, 8. Permanent Internet-access, 9. Desk specifically for learning, 10. A room of your own. The questionnaire testing the respondents' subjective financial situation: Please indicate, which of the following best describes your family's financial situation? 1. We are very poor, hardly able to buy the bare essentials; 2. We live in a moderate way, managing to make ends meet; 3. We live in a mediocre way, we can meet our daily needs, but we cannot afford to buy more expensive things; 4. We are fairly wealthy, we can buy what we need; 5. We live a fairly luxurious life, we can buy expensive things and save up money.

empirical studies to a limited extent (Ristić et al., 2013; Egedy, 1996). Unfortunately, the various research programmes dealing with young people devote relatively little attention to their local and regional attitude and identity. It would be desirable to pay more attention to these issues, since the space in which young people live, largely shapes and influences their identity. It is an elementary assumption in most theories dealing with social spaces that spatiality is an important dimension of social activities. Space may be interpreted as a context in which social life takes place, and space is, in turn, a reflection of social life (Strassoldo, 1990).

Studying the expectations of young people in connection with their future is at the same time suitable for measuring regional awareness. In our inventory we included questions regarding the ideas of the young people about their own future. We asked whether they believed that they would be able to achieve their objectives in their own region. Nearly half of the respondents gave an inconclusive answer; maybe and maybe not (47,9%). Only 8,9% of them said no, 13,9% answered probably no. 15,9% of the students had a positive opinion about their chances of achieving their goals, and 10,6% believed that they have some chance. The data suggest that more than one quarter of the participants saw their chances in the region positively, and nearly half of them say "maybe or maybe not". No connection between the answers and the genders has been observed.

In the findings of Ristić et al. (2013), the concepts of place are often associated with various ideas regarding a community, whereas the places do not necessarily mean communities at the same time, though places contribute to shaping and influencing the generation of communities. Similarly to other projects, the research in Nyíregyháza addressed the issue of communities linked to places of various sizes. Closed inventories were used in order to map the relationship of the students with various communities (for example, the citizens of other countries, family, city, county, region etc.). The respondents were requested to evaluate the importance of a community on a four-grade scale. They also had the opportunity to avoid the evaluation of any or all the communities when they did not have any opinion regarding those communities, or they merely did not wish to answer (Table 1).

226 students out of the 359 (63%) reported very strong ties with their families, and this finding coincides with the results of other empirical research programmes conducted among the youth in Nyíregyháza (Fedor, 2016). A comparison with the related literature revealed that our respondents have somewhat weaker bonds to their own respective ethnic groups. In our research, the second most cohesive community is their own ethnic group with very strong ties (24,2%), further enhanced by 33,4% of the students, who reported strong ties to their ethnic groups. A surprising outcome of the research is that one fifth of the students involved in the programme was unable to deal with the question

or did not wish to respond (20,1%). Ristić et al. conducted a survey at a secondary school in Temerin (a Hungarian ethnic area in Serbia's Voivodship province) in 2013.

Table 1. On a four-grade scale, how strong would you classify your connection with the communities listed? (per cent) Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)

	Very strong	Strong	Weak	I feel no connection at all	I do not know/I do not want to answer
The citizens of your own country	3,6	22,8	42,3	17,3	13,9
Family	63	29	5,8	0	2,2
The city where you live	7,2	35,1	40,1	10,3	7,2
Your county	2,2	19,8	46,5	18,9	12,5
Your region	3,6	14,5	46,5	21,4	13,9
Europe	7	18,4	31,2	27,6	15,9
Your own ethnic group	24,2	33,4	17,5	4,7	20,1

They concentrated on locality and identity. Both the Serbian and Hungarian students ascribed greater importance to belonging to an ethnic group than to any other—often ethnically mixed—community (region, settlement). The two surveys are not directly comparable, but a similar finding in both is that belonging to an ethnic group is more important for young people than their bonds to the place where they live, the county, country and Europe.

The links binding them to their village/town/city, and their satisfaction with the settlement where they live is important from the aspect of preserving the population of a settlement. Only a small group of the respondents (7,2%) reported very strong ties to their settlement, whereas 35,1% believed they had strong ties, 40,1% weak ties, and 10,3% of them did not have any noteworthy emotion regarding Nyíregyháza. In the face of related literature¹², we formerly

¹²In Hungary, it was Egedy who conducted an empirical survey in two cities (Győr and Budapest) and a town (Szarvas) in 1996. The first question in his inventory was related to the students' general satisfaction with their respective city. The overwhelming majority (89%) of the youth of Győr was satisfied, a similarly high

assumed that the bonds of young people to their city are stronger than the ones linking them to their ethnic community or to their larger geographical environment. The findings only partially justified our preliminary assumption, since the share of the respondents reporting very strong and strong bonds remained below half of the total.

Our inventory included a question as to whether the young people living here believed that living in a border county influenced their life. 10,9% of the students believed that it indeed affected their life, another 11,1% said that it often affected, 29,5% of them believed that in some things it did, in others it did not. The life of 22,6% is largely unaffected by the proximity of the border, and 24,5% of the respondents did not experience any influence of the border region at all. We wished to find an explanation to these proportions. At that question, no considerable differences were found among the respondents according to gender, the qualifications of the parents and their subjective welfare. Objective welfare, and the knowledge of the language of the neighbouring countries, on the other, led to significant differences. Those experience the effects of the border region who live in a high objective welfare and speak the language of one of the neighbouring countries. It was also observed that travelling across the border for whatever reason (shopping, the employment of the parents, friends or relatives there, planning studies or moving over there etc.), also considerably influence the opinion of the respondents regarding the influence of the border region on their life. Young people who travel to the neighbouring country/countries and/or speak the language(s) of those countries, tend to believe that their life is influenced by the border region.

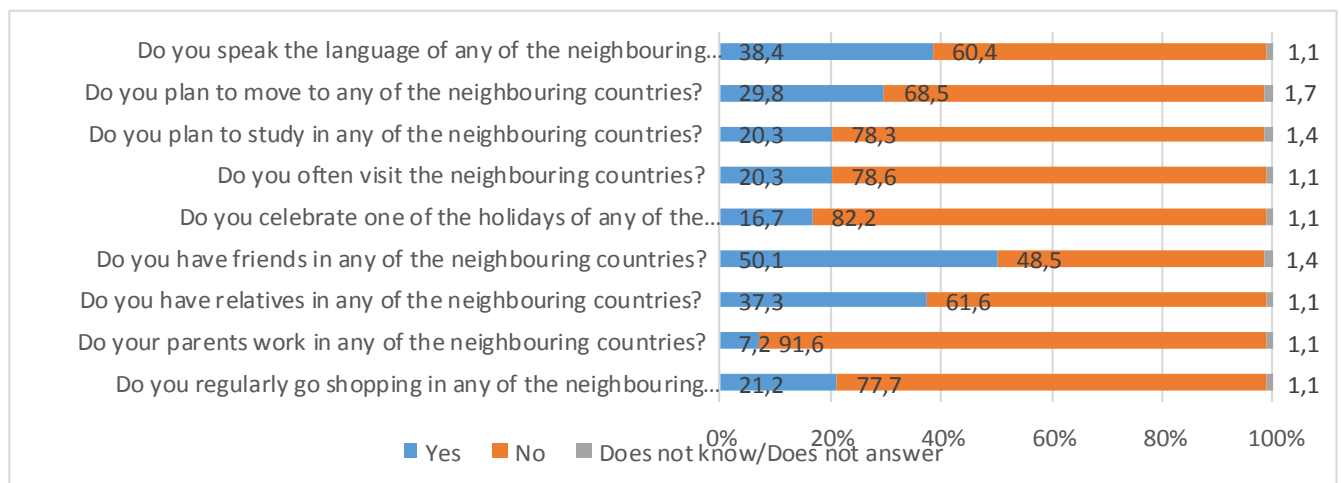
THE APPEARANCE OF INTERNATIONALITY IN TRAVEL EXPERIENCES AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

In order to survey the border identity of the young people living in the area and to learn more about the effects of the border zone on the life of people, it is indispensable to examine the cross-border activities of the young people concerned in the neighbouring countries. We examined the frequency of their journeys abroad, and their attitude to the neighbouring nations. A characteristic feature of living in the border zone is that crossing the border for different reasons, work, visiting friends and relatives, studying or spending leisure time, is part of people's daily life (Hardi, 2008). 50,1% of the students of Nyíregyháza has friends in at least one of the neighbouring countries, and 37,3% has relatives. 25% go shopping in one of the neighbouring countries on a regular basis. Also high is the proportion of those who speak the language of one of the neighbouring countries (38,4%). More than one quarter of the students plan to

proportion (83%) of those living in Szarvas was also satisfied, while the students in Budapest appeared to be more divided, as only 70% of them said that they were satisfied with the place where they lived.

settle down in a neighbouring country (29,8%) or to study there (20,3%) (Figure 1). It is, however, possible that the high proportion at the last three instances is caused by the high number of students who study German and intend to move to Austria. This assumption appears to be underpinned by an analysis of the future plans of the students. The regional bonds of the students of Nyíregyháza seem to be powerful, despite all these circumstances.

Figure 1. The Regional Experience and Plans of the Students of Nyíregyháza. Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015](N=359)



Before discussing the future plans of the young people of Nyíregyháza, let us briefly survey their travel experiences and their attitudes to other nations. The majority of the respondents have been abroad, 6,6% of them crosses the border several times a month, 42,7% several times a year. 39,3% of the young people have been abroad once or twice, whereas 11,1% has never crossed the border. The responses related to crossing the border several times a month and several times a year and "I have been abroad once or twice" have been combined into a "Has been abroad" category, and the "I have never been abroad" answer was treated separately. The answers in the "I have been abroad" category were analysed according to the purpose of the journey abroad. The most common reason was tourism (71,2%), and 5,5% of the respondents stated business as a reason, which meant the purchase or sale of various goods. 13,7% visited friends or relatives abroad. The financial situation of the families was found to be largely influential to their travel experience. Both capital indicators used to measure the financial situation of families were in close correlation with the travel experience of the families. The higher the objective and subjective well-being of the families are, the more frequently the young people concerned have had an opportunity to travel abroad. Similarly strong is the interrelation between the qualifications of the parents and the travel experiences of their children. The children of the parents with the highest qualifications reported the highest number of foreign trips. Among the children of parents with low qualifications

the proportion of those who have never been abroad is higher. A variable usually in close interrelation with the financial situation and qualifications of the parents, that is, the type of school the children select, is also directly linked to the foreign travel experience of the students. Those attending the highest type of secondary schools, that is, grammar school, tend to leave the country several times a year. Less powerful, but a still detectable factor is gender; boys travel somewhat more frequently than girls do. The type of settlement where they live does not appear to influence the students' habit of travelling abroad.

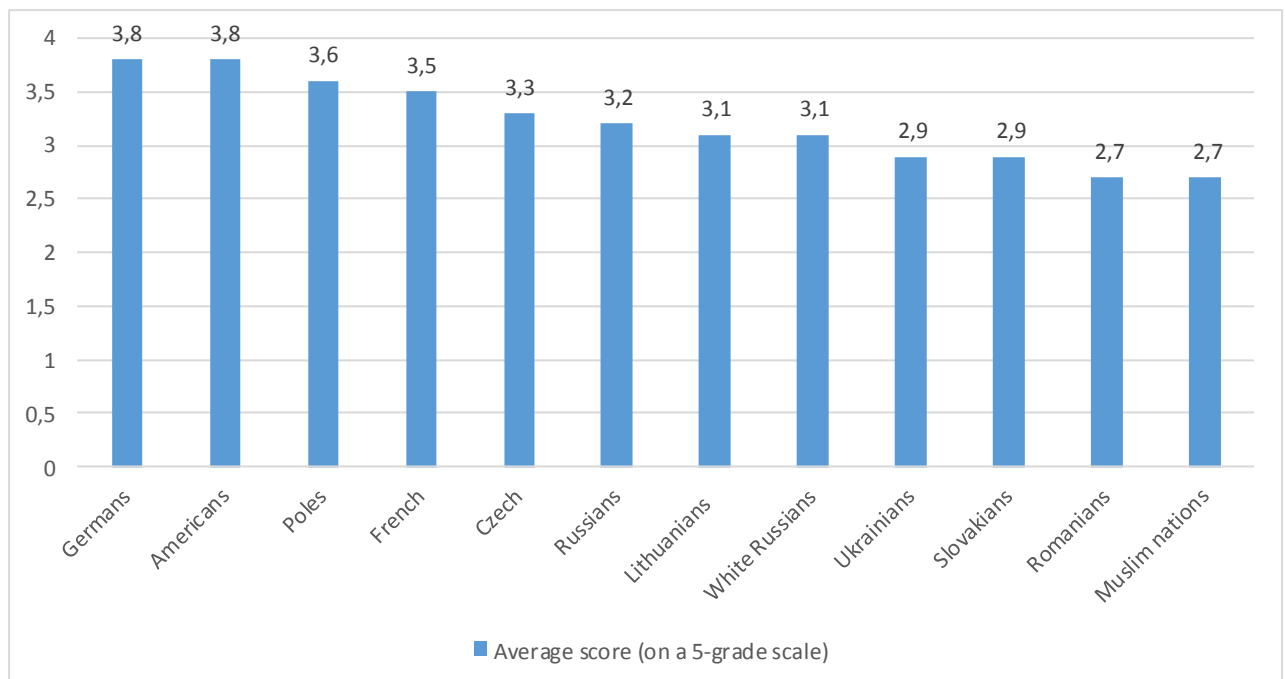
When surveying the attitude of the students to the neighbouring nations, we offered a five-grade scale to express their ideas. Grade 5 is a positive attitude, while 1 is a negative one. The result was the following: the young people of Nyíregyháza found the Americans and German the most attractive (both receiving an average of 3,8 grades, with deviations of 0,9 and 1 respectively), followed by the Polish people (average: 3,6, deviation: 0,9) and finally the French (average: 3,5, deviation: 1). The medium range is occupied by the Czechs (average: 3,3, deviation: 0,8), Russians (average: 3,2, deviation: 1), Lithuanians and White Russians (average: 3,1, deviation: 0,8 and 0,8). The least popular are the nations in the neighbouring countries: the Ukrainians and Slovaks (2,9 average, deviation: 1,1 and 1,1), and the Romanians (average 2,7, deviation: 1,1). In addition to the Romanians, the other unpopular ethnic group is the Muslims. The Muslims, are however, not an ethnic community but a religion, and the term is here used collectively to denote Arabs, Turkish etc. peoples (average: 2,7, deviation: 1,1) (Figure 2). The results match those of similar research programmes dealing with young people: the neighbouring nations are found the least attractive, followed by nations from other continents ("Congolese", "Chinese"). Western-European nations are the most attractive, followed by the Finnish people, who are ethnically related to Hungarians, and the Hungarian minorities living in the neighbouring countries (Murányi, Szabó 2007; Murányi, 2012).

There is no considerable difference in grading the various ethnic groups according to the type of school and the settlement where the respondents live. As for the qualifications of the parents, the highest qualification of the father seems to influence the acceptance of four ethnic groups. The higher the qualifications of the father were, the more accepted the Polish, German, White Russian and Czech people were in the family. There were no differences in the acceptance of the other nations, but in general the higher the qualifications of the father are, the more open the children are to other ethnic groups. In the case of the mother, similar tendencies were observed with the acceptance of the Polish, German, Lithuanian and Czech nations. There are some significant differences in the case of some of the ethnic groups: women tend to be less prejudiced towards the Americans, Romanians, Slovaks and Muslim nations. There is no difference between the social sexes in connection with the Polish people. The

objective financial situation of the family only influenced the attitude of young people to two nations: the children of families with above the average objective capital has a more positive opinion of the Poles and Germans. The subjective financial situation only appears to influence the respondents' attitude to the Germans. An above the average subjective financial situation brings about a more positive attitude to Germans. Our findings are similar to the results of other research programmes concentrating on young people in other countries (Murányi, Szabó, 2007).

We also examined whether the attitude of students to other nations is influenced by their knowledge of the language of the neighbouring nations, or friends and relatives living in those countries. Similarly, we examined whether the frequency of their crossing the border has any effect on their opinion about the neighbouring nation. Our results do not indicate that these factors influence the attitude of the young people to the neighbouring nations. We have also observed that the students are less open and acceptive towards ethnic minorities.

Figure 2. Sense of Distance from the Nations Listed (average scores – 5: very positive opinion, 1: very negative opinion) Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary



School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)

One of the special segment of the migration plans of young people is mobility for higher education. The respondents were asked whether they wanted to continue their education after secondary school, and if yes, where. In general, 63,2% of the secondary school students would like to continue their studies, and

a further 20,9% plan to study while working, and only 10% would like to take up work. 5,9% is the proportion of those who want to stay at home or do not know at all what they will do after they have completed the secondary school. This result is similar to the findings of the Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county sub-sample of the findings of the survey titled Magyar Ifjúság 2012 [Hungarian Youth]. In that survey, 41% of the respondents expressed their intention to continue their studies (Szabó, Nagy, 2015). The overwhelming majority (53,2%) of those who wish to continue their studies have higher education in mind. In the face of earlier surveys of a similar kind (Ruff, 2013; Székely, Pító, 2010; Pusztai, Nagy, 2005), it is surprising that the desires to study abroad are not influenced by the students' gender, the qualifications of their parents, the objective and subjective well-being of the families or the type of settlement they live in. The only factor that seemed to influence the decision of studying abroad was the idea of the young people regarding the place where they wanted to live. Those who planned to study abroad, typically planned to stay abroad to settle permanently.

The following question addresses the location of the planned further education. The answer options included Nyíregyháza, another settlement within the county, another settlement in the country and studying abroad. Only one answer was to be chosen, and 39,6% chose Budapest. 24,2% chose another town outside the county (predominantly Debrecen), and 12,8% selected Nyíregyháza. These figures were followed by learning abroad with 5,8%, another town in the county with 3,1%. On the other hand, though the students were supposed to choose one option only, and they did not choose abroad, when they were asked to name a country where they would like to study after the secondary school, the figure of those planning to study abroad jumps from 5,8% to 22% (79 people). In the 15-18 year sub-sample of the research entitled Nyíregyháza Ifjúsága 2015 [The Youth of Nyíregyháza] the respective proportion was 42,2% (Kállai et al., 2016). As for the specific countries, England was the most popular (34,2% of those who plan to study abroad named England as the target country), followed by the United States with 19%, Austria with 11,4% and Denmark (8,9%). Some (12,7%) of the students who would like to study abroad did not name any specific country. France, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Japan, the Republic of South Africa and Romania were also mentioned sporadically, only one or two respondents name these countries. Surprisingly low was the number of students who named Germany as their preferred target country. In national patterns of migration the most popular target countries are Germany, the United Kingdom and Austria (Blaskó, Gödri, 2014). When it comes to studying, France and Italy also appear among the target countries (Kiss, 2014; Dusa 2015).

Our multiple-choice inventory tailored to survey the motivations of students to study abroad revealed that the most common reason for wanting to learn abroad is wanderlust (91 students said "I want to see the world"), and the

hope of a better life (76 students mentioned that "upon completing my studies it will be easier to find a job and build a career"). 73 students mentioned that "the living standards are higher there." 47 students believed that "there is better education there." Well-equipped laboratories and libraries, safe location and the geographical proximity were the least motivating factors (see Table 2). In the course of the survey titled Magyar Ifjúság [Hungarian Youth] 2012, general question were asked regarding the motivations of mobility—not specifically concentrating on studies—and better living conditions, the desire to gather experience and career building were the most important factors behind the motivation (Ruff, 2013).

Table 2. Motivation behind the Desire to Learn Abroad (number of items mentioned) Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)

"Why do I want to study abroad?"	Mentioned, number
I want to see the world	91
Upon completing my studies it will be easier to find a job and build a career	76
The living standards are higher there	73
There is better education there	47
More interesting life, better ways of spending one's free time	43
Better self-development, better chances of improving my skills	42
I can be independent more easily	39
Earning a degree abroad	34
Studies abroad will help in moving to that country	28
There is democracy there and freedom of speech	14
There is no corruption in education there	11
Other	11
Better equipped laboratories and libraries	5
Safer location, far from the conflict zones	4
There is a higher education institution close to where I live	3

We asked questions, in general, about migration, whether migration is included in the plans of the young people, whether they plan to live abroad

permanently in the future. With the question we wished to find out where they thought they would live after finishing the secondary school. Only one answer was expected from the students. 11,7% of them wants to live where they live now. 3,9% plans to live within the county but at a different settlement. 17% of the students wants to move to some other part of the country after obtaining the GCSE, and 14,5% intends to move to the capital city. 24% of them does not yet know or does not want to answer. 29%, however, wants to leave the country. We see therefore that even when studying abroad after secondary school is not primarily important for young people, migration is still present in their future plans, and more than one quarter of the students involved in the survey plan to leave the country at some point in the future. 35% in the 15-18-year group in the survey titled "Nyíregyháza Ifjúsága 2015" [The Youth of Nyíregyháza] finds it possible to move to a foreign country, and another 47% would try it, even if not permanently (Kállai et al., 2016). The plans for the future appear to be influenced only by the gender and the type of settlement of the respondents. A higher number of girls plan to leave their county and move to an other town in Hungary. Similarly, a higher number of girls and those who live in cities plan to leave the country and settle abroad permanently.

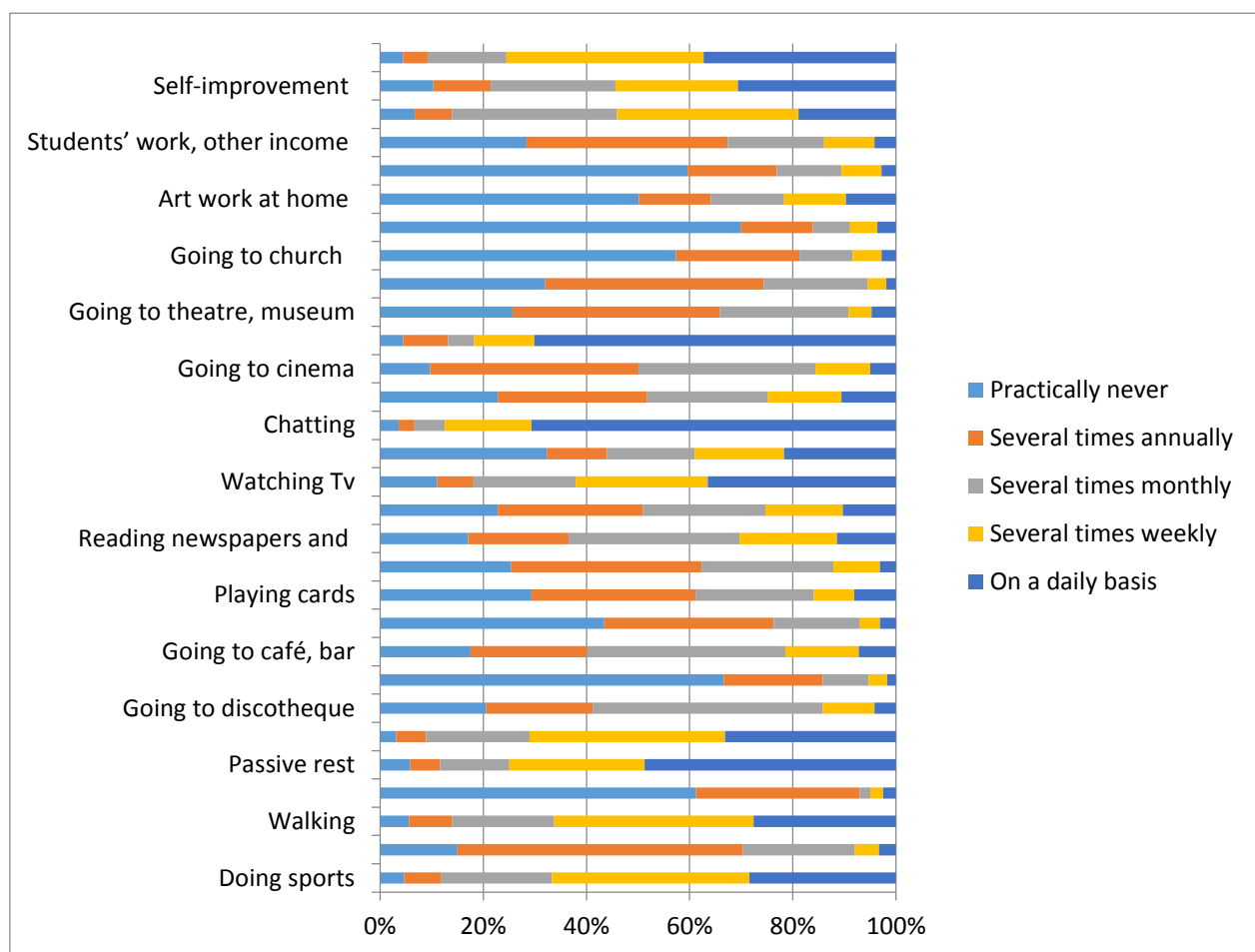
A FEW ASPECTS OF THE WAY OF LIFE AND WELL-BEING OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE IN NYÍREGYHÁZA

The last part of our survey concentrates on the way of life and well-being of the secondary school students at an individual level; what they do in their free time, to what extent do they spend their free time alone or in the company of their peers. The study is also designed to survey their satisfaction with life and to map the socio-cultural factors that shape and influence their satisfaction with life.

The way the secondary school students of Nyíregyháza perfectly matches the national average: they are, in fact, screenagers (Horkai, 2002), who tend to spend their free time alone at home in a digital world, just like the young people of Hungary in general (Huszti, Takács, 2016; Nagy, 2013). 70,3% of them chat on a daily basis, 69,9% listen to music, every fifth youngster plays computer games, and passive rest is chosen by every second young person as a form of recreation. It is a positive fact that 38,8% of the secondary school students does some sport, 38,7% of them go for walks, 14,2% play games, several times a week. In the course of our former research programmes dealing with the way of life of the students of Nyíregyháza we verified that the proportion of those doing sports was very high among them (approximately 70%), but once they have finished the secondary school, there is a drastic drop in that figure (Kovács, 2016). As for social activities and entertainment, 44,6% of the students goes to discotheques several times a month, 38,4% of them goes to cafés, bars, one third

them play pool, bowling or go to cinema. Extracurricular learning plays an important role in the life of the students, as one third of them mentioned some form of daily self-educational or self-improving activity. 37,3% of the students likes learning foreign languages. Watching TV, on the other hand, is losing its popularity: only 36,5% of them watches TV on a daily basis. The most popular programmes are feature films (16,7% of the respondents said that they preferred films when they watched TV). Films are followed by entertainment shows, contests and sport programmes in that order. The least popular TV programmes are video clips, business information footages and political programmes.

Figure 3. The Frequency of being involved in the specific leisure time activities. Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)



69,9% of the secondary school students practically never participates in any art clubs, two thirds of them do not play chess, 57% does not go to church, 59,6% does not do any technical-technological activity. On third of the respondents never go to concerts, and 22,8% of them does not read fiction. These figures aptly indicate how differently the so-called Z–now almost α-

generation—spends their free time from the way their parents used to do. For the frequency of the specific leisure time activities, see Figure 3 below.

For data reduction, we use factor analysis and introduced eight free time activities.¹³ *Social* activities include going to (pop) concerts, discotheques, playing games, going to the cinema. *Recreation* comprises passive rest, on-line chatting, listening to music, whereas *culture-consumption* contains going to the theatre, museums and reading fiction. The dimension of *learning* includes self-improvement, studying foreign languages, but even doing sports may be listed with this category. *Active* ways of spending one's free time are doing various arts and crafts students' work, and going to church. Watching TV, reading newspapers, magazines and visiting friends belong to the dimension of *information gathering*. Playing various activity- and computer games belong to the category of *playing*. The last category, termed "*hanging out*," includes walks in the city/town, going to bars and cafés and going on excursions. Students in this category appear to be fond of being outside their homes. Factor weights were converted into a scale from 0 to 100. 0 means that the individual concerned is not characterized by that factor at all, and 100 means that they are fully characterized. Then the average figures were examined: in social preferences our students scored 34.1, in recreational they had 69.6, in culture consumption they accumulated 47.9, in learning they gathered 39.4, in the active category they had 54.7, in information gathering 57.7 was achieved, in games the figure is 25.4, and in "hanging out" the respondents averaged 45.3 points.

In the following we examined the socio-cultural factors that influence the specific preferences. We wished to map the differences in a breakdown according to gender, financial situation, type of settlement, and the qualifications of the parents (Table 3). It is only the category of the learning dimension where no considerable differences are detected between the genders. Male students appear to prefer social, culture consuming and active ways of spending their free time, hanging out, whereas female students prefer recreational and information gathering ways. We found these preferences in full compliance with the traditional roles of the sexes. The active ways of spending free time are primarily characteristic of those living in small towns, and least common among those who live in villages. That fact is probably the consequence of the lack of facilities and possibilities. Still, information gathering and visiting friends/relatives are not characteristic of the people living in a rural environment either, which is surprising. Subjective and objective welfare and the qualifications of both parents play a significant role in social ways of spending one's free time. Children with highly qualified parents have a definite edge over the others, since going to a café or bar, and consume drinks

¹³With Principal Components, Direct oblimin rotation. KMO value: ,811, the value of the explained variance is 56,1%

there as they wish, or going to pop concerts, often require considerable financial resources. The qualifications of the father as a cultural capital has an influence on the active ways of spending one's free time. It is noteworthy, however, that learning primarily characterizes the children of parents with low qualifications. The reason for that might be that these children need more time to cope with the material required at school, and their parents are unable to help them. This figure is to be treated with precaution, since the sample, the number of respondents, is small. Fathers with advanced qualifications seem to make sure that their children spend their free time in an active and creative way, in the company of their peers. Our findings, that the consumption of high culture is the privilege of those in an objectively good financial situation, matches the observations in the related professional literature (Nagy, 2013; Kovács, 2012; 2016; Bocsi, 2014).

Table 3. Average Numbers of the Factors of Free Time Spending Preferences, According to Social Background Variables (points). Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students in Nyíregyháza 2015] (N=359)

		Social	Recrea- -tional	Culture- con- suming	Learning -oriented	Active	Infor- mation gatherer	Play- ful	Pion eer	N
Gender	Female	31,9*	72,1*	43,9*	38,6	52,2*	60,3*	29,9*	42,4*	194
	Male	37*	67,5*	53,8*	39,5	57,8*	55,4*	41,5*	49,1*	147
Type of Settlement	City	36,8	73,5	47,9	41,1	52,3*	64,9*	33,3	46,4	43
	Town	35,4	71,5	48,8	38,1	55,2*	59,1*	35,7	44,4	65
	Small town	32,6	69,5	49	39,1	57*	58,4*	35	45,2	136
	Village/fa rm	33,6	68,2	46,4	38,7	51,2*	54,5*	35,9	44,4	92
Subjective Welfare	Below average	30,5*	68,2	47,4	40,8	53,3	56	34,4	45,4	171
	Above average	36,6*	71,3	48,5	37,7	56,5	59,6	35,4	45,5	167
Objective welfare	Below average	30,4*	68	45,4*	41,5	53,6	55,8	33,8	44,9	145
	Above average	36,8*	71	49,4*	37,8	55,3	59,1	36,5	45,6	206
Mother's	Elementar	33,9*	64,2	47,8	44,4	57,5	58,2	34,7	43,5	25

education	y									
	Secondar	32*	69,8	47,4	39,9	54,3	58,8	33,4	46,4	190
	y									
	Higher	37,5*	71,4	49,6	36,5	54,7	57,2	37,4	43,7	122
Father's education	Elementar	31,6*	63,9	50,4	48,5*	53,1*	55,4	33,3	47,1	31
	y									
	Secondar	33,2*	70,4	48,5	39,2*	53,3*	59,3	34,1	44,7	204
	y									
	Higher	37,1*	70,7	46,9	36,2*	58,1*	55,7	37,2	45,5	100

*p≤0,05

In our research we measured the most important indicator of subjective well-being, that is, the satisfaction of the people with their own life (Ryan, Deci, 2001; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, Griffin, 1985). It is an important social indicator of the mental state of the young people, since those who are not satisfied, tend to find their health also worse and they will use harmful drugs sooner than others, and all this is a serious risk factor of mental and psychical problems. (Székely, Susánszky, Ádám, 2013). The majority of the students (57,1%) are largely satisfied with their lives, every fourth student (24%) is highly satisfied. A mere 14,2% said that they were dissatisfied with some dimension of their life. The average number of points was 67 on the scale from 0 to 100. We detected hardly any difference between the genders, which refuted the tendencies observed in the previous research programmes, according to which men tend to be more satisfied. Neither the type of home settlement, nor the qualifications of the father appear to exert any influence on the satisfaction of life. The mother's education, on the other hand, did: the children of mothers with advanced qualifications scored 72 on the scale of satisfaction with life, whereas the children of mothers with elementary or secondary education reached 66 and 60 respectively. This result is probably explained by the interrelation between education and social-financial situation. That idea is further reinforced by the fact that students living in a subjective, and especially those living in an objective welfare, are considerably more satisfied with their lives (70.7 and 76.4), than those living below the average (63.8 and 59.8 points). Similarly, the children of parents in high prestige jobs (managers, company owners and engineers) scored highest on the scale of satisfaction with life (father: 77, 80.7 and 68,5; mother: 74.2, 76.4 and 72.8 points). It is in close connection with the higher qualifications and income of the parents. The lowest scores were achieved by the children of unskilled workers (father: 50.9; mother: 48.3). In the case of fathers, the children of low clerical positions also scored very low points (52.8). The children of unemployed mothers also scored low on the scale (54.8 points) on the scale of satisfaction with life. In the case of the mothers, the uncertainty caused by the

unemployment status, coupled with the potential financial difficulties, will make the children dissatisfied with life. The results in connection with the position of the parents are treated with precaution, since the number of elements in each category is very small. It is to be pointed out that subjective welfare is a more powerful influencing factor than objective well-being, despite the availability of different commodities. Spearman's correlation also justifies that: subjective welfare is the most powerful factor ($r_{\text{Spearman}}=0,362^{**}$)¹⁴ followed by objective welfare ($r_{\text{Spearman}}=0,164^{**}$) and the education of the mother ($r_{\text{Spearman}}=0,144^{**}$).

In the course of our research, we examined the interrelations between the ways of spending one's free time and their satisfaction with life. We found correlation with two dominant ways of spending free time and satisfaction with life: young people who are fond of partying and the company of their friends tend to be more satisfied with life. On the other hand, who spend a lot of time learning are usually less satisfied. In accordance with the results of our earlier research project (Kovács, 2015), we have found that social activities and spending time with their peers play an important role in the life of secondary school students. Although spending time alone in a digital environment is now an organic part of the life of teenagers, spending time with friends and partying are still factors that considerably influence the quality of their life ($r_{\text{Spearman}}=0,195^{**}$). The extra time spent with studying, on the other hand, is often regarded as a burden that mars the quality of life of the students ($r_{\text{Spearman}}=-0,167^{**}$).

SUMMARY

An analysis of the findings of our inventory-based research conducted among 11th-year (grammar school) students (N=359) in 2015 provided us with a large amount of data regarding the plans, ideas, local and regional identity, foreign experience, desire for mobility of the young people of Nyíregyháza. We also obtained data regarding the patterns of their spending their free time and their satisfaction with life.

Our research findings indicate that locality has an important role in constructing the identity of young people. They do not have very serious ties to their region, county or country, and it is clear from our data that the students participating in the research have the strongest bond to their families. Their relationship with their locality is not more intensive than with their own ethnic group. It is surprising that the connections of the students with people in the neighbouring countries do not influence their attitudes to the neighbouring nations, although the strong regional bonds of the students of Nyíregyháza are indicated by the fact that they often visit the neighbouring countries. In connection with the travel experience and habits of the secondary school

¹⁴ ** $p \leq 0,001$

students of Nyíregyháza we have found the characteristic patterns that we also find in the related literature: young people from a higher socio-economic status tend to travel abroad more frequently. The attitudes of the students to other nations and their orders of preferences are also similar to the findings of previous nationwide research projects. The sense of social distance is shaped and influenced by the educational level and financial situation of the parents: families in a better financial situation often have a more positive opinion about other nations. The international mobility plans and ideas of the secondary school students of Nyíregyháza also appear to be highly similar to the findings of other nationwide or regional research projects. Definite study plans show a somewhat lower popularity among the students of Nyíregyháza, but migration plans for the future (taking up jobs abroad and settling in foreign countries) are similar to the results of other research programmes, though the system of motivation behind the plans are not full clear.

We found it important to complement globalization and localization with individualization; therefore certain segments of the life of the young people of Nyíregyháza, including their preferences of spending their free time and their satisfaction with life, were examined. In that process, emphasis was placed on the role and importance of individual activities and social variables behind their preferences. It is clear that today's youngster are characterized by some sort of a social solitude, as they chat on-line in their free time, and with partying and other social activities they compensate for the solitude, as partying is still an important free time activity. Partying is, however, a socially determined activity: the children of families in a better socio-cultural situation are able to afford to spend money on partying and going out to the movie or concerts on a regular basis. An analysis of the satisfaction with life as an indicator of subjective well-being also shows that it is primarily influenced by the financial situation of the family, and the objective well-being is only second. The better the social situation of a young person is, the more satisfied they are with their life. Other factors, such as the occupation and position of the parents also play a role in this, since a higher position in a job and the higher social position coming with it will make a secondary school student more satisfied with their life, together with the socially determined activities with the peers.

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VISION AND PLANS OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF NYÍREGYHÁZA ABOUT THEIR FUTURE

In our research project we embarked on surveying the visions, ideas, further education plans, career plans and objectives of the young people of Nyíregyháza. We wanted to find out what short- and long-term plans the young people have for the period when they have completed the secondary school, and what value preferences are coupled with their plans. In the first half of our project we concentrated on the connections of work and future. We examined the present situation of the young people in the labour market, and we wanted to know what expectations they have in connection with their future jobs, and what opinions they formulate about successful job seeking. After an analysis of their work and career plans, we wished to map their private individual endeavours and plans from the data available to us. The third part of the project deals with the value preferences of the students, in close correlation with the realms of work and private life. Our analysis is based upon the data base obtained with the inventory used as part of the international research project titled Youth in the Central and Eastern European Cross-border Areas in 2015. The participants were secondary school students, close to their GCSE, who live in the border regions of the Ukraine, Poland and Hungary. 359 students from the 11th grade were selected into the Hungarian panel. The 359 students came from a total of five institutions. In our essay we discuss the value preferences of these students, their attitudes to further education and finding a job.

***Keywords:** future education plans, labour market, expectations, value preferences*

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VISIONS OF THE STUDENTS REGARDING THE LABOUR MARKET¹⁵

In our days, the very idea of job and work is under transformation (cf. e. g. Rimler, 1999; Forgó et al., 2009; Kiss-Répáczky, 2012). Initially, the purpose of work was production, manufacturing the material assets and service necessary for society. In the course of times, however, work has gradually become one of the ways of integrating individuals into society. Today, individual competences such as the knowledge of foreign languages, communicative skills, mastering information technology, ability to withstand excessive workload, commitment, motivation, and readiness to work as part of a team are increasingly precious. Meeting these requirements poses a great challenge to young people. As a result, a lot of students try to meet the expectations of the labour market by trying themselves at work while they still study.

There are four possibilities for a student still at school to find a way to the labour market: practice placement, community service at school, paid occupation or voluntary work. The choice of a person largely depends on their motivation. While practice placements and voluntary services are usually compulsory, paid job or voluntary work is undertaken by the person's free will. While the primary objective of a paid job is the income, the goal of voluntary work can be traditional or individualistic (Fényes-Kiss, 2011; Markos, 2016a).

In this part of our essay we wish to survey the experiences, expectations secondary school students have about the labour market. We also wanted to find out what visions they have about the job market and their future, what skills and competences they believed they needed to be successful in their future life.

PRELIMINARY WORK EXPERIENCE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

In the first phase we explored the preliminary work experience of the secondary school students of Nyíregyháza, and what kind of work they had done during their studies and during the holidays. A large number of the students (35%) did voluntary work and contracted, but occasional paid work (26%). A smaller part of the students did illegal work (9%), full- or part-time jobs (6%), and practice placement that was paid (3%). Approximately 10% of the students did some work different from those listed above, and 11% did not do any job whatsoever during their school career.

In 2011, school community service was introduced in Hungary in 2011. It is now a precondition of obtaining the GCSE. The main goal of the community service is to improve the civilian awareness of the students, and increase their motivation and commitment to do voluntary work in the future, to promote their

¹⁵ Part prepared by Anita Fedor and Valéria Markos

tolerance and willingness to help, and to help them in their job orientation. Our quantitative data show that the majority of students did voluntary work. The main reason for that might be that the community service is still a new thing, and there is a lot of erroneous information about it. Students themselves often confuse community service and voluntary work (Markos, 2016b).

There is a significant interrelation between gender and work. Our data indicate that girls did voluntary work in higher numbers, whereas boys preferred paid jobs.¹⁶ The result coincides with the findings of Kóródi (Kóródi, 2006, 2007), who examined the work experience of college and university students. Kóródi found that for female students it was more important to do a work that was socially important helped others, while for boys high wage, promotion and independent work were the priorities.

16% of the students participating in our survey was employed in social services, 15% in trade, 14% in advertising, another 14% in services, 12% in agriculture, 10% in manufacturing, 7% on construction sites, 3% in public catering and 8% in different other areas.

In the following we examined the ideas of the students about work (they were requested to choose one from several statements in the inventory; the one they tended to agree with.) Approximately half (51%) of the students believes that work is a means of earning income in order to satisfy various needs. 22,7% of the students think that those who really want to work will find a job, for 13,3% job is the activity that gives the person a sense of satisfaction, and in the opinion of 10,2% it is the duty of every human being to work. Only a small fragment (2,8%) of the respondents said, however, that work was the most important thing in life.

We analysed the statements related to work in correlation with background variables (gender, type of home settlement, the qualifications and position of the parents at work and the financial situation of the family), but no considerable correlation with the variables was observed.

THE VISION OF THE STUDENTS OF THE LABOUR MARKET

Since the majority of the students believed that work is primarily a source of income (see previous chapter), we wanted to know what wage they found acceptable, how much they would need to accept a job and be satisfied with it (Table 1).

¹⁶ 34,8% of the female students did voluntary work, 32,3% of them did occasional paid work, 15,2% of the women did not work at all, 7,1% did work labelled as "other," 4% did paid professional placement, 3,5% did full- or part-time paid job, and 3% did illegal work. 35,2% of the male students did occasional paid work, 21,4% voluntary work, 11,7% illegal work, 11,7% did not do any job, 11% did work labelled as "other," 6,2% did full- or part-time paid job, and 2,8% participated in paid professional practice placement.

Table 1. The Sum of the monthly wage (in HuF) for which the student would undertake work and the sum with which they would be content (%-ban) (N=359)

	Sum for which they would undertake a job	Sum with which they would be satisfied
HuF 0-99,999	8,6	7
HuF 100,000-199,999	48,7	18,1
HuF 200,000-299,999	24,2	30,4
HuF 300,000-399,999	11,4	12,8
in excess of HuF 400,000	7	31,8
Total	359 (100%)	359 (100%)

For the majority of the students (48,7%) an amount between HuF 100,000 and 200,000 is acceptable, but HuF 400,000 and above would make them really satisfied (31,8%). A further analysis of the issue, involving some socio-demographic background variables, reveals a powerful interrelation between the acceptable/satisfactory income and the father's level of education, as well as with the financial situation of the family. The results show that the higher the father's qualifications are, the higher are the sums the students expect and accept. Similarly, the better off the family is, the higher the sums are the students expect when they start working. Students in a worse financial situation do not have such high expectations.

In connection with the visions of the students related to their future in the labour market we wished to map the fields in which students envisaged their career as employees. Close to a quarter of the respondents want to work in their own business after graduation, and a similar proportion (24,7%) wants to work for the state, as it is regarded as a safe employment. The next most populous group (17,7%) is thinking about working for international companies, and 16% of them is motivated by the idea of working abroad. Much smaller are the numbers of those who wish to work in the family enterprise (6,1%), as employees of private companies (5,8%), or at some other place of work (5,5%) when they have completed their college or university studies.

In the next phase we asked the students participating in our survey about the major motivating factors in establishing a company. The majority of our respondents believed that providing a decent living to their families would be the most important motivating factor in starting a business enterprise. Obtaining a high income is a motivating factor for one fifth of the young people, and fewer than that (only 11,8%) believe that a company of one's own will guarantee for the owner the possibility of utilizing their abilities to the full. Independence as a motivation only characterized 8,4% of the participants. Being useful for the community and other options hardly exceeded one per cent.

In the following, we probed into the professional plans of the students. Almost half of the respondents (44,9%) longed for a stable and predictable career, a work that can be done either in an office or at home (distance work

with the help of the Internet, computer or mobile technology). A further quarter of the students (26,3%) wanted stable and predictable work in the sense that it is done at the same period of time and in the same location on a daily basis. 17,2% of the participants wanted a full time job with the highest possible salary. 6,8% of the students dreamt of a job that could be done at home, regardless of the duration and terms of the contract. A mere 1,7% of the students plan to acquire a job with a temporary contract. 3,1% identified a job that did not fit into any of the categories listed by us.

We found a considerable connection between gender and the professional plans.¹⁷ 48,2% of the female students wants a work that can be done in their homes, a further 25,9% desires an occupation that is done in the same place and at the same period of time. 16,2% wants a full time job. 4,1% of them wants a job that can be done at home in flexible time, and independently of the duration and terms of the contract. A further 2% was thinking about temporary job contract, and 3,6% has ideas different from the previous categories. 39,3% of the men wanted a job that could be done at home, and 28,3% wished to have a predictable job that is performed at the same place and in same periods of time. Another 19,23% wanted a full time job, and 11% only wanted a work that can be done at home. Among the male students there was nobody who would have been satisfied with a temporary job contract. 2,1% of them had ideas about their future job different from all the categories we offered.

Since women are only able to spend shorter time in the labour market because of childbearing and household duties, they prefer atypical forms of employment, especially those that they do at home. Men, on the other hand, would very much like to have a job that is routinely done in the same location and in the same period of time. They also attribute great importance to full-time employment and high salary, but they are also ready to take into consideration jobs that can be done at home, regardless of the time frame and the terms of the contract. In that respect they are ahead of the female students. While provisional work contracts do not appear in men's vision of the future, but 2% of the women find it possible to undertake such a job.

Our conclusions match those of Fényes (2010), who concluded a similar survey among college and university students. His findings suggest that female students are willing to take up part time jobs in higher numbers than male students, as they are aware of their worse prospects in the labour market and also their future duties as mothers. They also tend to be more pessimistic about their chances of finding a job.

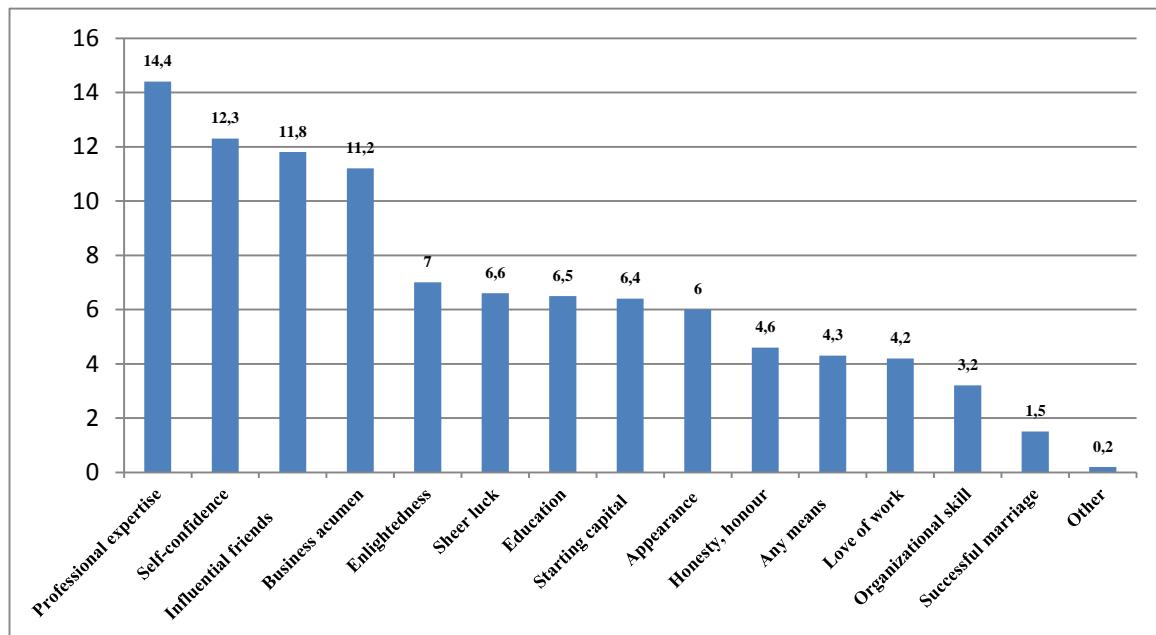
It is to be noted that in a survey conducted among young people in Nyíregyháza in 2015, 34% of the respondents believed that they negative or

¹⁷ We also detected a significant interrelation between the professional plans and the type of the home settlement of the respondent. For constraints of space, these are not included in this paper.

very negative chances in finding a job. Only 26% of the students trusted that they were going to find a job easily (Kállai et al., 2016).

We finally asked the students what they believed was necessary for a successful life. Since we did not ask about an order of priority, and offered a maximum of five possibilities, we were only able to identify the competences that most of the respondents had chosen (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Competences required for a successful life (N=1,532)



The majority of the students put professional competences and expertise to the top when it came to starting a career. It was followed by self confidence; social connections, influential friends and patrons, business acumen, entrepreneurial spirit, willingness to take risks, enlightenment and versatile professional knowledge.

A survey among young people completed in 2012 yielded similar results (Czibere, 2014; Gázsó, 2013). In the national survey, students emphasized the importance of professional knowledge and skills and also that of the influential patrons as indispensable conditions for finding a job. In order to be successful in life, a safe job, good social connections, acquaintances, willpower and ambitions are also required. At the end of the list we find good manners, entrepreneurial spirit, IT skills, shrewdness, luck and aggressive attitude.

Success at the labour market is influenced by a number of factors. The factors include the highest possible qualification, experience in the realm of work, the type of the home settlement of the individual etc. We need to point out the capital manifested in social-interpersonal connections and embeddedness. Access to the streams of informal information, knowledge of the job seeking techniques are useful in occupying a potential job. A research among adults in

Nyíregyháza and its vicinity revealed that more than half of the respondents found their present job through informal personal connections (R. Fedor, Balogh 2015). In the research project entitled Magyar Ifjúság 2012 [Hungarian Youth], the students also ascribed great significance to informal connections from the aspect of finding a job. 80% of the participants in the survey gave a 4 or a 5 (on a five-grade scale) to the usefulness of informal connections and patronage on the labour market. 75% of the youngsters in the survey trusted informal connections and patronage (Gazsó 2013). In our survey we asked the following question: "In your opinion, what are the factors that primarily influence the occupation of a job after graduation?" Table 2 indicates, that the respondents attribute by far the greatest importance to *foreign language skills* (72,2%).¹⁸ *High level of professional knowledge and skills* follows with 52,%, *social connections and patronage* is third (48,9%), *appearance and personal aura* received 48,5%, *diligence and hard work* scored at 46,4%, the *qualification acquired* was given 43,9%). What might appear surprising is that *appearance and personal aura*, as well as *social connections and patronage* are equal to *diligence and hard work* and a *high level of professional knowledge and skills*. In the subjective evaluation of the students the dimensions least important from professional success are *financial situation of the parents* (15,7%) and *political views* with 14,3%.

Table 2. In your opinion, what are the factors that primarily influence the occupation of a job after graduation? (per cent) Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students of Nyíregyháza] (N=354)

	Definitely yes	Mostly yes	Mostly not	Definitely not	No information/ no answer
Social connections, patronage	48,9	44,4	5,0	1,7	0,0
High level of professional knowledge and skills	52,0	41,6	5,3	1,1	0,0
The qualification acquired	43,9	45,8	8,4	0,8	1,1
Initiative and entrepreneurial skills	27,3	55,4	14,8	1,7	0,0
The financial situation of the parents	15,7	28,9	42,6	12,3	0,6
The occupation, profession chosen	27,6	56,1	14,2	0,9	1,1
Diligence, hard work	46,4	41,6	10,1	1,1	0,8
Place of living	20,3	38,6	29,9	10,7	0,6
Shrewdness, resourcefulness	37,1	42,5	15,9	4,2	0,3
Sheer luck	27,6	41,1	24,5	5,9	0,8

¹⁸ They said a definite yes at the inventory titled "In your opinion, what are the factors that primarily influence the occupation of a job after graduation?"

Social background, origin	21,6	42,9	27,6	7,1	0,9
Appearance, personal aura	48,5	42,9	6,4	2,2	0,0
Political views	14,3	27,1	39,1	19,5	0,0
Prestige of the school where the person graduated from	26,7	52,0	18,2	2,6	0,6
Foreign language skills	72,2	24,4	2,5	0,8	0,0

A VISION OF THE FUTURE IN PRIVATE LIFE¹⁹

Although the research concentrated primarily on the future study- and career plans of the students, certain issues led to the dimensions of their visions of their private life in the future. The questions regarding private life included partnerial relationships and children as well. We made an attempt at mapping the ideas of the students to starting a family.

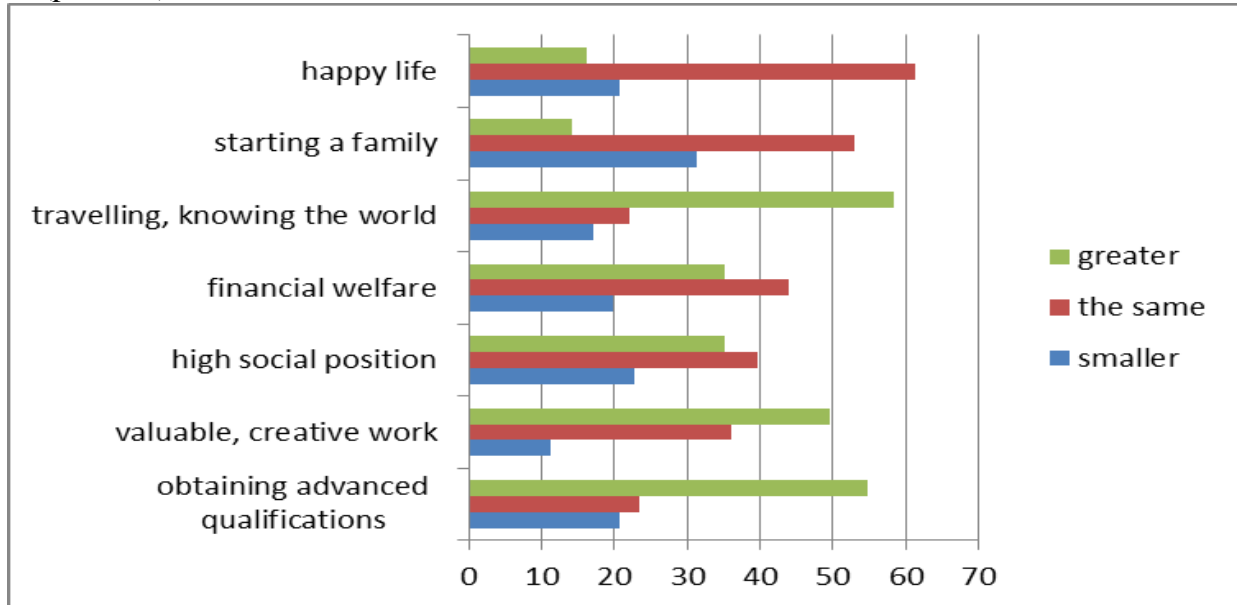
RELATIONSHIPS AND FAMILY LIFE

As it was seen in the previous chapter, youngsters find a series of preconditions for a successful career necessary under the present social circumstances. They tend to put professional skills, expertise, business acumen into the foreground, and believe that self-confidence and commitment are important personal characteristic features. They emphasize the necessity of influential friends and patrons, though a successful marriage is at the end of the long list. It aptly demonstrates that teenagers mostly place their confidence in looser relations that, at the same time, promise some benefit. They are not yet aware of the importance of a good family background that will be so valuable at a later period of life when they are more experienced (Putman, 2000; Pikó, 2003). A stable partnerial relationship provides a solid background for an individual career, including the periods of investment into human capital (studying, training) and the progress in one's work (career building). (Kopp-Skrabski, 1995; Balog, 2008; Engler, 2011)

One of the questions in our inventory was tailored to obtain information about the opinion of the students regarding their chances compared to the chances of their parents. (*What are your chances of achieving the following objectives in life, compared to the chances of your parents?*). All the criteria aim at the future, asking about the objectives of work and private life. Figure 2 clearly shows that the students see smaller chance of achieving their goals in the private life (or they see difference chances) when compared to their parents' private life.

¹⁹ Part prepared by Ágnes Engler

Figure 2. Chances of achieving objectives in life, compared to the chances of your parents in % (p=0,000)



One third of the respondents believed that they had smaller chances of starting a family than their predecessors had had. This is the question in which the students proved to be the most skeptical; all other questions received higher scores. Behind that there are, naturally, the changing life patterns. One generation earlier, after the completion of studies, starting a job and starting a family were simultaneous events. The different demographic behaviour is in close correlation with the increase of time spent at school, and the expansion of higher education. Young people tend to enter into lasting partnerial relationships later and later in life, and women give birth to the first child also later in their life. Consequently, the chances of the birth of further children reduces. Additional difficulties include the problems in starting partnerial relationships that are so common in our days, the difficulties of sustaining these relationships, and the increase in the numbers of so-called forced singles (Pongrácz-Spéder, 2002; Demény, 2004; Utasi, 2004; Székely, 2012; Jancsák, 2013).

The students participating in the survey face these phenomena in their closer environment or at a social level, and they also experience the effects the crises in the structure of the traditional family (e. g. divorce, mosaic families, single-parent families). These tendencies make it clear for today's young people that the family patterns of their parents are no longer valid and applicable, although that was only one generation earlier.

Professional and Private Aspirations

The young people see in the changes that take place on the professional side of their career as an improvement of their chances. More than half of the respondents believe that today it is easier to obtain a degree, and also 50%

believe that jobs these days are more interesting and creative. Secondary school students—unaware of related statistics—probably underestimate the difficulties of earning an advanced academic degree. In their parents' generation, approximately one third of the applicants made it into a college or university, and today the respective number is close to 70%. In addition to that, there is the demographic fact that the earlier generations were more populous than the generation of those who are preparing for the GCSE today. The chances of getting into college or university are further improved by the smaller absolute numbers of potential applicants (Kozma, 2004; Hrubos, 2006; Veroszta, 2012; Polónyi, 2014)

The realm of work has also undergone considerable changes. The possibilities are now much greater than before, especially because of the expansion of information technology. A number of new types of jobs and trades has emerged, old ones have been transformed, new skills and competences are required in the labour market. The economic and social changes of the past few decades, mostly generated by globalization, radically reshaped the labour market, too. With an improvement of the educational indicators, the world of labour expands and career opportunities improve. All these developments offer better chances of social mobility to young people, one third of them trusts in achieving a higher position and better income. A further 40% believes that they will move neither upwards nor downwards, and will have an education, income and position similar to those of their parents. Only 10% of them believes, however, that they are going to have a less interesting job. They have a positive expectation regarding the content of their work in the future.

Not only the labour market is much more open than it used to be in the days of their parents, but the entire world: 60% of them believes that travelling, seeing the world is an important asset for them, and they attribute a great importance to it when discussing the possibilities of the future. Naturally, it is also a consequence of the political and economic changes that have taken place since the very last change of generations. With the downfall of the Iron Curtain came the free flow of workforce, faster and more convenient ways of travelling, better education and higher living standards. Better geographical mobility applies to free time activities (travelling for pleasure) and it is at the same time highly useful from the aspect of a career: one is able to acquire new information and experience of other cultures, practice languages, improve their empathy etc. In this way the quality of the individual as an employee also improves.

The overall vision of the secondary school students participating in the survey about their professional future is therefore basically optimistic. Meaningful work, higher educational level, better income, more favourable position are all factors affecting social mobility. The improving conditions of international travel offer better chances of geographical mobility which, together with the conditions listed above, outline a generally better and more promising

future to for today's young generations than what their parents used to have under different social and economic conditions.

On the other hand, in their private life they experience tendencies opposite to what their parents had before them. They expect that starting a family will come later in their life and it will be more difficult. It is interesting to see what they think about the chance of a happy life in the system of an "easier" career and "more difficult" private life. 60% of the respondents believes that they are going to be approximately as happy as their parents were. The opposing tendencies appear to neutralize each other at most of the respondents: better career chances do not necessarily mean more happiness because of more adverse chances in private life, and the other way around.

Following upon this lead, we tried to grab the image, the vision of the young people about their future. To that end, we created a "future-index," with the help of variables related to the private life and career within the framework of the inventory.²⁰ According to the averages of the scores, we arranged the respondents into two groups: one is the career-oriented group, and the other is private life-oriented. Interestingly, the original group was divided equally: 177 students belonged to the first group, and 176 to the latter (the answers of 6 students were incomplete).

The future orientation of the students only correlated with the genders: 62% of the female students ($p=0,028$) are oriented towards private life, and in the other group the two genders are represented approximately equally. The qualifications of the fathers or mothers did not appear to influence the attitude to the future, and nor did the type of the home settlement or the objective and subjective financial situation. We found no connection with the type of the school or achievements in learning either. At the plans regarding further education and jobs there is a vague tendency that those who envisage a better private life for themselves are more willing to undertake work that can be done at home, and prefer the allegedly safer state sector. They also find it easier to start a career without leaving their present home region behind, they do not tend to think about working abroad, and they plan shorter further education courses than the members in the other sub-sample. The small number of participants in the Nyíregyháza survey does not enable us to carry out a more profound future-index analysis, but it may serve as a starting point for further studies and analyses of international data bases.

²⁰ The variables of the "future index" are the following: how important is a happy family life (very important – less important – unimportant), what chances do you see for starting a family (a lot of chances – no chances at all), what chances do you see for a happy family life (a lot of chances – no chances).

Values and Future²¹

Future plans, expectations and aspirations are influenced by a number of factors. Hakim emphasizes (Hakim, 2000) the importance of motivations, personal goals, attitudes and values. The cultural characteristics, the dominant norms and values of the society concerned, the institutional and legal background of working, learning and even childbearing in the given country shape the system of values and preferences. Certain parts of the individual's preferred values are constant, whereas other elements evolve, in accordance with age, and family life cycle (Fedor, 2015). Objectives in life also change in accordance with what the individual finds important in the specific situation. Later the priorities may be interchanged (Kohli, 1993), or they may run parallelly, side by side. Consequently, in the course of life, sometimes the values related to learning, sometimes those related to employment and sometimes the values of childbearing prevail.

The Objectives of Young People in Life

In our survey we probed into the objectives of the young generation in life. We wished to see which of the fifteen items they found important, fairly important, not very important and utterly unimportant (Table 3). Outstanding of all the values listed is *happy family life*, chosen and preferred by the majority of the participants, 88,3% of them putting it into the "important" box, and 96,4% of the young participants put it in the "important" and "fairly important" categories. This family-biased attitude is reflected in research projects into the domestic value systems (Pongráczné, Molnár, Dobossy, 2000; Pongráczné, Molnár, 2011) and the survey titled *Nyíregyháza Ifjúsága 2015* (Fedor, 2016).

Similarly very high was the score of *quiet, problem-free life* with 64,3%, as well as *self-development, improving skills* (60,2%) as a goal in life. The young participants also attributed great significance to the categories of *obtaining advanced qualifications* (57,7%) *pleasure and fun* (59,1%) and *making friends* (57,4%). The latter two underscores the importance of peer relations, in accordance with the characteristics of the age group. In general, we may conclude that in the life of secondary school students the primary goals in life are those in connection with family, studies, self-improvement and friends. On the other hand, we found that *a life in accordance with the rules of religion* (8,3), *achieving power* (13,1%), and *starting a business venture* (14,3%) are rather low on the priority list of the youngsters.

We intended to find out whether the socio-demographic and socio-cultural factors of the gender and the qualifications of the parents influence the life preferences of the young people. In a breakdown according to gender we found statistically relevant interrelations with a *quiet, problem-free life* ($p=0,032$), and

²¹ Part prepared by Anita Fedor

an *interesting, creative work* ($p=0,008$). Quiet, problem-free life and creative work appear to be more important for women than for men. As for the five life goals deemed the most important, the percentages of the answers were almost perfectly equally divided between the two genders.

A separate analysis of the qualifications of the parents showed that the qualifications of the father influence the following life goals: *obtaining advanced qualifications* ($p=0,008$) (the higher the father's qualifications were, the more his children identified with that goal), and *making friends* ($p=0,001$) (the higher the father's qualifications were, the less important this goal was for his children).

As for the education level of the mothers, interrelation was detected with the variables of *pleasure and fun* ($p=0,002$) and *individual freedom, freedom of thinking and acting* ($p=0,036$). In the case of the former, the children of mothers with secondary education, *fun and pleasure* appear to be less important. As for the latter, *individual freedom, freedom of thinking and acting*, is the most important goal for the children of mothers who have elementary schooling only.

Table 3. A priority list of the goals of life (per cent) Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students of Nyíregyháza] (N=311)

	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Utterly unimportant	No information /no answer
Obtaining advanced qualifications	57,7	34,3	5,4	1,7	0,9
Happy family life	88,3	8,1	2,8	0,8	0,0
Starting a business venture	14,3	38,3	36,8	9,4	1,2
Pleasure and fun	59,1	33,4	4,2	0,6	2,8
Self-development, improving skills	60,2	35,9	2,5	0,8	0,6
A quiet, problem-free life	64,3	28,4	5,6	1,7	0,0
High income, collecting commodities	35,3	49,6	12,6	2,0	0,6
Obtaining people's respect	42,3	44,8	10,3	2,2	0,3
Interesting, creative work	44,4	37,6	14,1	3,4	0,6
A life in accordance with the rules of religion	8,3	22,6	30,3	38,6	0,3
Individual freedom, freedom of thinking and acting.	45,5	47,0	6,8	1,4	0,3
Helping people	32,8	53,7	11,9	1,1	0,6
Making friends	57,4	34,3	5,8	1,9	0,6
Achieving a high social status	22,9	44,4	27,1	5,3	0,3
Achieving power	13,1	27,8	37,5	20,7	0,9

Confidence Attitudes of the Students

In the past few years, surveys into social capital have become gradually come to the foreground of the interest of researchers. As a result, the number of new projects have been launched in order to examine the role of social connections in economic activities and the well-being of people (Imre, 2001; Kun, 2010). In various definitions, we usually find four branches of social capital: economic, sociological, political and anthropological. An important common point in all the four approaches is that they all describe trust and confidence as important features of social capital (Skrabski, Kopp, 2008).

Five statements were used in order to measure the confidence attitude of the youngsters involved in the survey. They were requested to provide answers on a four-grade scale, depending on to what extent they agreed with (or disagreed with) the specific statements. So as to easily identify those who are on the top of the confidence index, we combined the categories of "fully agree" and "largely agree" into one group. We requested their opinion about their direct environment. The tendencies emerging from the answers show that the majority of the students primarily trust their teachers and classmates. Three quarters of the secondary school students claimed that they could rely on the help of their teachers, and 65% of them could also apply to their classmates for support. The neighbours occupy the third position on the list with 48%, followed by the representative of their home settlement (34%), and the members of their community (29%). It is noteworthy that one third of the students agree with the statement that their environment wants to exploit them. All in all, the opinions received show that while there is a general distrust in connection with the more remote but still local social community, there is also a powerful trust in the students' direct formal and informal communities (teachers, classmates and neighbours).

We examined whether some of the explanatory variables, such as the *qualifications of the father/mother* as well as the subjective and objective welfare of the family influences the confidence attitude or not. We found that the gender of the respondents, the educational level of the parents and the objective welfare of the families are not in a statistically relevant interrelation with the issue of the trust. We found, however, that the students whose families live-in their own judgement-in circumstances above the average tend to trust the representatives of the local authorities to a larger extent than the students whose income is lower than the average.

Table 4. The confidence attitude of the secondary schools students of Nyíregyháza. Source: Nyíregyházi középiskolások 2015 [Secondary School Students of Nyíregyháza] (N=354)

	Fully agree	Largely agree	Largely disagree	Completely disagree	No information/no answer
I trust most of my neighbours	10,6	37,3	30,4	16,2	5,5
Most people around me try to exploit me	8,4	23,1	39,6	22,8	6,1
Most people in my town (village) are trustworthy	5,6	23,1	39,6	20,3	11,4
I can approach most of my teachers for help	24,8	50,1	16,2	4,7	4,2
I can expect help from most of my classmates when I need it	23,4	41,5	24,2	7,8	3,1
Most representatives of the town (village) authorities are trustworthy	9,2	24,5	31,2	17,5	17,6

SUMMARY

In the course of our research we wished to examine the vision of the future of the secondary school students in a three-dimensional way: their visions of their own private and professional future were complemented with an analysis of their value preferences. In general, it is clear from the results that the visions of the students related to work and career are more clearcut and optimistic than their ideas regarding the future of their private life. Since a large majority of the students are already in possession of some work experience, they are capable of relatively easily assess their possibilities in the labour market, and they want to rely on hard work and expertise. They also realistically evaluate the income available to them in the labour market. They approach these issues with a great deal of optimism, and they trust that the qualifications they obtain will enable them to do better in the world of work than the generation of their parents did. They are less optimistic in connection with their private life in the future, though: they all long for a happy family life, but they estimate the chances of achieving that at much lower than the chances the previous generations had. They place the focus of their connections into the realm of work and career, expecting support from acquaintances rather than from future members of their family. The desire to coordinate the two areas—work and family—appears in the answers, especially at those related to atypical forms of work and working abroad.

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ON THE WAY TO POST-MATERIALISM? POLISH AND UKRAINIAN STUDENTS IN TERMS OF CULTURAL CHANGE

University students are special category among all kinds of youth categories. Basing on comparative study authors want to test Inglehart thesis of crossing from materialistic to post-materialistic values in line with socio-cultural conditions. The authors conducted an analysis to give the answer to the question whether there are differences between the Polish and Ukrainian students in terms of the hierarchy of life values, perceptions of their own education, perception of success, social orientation and patriotism level. Analysis show similarities of Polish and Ukrainian students are present in these activities, which resulted from experiencing the same phase of life (studies as a fun time, good health and well-being, life-optimism, the importance of free time and social life, a high level of patriotism, idealism). The same time the differences between the Polish and Ukrainian academic youth are located in (1) religious, political (including with respect to communism) and citizenship problems on one hand and on the other - attitudes to the materialist and post-materialist aspects of life.

Keywords: cultural change, youth, comparative study, materialism, post-materialism, Polish and Ukrainian students.

YOUTH AS A SUBJECT OF EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

University students are special category among all kinds of youth categories. They significantly differ from other people in a stage of life called early adulthood (Zielinska, 2011; Zielińska, Szaban, 2016). This means that in the future academic youth may become a part of the intellectual elite and the managerial, they may occupy higher positions, may do management tasks, may create culture and may educate a new generation.

Academic youth as a subject investigated in the analysis in this paper is not representative of all young people. Parallel it can be considered on the basis of previous studies that modern youth is different internally (see also: Szafranec, 2011; Szafranec, Zielińska, 2011²²; Wrzesień, 2009, 2013; Długosz, 2014). It is strongly differentiated internally by socio-demographic characteristics and by the characteristics of educational environments. In

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²² In the monography edited by K. Szafranec i M. Zielińska there are 19 papers about differentiation of youth defined formal and substantial way.

addition, each generation (subsequent years of birth), brought up in a different, changing, different socio-cultural environment. The faster changes occur to the environment and the more important historical and political events accumulated at a time when generational identity is shaped (in the late phase of adolescence e.g. time, when you have 18-24 years), the quicker the generation shall be a wheel drive of a cultural change. Roland Inglehart in 1970²³ put the thesis that the order of the basic values of modern societies moves - from giving the highest rank of issues connected with maintaining social security, to a stronger emphasis on a sense of belonging, self-expression and quality of life. The same he defined the line between modern and post-modern values²⁴.

According to the concept of R. Inglehart there are meaningful consequences of the development of civilization, modernization and increase education and wealth which can change the way youth perceive the reality²⁵.

✕ There is a process of intergenerational value change that gradually transforms politics and cultural norms (as was historically illustrated in other developed industrial societies). We can assume that in Poland a cultural change theoretically had a chance to happen. Poland made a significant change in civilization and technological aspects of life and dramatically increased level of education and material condition of Poles. Ukraine remains in the preceding stage of development of cultural change. For each distinguished by Inglehart phases of development we can indicate necessary and sufficient conditions. This paper attempts to identify some features based on the results of the Polish and Ukrainian studies.

✕ The growing emphasis on quality of life and self-expression is accompanied by weakening attachment to traditional norms (political, religious, moral, and social). We can observe sliding of the core values from materialism to postmaterialism. (Inglehart, 1990, p. 374 and next)

It is not obvious whether the direction of these changes is in line with expectations of them. Studying young people are gaining importance, if you can answer the question about the place and function of this social category in

²³Theory and research conducted by Roland Inglehart are for many years the matter of interest of Polish investigators of social change. Although they often considered his thesis controversial, it is still under study testing a unique set of questions (the answers to this questions are indicators of change of attitudes towards fundamental issues: material existence, security, human relations. It is not the purpose of this article detailed analysis and critique of the concept of Inglehart. We refer those critique to the literature - Zdziech Z. (2010), R. Inglehart, Siemieńska R. (1988, 1990), Siemieńska (2007), Jasińska-Kania (2012), as well as original works by R. Inglehart (min. 1990, 1997, 2000).

²⁴ In the book, edited by Jasinska-Kania (Wartości i zmiany. Przemiany postaw w jednoczącej się Europie) there are several papers referred directly to Inglehart's conception, based on data from European Value Survey

²⁵ We selected a few statements from the entire catalog of survey questions from Polish-Ukrainian research, which corresponded to an adequate assertion of Inglehart's research. These were the statements illustrating attitudes towards their own nation, religion, political affiliation, selected values of life. These indicators allow us to testify the materialistic / post-materialistic attitudes. The idea for the implementation of the concept R. Inglehart is to explain the differences between attitudes towards indicated dimensions of social reality of Ukrainian and Polish students. It should be treated as one of many possibilities how to use this concept.

society. In other words, there is a great demand for knowledge of the youth in the context of the question whether, generally speaking, the youth is a harbinger of change or may not play a major role in society nowadays.

According to Inglehart post-materialism is “a set of values that make objectives such as self-expression or a sense of belonging more important than the issue of economic and physical security (Inglehart, 1986, p. 488).

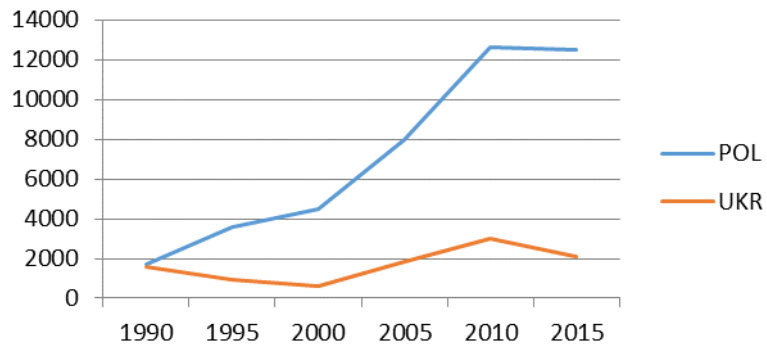
Conducting research in countries at different stages of economic level, democratization and modernization (Poland and Ukraine) created the opportunity to answer to the question of whether this development is correlated with changes in the value of life, attitudes towards ecology, religion, their own nation, and political orientations.

MACROECONOMIC DIMENSIONS AS INDICATORS OF DEVELOPMENT, PROGRESS AND MODERNIZATION

According to Inglehart – there should be significant differences between Polish and Ukrainian youth emerged from different level of civilizational development. Since 1989 in Poland has been developed a process of modernization, acceleration of civilization and democratization. There has been a rise in the level of education and the improvement of living conditions. Any changes in social awareness do not keep pace with these changes and did not make the intergenerational value change toward post-materialistic values. Ukraine at that time was experiencing upheavals (orange revolution, change of power, the war in the Crimea). It generated weak economic development what significantly influenced on post-materialist values of the academic youth.

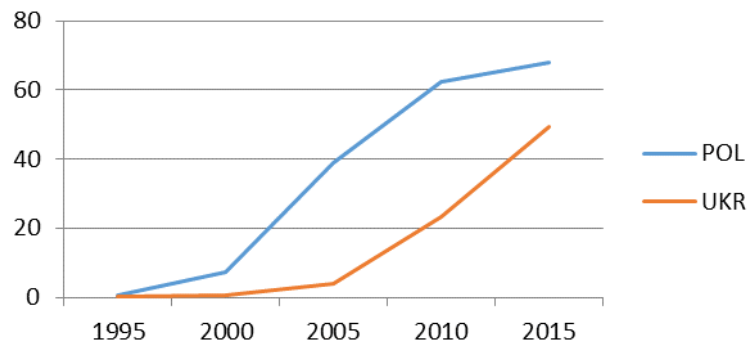
Macroeconomic indicators used in the Human Development Index clearly illustrate the differences in development between the Polish and Ukraine in the dynamic perspective. Selected data such as: GDP per capita, percentage of internauts per 100 people, GINI index and life expectancy at birth allow us to say that Poland is much more modern than Ukraine. Following macroeconomic indicators we can also assume that young people in Poland should be post-materialistic oriented, while Ukrainian youth should be focused on materialistic values.

Chart 1. GDP per capita (US \$)



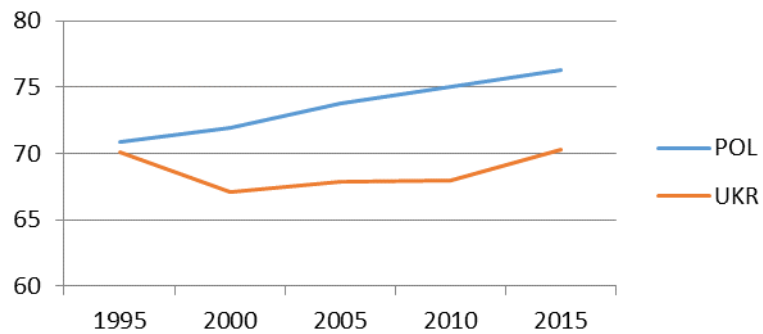
Source: World Bank Data

Chart 2. Internauts per 100 persons



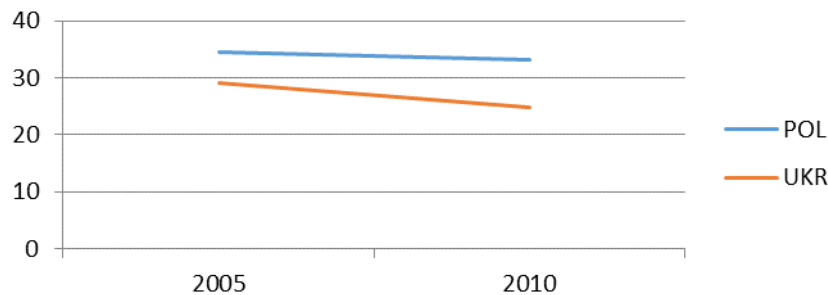
Source: World Bank Data

Chart 3. Life expectancy at birth (total)



Source: World Bank Data

Chart 4. GINI index



Source: World Bank Data

In Poland since 1989 has started the process of modernization, acceleration, civilization, democratization. There has been a rise in the level of education and the improvement of living conditions. Ukraine, at a time when Poland was making a progress, was going through political upheavals (the Orange Revolution, successive changes in the next government, the war in the Crimea, the war of the Ukrainian separatists in eastern Ukraine). Ukraine appeared weak economic development and civilization. The plans of the Ukrainian authorities about Ukraine's accession to the EU remained unrealized and warfare heavily abusing the economy of this country. Students from Kharkov (like any other citizen of Ukraine) have not experienced life in prosperity, a sense of security and cosmopolitan country. They do not managed to penetrate this stage of development that the concept of Inglehart starts intergenerational exchange of values, and the same cultural change.

Students of Polish and Ukrainian universities in the second decade of the 21th century live in different socio-political conditions. Eastern Ukraine (including Kharkov) is still at war with Ukrainian separatists and Russia. This is neither conducive for modernization (Inglehart), nor the democratization of social life. Students of Zielona Gora, who live on the Polish-German border, experience everyday contacts with representatives of the more developed countries of Western Europe, living in similar socio-economic conditions as their Western peers. They do not experience direct risks associated with warfare, they live in a consumer society, with no major physical problems. They can easily travel around the world, and easily work or study abroad.

Selected characteristics of youth describe the most important attributes towards reality, characteristic for the socio-cultural change (Inglehart: the transition from materialism to post-materialism). We are aware that they do not complete the range of possibilities for interpreting the socio-political attitudes of young people (por.min. Giza, Sikorska, 2012, Grotowska-Leder, Rokicka, 2013,

Gliński, Sadowski, Zawistowski, 2010,²⁶). The analyzes in this paper are only an introduction to in-depth analysis and verification of Inglehart's thesis.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Empirical base for the analysis is academic youth study realized in the framework of the international research project "Youth Academic in times of distrust and civilization threats in comparative perspective." The project was implemented in Ukraine at the following universities: Kharkov National University, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University and Lesya the Ukrainian National Technical University in Lutsk. In Poland research partner was the University of Zielona Gora²⁷.

Youth is the natural capital of society and can be considered as a kind of barometer of social moods. In the ongoing changes in the students' attitudes towards life, it seems appropriate to continuously monitoring the study of this social category. It should focus on students' life plans, objectives, economic behaviors, lifestyles, political and social opinions, etc .

In this paper we formulate following research problems:

✘ What differences exist between the Polish and Ukrainian students in terms of the hierarchy of life values, perceptions of their own education, perception of success, social orientation and patriotism level?

✘ To what extent we can define the process of intergenerational value change? Can we talk about transforming the youths' fundamental values from materialism to postmaterialism?

We assume that differences occurring in these areas of student's activities will be a good illustration of Inglehart thesis. Characteristics of society socio-cultural development phase influence educational strategies of youth, on their social attitudes and attitudes towards society and nation.

Reflections on the variety of attitudes of academic youth are conducted from the perspective of generational assuming that it is the social context produces a different attitude towards reality, and determines different ways of behaviors and different life orientations. The reasons for the occurrence of such attitudes the authors see in this connection in the specifics of overlapping processes of transformation and globalization. Therefore we formulated the general assumption which drives our analysis, which says that an academic

²⁶ Mentioned papers consist of many texts considering cultural, political and economic conditions of social change in contemporary Poland.

²⁷ Sample consist of: 417 students of University of Zielona Gora and 797 students of three Ukrainian universities. This comparative survey was methodologically equivalent. The general method of data gathering was auditorium survey, conducted in spring 2015. Fieldwork was preceded by several months of preparation and conceptualization. A research instrument was subjected to several linguistic verifications. Surveyed objects were last-year students. A method of selecting individuals to test allows us to conclude on the level of estimation error +/- 4% at 95% confidence level. The resulting test sample was varied according to socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, place of residence, material condition.

youth in Poland in many areas of awareness and activity is different from the academic Ukrainian youth, but in some aspects we can find no significant differences.

Developing the argumentation of this statement we suppose that those differences are the result from the different socio-political diversity of historical experiences, different cultural heritage, influence of family and media, prejudices, stereotypes. The same way the similarities are the result primarily of experiencing the same phase of life (youth, adulthood).

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF POLISH AND UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

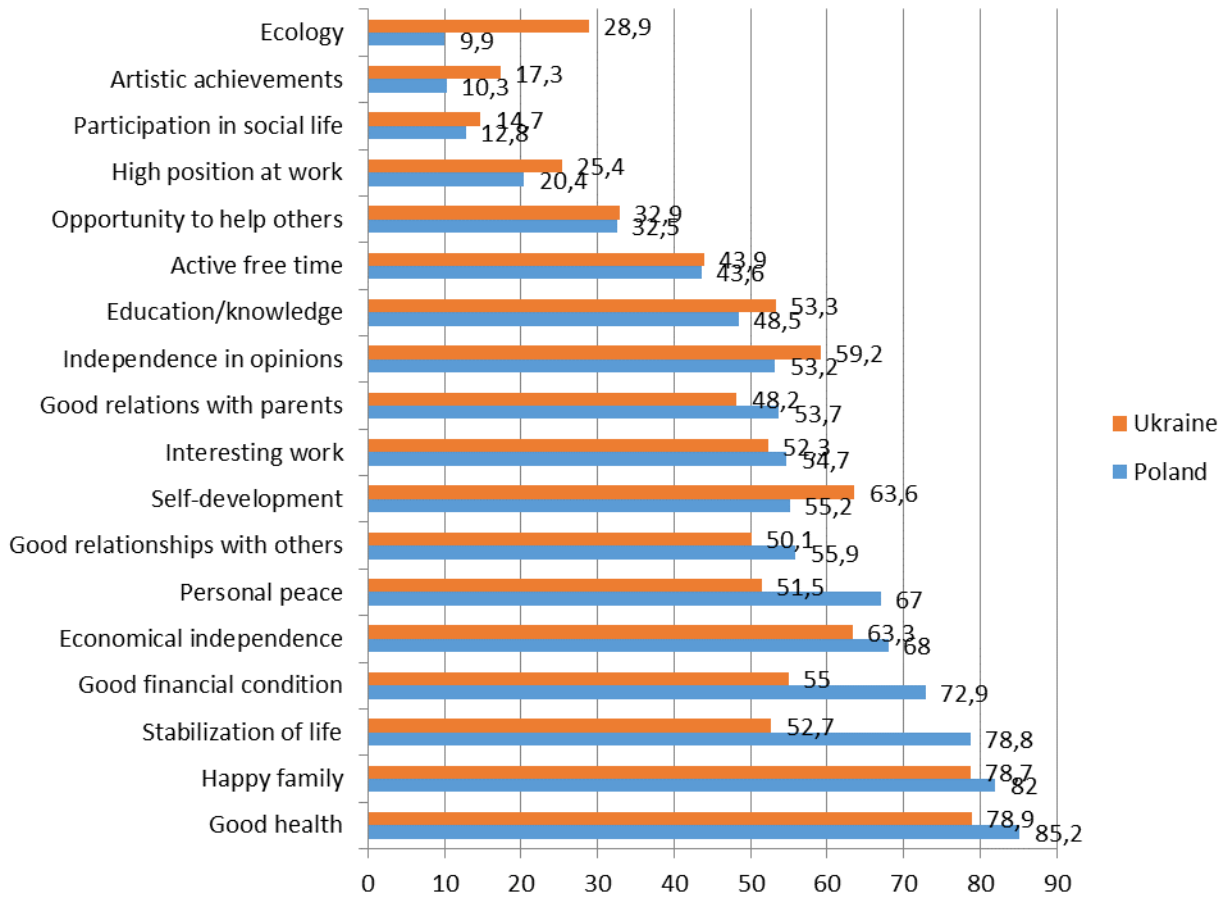
In this part of the article there will be presented selected dimensions of consciousness of students which is important to recognize the materialistic/post-materialistic attitudes. If among Polish students often than among Ukrainian students are present values defined by Inglehart as belonging to the canon of post-materialist, it can be concluded that economic development, democratization and modernization of Poland (1990-2015) are combined with those values.

Value system

Analysis in this paper considers how young people think about their life and what kinds of values are essential for them. A concept of value is not methodologically clear. In sociology term value is referred to the idea or institution, the object of real or imaginary, in relation to which individuals or communities take an attitude of respect, giving them an important role in your life, and strives to achieve them feel as a kind of compulsion. Young people are relatively able to explore diverse their career and life options, so it is important to recognize the way they aim it. The study shows similarity between students considering rank values significant for youth as a social category – happy family life, good health, economical independence.

There are also key differences between Polish and Ukrainian academic youth considering declared hierarchy of values govern their life, which can be socio-cultural consequence of political conditions. Polish students can be described as more money-instrumental towards life and their general attitudes can be defined as materialistic. The distinct gap between declarations of both categories of students concerns the highest importance ratings of life stability, good financial condition and personal/individual peace. Polish students more often point out those items as the most important ones in their life. Ukrainian students on the other hand more often declare that the most important value in their life is knowledge, graduating, independency in opinions and ecology (as a life orientation).

Chart 4. Most important values to Polish and Ukrainian students (%)

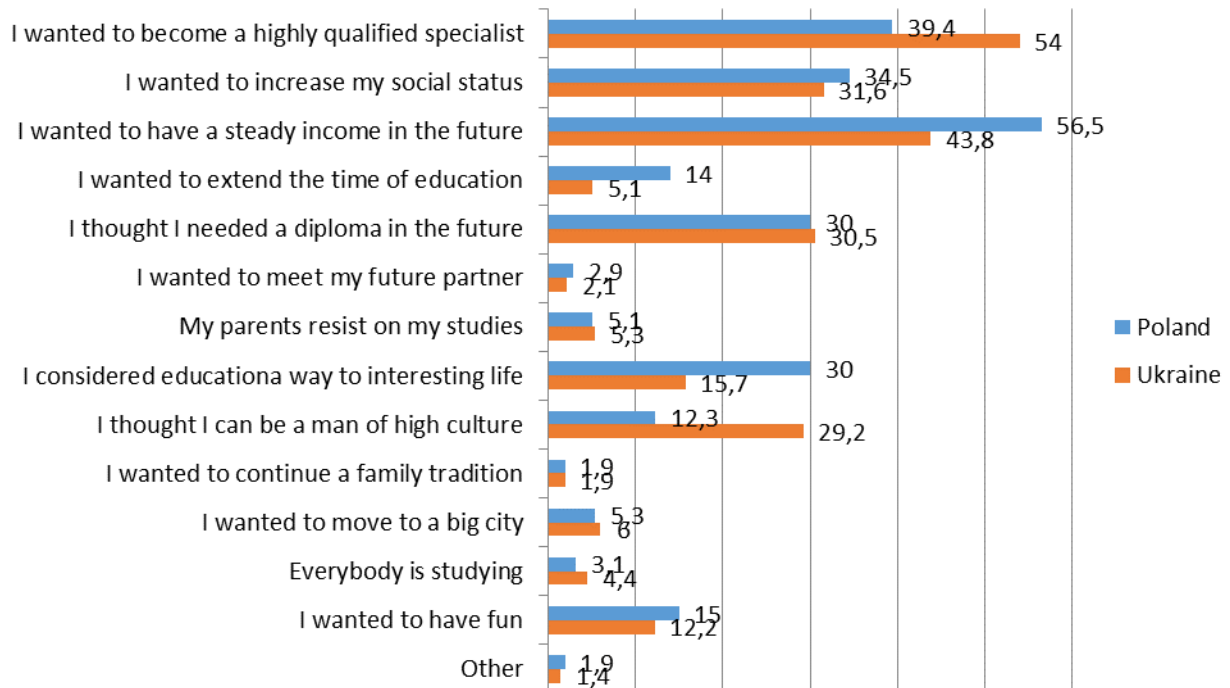


Source: Own analysis

Motivation to study

Choosing a course of study, students have some ideas about the future profession, they have opinions on the potential benefits able to achieve by doing this job. Making an educational choice of studies students guide, at least to some extent, the values respected in the profession. It's also some kind of the prospect of rewards, such as prestige, power, material benefits encourages people to take the trouble. This research was aimed at formulating empirically based theory on students' motives to education and graduation. The analysis shows clear differentiation of Polish and Ukrainian academic youth. Polish students' opinions highlight their instrumental meaning of education. They claim study a remedy for better material status and means to having more interesting life. In the opposite Ukrainian students motivations to study are based on getting a specialization and being treated as a cultured and well-read person. It can be interpret as a consequence of thinking of a labor market as competitive place. Thus having a university qualification gives students the skills and advantage to secure employment.

Charts 5. Motivation for studying (%)



Source: own analysis

Political, ideological and religious orientations

Many studies and analyzes concluded that "Political issues are not those that are important to young people, because they do not fit into the world lived" (Szafraniec, 2011, p. 265). On the other hand, the young generation shows that they are able to actively defend their important values.

Students' attitudes are expected to be pro-democracy, pro-market and personalized, what is related to the fact that the young generation grew up and were socialized in terms of the democratic system and a market economy (Messyasz, 2012) According to this assumption, the consequences of changes in the social order should be visible at the level of individuals, in the form of attitudes towards individual elements of the new system. They can be define on the line from conformity to the specific rebellion (cf..Merton, 1982). The necessity to take into account the social and political context, including economic conditions, pointed out Jurgen Habermas or Roland Inglehart (see. Inglehart, 2006; Habermas, 1973; Tillmann, 1996; Zielinska, 2011).The another key word to understand the academic students attitudes towards reality is the term of individuality. Socio-political orientations result from individualistic (often just self-centered) system of values. Students do not rebel against the views propagated by the media. On the contrary they absorb them like a sponge.

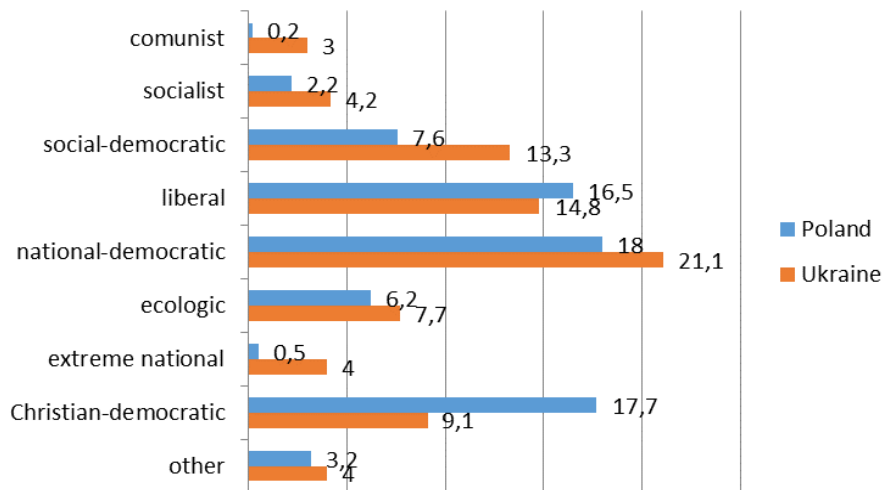
Analysis shows relatively big number of students surveyed in Poland and Ukraine could not identify the nearest a political orientation (Poles - 27.8%,

Ukrainian – 19,7%). This means a lack of interest and escape from the politics of this category of respondents.

The declared orientations are not consistent ideologically. The most popular of students' declaration (both categories) is the current right-wing, defined as national - Christian - democratic. In total, more than 35% of Polish respondents and 30% of Ukrainian respondents indicate this political option.

Notice worthy is significant difference between Polish and Ukrainian students considering their declaration of Christian-democratic option. Polish students more likely represent the tendency observed in Western Europe to become more conservative.

Chart 6. Socio-political orientation (%)



Source: own analysis

Chart 7. Declarations of religiosity (%)



Source: own analysis

The graph shows that religion is still strongly present in the lives of most students, both Polish and Ukrainian. Among the Ukrainian students the percentage of believers is 15% higher than among Polish students. Moreover, more people are guided by the principles of the religion. It is important that Polish students are more doubting and declaring their atheism. In the concept of Inglehart, decreasing role of religion is one of the attributes of postmodernism and thus post-materialistic society (Inglehart 2003, p. 146).

Elements of a national identity²⁸

Some commentators believe that growing materialism and individualism have diminished civic society and they provide evidence that political participation and civic engagement in general are declining (Putnam, 1995). At the same time, youth are described as having relatively little interest in national politics, and they have low rates of voting in national and congressional elections.

Patriotism is the attitude of the socio-political aspects of life, based on the love for their country and its traditions while respecting other national traditions and cultures. Today many European countries indicate a crisis of patriotic education of youth. It is an effect on the influence of, among others, factors such as: the dynamics of political transformation, the crisis of values, moral authority and political elites in power, the crisis of education, unemployment and social destabilization, the collapse of the sense of security of the state and citizens. These phenomena lead to a weakening of the ties of young people with the achievements of generations of adults, customs and moral standards, influence the state of public awareness, modify the content and form of patriotism. Meanwhile, new times require patriotism adapted to changing conditions and tasks.

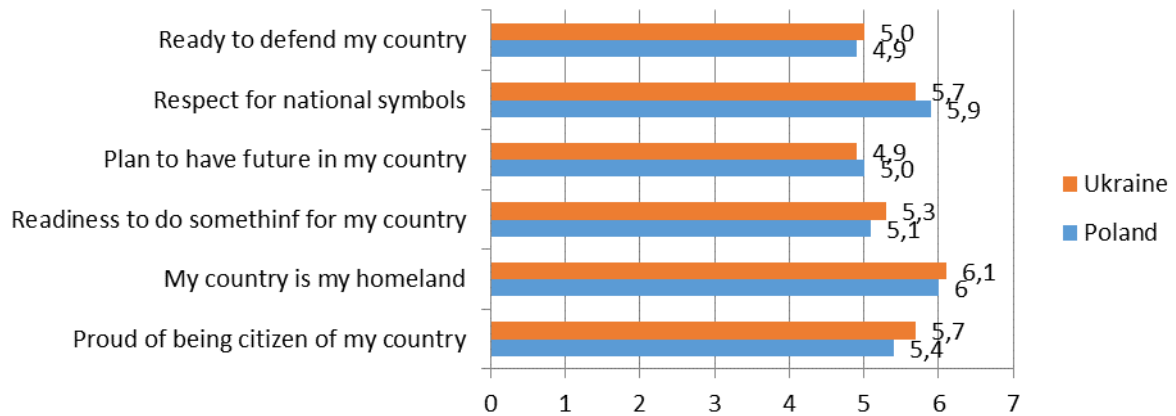
Polish and Ukrainian students were asked of their opinions considering a few aspects of attitudes to own country. Their opinions were presented on the 7th point scale, where 7 means the highest rank of patriotism. Analysis (based on arithmetical means) shows that both – Polish and Ukrainian students do not differ considering their opinions about patriotism. There is no doubt that both categories of surveyed students accepted all important dimensions of patriotism. A similar percentage of indications enables us to distinguish the two references to accepted opinions and behavior. The first layer shows the symbolic "I think my country for my homeland", "I respect the national symbols" and "I am proud that I am a citizen of my country". Respect and pride, are terms that best reflect the declarations of the surveyed students. The second reference is related to the

²⁸formation of Ukrainian identity in the conditions of the Russian and Ukrainian border was described by Alla Karnaukh (2015) in work entitled. "Between Ukrainian and a Soviet. Ukrainians, Russians and Bulgarians at Zaporozhye".

behavior: "I want to do something for my country", "I am ready to defend my country" and "I plan my future with my country". If you expect that the declared symbolic attachment to the country should materialize in action, it created a gap that is clearly visible.

Chart 8. Indicators of attitudes towards own nation (%)

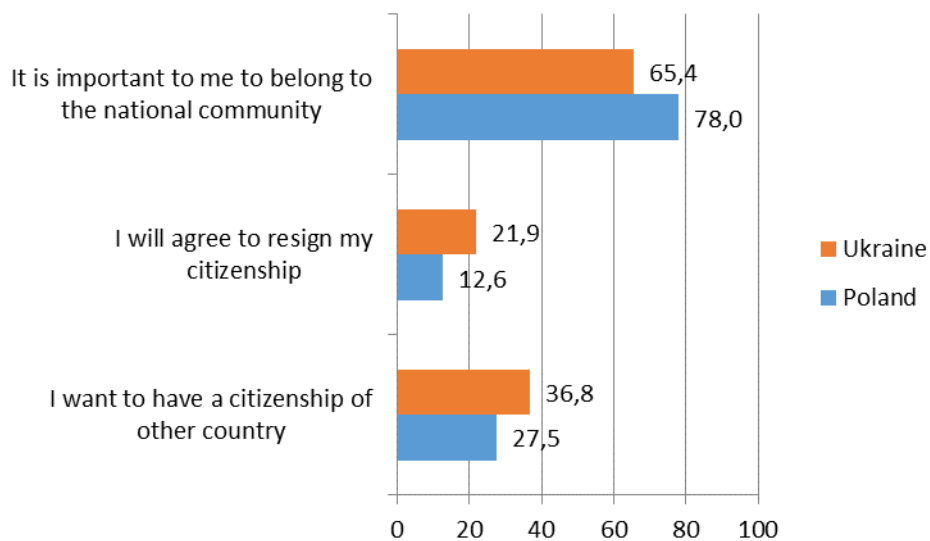
Data are based on arithmetic mean (original answers were pointed out on 7-point scale)



For young people national origin is very important, because of giving a sense of belonging to a community and identify with it. The world defined this way becomes more friendly. The need for a sense of belonging is an inherent feature of building students' own identity.

Polish students seem to be more associated with the nation – they often declare their belonging and they are less tend to change the citizenship than Ukrainian students.

Chart 9. Question of citizenship and patriotism (%)



RECAPITULATION

From the data presented in graphs we generated a table, which more clearly illustrates the expression of materialistic/post-materialistic attitudes of Polish and Ukrainian. If we consider the equivalence of all items indicated in the table, Ukrainian students are closer to postmaterialistic orientations than Polish students. This is expressed in the fact that among the Ukrainian students there are values more appreciated: ecology, education and self-realization. Education is treated as autotelic value and purpose of higher education is to become a highly respected specialist. Among Polish students materialistic values are valued higher. The same is with an internal peace. Studies are needed to get a profession providing high earnings. Polish students often than Ukrainian students (for whom religion is important), are doubters and seekers as well as atheists. It is interesting that in a political ideologies among surveyed Poles and Ukrainians are more popular movements and Christian-national and national-democratic parties than liberal ones. Important is also the meaning of national origins (more Poles pointed out this value). Ukrainians often than Poles would be ready to give up the nationality of their country and adopt other citizenship.

Student data and data describing the state of the economy and democracy in Poland and Ukraine get an image contrary to the Inglehart's idea. Well, in a country with a lower GDP, weak democracy and a lower rate of enrollment (Ukraine) post-materialistic values are among the surveyed students more frequent than in the country more prosperous, implementing democratic principles in the management of the state, modernizing (Poland). It should work opposite way. This example shows that the post-communist countries are perhaps subject of other logic than the western European countries, which were studied by Inglehart, and which emphasized Jasińska-Kania: "*Regardless of the level of economic development, wealth and modernizing influence on the configuration of the values approved by individual nations have regional differences, the diversity of cultural traditions, including above all religious and historical experiences are related to political divisions and fluids*" (Jasińska-Kania, 2012, p. 336).

Table 1. Aggregated data illustrating materialistic and post-materialistic value

	Polish students	Ukrainian students
VALUES		
Stabilization of life	√	
Good financial condition	√	
Personal peace	√	
Self-development		√
Independence in opinions		√
Education/knowledge		√

Ecology		√
PROFESSIONAL PURPOSE		
I wanted to become a highly qualified specialist		√
I wanted to have a steady income in the future	√	
I wanted to extend the time of education	√	
I considered educational way to interesting life	√	
I thought I can be a man of high culture		√
SOCIO-POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS		
socio-democratic		√
liberal	√	
national-democratic		√
ecologic		√
extreme national		√
Christian-democratic	√	
ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATION		
I want to have a citizenship of other country	√	
I will agree to resign my citizenship		√
It is important to me to belong to the national community		√
RELIGION		
Believer		√
Doubter and seeker	√	
Atheist	√	

√ – post-materialistic values; √ – materialistic values

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Polish-Ukrainian data allow us to agree with the critics of the concept of Inglehart in relation to its versatility and explanatory power of cultural changes as a consequence of economic and political developments. Despite the apparent economic growth, the level of modernization, schooling, democratization and technology in Poland there has been automatically change social attitudes toward post-materialist values. Data suggests that the closer to the post-materialistic students are Ukrainian students, although Ukraine has not achieved high rates of economic development. Useful in clarifying these inconsistencies can be Giddens concept of "discontinuities", which indicates the character of the history of mankind, where development is not smooth operation (Giddens, 2008: 3). Z. Bauman wrote about liquid post-modernity and points out the unpredictability and the increasing difficulty in explaining social phenomena.

Analysis show similarities of Polish and Ukrainian students are present in these activities, which resulted from experiencing the same phase of life (studies as a fun time, good health and well-being, life-optimism, the importance of free time and social life, a high level of patriotism, idealism).

The same time the differences between the Polish and Ukrainian academic youth are located in (1) religious, political (including with respect to

communism) and citizenship problems on one hand and on the other - attitudes to the materialist and post-materialist aspects of life.

The data show similarities in terms of characteristics resulting from being in the same phase of life – being young. They also revealed the differences which can be describe as a consequence of living in different conditions of civilization and culture, which has been shown in the article.

We can assume that socio-political context caused the differences between Polish and Ukrainian students. For the Ukrainian students more important are autotelic value of studies and environmental attitudes. Although national origin is more or less equally important for Polish and Ukrainian students, nationality is not so equally important. Ukrainian students are more likely than Polish students to give up citizenship.

Polish students have not passed from materialism to postmaterialism. They remain at the first stage on the way to cultural change (if it is possible in the current political circumstances). For Ukrainian students this road is not started, because materialism (and material goods) as the value appears less frequently than among Polish students.

The changes in social awareness do not keep pace with these changes and did not make the intergenerational value change toward post-materialist values. Definitely it has increased a sense of national belonging and attachment to polish culture in all studied dimensions. There was, however, intergenerational value change, the same cultural change, about which wrote Inglehart. Many factors influenced this situation. First of all, Ronald Inglehart tested the theory of cultural change in Western Europe in the 70s and 80s, in countries with an established democracy and established social order and provided the linear nature of the changes. He did not foresee the economic crisis, terrorist threats or massive migrations from post-communist countries to Western Europe and the mass migration of refugees from Africa and the Middle East. These events have probably shaken the beliefs of people of the nascent European multicultural community. Young Poles after 2004 are primarily focused on new opportunities in consumer. They are keen to multiply and accumulate of positive impressions and experiences on the economic benefits of Polish participation in the EU. They are remained at the stage of materialism according to the meaning of Inglehart. In contrast to young Germans, Britons, Norwegians and Dutch, Polish students did not pass a long-term education for postmaterialism. Our results in the study of students in Zielona show this state of consciousness, ie. The focus on material values, the accumulation of goods, attached great importance to national identity and state, lower (than among students of Kharkiv) the level of religiosity.

It is worth noting that the article does not provide complete answers to the questions, but represent only has a contribution to make sociological discussion on this subject and indicate issues that require broader scientific debate.

Presented data also do not allow deriving conclusions about the shifting values in the process of intergenerational value change. Further measurements and conducting longitudinal studies in the studied categories could show the changes and their directions.

It is worth noting that economic and social modernization improving living conditions and quality of life, creates a climate and a sufficient condition (but not necessary one) to the creation of an open society, tolerant and liberal. The necessary conditions are defined by additional hard predictable factors.

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