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Contents

Editorial Foreword 5

Studies

Alissa TOLSTOKOROVA

Of Women's Bondage: Socio-Economic Effects of Labour Migration
on the Situation of Ukrainian Women and Family 9

Hajnalka FÉNYES

Social Mobility of Graduate Men and Women. Women's Advantages
in Higher Education and Disadvantages on the Labour Market 31

Discussion Article

Márta B. ERDŐS, Gábor JUHÁSZ, Dániel MOLNÁR

Active Citizenship in a Post-transitional Context 57

Media Education and Online Tools in Education

Csilla HERZOG, Réka RACSKO

A Quantitative Analysis of Hungarian Media Education 81

Réka NAGY

Teaching Generation Y 97

Piroska BIRÓ

Interactive Whiteboard in Mathematics Education 111

Book Review

Patrik TÁTRAI

Zsuzsa Gerner and László Kupa (eds.): Minderheitendasein in Mittel-
und Osteuropa – interdisziplinär betrachtet 131

Dénes TAMÁS

Nicholas A. Christakis – James H. Fowler: Kapcsolatok hálójában.
Budapest: Typotex, 2010 (translated by András Rohonyi and Pál Rozsnyói) .. 135

Editorial Foreword

The first issue of Volume 2. of *Social Analysis* contains six articles grouped in three sections. The first section opens with the article written by Alissa Tolstokorova titled *On Women's Bondage: Socio-economic Effects of Labour Migration on the Situation of Ukrainian Women and Family*, in which the author summarises some of the findings of her qualitative research in connection with the process of Ukrainian labour migration. The author concludes that in Ukraine, similarly to other countries of the region, labour migration results in transnational families and multi-generational migrant dynasties, in whose cases women are also more and more present and active, however, their low-status labour migration contributes – in the author's view – to the further disempowerment of Ukrainian women, and has a number of destructive outcomes for the family as a social institution.

The case of women, however, from a different perspective, is then investigated by Hajnalka Fényes in her study titled *Social Mobility of Graduate Men and Women*. By taking the case of Hungary, the author concludes, as a result of a quantitative investigation, that women, while they are in a more favourable position compared to men in the education system, are disadvantaged later on, on the labour market, both in terms of vertical and horizontal segregation, so that women seem to benefit, after all, less from higher education than men.

The second section of the issue comprises a discussion article written by Marta B. Erdős and her colleagues, in which the authors present and discuss some theoretical as well as measurement issues in relation with active citizenship in a post-transitional context, namely Hungary. The authors highlight several conditions and difficulties of practicing active citizenship in the form of volunteering in the broad context of globalisation and information age.

The third section, titled *Media Education and Online Tools in Education*, comprises three articles, out of which the former, written by Csilla Herzog and Réka Racsko under the title *A Quantitative Analysis of Hungarian Media Education* presents the outcomes of an empirical research realised in Hungary, during the year 2009, with the aim of summarising the most typical educational practices when teaching media education in Hungarian schools. By using a diverse methodology, the authors conclude that there is a considerable gap between the goals and effective practices of media education, which, after all, can result in several shortcomings related to children's media literacy. The other two articles of this part can be regarded as two specific case studies. In her paper, *Teaching Generation Y*, Réka Nagy explores the cases of Web 2.0 usage, while Piroska Biró takes an even more specific ground, and explores the case of teaching Mathematics with the help of interactive whiteboards.

The issue ends with the book review section, in which two books are outlined: one dealing with several socio-historical problems of Central and Eastern Europe in the form of a conference volume, and an other presenting various facets and applications of the social media.

The Editors

STUDIES



Of Women's Bondage:¹ Socio-Economic Effects of Labour Migration on the Situation of Ukrainian Women and Family

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Abstract. The paper examines the effect of international labour migration on the situation of Ukrainian women and transnational families. Drawing from results of field research, it shows that the absence of possibilities for self-realisation of Ukrainians at home turns employment abroad into a *hereditary family business* and a *quasi-profession* which entails the formation of multi-generational *migratory dynasties*, shaped by means of migration patterns of *estafette* and *snow-balling*. The argument of the paper is that labour mobility has a dramatic impact on both migrant women and their families. The adverse effect for women is the lack of *gender dividends* and negative *gender saldo* of transnationalism. The salient impact on the family is in promoting mercantilisation and consumerisation of interpersonal relationships, decline of kinship ties and lessening of family integrity overall. The general conclusion is that low-status labour migration contributes to the disempowerment of Ukrainian women, and has the effect of “social surgery” on family connections. Hence, it is destructive for the family as a social institution.

Keywords: Ukrainian migratory dynasties, snow-balling and estafette migration patterns, gender equality remittances, migration as a family business and hereditary quasi-profession, gender dividends and gender saldo of migration, social surgery.

Introduction

State socialism is generally viewed as a formal dual-earner family model, wherein both men and women were guaranteed full-time employment on the labour market. Informally, however, a male bread-winner system was generally predominating in Soviet families, Ukrainian among others. The role of the man

1 This is a gendered paraphrase of the title of a classical novel by William Somerset Maugham: “Of Human Bondage” (1915).

as the head of the household and a main bread-winner was largely unquestioned, and this stereotype sustained long after the dissolution of the socialist system. Yet, during the years of ‘shock therapy’ ensuing the demise of the URSS, many men were affected by unemployment, and were bereft of the possibility to supply for the family. In these conditions, the role of women’s contribution to family budget tangibly increased, although they were among the first to lose jobs together with family benefits and child-care allowances. Thus, whilst under socialism women had guaranteed wages and could count on their husbands’ contribution to family economy, after the instalment of free market relations, in addition to the loss of financial independence they had to confront the transformation of a dual-earner family model into a sort of a ‘nil-earner’ one. For that matter, women had to develop survival strategies necessary to overcome family poverty. In many cases it entailed assuming the role of a sole bread-winner in the family and the head of the household, bearing the whole responsibility for its financial well-being. In conditions of shrinking labour markets in national economies, however, the possibilities for that were limited, which induced women to look for opportunities outside the formal work force. Among them was informal employment in petty trade abroad, which required frequent cross-border travels. By the data for 2002, females comprised over half of those involved in petty trade abroad (53.6%) (Libanova and Poznyak 2002). This short-term international experience encouraged women to seek for more earning opportunities abroad and eventually developed into circular labour migration, which incited the process of feminisation of labour force out-flow from Ukraine. This is confirmed by Sørensen (2005) who argues that the increase in female-headed households in economically disadvantaged countries contributes to feminisation of migration. Her opinion is backed up by UN-INSTRAW data, showing that insofar as men are increasingly unable to fulfil their traditional roles as economic providers to their families, while the demand for female labour continues to rise in the industrial societies, the pressure on women to seek new coping strategies for their families continues to fuel the increase of female migrants worldwide (UN-INSTRAW 2007).

The plethora of recent migration scholarship maintains that migration is an intrinsically gendered phenomenon insofar as gender affects every aspect of migratory experience: its causes, patterns, process, and impacts at every level, including the subjective personal experience of migrants (Pedraza 1991; Phizacklea 2003; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Lutz 2004; Morokvasic 2006). Therefore, a gender-sensitive analysis is indispensable for understanding labour mobility as a complex socio-economic phenomenon as well as for efficient policy-making in this domain. In Ukraine, however, a gender dimension of labour migration, its increasing feminisation and implications for social welfare provision and care arrangements in society did not draw a focused attention of the academic community. This may probably be due to the fact that there is an erroneous conviction among top

migration agencies and experts, particularly on the level of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NASU), that Ukrainian migration flows are dominated by men. Thus, the report on social monitoring of the Ukrainian society for 2006, conducted by the NASU Institute of Sociology, contends that Ukrainians working abroad are mainly males, comprising 93.8% of the total migrants stock in 2004 and 94.1% in 2005 (Pribytkova 2006, 173). The alternative sources, however, provide a different statistics (see in more detail below).

Considering the lack of appreciation in the Ukrainian scholarship of the role of gender in constructing daily realities of Ukrainian transmigrants and their family members, *the goal of the current paper* is to fill this gap by looking with a gender-sensitive eye at the impact of labour migration on the situation of women and gender relations in Ukrainian transnational families and document the challenges arising from transnationalism. Transnational migrants are understood here, following Levitt (2004), as those who work and express their political interests in several contexts rather than in a single nation-state.

Independent labour migration of women: Female shadow of globalization

Throughout the last decades, the “name of the game” in the development of the world economy has been globalisation with its three key components: trade in goods, capital flows and migration of people. The latter have become “an integral part of the fabric of local communities, economies and labour markets” (Fargues et al. 2011, 1) across the globe. It is generally recognised that a general trend in the global migratory flows has been their increasing feminisation (Andall 2000; Castles and Miller 2003; ILO 2003; UN: INSTRAW 2007; Petrozziello 2011; Toksöz and Ulutaş 2012). Statistically, only between 1965 and 1990 the absolute number of migrant women in the world increased from 35 to 57 million, i.e. by almost 63%, this increase acceding that of men by 8% (Zlotnik 1998). The ratio of women in the total estimated migrant stock in the mid 1990s was 48% (United Nations Organization 1995) and in 2005 it augmented by almost 3% as compared to 1960. Currently, migrant females amount 3% of the world population (Jolly and Reeves 2005). They are gaining agency in the process of international mobility and no longer represent only passive followers of their husbands or fathers. They increasingly act as autonomous subjects in mobile labour force and as “independent actors in migration” (Oishi 2002, 1). This transformation of women’s roles in the global ‘migratory industry’ (Castles and Miller 2003) is perceived as a female underside of globalisation (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002) or female shadow of globalization (Ally 2005).

Yet in the 1980s, migration scholars identified four principal categories of migrant women, distinguished by their marital status and their reasons for

migrating (Thadani and Todaro 1984): 1) married women migrating in search of employment; 2) unmarried women migrating in search of employment; 3) unmarried women migrating for marriage reasons; and 4) married women engaged in associational migration with no thought of employment. However, with growing educational attainments, women have better educational and employment possibilities and are increasingly migrating as international students and employees (United Nations Organization 2006).

In what concerns CEE women, there is a general belief that the upsurge of their economic mobility started after the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the ensuing destruction of the socialist camp. However, as shown by Phizacklea (1983), their numbers in labour flows to Western Europe started rapidly expanding yet since the 1960s, having constituted by the early 1980s over a quarter of the labour force and over 40% of the total of migrants. Currently, women predominate among migrants working in the EU having reached in 2003 around 54% of the total immigrant stock and 4% of the total EU population (European Parliament 2006). For example, in 2004 in Germany alone there were 10 Polish women immigrants for every 10 Polish men. The ratio was the same for Slovaks, 13 to 10 for Romanians, 18 to 10 for Czechs and 23 to 10 for Estonians and Latvians (Morokvasic 2008). It is noted, however, that after the EU Eastern enlargement in 2004, a new gendered tendency has been observed on the EU labour market. Immigrant women from third countries (Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova) are being increasingly replaced with women from poorer EU member states, such as Romania and Lithuania, who as EU citizens are outside the scope of the relevant legislation and, consequently, in a much more adverse position than third country migrants (KISA 2007).

In Ukraine, the share of females in migration flows is tangible and over recent years it has augmented. According to GFK Ukraine (2008), the increase of independent female migration comes from the early 2000s in response to the emerging demand for cheap female labour to work in care economy of global north. The data of the Parliamentary hearings on issues of equal opportunities in Ukraine stipulate that out of around 7 million of the total stock of Ukrainians working abroad, women make 5 million (Parlamentski Sluhannya 2006). However, expert evaluations of women's share in the overall Ukrainian migration flows are more modest: from 35.4 % to 50.5% (Markov 2009). In West-border regions, migration flows are more prominent. Thus in Transcarpathian oblast 41.9% of the population are involved in labour migration, 56.1% of whom are males and 43.9% are females (Kychak 2011). In the Ternopil region 17.6% of the economically active population have experience of making earnings abroad, of whom females constitute 51.4% and even 62.5% in the county capital Ternopil (Shushpanov 2009). Meanwhile, statistics evidence that the female profile of labour migration to some EU countries, especially to the Mediterranean, is rather pronounced. In Spain, for example, women currently make up to 65% of the Ukrainian labour

migrants, in Greece – 75.5%, in Italy their share reaches as much as 90.2%. At the same time, migration to some other countries is predominantly male: in 2001, 80.6% of Ukrainian migrant workers in Poland were men, in Portugal – 68%, in Russia – 60.4%, in Germany – 60.9%.

Yet, migration flows in Ukraine are marked by high gender dynamics and are sensitive to the changes in the economic situation. Thus, two research projects on Ukrainian transnational households, carried out respectively in 1994 (Pyrozkhov et al. 1997) and 2002 (Susak 2003) showcased that the total of migrant men increased throughout this period from 54% to 66%. Meanwhile, recently the feminisation of migration flows was observed, particularly for the accounts of increased migration of women to domestic and care services to EU countries and Russia. Most of them originate from rural regions of Western Ukraine, but other regions of Ukraine are affected by this process, too. Statistically, in 2001, women constituted 35.4% of the total migrant stock. This gender gap was confirmed in 2001 by the Regional Employment Centre in Ternopil oblast (TRSA 2002). By 2004, the stock of male migrants increased, but insufficiently – only by 4.8%, whereas the number of female migrants raised up by 47.5%. In rural areas, the total of female migrants reached 52.1%, while the total of male migrants dwindled to 47.9%. The feminisation of migration over these years was accompanied by the acceleration of labour force outflow to Russia: from 39.6% in 2001 to 50% in 2009 (UNIFEM 2009) and to Poland: from 19.4% in 2001 to 66% in 2009.

However, the lack of reliable sources of information on migration flows in Ukraine, the absence of gender-sensitive state statistic accounts and the gender-blind nature of available data make it difficult to get a clear insight into gender specificities of current migratory trends in the country, and to outline in terms of gender a comprehensive picture of migration flood (Engbersen et al. 2010) stemming from post-Soviet transition. For instance, the statistical account of the then State Committee of Ukraine on Nationalities and Religion for 2009 confirmed that starting from 2003–2005 the share of women in migration flows increased (SCUNR 2010). However, no data of these changes were specified. Additionally, the liquid character of migratory flows in Ukraine, as in CEE overall (Engbersen et al. 2002) further complicates the matter.

Methodology of the study

The current paper is grounded on the data of a multi-sited field research carried out in urban areas highly affected by labour migration: Ternopil oblast² and the city of Lviv (West-border region), Kherson oblast and Kirovograd (South of Ukraine) and the capital city Kyiv. The former region (west oblasts) is marked by the highest rate

2 In Ukraine, “oblast” is an administrative-territorial unit equivalent to “county”.

of out-migration flows, which are structured to a large extent along gender lines given that females amount around 70% of the migrant stock (Zimmer 2007).

The field research stemmed from a mixed-methodology approach, covering non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with returnee migrants and members of their families. The group of responders covered 27 females of various age groups. The field-work was supplemented by the desk-work, involving analysis of secondary sources on the subject-matter of the study. Interviews were grounded on a semi-structured questionnaire with open-ended questions, aimed to cover different stages of the migration cycle and to reflect on gendered experiences of migrants and their family members left behind. The interviewing process started with existing contacts with migrants and their families and in many cases followed by a snowball sampling method whereby new respondents were contacted through preceding respondents. However, occasional meetings in various social contexts with migrants or members of their social networks were also welcome, for instance in embassy lines, on board of a plane, at the airports lounges or in the airport shuttle buses during the author's international travels. Interviews were made under the condition that the real identities of the responders would not be disclosed in order to maintain their privacy. For that matter, the names of the responders in the text of interviews were changed.

Non-participant observation covered informal networking with members of various social groups directly or indirectly related to migrants' social networks: representatives of the Services in the affairs of family and minors at municipal administration; administration at schools enrolling migrants' children; businessmen, owners of local retail networks and other members of local communities with high share of transnational families.

Discussion of fieldwork findings

Like mother, like daughter. Formation of migrant dynasties in transnational families

Interviews showed that, very often, transnational families have a few members working abroad. In some instances, migration involves not only members of immediate families, but even several generations in the extended family. This confirms an earlier argument, that migration in Ukraine has a tendency to become hereditary (Tolstokorova 2010a), thus following the beaten track of countries with a longer migration history. For example, Dominican migration, beginning as early as the 1970s and 1980s, showcases a new generation of migrants, raised by their grandparents, who now repeat the pattern of entrusting their own offspring

to the next generation of grandparents (Mummert 2005). The experience of such a hereditary pattern of migration is present in the post-Soviet area, as evidenced by migratory flows of a few generations of Moldovan women, mainly linguistically Turkish women of Ghaghaus origin, to domestic work in Turkey. As noted by Turkish interviewers, their female responders intimated that they were commuting to Turkey to earn money necessary to raise their children, and now it is the turn of their daughters to engage in this work to raise their own children (Toksöz and Ulutaş 2012).

The migration chains of this sort are becoming traditional in families of West-border oblasts of Ukraine, highly affected by economic mobility and increasingly feminised (Zimmer 2007). Migratory experience, survival skills, strategies of integration into the foreign milieu and the wisdom of maintaining connected relationship and 'virtual intimacies' (Wilding 2006) at distance – all this family legacy is being passed on from generation to generation, thus forming migratory dynasties, wherefore migration acquires the character of a quasi-profession with its own unwritten rules, norms, traditions and social networks.

Thus, in some families of our interviewees, migration followed a snow-balling pattern, when one family member who had left abroad, helped other relatives to settle in the country of work, and this one in turn, encouraged and helped others kin to leave for earnings abroad. This was the situation in Nina's family, who is a mother of two adult married children working in Italy. First, it was her daughter-in-law who left abroad 12 years before followed by husband, Nina's son, and then her daughter together with her husband joined them 8 years hitherto. Throughout these years, Nina took care of two grand-children who stayed with her. Now that her grand-daughter is going to graduate from school, she also looks forward to leaving abroad, seeing no opportunities for herself at home. However, she has no intention to join her parents, but wants to start her own family with her boyfriend and have a separate household. This pattern of migration, when family members leave Ukraine, one after another, and stay in the country of work with no real perspectives to return back home, may entail gradual relocation of the whole family into a recipient country. In such instances, it is very likely that the members of this family may turn into 'immigrants forever' (Oliveira 2000).

Another migration pattern, a kind of 'migratory estafette' was observed when one family member temporarily left abroad for earnings, but then came back home, and the mission of leaving for earnings aboard was delegated to another family member, usually from a younger generation. This was the case in Marta's family, who went to work abroad yet in the 1990s, when the economic turmoil of transition left all adult members of her family jobless and, therefore, without the most basic means of survival. Marta left for Italy, because she had an uncle working there, who helped her settle in the country. She worked there for several years and provided for eight family members left behind in Ukraine.

Having reached the retirement age, she returned to Ukraine, and the role of the migrant bread-winner in the family was succeeded by her daughter, who, in her turn, went to work in Italy as a domestic. At the time of the interview, she still worked in Italy helping to support not only her own children and her old-aged mother left behind in Ukraine, but the families of her two siblings, too. This estafette or relay race pattern of family migration signifies that the subject of economic mobility in this case is not so much an individual family member, but a family as an integral unit. If for individual family members labour mobility might have a temporary character, for the family as a whole it involves continuity and successivity, involving multiple actors from a few generations and of varying of kinship ties.

Much pain, few gain: women as remittance managers

Among the group of interviewees who were left behind in Ukraine by their migrant family members, all women assumed the responsibilities of either remittance senders or receivers and managers in their families. Only one of them, Olena, an adult unmarried daughter of migrant parents, mentioned that when she yet studied at school, it was her father who received money transfers from her mother working aboard, but it was her and her brother who made decisions regarding the expenditures. After Olena had graduated, henceforward remittances were sent to her, and she managed them on a par with her brother, until he also left for earnings abroad. At the same time, despite their position as remittance receivers and financial managers in the household, most of the women did not see themselves as having a power position in the family and did not benefit of their decision-making role. When asked if the role of remittance managers made an impact on their power status in the family, only one woman confirmed its positive effect:

“Of course it matters! Yes, certainly. I do have more power. No doubt. Because I have the power to control the child’s expenditures. I have more power in the family, because it is me who decides how to spend this money” (Ganna, retired, works part-time, mother to a divorced migrant son).

Others were at pains conceptualising the meaning of power in the family relationship. One responder perceived the question in the sense that while remittances might provide more power to control the lives of her grandchildren, it might also lead to emotional distancing from her dependants, which she did not associate with financial rewards of her position of a remittance receiver and manager:

“No, my kids are good. Very good...They help me a lot. Now that the girl is getting older, she helps me whenever I ask her about it. Yes, they are very good. So, I don’t think our relations depend on money” (Marta, retired, works part-time, mother to a widowed migrant daughter).

One responder was deeply puzzled by the question:

“Oh, such a question! You see, I had never thought of it before. Yet, now that you’ve asked me... I tried to give it a thought. And you see... I am not sure what to answer. Probably no... I don’t think...I don’t know... Although, probably yes. Well, probably just a little bit. But generally, I am not sure” (Olena, daughter of parents working in Italy and sister to a young man working in USA).

All the senior women left behind assumed the functions of child-minders to migrants’ dependants. They unanimously admitted that, although remittances allowed them to tangibly improve the financial security of their household, still, their incomes were hardly sufficient to maintain a decent level of live in their families. Even though nearly all of them pulled remittances (sometimes received from more than one relative) with retirement allowances and earnings from part-time jobs, and despite migrant parents took the responsibility for more costly expenditures for children, like clothes, footwear and other expensive commodities, women assessed their financial situation no more than satisfactory. Therefore, the results of interviews showed that the empowering effect of remittances on women left-behind is rather limited, both in terms of their financial advancement and in terms of their family status promotion.

Paradoxes of migrant women’s gender equality remittances. Cakes and ales for Ukrainian males?

The interviews confirmed earlier findings (Tolstokorova 2009; 2010b; 2011), that the empowering effect of migration on women, allegedly enabling them “to move away from situations where they lived under traditional, patriarchal authority to situations where they are empowered to exercise greater authority over their own lives” (United Nations Organisation 2006, III), is but relative. The paradox is that although remittances enable migrant women to acquire more financial freedom and self-reliance, they entail neither more fiscal democracy, nor more gender democracy in transnational families. The work aboard only increases the double burden of ‘motherhood from afar’ (Sánchez-Carretero 2005) but does not necessarily entail more financial independence insofar as by assuming the roles of breadwinners, women become more bound by financial obligations to their children and their minders, while their husbands use the managerial financial roles of their wives as an opportunity to decrease or even escape their own contribution into family budget. Not infrequently, they quit working and live on remittances sent by their wives. As one of our responders noted:

“Here, in small towns in the South of Ukraine, around 40% of men live on remittances of their migrant wives and take care of the household. In the West of Ukraine their share is even higher, probably over 50% and since my sister lives in Moldova and I know that there such men make no less than 70% of the total male population” (Varvara, retired, a mother of a man working in Russia).

Furthermore, in some cases, women may even be trapped into specific forms of financial dependency on their ex-husbands, who try to manipulate their ex-spouses. This was illustrated in a story told by Vera, a retired woman and a mother of two men working in Russia, told a story of her neighbour, a former woman-engineer, who left for earnings to Spain to work in olives harvesting.

“You know, our Ukrainian women are in high demand everywhere, not only because they are beautiful, but primarily because they are good housewives and responsible mothers. Even when she (a Ukrainian woman) lives in the most inappropriate conditions, she will always make this place a ‘true home.’ It will always be clean, cosy and there will be cucumbers and tomatoes in the kitchen yard and flowers all around. That is the case with Maya. She is a real beauty and a perfect home-maker. This is why very soon after she had found her job in Spain and started settling herself in a new place, her employer “put an eye on her” (liked her) and invited her to take care of his own house. She agreed, and very soon they started living together as husband and wife. But the problem was that she was officially married in Ukraine. So, to be able to marry this Spanish guy she had to divorce from her husband, this poor unemployed drunkard, to whom she sent all her money while working in Spain. Yet, when she asked him about a divorce, he told: ‘It makes no sense for me to divorce. If I agree, I’ll forfeit your money transfers. How will I survive after that? If you want a divorce, buy me a flat, a car and give me \$N thousand in cash.’ She had no choice and agreed to his conditions. In addition, her adult son, who was also unemployed and lived on her remittances, showed his discontent of his parents’ separation and she had to buy a flat and a car to him too to please him” (Vera, retired, a mother of two adult sons working in Russia).

Furthermore, as was learned through the participant observation in West-border oblasts of Ukraine, the town courts there receive plethora of applications from migrant women who want to withdraw their ex-husbands’ paternal rights in view of men’s alcoholism or other kinds of anti-social behaviour. Although these quasi-fathers fail to perform their parental duties, they still enjoy their paternal authority, which they often use to blackmail their ex-wives. For example, they refuse to give mothers permission to take their children abroad with them even for summer holidays, leave alone for a longer period of time. These men often demand to be paid penalties by their ex-wives for signing the consent for abandonment of paternal care to their own children. The rationality behind these collisions is not the emotional attachment of fathers to their children, who they do not want to forfeit for free, but a mercantile desire of men to obtain dividends for a ‘favour’ of abandoning the rights to their own offsprings.

A similar instance of such an attitude of men to their offsprings was showcased in January, 2011, in the program “A Private Matter” on the Ukrainian TV channel “1+1.” It related a story of a boy, whose parents worked abroad – the mother in

Italy, and the father in Germany – while he stayed with his grandparents in Ukraine. When the mother decided to take him to live with her in Italy, the father, who neither provided any financial support to the boy, nor paid alimonies to his mother, required from his ex-wife to pay him €10,000 for his consent to abandon his paternal rights (and duties) for the boy. The woman failed to collect that much money and could not pay it, for which she was cruelly beaten by her ex-husband. Meanwhile, the boy stayed without any financial support either from the state or from his parents.

Therefore, apart from an earlier noted tendency to reinforcement of the roles of fathers and their increasing responsibility for family and children incited by transnationalism in Ukrainian migrant families (Tolstokorova 2012), which is in compliance with the global trend of responsible parenthood, a reverse tendency is emerging, not observed under state socialism: the consumerist attitude of fathers to children and their mothers. This evinces not only the changing role of masculinity in Ukraine, but the transformation of the institution of fatherhood, the polarisation of its values and the vagueness of ethical boundaries.

These tendencies not only testify the gender transformation of role models in migrants' families, but also evince the mercantilisation of interpersonal ties in transnational kinship relationships. Therefore, financial independence and 'gender equality remittances' (Tolstokorova 2010a), as a gendered variety of 'social remittances' (Levitt 1998) and a kind of 'transfer of norms' (Lodigiani and Salomone 2012) of egalitarian mentality, which women adopt due to the exposure to more gender equitable cultures of Western democracies, do not obligatory entail empowerment, but may even have a reverse effect on them, leading to more dependency on family and ex-husbands. This conclusion confirms the observation that while in some ways women's wage-earning and remitting may afford them a certain sense of empowerment, the new forms of dependency arise due to transnationalism, which constrain the choices available to female migrants and lead to their disempowerment (Petrozziello 2011). Hence, *gender saldo* of migration for women might often be negative, and their *gender dividends* of investments into transnationalism might be nil, while their husbands left behind at home may receive good 'gender gains' (Bastia and Busse 2011) without any investments into family well-being.

Meanwhile, same as migrant women, the Ukrainian men working abroad may convey their own *gender equality remittances* which they acquire by adopting more egalitarian behavioural patterns observed in the countries of work, such as doing more of women's traditional work, including childcare, developing more equitable attitudes to their wives and women in the family. Thus, when asked by an interviewer about his first impressions in Italy, our male informant replied:

"I see that the attitude to women here is different than in Ukraine. So I learn to respect my wife" (Roman, a small bakery owner in Italy).

This implies that migration incites a gradual *modernisation of masculinity* in migrants' families, and provides grounds to hope that, in the long-run, it may entail more gender democracy in transnational couples and, eventually, it will lead to progressive changes in the gender culture in Ukraine overall, not only for women, but for both sexes.

Out of sight, out of mind. Declining kinship ties

Our interviews showed that in many cases economic mobility entails transformation of post-migration family structure. Nearly all the informants noted that far too often it leads to marriage dissolution:

“You see, I toiled abroad for around ten years. Now I am financially well-off and have everything I need. So, it seems to be just the best time to start living happily and enjoy life. Yet, the question is which way and who with? My health was badly undermined while I worked abroad. My husband has got another woman and I decided to apply for a divorce. My sons are now grown up and live their own lives in other cities. This is why I ask myself: now, in the end of the road, were the sacrifices I made for my family worthwhile?” (Margarita, a returnee migrant, worked as a care-giver in Russia, Greece, Cyprus and Israel).

The possibility of family separation is higher when husband and wife live separately. Yet, if the couple moves to work abroad together, there is a possibility to preserve marriage:

Responder: “When my daughter-in law was leaving abroad I told her: Galya, I am ready to take care of your kids, but only on the condition that you go abroad together with my son [Galya’s husband]. Because you see, if she goes there alone, the family is sure to be ruined. If the couple is separated – the family is sure to collapse. It is 100% sure.”

Interviewer: “Are there many families like that?”

Responder: “Oh, yes, many! Very many! Actually, all of them! As soon as the husband and wife are separated, there is no family any more. And children do not have the family any more either” (Nina, retired, works part-time, a mother of two adult married children working in Italy).

In what concerns the effect of parents' absence on children left behind at home, women-carers noted that kinship ties between generations in the family gradually declined. Thus, for some time after their parents' departure, children were often very frustrated and missed them dearly, but after a while they adjusted themselves to this situation and started getting used to other people, most often to their carers who became their “other-mothers” (Schmalzbauer 2004):

“After my daughter had left to work aboard, her son actually moved to us. He studied at the 8th grade at school at that time and, in effect, he lived with us. He was coming back from school to our place, and not to his own home. He got used

to us. After a time, he even stopped missing his Mom very much” (Marta, retired, works part-time, mother to a widowed migrant daughter).

In some instances, children developed emotional connections with other important people from their surrounding:

“My girl [grand-daughter] was in the second grade when her parents left for earnings abroad. After they had left I saw her weeping now and again. I asked her why she was weeping, but she would not respond. Yet, I understood that it was because she was missing her Mom. Yet, it was so when she was yet a little girl. Now she does not seem to miss her Mom any more. She has got this boy-friend of hers, and she’s got used to him” (Nina, retired, works part-time, a mother of two adult married children working in Italy).

Other women-carers left behind noted that migrants’ children became gradually alienated from their parents and eventually perceived them as strangers, as was the case with Ganna’s grand-daughter. Her son, the girl’s father, currently works in the construction industry in Portugal, whereto he moved from the Czech Republic. While he worked there, his wife worked in Italy as a domestic, and Ganna took care of their daughter. Being separated, the couple failed to preserve marriage, and soon the woman divorced her husband and remarried. At first, she regularly sent remittances to Ganna to support her daughter, but after the baby was born in the new family, money transfers stopped arriving. Over the first time after her parents had left, the girl lacked them both dearly, but after a while she started forgetting them and eventually forfeited emotional connections with them and did not need them any more:

“At first she badly wanted to have her Mom and Dad to be around with her, but after some time, I saw that she did not need them that much anymore. When my son came home for a visit, he was an alien for her. She felt ill at ease with him and did not know what to say or what to do in his presence” (Ganna, retired, works part-time, mother to a divorced migrant son).

At the same time, the relationships between minors and their carers do not always develop smoothly, even when the latter treat the former as their own children and there are close emotional ties between them. Thus, as was commented by one of our informants, children often revolt against their minders if the latter refuse to spend remittances for the purchase of items children want to have. The common argumentation by children is that, although remittances are sent by parents to their guardians, they intended for them to be used for the sake of children, and, for that matter, children have the right to decide how to spend them. Such collisions sometimes become a matter of court trials between children and their carers or guardians. One of such cases was showcased in 2007 on the TV Channel “1+1.” This confirms the earlier findings (Tolstokorova 2009) evidencing that the financial benefits of migration are overridden by the erosion and decline of kinship ties between members of transnational families. Migrants’

children develop a materialistic mentality and start to perceive their parents and carers as sources of financial, but not emotional rewards. In other words, family values are gradually being taken over by consumerist attitudes, hardly contributing to family integrity.

Furthermore, informal conversations with owners of local retail networks revealed numerous instances of juvenile delinquency among children of transnationals. This was confirmed by the statistics of the Ministry of Interior, evidencing that one out of ten under-aged criminals in Ukraine comes from a transnational family (ProUA News 2010). These teenagers, being quite well-off financially, often commit petty larceny just for fun, for example, in supermarkets, from vending machines, at retailers, etc. In pedagogical terms, this may be interpreted as children's attempts to attract the attention they lack due to absence of parents, and attempts to express their discontent of the family situation wherein they were induced by adults. Additionally, it testifies that the family members left behind at home to take care of migrants' children, fail to cope properly with their child-rearing obligations. In turn, this signifies that family ties between members of transnational families are being formalised and kinship closeness withers.

It is noteworthy that migration also incited some 'pleasant' surprises in the relationships between children and their migrant parents. This happened with a daughter of an interviewee, Julya, ex-wife of a migrant man working in Italy. The couple separated when the girl was yet a toddler. Her father has never visited her after the divorce, and the girl did not remember him at all. She knew him only through photographs. When the girl turned thirteen, the father emerged unexpectedly to offer her a modest financial support. By that time he had been working in Italy for two years, and was well off financially. He tried to reconnect with his daughter by giving her telephone calls from time to time, mainly for her birthdays. It is hard to say what the rationale was behind this upsurge of fatherly feelings, but probably the loneliness of a single man living in a foreign social environment and the improved financial possibilities due to earnings made abroad incited him to recall about his paternal duties. Anyway, it was due to labour migration, that the father reunited with his daughter and the girl received his attention which she needed a lot, but had been lacking for a long time.

Conclusions

It is generally recognised that the situation of women under state socialism, despite the non-democratic setting, was in a certain way even better than in many other parts of the world, because females had some advantages in social welfare, public access to health-care services, basic education and paid employment (Saurer et al. 2006). This was evidenced by a UNICEF report (UNICEF 1999) which showed that,

according to the human development index (HDI), women in Central and Eastern Europe under the Communist rule even had certain advantages in terms of gender equality promotion and health-care provision to mothers and children, as compared to other parts of the world with the respective level of development. A comparative analysis of UNDP reporting over the first years of transition showcased that until 1995 HDI in the region was even lower as compared to the gender-development index (GDI) (Bretherton 1999), exposing a pattern of gender democracy similar to socially equitable Nordic welfare states (Fábián 2006). Meanwhile, the subsequent period of transition to liberal market economy had adverse implications for the situation of post-Soviet women as long as it entailed feminisation of poverty, increase of violence and trafficking in women, drop-out of female representation in the labour force and in decision-making, and decline of the social security system (Marsh 1996; Fultz et al. 2003; UNIFEM 2006; Tolstokorova 2007). Among the key social factors, which made a dramatic impact on the situation of women and family, was the accelerated economic mobility of Ukrainian population, accompanied by increasing feminisation of labour force fluxes.

As evidenced by the empirical results of this study, labour mobility has a large-scale effect on Ukrainian women and family. My earlier papers (Tolstokorova 2008, 2009) showcased that it affects principle family functions, consumption patterns and economic well-being, encourages transformation of gender role models and gives rise to such a new phenomenon in inter-familial relationship as transnational parenthood (Tolstokorova 2010a). Increasing out-migration of women and fragmentation of transnational family style has adverse implications for care-provision in the family, fostering social orphanhood and juvenile delinquency among children and social desadaptation among husbands left behind.

The results of the field work for the current paper showed that labour migration in Ukraine has a tendency to transform from a short-term individual project into a 'hereditary' family business, and to become a quasi-profession leading to the development of transnational families into migratory dynasties, shaped by estafette and snow-balling migration patterns. Among the favorable effects of labour migration is a possibility for women to enhance their decision-making positions in the family and advance their family status, promote their fiscal inclusion and financial independence. However, the paradox of women's economic empowerment due to transnationalism is that despite women work hard for remittances, remittances do not necessarily work for women. Hence, the gender saldo of labour migration for women is often negative, while gender dividends from investments into transnationalism are but ephemeral. At the same time, their husbands left behind at home often obtain tangible 'gender gains' from their wives' earning abroad without any contribution to the family budget.

However, not less importantly, labour mobility has an adverse effect on mentality and family values of transnationals, promoting mercantilisation and

consumerisation of interpersonal relationships, decline of kinship ties and contributing to lessening of family integrity overall. Therefore, although labour migration may entail gender equality remittances and financial empowerment for Ukrainian women from transnational families, having an effect of ‘social therapy from the darkness of poverty,’ the field research for this paper confirmed the earlier theoretical assumption that for Ukrainian transnational families, labour migration has rather an effect of social surgery in the sense that it most often leads to familial disconnection, alienation and, eventually, to dissolution due to the socio-economic context into which the transnational families are induced against their will.

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Social Mobility of Graduate Men and Women. Women's Advantages in Higher Education and Disadvantages on the Labour Market

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Abstract. In this paper, firstly the social background of boys and girls attending higher education is compared and, secondly, their later status after graduation is examined. Regarding boys' school mobility, it has been revealed, in line with our previous regional results, that the school mobility of boys is lower, and only the ones with better social background (parents with better qualifications) enter higher education. However, boys' more favourable background cannot be observed in majors with male majority. Our explanation is that boys are generally in minority in higher education, as there is a self-selection of boys. Due to this fact, they are in minority, and they are more selected concerning social background, as well (their background is better, so their social [school] mobility is smaller). Our further result is that there is a status inconsistency between girls' education and labour market position. According to our data, women's more favourable position in education can be observed in several aspects, but they are still in a disadvantaged position on the labour market. Women tend to be in a less favourable situation after graduation than men, and, in addition to wage disadvantages, horizontal and vertical segregation by gender was also detected on the labour market, which are partly at the bottom of wage disadvantages. Thus women seem to benefit less from the investment into higher education than men.

Keywords: higher education, gender differences, social mobility, quantitative research

Introduction

Two issues are dealt with in this paper: the social (school) mobility of boys and girls in higher education, i.e. the comparison of the social background of higher education students, on the one hand, and the later status of graduate men and

women according to gender, on the other. Our previous results from the Partium region¹ show that boys are in minority in higher education, and their school mobility is smaller; only the ones with better social and cultural background get into higher education. However, according to several research results, boys' later labour market position is more favourable than that of girls. As a matter of fact, boys will acquire a more favourable social mobility due to their advantageous labour market position, since the social background of girls and boys is similar in general (but not in higher education). In our previous research, this phenomenon was not investigated due to the lack of data related to the status gained later, and another limitation of our previous research was that we only had data from the Partium region, and not from the whole territory of Hungary.

In our paper, exploratory studies will be carried out on the basis of the two databases of the Graduate Career Follow-Up System.² The research was carried out at national level (Hungary), and we have data on graduate men's and women's status gained later, as well. We did not generally come up with preliminary hypotheses. But based on the comparison of the social background by gender, the large item number of the sample made it possible to check whether the self-selection of boys (entering higher education with better social background) also happens in 'masculine' majors, where boys are in majority, or only in the majors where girls are in majority. We can also examine the reason for lower monthly net income of graduate women. In our linear regression model – based on the literature – we included several independent variables in four steps. We have attempted to check whether the boys' better social background and the horizontal and vertical segregation by gender in the labour market are at the bottom of wage disadvantages of graduate women, or after controlling these effects there still is an unexplained part of women's wage disadvantage.

Status inconsistency between women's position in education and labour market

Women's advantage in education can be found in several dimensions. On the one hand, they are in majority in secondary schools and in higher education, both in developed countries and in Hungary. Even at high prestige university faculties, such as medical, law and economics faculties, girls tend to be in majority (Székelyi, Csepe, Örkény and Szabados 1998; Bae, Choy, Geddes, Sable and Snyder 2000;

1 Partium is a historically cross-border region of Hungary, Romania and Ukraine. In present-day Hungarian usage, *Partium* only refers to the Romanian part of the historical region, but we have defined it differently, by concerning the historical usage of the *Partium* term.

2 Educatio Társadalmi Szolgáltató Nonprofit Kft. TÁMOP 4.1.3. project of high priority called: The systemic development of higher education services: Graduate Investigation 2010, Students' Motivation Research 2009.

Róbert 2000; Freeman 2004; Buchmann, DiPrete and McDaniel 2008; Fényes 2010). On the other hand, based on the data from the Partium region, it was shown that girls' school mobility was higher than that of boys who get into higher education only if their social background is more favourable (Fényes 2010). This tendency seems to be confirmed by American results, as well (Buchmann and DiPrete 2006). It is also worth mentioning that the acquired cultural capital of girls in secondary schools and higher education is bigger, they read more, their cultural consumption is larger (theatre, museum, cinema and concert attendance), which may also contribute to their future social mobility (DiMaggio 1982; DiMaggio and Mohr 1985; Fényes 2010). Moreover, girls are in the lead in several patterns of informal learning (Fényes 2010), and their secondary school efficiency is better (better school achievement, more language exam certificates, larger participation in inter-school competitions, more challenging plans for further study). Even in higher education, girls' outdo boys in some aspects, such as language exam certificates and plans for further study after graduation (Fényes 2010).

Despite their high rate in education, girls are still in a disadvantaged position on the labour market. Status inconsistency can be observed between women's qualification and their labour market position (Ferge 1976). Women's high level of qualification can be seen as a waste resource, which does not yield sufficient value in proportion, or fulfils its productive function only through transmissions, which is in a way both a personal and social waste of resources. Both in entering the labour market, and within the mobility on the labour market, women seem to be in a disadvantaged situation, and this fact may trigger conflicts not only for the individual but also for society as a whole by not making use of resources at disposal (Koncz 1994b).

In connection with status inconsistency, two questions arise: 1) Why are women in a disadvantaged position on the labour market, and 2) why are women in majority in higher education if the rate of return for them is actually lower?

Reasons for women's disadvantaged position on the labour market

In theory, women's employment opportunities should be increasing on the labour market due to their better qualifications, but in real life it does not seem to be happening. What actually is at the bottom of the problem, is that qualification is only one of the determinants of the favourable labour market position.

Horizontal and vertical segregation by gender on the labour market are partly responsible for women's less favourable labour market position. Jobs by horizontal segregation are more and more 'feminised' and 'masculinised,' and, according to vertical segregation, women tend to be employed in managerial positions in a smaller number. These seem to be relevant, because these facts do play a part in the fact that women are employed in underpaid jobs, and the prestige of their profession and their salaries are low.

Regarding the demand of the labour market, according to the classical feminist approach, one of the reasons for women's lower salary is the diverse evaluation of 'feminine' and 'masculine' jobs, which is as a matter of fact disadvantageous for women, not to mention the way household jobs are estimated in general. Masculine jobs are held in high esteem by the market. The prestige and esteem of jobs held by women have been decreasing due to the massive influx of women, and the reverse has also been taking place, women are taking up lower paid jobs to a large extent (Ferge 1976; Koncz 1994a). Besides, according to the hierarchy theory, the emergence of feminine and masculine jobs is socially determined and not given by nature, and it is actually not the content but the status of the job that is determining whether a job is done by men or women (Belinszky 1997).

The other reason for lower wages is that the rate of women in management positions is lower. This is the phenomenon of vertical segregation. Its reasons can be ascribed to the intrinsic personality characteristics of women, organisational causes, and combined causes both in the individual and the organisation (for details, see Nagy, B. 1997, 1999, 2001).

Another explanation for the lower wages earned by women is that women own less human capital. What the human capital theory (see Schulz 1998) implies is that women tend to invest less into qualifications that could be useful on the labour market (e.g. they participate in job trainings in a lower rate than males), since they are much more engaged in household and family matters than men. Besides, lower wages can also be due to the fact that housewives, even with high qualifications, are not making use of their human capital. Their human capital has been decreasing during the time spent at home as housewives, thus its labour market value has also reduced. However, it can be detected that only fifty percent of the wage differences between the two sexes is due to the difference in human capital (Belinszky 1997, Nagy, B. 2011).

Women's adverse labour market position can also be attributed to the fact that employers prefer men with a steady presence on the job, and, according to gender stereotypes, they think that women are less committed to their jobs due to their family engagements. This can be described as one of the cases of gender discrimination at the workplace (Nagy, B. 2001). Employers are frequently on the opinion that "women from the outset plan to spend less time in employment thus their labour market aspirations are less serious" (Nagy, B. 2001, 36). Thus they are less frequently employed and their wage rise seems to be rather slow during their career. Their double load makes employers think that women can not become a reliable workforce and therefore they are not employed in certain jobs. Particularly, private businesses take up women to a lesser degree, as making profit is the primary concern in the selection of labour force. Thus, in the civil servant sector with lower wages feminisation is taking place (Koncz 1994b).

The reasons of female majority in higher education

The second issue related to status inconsistency concerns the reasons of female majority in higher education. The question is why women are in majority in higher education when their labour market return is much less, and what the reason for boys' self-selection is.

One of the possible reasons for female majority in higher education is that many of the boys do not even reach the tertiary level of education. As the self-selection of boys is taking place, they pursue their studies in other types of secondary education wherefrom there is no straight road to higher education (for example vocational schools). Self-selection is affected by the gender of students, namely whether they have applied to grammar school or higher education at all (Nagy, P. T. 2004). In higher education, the self-selection of boys can be observed, thus they are in minority in the training, and their social background seems to be better. Boys with disadvantageous social background can be found in vocational schools (Fényes 2010).

Another explanation for female majority in higher education can be that girls much more identify themselves with 'credentialism' (using the term introduced by Miller and Roby 1974). They believe that having a degree (a document) will be more conducive to their success on the labour market compared to boys who are rather 'status-seekers' (based on evolutionary theory, there are sex differences in the strength of the status striving motive; see Buss 2008). Presumably, by identifying with the traditional breadwinner role, boys are much more ambitious to earn money as soon as possible, and this is why they do not enter higher education.

Further explanation for the female majority in higher education can be that the relative return of education for girls has increased as the wage disadvantage, discrimination, horizontal and vertical segregation by gender have been decreasing on the labour market. Nevertheless, boys still seem to be in an overall advantage (DiPrete and Buchmann 2006). According to another economic explanation, the female wage advantage of higher education is bigger compared to secondary education, especially amongst young women. Boys can have decent job opportunities even with secondary qualifications (Bae et al. 2000; Jacob 2002).

The female majority in higher education can also be attributed to the fact that girls' secondary school efficiency is better. As they are more efficient in secondary education, they are keen on studying, and learning in itself is important for them, thus presumably more of them plan to study at tertiary level. As it was shown by our previous research, female students in secondary schools gain better performance averages, obtain more language exam certificates, participate in greater numbers at student competitions, and they are more ambitious concerning further education plans than boys (Fényes 2009).

Michelson (1989) comes up with several explanations for the question why there are so many women in higher education when the financial return they receive is

considerably smaller. These are: 1) the female reference groups (the occupational structure segregated by gender, women career job opportunities are taken into consideration regarding the return of education); 2) unrealistic expectations (women tend to be more optimistic about the future and underestimate their labour market disadvantages, and they also expect their husband to contribute to household chores on an equal term); 3) availability of high status husbands³ (career motivations are secondary to good marriage and financial and social security) and 4) gender role socialisation (external approval seems to be more important for women, and the role of the 'good little girl' also contributes to their more efficient educational performance).

But we have to mention that girls' specific personality traits mentioned by Michelson and their better performance at secondary level could have been observed in the 1950s. So these facts do not really explain why the rate of women has increased considerably in higher education over the past decades. Taking everything into consideration, the question why there are more women in higher education when the financial (labour market) return they achieve is much smaller than that of men, is only partly answered. It is also a question why one's qualification does not really predict the presumable status. The lack of inequalities in education seems to obstruct reasoning (Jacobs 1996).

Previous results concerning boys' and girls' school mobility

At the time when the rate of girls was lower at the higher levels of education, their social (school) mobility was also lower than that of the boys. In Hungary, the social background has considerably affected the qualification of girls (H. Sas 1984) as it happened in other developed countries, as well (Alexander and Eckland 1974). Thus girls' social background was better in higher education than that of boys. But due to the influx of girls into grammar schools and tertiary education, girls with adverse social backgrounds entered higher education, moreover, it can be expected that recently their social background has been less favourable.⁴

Our earlier, 2003 and 2005 research results from the Partium region (Fényes and Pusztai 2006; Fényes 2010) reveal that among first year university and college students the boys' parents were more educated, their material background was better, the type of location was more favourable, thus boys' social (school)

3 In Hungary, regarding the current trends in the selection of partners, aspirations for homogeneity can be observed especially in qualification (Bukodi 2004).

4 The girls' higher school mobility nowadays is demonstrated by US data (see Buchmann and DiPrete 2006).

mobility was lower. In the fourth year students' database, the parents' education of both boys and girls was similar (perhaps due to the expansion of education or the drop-out of the students). The type of location of girls in the fourth year was similar to that of boys (perhaps the girls have moved), it was "only" the material background of the boys that was more favourable. In order to interpret this phenomenon, the rational decision making model was introduced for deciding on further education. Only boys with favourable background were supported by their families to pursue further studies, whereas girls with adverse material backgrounds still participated in higher education. Besides, it can also be supposed that boys and their parents with similar adverse material conditions rather decide on vocational schools after primary schools, due to their lower costs, in order to have jobs sooner.⁵

The further, 2008 and 2010 results also gained from the Partium region showed that boys' mobility in higher education was lower at that time, too. Whereas in Bachelor's training courses, boys' background was better in almost every indicator, such as parents' education, reading habits, the family's cultural assets, the objective and subjective material position of the family. In Master's degree courses, only the fathers' education, the subjective material position and the type of settlement of the residence place were more favourable. Thus girls attempted to enter Master's degree courses when their background was much better, partly due to their lack of confidence, whereas boys' background was rather similar at the two levels of training courses, and this is why the difference in social mobility by gender is smaller in Master's degree courses than in Bachelor's training, although girls' advantage can also be detected there, as well (Fényes 2012).

It should be noted that, according to Treiman's (1998) industrialisation hypothesis, in modern societies, it is through education that social origin has an effect on the status achieved, and the direct effect of social origin is smaller. His further hypothesis is that future status is strongly influenced by education, which implies that modern societies have become more and more meritocratic. However, in the case of boys, the relationship between qualification and future status is weaker. Presumably, lower male mobility is related only to school mobility, and might not be relevant to the actual social mobility. The novelty of this paper can be that the later labour market position of graduate boys and girls is also examined.

As opposed to Treiman, Boudon (1974) has pointed out that, whereas a tremendous expansion took place in education in developed countries in the 1960s and 1970s, and more and more people graduated from higher educational

5 Gender differences in social capital were also examined in a previous paper (Fényes and Pusztai 2006). Our results show that boys' social capital (weak and strong bonds) was smaller than that of the girls. Regarding useful connections, boys did not come with more than girls, in contrast with other elements of the social background.

institutions, it still can be observed that graduates were not necessarily able to find high prestige jobs. Inequalities have shifted a level above, and it is not in qualification but in the later labour market position where differences in social origin and gender can be detected.⁶

Databases and the variables examined

We used two databases of the Graduate Follow-up System in the analysis: the *Students' Motivation Research 2009* and the *Graduate Investigation 2010* databases. The students' motivation research covered regular full-time BA, BSc students and 'undivided' college and university students in 2009 (N =7,835). The research was carried out at national level (Hungary), covering every grade, in contrast with our previous regional studies. The sample was representative according to majors, grades and gender, and proportional quotas were created at various faculties. The number of students per faculty was 80–200. Based on selecting the faculty in the first place, the most popular 70 faculties were put into the sample, and only one dominant area of training per faculty was examined.

In the *Graduate Investigation 2010*, the 2010 position of university and college students, who graduated in 2007, was examined. The members of the samples were students from all higher educational institutions in Hungary in 2007, taking part in Bachelor's and other trainings, providing degrees at every faculty and in all forms of financing. Using simple random sampling, the item number of the sample was 4510. We selected only full-time students (N=2,793) in order to be able to make comparisons with the previous research and the 2009 study of students.⁷ The samples of graduate research covered students from ten areas of training including all the institutions of the training courses. The sub-samples of the institutions were not proportional, a larger number of students were interviewed in institutions with fewer numbers of students, but this was corrected by means of weighing later on in the database.

Regarding our research topic, it should be noted that the rate of women among full-time students was as much as 53% between 2005 and 2010 in Hungary, according to the OKM educational statistical data. Here, in the 2009 research, it is somewhat less (50.44%) than that and in the graduate research, the rate of

6 Blaskó (2008) pointed out that in Hungary the employment opportunities of career-starters are in relation with the social strata they come from even in case of identical qualifications. Social origin has a direct impact on later status, and these trends have not much changed after the change of the system in 1989.

7 The selection of full-time students was also more reasonable considering their later labour market position, because the labour market position of part-time students is different in many ways and to a large extent from regular students, and this fact could have made the interpretation of the data more complicated.

women was slightly higher (60.6%), so there might be some distortion in the samples. In our previous Partium research, the rate of women was also somewhat higher than it was shown by the national data at the time of the interviews.

The variables examined are: 1) gender; 2) training area; 3) social background (the education of fathers and mothers of the persons questioned at the age of fourteen; type of settlement of the residence place; and the average financial conditions of the family at the same time); 4) the data related to the 2010 status, such as the net monthly income, other net benefits per month, the net monthly income of the household, the average number of members of the household, the type of settlement of the present location, the section of the job and the type of the business of the present/last job, and, finally, the present assignment. In this research, social background was examined only by the above variables in contrast with our earlier regional investigations where considerably more variables had been available.

In our linear regression model, the dependent variable was the monthly net income of graduates. Among the independent variables, besides the gender of graduates (1=men, 0=women), mothers' and fathers' qualification variables were included, and both variables were dichotomised according to whether parents had gained a higher education degree (diploma) or not. Concerning the section of job, we differentiated between education, health and social provision (labelled by 1) and other fields (labelled by 0). Concerning the type of business, state, local self-government and non-profit companies were marked by 1, and other types were marked by 0. Concerning the position, we have differentiated between employees, entrepreneurs, self-employed workers (labelled by 1) and managers (labelled by 0).

Analyses and results

School mobility, the social background of boys and girls in higher education

As it can be seen in Table 1. and Table 2., the parents of students graduated in 2007 have more vocational and secondary vocational school qualifications and fewer university degrees than in the 2009 research. It is noteworthy that the social background of the generation some years younger seems to be more advantageous, and after the slow-down of the expansion in education, the signs of social closing down can be observed. Thus, in general, the social mobility of higher education students seems to be decreasing. In the databases, it can also be seen that fathers hold higher education degrees to a larger extent than mothers, thus the female advantage in tertiary education in the parents' generation cannot yet be detected.

Regarding gender differences, it can be seen that boys' fathers and mothers are more educated in both databases, thus the boys' background, just like in the earlier Partium-based research, seems to be more advantageous nationwide (in Hungary), as well.⁸

Overall, in line with the results obtained in the Partium region, and with the US data, boys' social background in connection with parents' qualification is more advantageous in both investigations, which implies that boys' social (school) mobility is lower, and they attempt to enter university level programmes if their socio-economic background is advantageous. A kind of self-selection can be observed among the boys, which is described in the theoretical part of this paper. Boys are in minority in higher education, and, regarding social background, their groups seem to be more selective.

Table 1. Mothers' qualification in the two databases by gender (percentages).

	Students' motivations research 2009		Graduate investigation 2010	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Primary school or less	2.95	3.63	4.48	5.31
Vocational school, school of professional training, technical school	9.53	9.81	14.55	15.16
Secondary vocational school, secondary technical school (GCSE)	20.50	22.56	23.33	27.79
Grammar school	19.04	20.22	18.48	21.77
College	27.26	26.12	25.07	19.47
University degree	17.45	15.48	11.71	8.08
University degree with scientific qualification	3.26	2.19	2.38	2.24
N	3,892	3,967	1,093	1,695

Above and in the following tables, for Chi-square and Anova tests, significance below 0.000 is marked by ***, between 0.001 and 0.01 by **, between 0.01 and 0.05 by *, and NS is non-significant relation. In the present case, Chi-square is significant at ** and *** level.

8 As for the 2007 graduates, comparative data were available on the material situation of the families at the age of fourteen of the interviewed person, but no significant difference by gender was found. Besides, in the 2009 study on students, data were also available on the type of the settlement of the permanent location of the family at the age of fourteen of the interviewed person, but no significant difference by gender was found.

Table 2. Fathers' qualification in the two databases by gender (percentages).

	Students' motivations research 2009		Graduate investigation 2010	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Primary school or less	2.20	3.19	2.66	2.67
Vocational school, school of professional training, technical school	17.79	19.74	23.51	28.45
Secondary vocational school, secondary technical school (GCSE)	24.71	26.23	28.83	29.76
Grammar school	10.12	11.37	10.01	9.78
College	18.07	15.95	16.25	15.17
University degree	22.34	19.71	15.15	11.08
University degree with scientific qualification	4.79	3.82	3.40	2.96
N	3,885	3,957	1,089	1,687

Chi-square is significant at level *** and *.

Social background at 'masculine' and 'feminine' majors

In this section, only the 2009 data were used, as the item number is larger, and this is why the students' social background can be more clearly examined by gender in the 'feminine' and 'masculine' training programmes, respectively. In order to separate the 'masculine' and 'feminine' training programmes (where men or women are in majority), the rate of men and women in fourteen training programmes have been established.

Table 3. The rate of men and women in various higher education training programmes (percentages).

	Men	Women	N
Agriculture	46.79	53.21	577
Faculty of Arts	28.40	71.60	1,141
Economics	37.05	62.95	1,301
Informatics	92.33	7.67	600
Law and management	40.08	59.92	504
Polytechnics	80.23	19.77	1,502
Arts	46.49	53.51	299
Arts inter-mediator	27.06	72.94	85

	Men	Women	N
National defence and military	59.00	41.00	100
Medical school and health care	38.51	61.49	509
Pedagogy	7.07	92.93	198
Sports	50.00	50.00	102
Social science	33.58	66.42	402
Science	44.83	55.17	551
Total	49.56	50.44	7,871

(Students' Motivation Research 2009)

Chi-square is significant at level ***.

As it is shown in Table 3., boys are in large majority in three training programmes, in informatics, polytechnics and national defence, so horizontal segregation can be found in tertiary training by gender. The number of students is 2,195 in the 'masculine' areas, which amounts to 28% of the total number of students. In the other training programmes, the rate of girls is 50% or even higher. The rate of 'masculine' majors is considerably lower than the rate of 'feminine' majors, but at "masculine" majors, men's majority is rather considerable. This is why it is possible that all in all the rate of girls is just slightly higher in the total sample.

Further on, students' social background is examined by making use of data broken down, and the question whether the boys' self-selection regarding social background can be detected at 'masculine' majors or only at 'feminine' majors, is analysed.

According to our data, at 'masculine' majors, self-selection cannot be observed, boys are in majority in these training programmes, and their social background is not more advantageous than that of the girls. The boys' background is similar to that of the girls and neither in the type of the settlement of the place of residence, nor in mothers' education were found significant gender differences. (This is why the data are not shown.) However, in the fathers' qualification, there is a slight difference (see Table 4.). Whereas boys' fathers' education at secondary level took place in secondary vocational schools, girls' fathers obtained GCSE in grammar schools, which refers to the girls' slightly more favourable background. Thus, it seems to be remarkable that girls tend to be admitted to "masculine" majors if their fathers' qualification is somewhat higher, and they opt for "feminine" majors if their background is not really favourable.

Table 4. Fathers' qualification in 'masculine' training programmes by gender (percentages).

	Men	Women
Primary school or less	1.06	3.13
Vocational school, school of professional training, technical school	20.36	20.89
Secondary vocational school, secondary technical school (GCSE)	25.77	19.84
Grammar school	10.26	14.36
College	17.88	17.23
University degree	20.47	21.15
University degree with scientific qualification	2.92	2.87
N	1,812	383

(Students' Motivation Research 2009)

Chi-square is significant at level **.

Table 5. Mothers' qualification in "feminine" training programmes by gender (percentages).

	Men	Women
Primary school or less	2.50	3.52
Vocational school, school of professional training, technical school	7.41	9.74
Secondary vocational school, secondary technical school (GCSE)	18.00	22.36
Grammar school	19.01	20.15
College	28.39	26.18
University degree	20.64	15.57
University degree with scientific qualification	3.90	2.32
N	2,078	3,583

(Students' Motivation Research 2009)

Chi-square is significant at level ***.

Table 6. Fathers' qualification in 'feminine' training programmes by gender (percentages).

	Men	Women
Primary school or less	1.54	2.18
Vocational school, school of professional training, technical school	15.53	19.61
Secondary vocational school, secondary technical school (GCSE)	23.78	26.92
Grammar school	9.99	11.05
College	18.23	15.81
University degree	23.97	19.56
University degree with scientific qualification	6.42	3.92
N	2073	3574

(*Students' Motivation Research 2009*)

Chi-square is significant at level ***.

As it shown in Tables 5. and 6., in the so called "feminine" training programmes – as in the case of the whole database – boys' parents are better educated, they only choose these majors with favourable background, thus boys' self-selection is happening in this case, and also, their social (school) mobility is lower. It can be seen that the male minority is the reason for social selection at the same time (boys' better background).⁹

Later status by gender

Further on, some of the variables are examined in the sample of the 2007 graduates, which indicate the social status at the time of the interview (2010). We were wondering if the status inconsistency between girls' position in education and on the labour market, formulated in the theoretical section, can be observed, and whether it is also possible to draw conclusions on boys' and girls' actual mobility based on the status achieved.

Table 7. The income data of the graduates and the number of persons in the same household by gender (averages).

		monthly net (thousand HUF)	other monthly benefits (thousand HUF)	total household net (thousand HUF)	Person per household
Men	Average	159.33	27.81	284.01	2.64
	N	601	397	480	1,066

⁹ There was no difference by gender in the type of settlement at the age of fourteen (the data are not presented for the lack of significance), in contrast with the results obtained in the Partium region where the village type of settlement was more characteristic of girls than boys.

		monthly net (thousand HUF)	other monthly benefits (thousand HUF)	total household net (thousand HUF)	Person per household
Women	Average	131.62	24.93	260.65	2.59
	N	1,047	645	834	1,645
Total	Average	141.73	26.03	269.18	2.61
	N	1,648	1,043	1,315	2,711
	ANOVA	***	NS	**	NS

(Graduate Investigation 2010)

An important component of the achieved status is the level of income. By means of the comparative averages, four variables have been examined by gender (see Table 7.). Whereas the other monthly benefits and the number of people in the household did not vary by gender, according to our expectations, boys' monthly net income was significantly higher than that of girls. It is noteworthy that the total net income of the household was higher in the case of boys, which actually contains the income of all members of the family, including women. Girls' estimation of the household income including the husband's income seems to be lower than that of boys, which may be due to the distortion of the estimation, or the changing patterns of partner relationships, as female university level graduates may choose partners with lower qualification.

In Table 8., the 2010 data on the type of settlement of the place of residence of the 2007 graduates can be seen, which can be one of the components of the present social status.

Table 8. Present type of the settlement of the place of residence by gender (percentages).

	Men	Women
Capital	28.96	30.90
County seat	24.47	20.70
Other town	29.15	26.81
Village	17.05	21.35
Abroad	0.37	0.24
N	1,091	1,686

(Graduate Investigation 2010)

Chi-square is significant at * level.

In our previous research, it was shown that local commitment is more characteristic of girls (Fényes 2010), and, according to this, the type of settlement of boys is more favourable among the graduates, as well (see Table 8.). Only women live in the capital in a somewhat higher rate. It can be presumed that a larger amount of girls remain in their original village than boys, and this is why the type

of settlement of boys' location is more favourable.¹⁰ Boys' advantage is prevalent in this respect, and their status is more favourable regarding the type of settlement. As it was pointed out in the theoretical section, horizontal segregation by gender in the labour market may also contribute to the wage disadvantage of girls.

Table 9. The section of the present/last job of the interviewed by gender (percentages).

	Men	Women
Agriculture, forestry, game, fishery	4.26	2.50
Mining	0.39	0.12
Processing industry	6.68	3.00
Electricity, gas, vapour, water supply	4.07	1.00
Construction industry	4.94	2.37
Trade and repair	8.81	7.18
Hotel, bed and breakfast and catering	2.32	6.06
Haulage, storage, mail, telecommunication	5.03	2.94
Financial transaction	6.10	6.62
Real estate, economic service	1.45	2.94
Public administration, defence and compulsory social insurance	9.97	10.18
Education	8.71	18.05
Health and social provision	5.52	13.49
Other community, and personal services, other activities	8.42	7.56
Other	23.33	15.99
N	1,033	1,601

(Graduate Investigation 2010)

Chi-square is significant at level ***.

As it can be seen in Table 9., the rate of graduate girls is higher in the service sector, mainly in catering and economic services, the rate is somewhat higher in real estate, and their rate is remarkably high in education, health care and social provision. Gender distribution in the types of jobs is in line with the traditional division of labour and the traditional gender roles. The rate of women in the helping professions considerably exceeds that of men. The relevance of the above mentioned facts is that the social and material prestige of these jobs is much lower, contributing to women's disadvantaged position on the labour market, as we have pointed it out in the theoretical section of the paper.

Further information is provided on horizontal segregation by the type of business according to gender. As it can be seen in Table 10., the rate of women

10 This is in line with the fact that in the 2009 study on students no difference was found in the type of settlement at the age of fourteen by gender.

holding higher education degrees is significantly higher in the section of state and local self-government as well as in the non-profit sector, whereas the rate of men is higher in the competitive sector. This may also account for the lower level of salary earned by women. As it was pointed out by Koncz (1994b), it is men and not women who are preferred in the competitive sector mainly due to discrimination (see the theoretical section for details). In the state sector, where wages are lower, feminisation is markedly pronounced.

As it has been pointed out, vertical segregation by gender also accounts for the wage disadvantage of women, as women tend to be in minority in management positions.

Table 10. The type of business of the present/last job held by the interviewed by gender (percentages).

	Men	Women
Entrepreneur	2.80	3.87
Deposit company	2.12	2.74
ltd.	44.26	33.94
Stock company	18.32	13.16
Public utility	0.58	0.62
State	14.85	19.21
Local self-government	11.38	19.40
Non-profit company (foundation, association)	1.93	3.62
Other	3.76	3.43
N	1,037	1,603

(Graduate Investigation 2010)

Chi-square is significant at level ***.

Table 11. The position of the interviewed in the present/last place of job by gender, percentages.

	Men	Women
CEO	5.36	1.49
middle level manager	11.02	6.77
Other manager	10.15	4.84
Employee	69.64	83.74
Entrepreneur, self-employed	3.83	3.17
N	1,044	1,611

(Graduate Investigation 2010)

Chi-square is significant at level ***.

As it is shown in Table 11., the rate of female university level graduates is considerably higher in the employee position three years after the graduation, whereas men are in majority in management (and not only in CEO positions). Thus

vertical segregation by gender is prevalent on the labour market according to our data, as well, and it may also contribute to the lower wages earned by women.

Factors on balance

Further on, we will examine which factors are responsible for the lower monthly net income of graduate women in a frame of a linear regression model. First, we examined the effect of men's better social background on monthly net income, than we included independent variables concerning horizontal and vertical segregation on the labour market by gender. The independent variables were included in four steps.

Table 12. The effects on monthly net income of graduates in the frame of linear regression model (linear regression Beta coefficients).

Gender	0.206***	0.189***	0.16***	0.14***
Mothers' qualification		0.098***	0.078***	0.083***
Fathers' qualification		0.063***	0.042	0.41
Section of job			-0.109***	-0.099***
Type of business			-0.133***	-0.123***
Position				-0.141***
Adjusted R ²	0.042	0.061	0.106	0.125

(Graduate Investigation 2010)

Significance below 0.000 is marked by ***, between 0.001 and 0.01 by **, between 0.01 and 0.05 by *.

Our results (Table 12.) show that graduate men's monthly net income is higher than that of women, but the advantage of men is decreasing after including the other independent variables. As we supposed, after controlling men's better social background (measured by the qualification of parents), the advantage of males in income has slightly decreased. In the next step, we included two other independent variables, which represent horizontal segregation on the labour market (the section of job and the type of business). If the graduate people work in the field of education, health and social provision (and mostly women work in these fields, see above), it has a significant negative effect on income. Similarly, if someone works in state, local self-government or at a non-profit company (this is again mostly a characteristic of women), this has a negative effect on income, as well (compared to those who work at the competitive sector). Our results also show that the advantage of males in income is decreasing after controlling the effect of these two variables. Finally, we examined the effect of position on income. We have found that – not surprisingly – employees, entrepreneurs and self-employed earn less than managers, and the wage advantage of men has also

decreased after controlling the effect of this variable, as men are more likely to work in managerial position.

All in all, based on the results of our regression model, after controlling the effects of boys' better social background and horizontal and vertical segregation on the labour market (measured by the mentioned variables), there still is a significant unexplained part of men's wage advantage in the *Graduate 2010* database. The advantage of men can still be observed, and we can suppose that discrimination or other special characteristics of men and women can play a part, but the above hypotheses can not be controlled because of the lack of data.

Discussion and conclusions

In this paper, the social background of boys and girls in higher education is compared, on the one hand, and the later status after graduation is examined by gender, on the other. Regarding boys' school mobility, it has been revealed – in line with our previous regional results and with the US data – that the school mobility of boys is lower, and only the ones with better social background (parents with better qualifications) enter higher education. In the explanation of these results, we have pointed out that the self-selection of boys is taking place, namely, even when applying for secondary school, boys do not choose the type of secondary schools as much as girls do, and that provides access to obtaining a degree. Many of them get qualification in vocational schools. The lower rate of boys in higher education also accounts for the fact that the group of boys is more selected concerning social background than that of the girls in higher education, i.e. the boys' background is better. The fact that this process boils down to self-selection is also supported by our further outcomes, namely that the more favourable background of boys cannot be observed in majors with male majority, boys, even with adverse social background, manage to enter “masculine” majors, and in these majors, actually, the girls' social background is slightly more favourable. However, in other educational programmes with female majority (and as it has been mentioned, this applies to most of the majors), boys' background is much more favourable than that of girls. This explains the lower rate of boys' social mobility in higher education in all majors.

In the theoretical section of the paper, the reasons for boys' self-selection in higher education and the reasons for female majority in higher education have been outlined. Besides the question why girls are in majority when the return in the labour market for them is lower, has been analysed. This is in connection with the second topic of the paper, the status inconsistency between women's position in education and on the labour market. According to our present and previous data, women's more favourable position in education can be observed in several

aspects, but they are still in a disadvantaged position on the labour market, as it is revealed by both other and our own research results. Women tend to be in a less favourable situation after graduation than men, and, in addition to wage disadvantages, horizontal and vertical segregation by gender in the labour market was also detected, which are partly at the bottom of wage disadvantages based on the results of our regression model and in accordance with the literature. Three years after graduation, men's net income per month was considerably higher, and the rate of women in education, health care and social provision was much higher, where the wages are generally lower. Moreover, the rate of graduate women in the competitive sector was lower and higher in the public and the non-profit sector, which also accounts for the lower level of salaries. Finally, we have pointed out that three years after graduation, the rate of men in management positions was much higher than that of women, and this also applies to middle level and other managerial positions, not only CEOs. Thus status inconsistency does exist and women seem to benefit less from the investment into higher education than men.

Coming back to social mobility, our results suggest that the higher social mobility of girls presumably refers only to school mobility, and in the actual social mobility, in which the later status is also taken into consideration, the boys are in the lead, as the background of the boys and girls seem to be similar in general. It may also happen that the earnings of boys with secondary level qualification are higher than that of graduate girls gaining employment in the helping professions, which are underpaid and low-prestige. The findings of this paper can be relevant in various ways regarding gender differences in education and on the labour market. Relying on nationwide Hungarian data and based not only on the level of education, but on the status gained later on, we could examine social mobility of graduate men and women.

The limitation of our research was that we could not examine the whole status attainment process, as the qualification of the respondents' represented only one type, namely higher education students or graduate males and females. This is why social mobility was only examined by means of a simple methodology in our research. Further on, a more detailed (multilevel) analysis could be carried out concerning the school mobility of men and women, including the effects of faculty types on social mobility.

The other limitation is that our research is mostly exploratory, and only two hypotheses have been tested. The first hypothesis was that, due to the self-selection model at masculine majors, the boys' better social background will not be detected, because they are in majority in these majors. This was supported by our data. The second hypothesis was that at the bottom of the wage disadvantage of graduate women could be the better social background of males and the horizontal and vertical segregation on the labour market by gender, but there will still be an unexplained part of women's wage disadvantage. This was also supported in a frame of our regression

model. But we could not examine all effects on women's wage disadvantage, which is a limitation of our research. If more data had been available in the databases, we could have checked the effects of discrimination or other personal characteristics of women on wage disadvantage. So there are still tasks which could be done in order to examine the social mobility of men and women, and in order to explore the effects of other variables on the wage disadvantage of women on the labour market.

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DISCUSSION ARTICLE



Active Citizenship in a Post-transitional Context

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Abstract. The authors examine some present-day conditions for practicing active citizenship through volunteering in the broad context of globalisation and information age. The current analysis is focusing mainly on Hungary, where, similarly to other Central and Eastern European states, the country's post-communist legacy influences democratisation processes. In the authors' view, sustainable development requires the recognition of compatibility between socioeconomic welfare and psychosocial well-being. In the current analysis, civil society is regarded as a framework, volunteering as a form of behaviour, and generativity as the psychosocial aspect of sustainability. The authors conclude that sustainable development demands transforming passivity into personal experiences on democracy and relational responsibility in an era of global crisis.

Keywords: active citizenship, transition, civil society, volunteering, generativity

Democracy and sustainability in a globalised context

During the third wave of democratisation, communist societies in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have changed their social systems, and many of them soon joined the European Union, hoping to establish their own democratic welfare states. The broad context of the transformation was globalisation and the concurrent emergence of information society. In Hungary, processes transforming

the soft dictatorship of the Kadar-system were controlled by the ruling regime. It is much beyond the scope of the current paper to evaluate the outcomes and processes of the transformation. The current analysis is focused on one aspect of the change: possible transition from a passive ‘the state will provide’ and ‘they know what’s best for us’ attitude to practicing active citizenship. Such change occurs slowly, as these attitudes have been formed in the communicative memory of citizens, and are passed on to subsequent generations by non-conscious forms of experiential and social learning (László, Ehmann and Imre 2002). To explore mechanisms of inhabiting one’s own society and culture, Van Dijk introduced a new area: epistemic discourse analysis, the “study of the way knowledge is expressed, implied, suppressed, distributed, etc. in text and talk” (Van Dijk 2009: 11). He examined how one’s personal context models, that is, mental representations of social situations are formed. Van Dijk’s epistemic approach connects discourse, cognition and society. In this triangle model, speakers work to harmonise their own stories with the dominant discourse of their communities. Consequently, democratic development should be manifested in social practices and institutions, in community discourse, and in people’s individual context models. In this view, personal models on democracy and direct experiences on active citizenship are a key aspect of genuine social transformation.

Democracy is re-interpreted in the global context. Two recent and interdependent developments influencing democratic potentials in late modern societies are globalisation and the rapid advancements in infocommunication technologies. Sustainable development in the globalised world depends on the collective decisions of present and future governments. In order to make decisions that support sustainability, relevant knowledge and commitment to basic ethical values are necessary. In our era, knowledge is essentially fragmented; further, it is often tacit or experiential, which makes it more difficult to share, organise and unify (Nyíri 2005). The individual voter’s knowledge on public issues is undoubtedly limited; but that does not entail that experts always make better decisions (e.g., the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion – see Griffin 1997, 231). Democracy facilitates the cognitive division of labour. The essence of the democratic experience is that no one can ‘take it all.’ On the contrary, the roles of the ‘winner’ and that of the ‘loser’ are interchangeable. Therefore, one knows that s/he has the chance to get what s/he wants; further, one can trust that one’s achievements would not be destroyed by one’s counterparts. In a stable democracy, the capability for change and compromise are considered important virtues. Public decisions are not always wise; but the decision that decisions should be made in a democratic manner, respecting the diversity of opinions and thereby eliminating groupthink fallacies, is wise (Surowiecki 2007).

In their empirical analysis, Li and Reuveny (2003) have reviewed 17 different scenarios concerning the possible effects of globalisation on democracy. Some

of the positive views are related to the concept of information society and the parallel increasing role of non-governmental organisations. Negative expectations highlight the erosion of the concept of citizenship as a basis of democracy; economic volatility and the resulting frequent crises; and an increasing number of domestic losers. Domestic governments in less developed countries are forced to please global investors and firms instead of representing their own people's interests. Expected reductions in welfare costs result in an increased class polarisation. Li and Reuveny have tested the conflicting theories in an empiric investigation, and assessed possible connections between globalisation and the level of democracy for 127 countries in a pooled time-series cross-sectional statistical model. For the period between 1970 and 1996, they have found that both in developed and less developed countries, trade openness and portfolio investment inflows negatively affect democracy. Foreign direct investment inflows have an initial positive impact that is weakened over time. The only factor positively influencing democracy was the spread of democratic ideas. Authors raise the question whether the desirable goal is economic efficiency maximisation or democratic governance – based on their evidence, these two are hardly compatible. Less developed countries have proven to be more vulnerable to impacts of globalisation as they lack adequate resources for social safety needs. Li and Reuveny suggest that the only viable alternative is to slow down the process of globalisation, and lay more emphasis on citizen advocacy groups, that is, on civil society initiations, introducing a third force to balance between market and government.

In order to stop the erosion of democracy and manipulation in the United States, and put active citizenship into practice, Ackermann and Fishkin have proposed the introduction of a 'Deliberation Day' – a national holiday as public consultation day in every presidential election year. Two weeks before the elections, registered voters would assemble and, working in groups, discuss central campaign issues. This kind of restoration to the very origins of democracy, to direct participation in political decisions, may help people identify with common welfare and well-being interests and may put an end to alienation and cynicism (Ackerman and Fishkin 2004).

One of the dilemmas of modern democratic systems is related to political interpretations of sustainability. In such systems, the solutions worked out for contemporary problems may violate the rights of future generations, as there is a tension between the long-term consequences of the decisions and the short-term interests of policy makers (Gál, Gulyás and Medgyesy 2011). The recent crisis has fixed people's attention to issues of economic and social sustainability, and to the dangers of the 20:80 societies that have corrupted citizen initiations, social solidarity and social justice (Martin and Schumann 1997). If only the hard work of twenty percent of the population is required to keep the global economy

growing (or just going), then the majority of people will be deprived of meaningful activities, full social participation and acceptable living standards. In many regions, the ills of globalisation have outgrown its benefits. In CEE countries, the passivity of state socialism has been transformed into a passivity of tittytainment; but such passivity has resulted in economic and social unsustainability. When interpreting sustainable development, the welfare and well-being of the individual and of the community are conceived as equally important goals. From this perspective, welfare is not identical with unlimited consumption, but it is inseparable from social and cultural development.

Democracy in the Information Age

Farkas (2002) has argued that one political consequence of entering the information society is a major transformation in the system of politics: information systems will dominate over the traditional power. To permanently control globalised communication seems a mission impossible – therefore, politically controlled areas of life would diminish. Information and communication technologies have a deterritorialising impact, an inconvenience to political powers, which may even question their legitimacy (Van Ooijen 2008). There are three scenarios as regards ICT-generated changes: the Orwellian (citizen-subject); the Athens (citizen-citizen) and the Soft Sister (citizen-client) perspectives. Farkas' views support the Athens concept with increased participation on part of the citizens. Internet users become 'data miners' and constantly compare their findings, which results in the development of an active, critical-reflective stance and thereby supports democratisation processes. The Orwellian scenario highlights increased control and transparency – a virtual equivalent of Foucault's Panopticon. The current controversy between globalisation and democracy interests opens the space wide for various forms of manipulative communication, a long tradition in authoritarian systems. In the third scenario, the Soft Sister (the state) provides citizens (its clients) with a number of quality services via the Internet; in this view, ICT systems are practically service systems (Juhász and Pintér 2006; Z. Karvalics 2007; Van Ooijen 2008).

The Internet is undoubtedly an agora for those committed themselves to active citizenship. On 28th January, the Egyptian government shut down the Internet to limit communication among certain political groups (Chen 2011). This is not a unique example: similar ICT restrictions to control citizen initiations have been applied in Burma, Iran, China, Libya and Syria (Chander 2011). Pippa Norris (2004) has argued that technology does not significantly change one's attitudes: politically active persons remain active in the cyberspace, but passive persons are not mobilised by new technologies.

Network society, as a concept, goes beyond the idea of information society with its concomitant social, economic and cultural changes. Networking is a basic feature of human societies; however, the information technologies of the 21st century have resulted in a quality change in the organisation of society, culture and human experience by providing a new context, the cyberspace. The development of new technologies and new types of human networks is interrelated (Castells 1996–1998, quoted by Nyíri 1999). A specific feature of network societies is ‘glocalization:’ the renaissance of local communities that organise themselves via the social media. Though one’s commitment to a community in the virtual space is not as strong as to traditional communities, empiric research has confirmed that the development of cyber networks entail the development of participation (Nyíri 1998). With the integration of telecommunication, interactive communities, that exchange real-time information and have their voice in the global community, are formed. These communities are usually more heterogeneous, and communication is less controlled, mediated or mainstreamed by social institutions – that is, the communities are wiser if Surowiecki’s arguments are accepted. In our era, there is only one unlimited and renewable resource at our disposal: human knowledge in the context of knowledge-driven economy in knowledge societies.

Passivity as a ‘soft dictatorship’ legacy

Alienation, including citizen passivity, excessive individualism, craving for control and the parallel dread of responsibility in one’s relationships, as grave social problems of the 1970s, were discussed by renowned Western scholars as symptoms of the ‘culture of narcissism’ (Lasch 1984; Deetz 1992). In the soft dictatorship in Hungary, similar patterns could be identified. In the background of such problems, however, some other problems were present, as well. In his cultural anthropological study on Hungary and Belarus, Smith (2002) explored the possible role of a specific relational pattern named double bind by Bateson (2000). Double bind, as a prerequisite for authoritarian operation, is a continual communication practice forming one’s long-term expectations on relational contexts. An order, received from an unquestionable authority, is simultaneously denied on a more abstract level. In a double bind context, one’s physical and/or psychological survival is at stake, but escape is made impossible. When the helpless and powerless stance has been formed, and the victim of the double bind setting is absolutely confused over the inconsistent messages, no external threat is needed any more (Bateson 2000). Due to the absolute loss of control in a threatening situation, double bind relations often result in self-destructive behaviour or the construction of false selves and a visionless approach to life. Stagnation, loss of hope, helplessness, passivity and dependence, lack of

solidarity, unconditional acceptance of external control, ultimate reliance on external resources, self-censorship, and experiencing one's life as meaningless may be considered as the consequences of double bind relations. These relations are maintained by certain discursive techniques, such as vague or paradox meanings embodied in floating or empty signifiers in the discourse (B. Erdős 2010; 2011; B. Erdős and Kelemen 2011). As a consequence of unpredictable, inconsistent rules and conventions, self-censorship and passivity, as the safest personal survival strategy, dominated.



(Graph by the authors, based on a visual application of Van Dijk's triangular sociocognitive approach, Van Dijk [2009, 64]. The image of the impossible triangle is from Paradox and Infinity.)

Graph 1. The paradox triangle of double bind discourse.

Inconsistency and ambiguity impaired collaboration, both among the different social groups and on interpersonal levels. Permanent chaos is a prerequisite for the maintenance of totalitarian operation – as a conclusion, the creative, reconstructive powers in the society are restrained by military oppression and manipulation (Szakolczai 2001). ‘Open’ dictatorships rely on military power more, whereas, in a ‘soft’ setting, discursive manipulation is the main means of control. Counter-selection, a systematic and collusive social practice leading to the waste of human resources, was established to prevent consistent public criticism and genuine leadership. Counter-selection is easy to maintain as subordinates’ low achievements are not subjected to but are rewarded by an incompetent leader (Hunyady 2002). The practice of counter-selection has significantly contributed to the economic and social unsustainability of communist systems.

Generativity as the psychosocial aspect of sustainability

Generativity is an important psychosocial aspect of sustainability. According to the original conceptualisation by Erik H. Erikson (1950, 267), generativity is the “concern for establishing the next generations;” guiding and caring for

them to promote their well-being. In this respect, generative behaviour facilitates socio-cultural evolution. Positive contribution to the next generation may be manifested through parenting, teaching, mentoring, leadership, creativity, and care in order to leave a constructive legacy of the self for the future (Erikson 1968; MacAdams 2006a). By mutuality of benefit (Slater 2003), generativity serves as a bridge among the generations, strengthening social solidarity and relational responsibility within the society (McNamee and Gergen 1999).

On the level of the individual, several studies identified generativity as an important factor of well-being, life satisfaction and success (e.g., de St. Aubin and McAdams 1995; Grossbaum and Bates 2002; Bauer and McAdams 2004; Bauer, McAdams and Sakaeda 2005; Morfei, Hooker, Carpenter, Mix and Blakeley 2004; McAdams 2006b; Huta and Zuroff 2007; Bauer, McAdams and Pals 2008). High generativity has been associated with less anxiety and depression; and more mature coping strategies in times of stress and overall psychosocial adaptation (Vaillant 1977; Van Hiel, Mervielde and de Fruyt 2006).

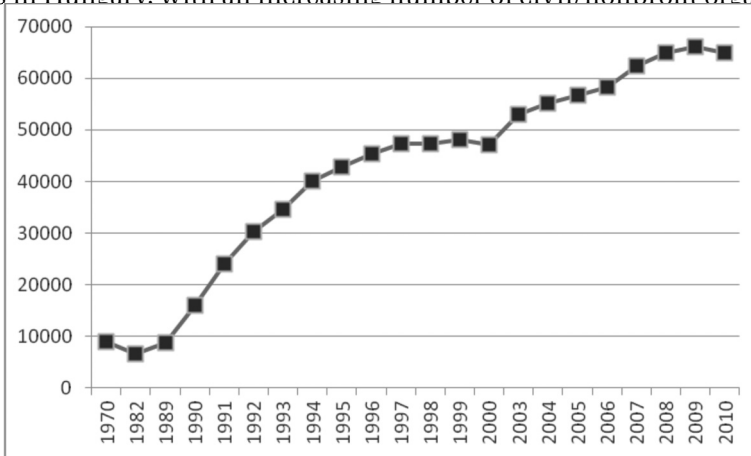
McAdams and his associates (McAdams, Diamond, de St. Aubin and Mansfield 1997) have identified a characteristic narrative organisation in highly generative adults' narratives, and termed these 'stories of redemption,' in contrast with low generativity, 'stories of contamination.' Penezić, Lacković-Grgin, Tucak, Nekić, Žorga, Poljšak and Škraban (2008), when conducting an empirical study on patterns of generativity, noted that in Croatia, similarly to Hungary, the level of development the country used to have before the transition, has not been reached so far. As their study has revealed, this is perceived as useless efforts and failed contributions on part of the previous generations. Further, in CEE countries, citizens were deprived of the continuity of a stable democracy. Continuity was interrupted by sudden ideological shifts. When a population is repeatedly forced to give up shared beliefs and visions on the future, how could they realise their generativity and leave a constructive legacy for the next generation?

The civil/nonprofit sector as a context for social and political engagement

"There are a series of studies that have shown that generativity is linked to greater social and political engagement (...) volunteering in charitable organizations, fighting for civil rights, voting etc." (Penezic et al. 2008, 239; Peterson and Duncan 1999).

In contemporary Hungary, the civil/nonprofit sector is the most important social context for volunteering and may open a potential space for direct social

and political engagement. There was a significant ‘civil boom’ at the beginning of the 1990s in Hungary, with an increasing number of civil/nonprofit organisations.



(Sources: Tokaji 2008; Központi Statisztikai Hivatal [Hungarian Central Statistical Office] 2011)

Graph 2. The number of nonprofit organisations from 1970 to 2010.

Parallel to differentiation processes – changes in activities and organisational forms –, centralisation has become a determining feature. By 2006, 95% of the total income of the non-profit sector was realised by some major organisations with a yearly income exceeding 5,000,000 HUF. Such organisations make up 18% of all the nonprofit organisations. The remaining 82% shared only 5% of the total income. Public utility companies, a small group (altogether 3%) of all the nonprofit organisations, shared more than one third of all the resources. More than half of the state resources were concentrated in the capital, Budapest. Rural organisations shared only 6% (Tokaji 2008, 58–62). In the civil sector, the representation of community interests, social inclusion and solidarity are normally a priority over economic growth and power centralisation. In spite of the steady growth in the number of nonprofit organisations, the 2006 data reflect a marked abuse of the civil society.

Presently, both the employment capacity and the networking potentials of the domestic non-profit sector are relatively low (F. Tóth and Nagy 2009; Kákai 2009). There is an inverse tendency between the number of volunteers employed and the income of the nonprofit organisation employing volunteers (Czike and Bartal 2005: 57).

The participation of the Hungarian civil organisations in the information society was explored by INFONIA Foundation. 252 organisations were included in the sample. Researchers concluded that the civil organisations had expected guidelines ‘from above,’ that is, from the existing economic-political power to designate the desirable development routes in the information society. The civil

organisations that had multiple identities, that is, simultaneously participated in the different sectors, did not consider their civil statuses significant. A system overemphasising economic growth and party politics at the expense of citizens' active participation in all regions, undermined the development of the civil society (Pintér 2006).

A national survey on medium/small scale organisations was conducted in 2005 on overall developmental potentials, with special regard to human resource management issues. Results reflected the volatile economic and political context, which impaired the organisations' capacity for strategic planning. More than half of the organisations could not specify future plans and strategic aims (visions and missions). The low number of paid employees and a great extent of fluctuation indicated low levels of long-term commitment and a threat to organisational sustainability. Due to high costs of administration, insufficient financial conditions, bureaucratic operation and poor organising, the organisations were characterised by an overall weak performance. Deficiencies in the organisational structure and leadership problems were probably associated with state socialist legacies. Conscious application of management techniques were not among the solutions to chaotic states and functional breakdown. Instead, informal solutions were applied with ad-hoc decision making by the one or two representatives who owned all the information. As for qualifications and work experience, there was a considerable gap between performed activities and employees' expertise. Second language skills were not satisfactory either, reducing the chances for international collaboration in a globalised network (Juhász and Garai 2007).

Volunteering

Growing needs, financing problems and the ambition to meet earlier professional standards as well as respond to deepening social problems are a major challenge for non-governmental organisations (Graff 2005; Juhász and Garai 2007). In CEE countries, three major factors have resulted recent budgetary cuts in social welfare areas: the transformation of the economic system, globalisation processes, and the 2008 global crisis. In new EU member states, health, education and culture budgets have significantly been restricted. Social spendings, that were relatively high in Hungary (in 2008, 17.8% of the GDP, an average similar to those of early member states), have recently been reduced (Palócz 2010).

In such a social context, volunteers are expected to work in the frontlines of the services – as they do in developed states where NGOs and state services also rely on their professional competencies. Their responsibility may include professional work in social and health services, representing the organisation,

making important decisions and actively shaping organisational policies. Volunteers work with vulnerable populations, handle money or confidential information. As a consequence, new definitions and ways of volunteering challenge traditional conceptualisations which identify it as a form of charity, and highlight professionalism and work experience.

In Hungary, volunteering is currently interpreted as an activity for the common good, excluding the benefit of one's own family or close friends. Volunteers are not motivated by individual financial interests and are not coerced in any ways to undertake their activities (F. Tóth and Nagy 2009). Safrit and Merrill (1995, quoted by Merrill 2006) suggested a similar definition, but emphasised the active involvement of the person, excluding donation or sponsorship. In their view, volunteering may be an individualised or even a self-serving activity, provided the outcomes are beyond the level of the individual. A European perspective highlights civic participation, constituting democracy in action, and mutual benefits for the community and the volunteer (Volunteering in Europe, sine anno).

F. Tóth and Nagy (2009) emphasise that spontaneous and informal collaboration is a deeply rooted Central and Eastern European tradition. In her analysis on these traditions, Molnár (2009) has demonstrated that informal community assistance was available in a number of different life situations throughout one's life cycle. In the decades of state socialism, such constructive traditions were damaged. Volunteering and reciprocal community assistance was transformed into centrally organised and coerced forms of 'societal work' (unpaid and coerced work done in one's leisure time for some 'community'). On 'Communist Saturdays,' employees worked to support 'developing countries,' that is, to extend political influence to these countries via economic assistance. 'Societal work' done in one's own neighborhood generated more favourable impacts. These benefits have vanished soon after the transition of the social system in 1989 when 'state property' (in these cases, community property) was privatised and the work of many served the interests of the lucky few (B. Erdős and Juhász 2011).

Recent approaches on volunteering do not only include professionalism, but focus more on reciprocity, a basic norm in all human societies. Reciprocity facilitates collaboration, social stability and trust. Bekkers (2007) in his analysis identifies indirect and generalised forms of reciprocal relations (the volunteer in need will receive help from a third party) and the 'shadow of the future' (the volunteer will receive help when assistance is needed in the future). Indirectness facilitates the construction of a dense social network with diverse and abundant resources where collaboration is based on mutual trust. On the contrary, rigidly determined roles in charity (donator vs. recipient) may generate adverse impacts, especially in secular societies; and may lead to helplessness, disempowerment

and compulsive helping, altogether, a waste of resources, a polarisation of social strata and further disruptions in the social network.

Volunteering has a basic role in reconstructing the weak ties within the community, thereby multiplying social capital in the society (Coleman 1990, quoted by Kákai 2009). The theory of weak social ties proposed by Granovetter (1973) explains how closely related persons belonging to different in-groups are connected within the broader social context. “The weak tie between Ego and his acquaintance (...) becomes not merely a trivial acquaintance tie but rather a crucial bridge between the two densely knit clumps of close friends” (Granovetter 1973, 201). Weak social ties connect people from different social groups and promote the overall level of solidarity, social stability, and tolerance within the society. Persons with many weak ties have more access to knowledge outside their immediate range of experience, which improves their problem-solving capacity. Marginalised persons, similarly to upper layers, have an inclination to build strong ties only: while the rich usually do not have problems in accessing the resources they want, for those living in the margins the strategy may be a result of repeated deprivations and several crisis situations where unconditional help received from the close network of one’s strong ties is a priority (Granovetter 1973; Csermely 2005). A paradox of social crises states is that these crises can not be solved in closed contexts, as relevant knowledge for problem-solving is usually missing. Therefore, volunteering with its strong networking potentials may have a special role in social crisis situations.

In his study on volunteering, Merrill (2006) has identified several factors that influence contemporary global volunteering: time pressures, variations in the definition and value of volunteering in the different countries, demographic changes with special regard to the extremes of the age continuum, pluralistic approaches, recognition of the role of reciprocity, solidarity, active citizenship and information technologies. Including retired persons into volunteering is a special challenge, but in ageing societies, such initiatives may ensure extra human resources and generate positive impacts on the lives of the elderly. With young persons, work experience is frequently emphasised, but volunteering helps develop personal qualities, as well. Volunteers may even be more successful in contacting and communicating with marginalised persons than with professionals. Volunteering can be devised in a way to provide special opportunities for social inclusion, especially in the contexts in which volunteers and beneficiaries may change roles. Common visions and carefully designed work situations, in which activities are performed together with members of marginalised groups, may reduce prejudices among the members of the different cultures.

A relatively new improvement is volunteering in the virtual space. The Internet offers great flexibility for some disadvantaged groups who have special skills but may also have serious commuting problems.

Forms of corporate volunteering have recently been introduced to Hungary. Corporate volunteering is an important opportunity to expand and strengthen social networks and bring prestige for all the concerned parties (F. Tóth and Nagy 2009). Volunteering in academic programs may be a form of community-based experiential learning for the students. Academic institutions have a traditional role in promoting constructive changes in the society and the spread of volunteering may confirm this role (Edwards, Mooney and Heald 2001).

Problems of statistical analyses on volunteering

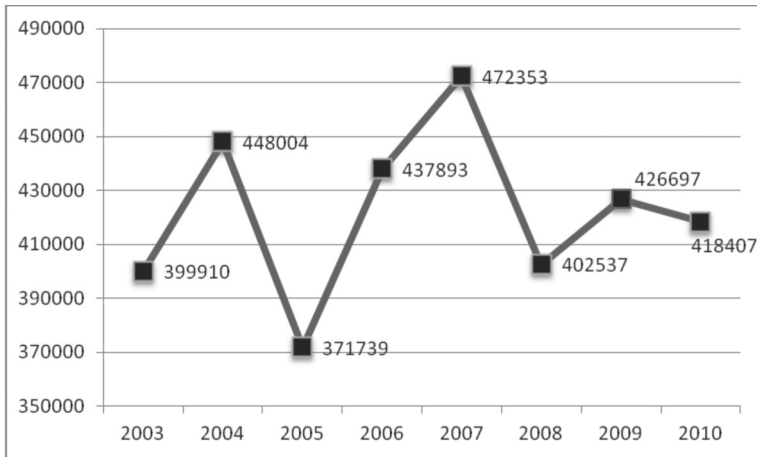
Data collection on volunteering is far from being systematic, and this holds not only for Hungary and CEE countries, but for other parts of Europe, as well: “In the absence of Eurostat or other general statistics, the number of Europeans undertaking voluntary work cannot be quantified with any certainty” (European Commission Special Eurobarometer, 75.2: 3). Surveys are often related to special events, such as the International Year of Volunteers in 2001 and the European Year of Volunteering in 2011. In the domestic context, the birth of the law on volunteering (Act LXXXVIII of 2005 on Volunteer Activities for Public Utility), major projects as the ÖTLET program for the social inclusion of unemployed persons through volunteering, and shaping the national strategy on volunteering in 2011 were among the important milestones.

The data below reflect that statistics on volunteering should be interpreted with utmost care, as conceptualisation problems have resulted great differences.

Table 1. Different conceptualisations – different results on volunteering

<i>Year/source</i>	<i>Czakó et al. (1993)</i>	<i>National Statistical Bureau (2007)</i>	<i>Czike-Kuti (2005)</i>	<i>EVS (2008)</i>	<i>Eurobarometer (2011)</i>
<i>Conceptualization & sampling</i>	Broad, random sampling	Narrow, self-report of registered organisations	Broad, random sampling, volunteers over 14	Intermediate Representative sampling, volunteers over 18	Eurobarometer Survey, with 26,825 Europeans interviewed
<i>Number/percent</i>	1,726,778 persons, 17% of adult population	472,353 persons, 5% of the entire population	3, 474, 731 persons 40% of the population over 14	901,545 persons, 11% of the adult population	22% of the Hungarian population over 15 (European average is 24%)

Sources: Bartal 2010, Nemzeti Önkéntes Stratégia 2011–2020 (submission) s. a. Special Eurobarometer 75.2 2011.



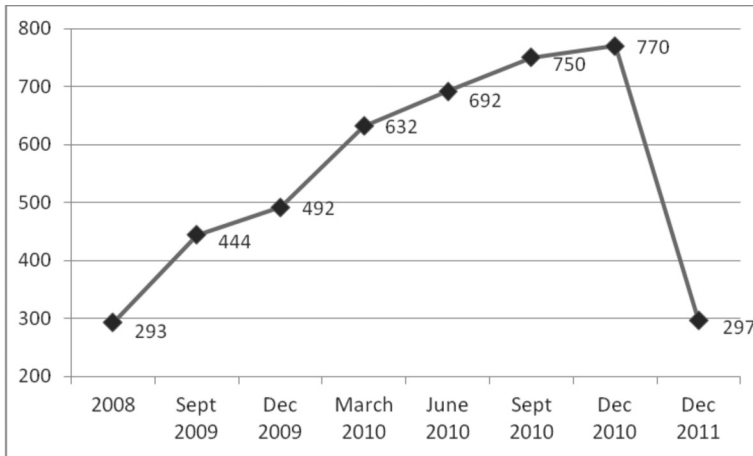
(Source: Pupek 2011)

Graph 3. Volunteering in Hungary between 2003–2010.

These differences may further be complicated by other problems of input data. E.g., when someone is asked if she undertakes volunteering she may answer ‘no,’ because in her view she is involved in societal (community) work or charity – but not ‘volunteering.’ Others may be hesitant whether non-registered or informal volunteering (e.g., assistance given in the local neighbourhood) should be mentioned – or simply forget about it, as such help is “natural.” The Red Cross classifies blood donors as volunteers; such an activity is included in some of the categorisations, but it is excluded from other samples. Blood donors themselves would probably not think of their activity as a form of volunteering.

Further, the survey by National Statistical Bureau excluded many forms in the previous social system that would equal to traditional or modern volunteering, thereby contributing to traditions of active citizenship and solidarity. E.g., the national system of telephonic emergency services for suicide prevention founded in the 1970s in Hungary has always relied on professional volunteering. Organisational frameworks were very vague and not any of those volunteers appeared in the statistics, as they worked in the state health sector and did not belong to any civil organisation (B. Erdős 2006).

Certain problems of volunteering may be explored by analysing the impact of the Pecs 2010 Capital of Culture project on local volunteering. This, as an event, motivated city leaders to lay the foundations of a city policy on volunteering. Cultural events and other community programs attracted a large number of volunteers to join and share the tasks and experiences. When the ECoC year was over, however, hosting institutions were unable to employ so many volunteers, and there was a significant drop in the numbers.



(Source: own data obtained from the Baranya County Volunteer Centre, 2012.)

Graph 4. The number of ECoC volunteers.

Presently, the number of volunteers is 297 at the Baranya County Volunteer Centre. However, the 2011 data are a bit vague: permanently unemployed persons who are required to perform 30 days of community service (or any other regular work activity) in order to obtain unemployment benefit are also registered as volunteers. This policy was introduced in 2011 to raise the extremely low rate (3.6% – Czike and Bartal 2005) of volunteering among unemployed persons, and thereby promote their social inclusion. Whether these additional 141 persons are considered volunteers or not, depends on conceptualisation (here, authors excluded them from the sample).

Statistical data reveal that the significance of hosting organisations is probably under-represented in the domestic professional literature and policies: the Pécs ECoC case demonstrates that ‘demand’ may be more decisive than ‘supply.’ Volunteers’ motivation, which largely determines ‘supply,’ is a core issue in both the international and the domestic studies. In the draft of the National Strategy on Volunteering 2011–2020, authors state that regular volunteering is not characteristic of the Hungarian population: many undertake volunteering, but, unlike in Western European countries, do not take long-term commitments in a given organisation. According to a previous survey, the typical Hungarian volunteer is a middle aged woman who is active in the labour market and is motivated by values related to traditional forms of volunteering (altruism and charity instead of work experience) (Czike and Bartal 2005). The Eurobarometer report (2011) concluded that Hungarians emphasise the following factors as social benefits of volunteering: maintaining and strengthening social cohesion (40%); acquisition of knowledge and skills and integration into working life (29%); sustainable development and the protection of the environment (27%).

The draft of the National Strategy proposes to include more people in volunteering and raise awareness on the possible benefits in order to meet this goal. It is very probable, though, that low participation is not a cognitive level difficulty; rather, it is the volatile and unexpected economic and social environment, extreme workloads of the working populations and a high level of material deprivation of unemployed persons that are in the background of the problem. As far as the low participation rates of mothers on maternity leave or old-age pensioners are concerned, infrastructural developments (traffic conditions and availability of free child-care services) would probably contribute to solving the problem.

Further, the Strategy notes that volunteering among young people is around the average, in spite of the fact that volunteering is not particularly encouraged by legal means. The bill on public education in 2011 evoked many debates on the introduction of “required volunteering” in Hungarian secondary schools, that is, 60 hours of community work as a precondition for graduation from high school.

Conclusion

Globalisation, in spite of some promising catchwords, actually impairs the level of democracy. The recent crisis has raised doubts on benefits of democratic systems with their slow decision-making practices due to long discussions among the different interest groups. The authors propose an alternative way of reasoning. In knowledge-based network societies, human knowledge is the only unlimited resource to ensure sustainable economic and social development. Democratic and dialogic decision-making effectively eliminates groupthink fallacies and results in qualitative and quantitative growth in human knowledge; therefore the real problem behind the crisis is probably not “too much democracy,” but, on the contrary, democracy deficits. Representing democracy in public discourse is a necessary but not sufficient condition. Democracy is constituted in everyday social practices, and in the personal experiences of people. It is manifested in active citizenship, understood as direct participation in informed and responsible decision-making and in community life in general.

The global crisis that has reached CEE countries during their ongoing recovery from communism may tempt these states to step back to less democratic forms of governance; or, on the contrary, it may speed up transformation processes as state resources are scarce and citizens are expected to take more responsibility for their own welfare and well-being. CEE countries face major challenges if they wish to strengthen and improve their new democratic systems in the current crisis. Citizens should not only be informed about, but be empowered to gain personal experiences on how democracy works in general, and how it

works for them. The civil society may provide adequate frameworks for such personal and collective experiences, even if its evolution has been rather slow and has long been influenced by state socialist traditions. Currently, the civil sector in Hungary is not yet in a position to adequately respond to emerging needs and balance between market and government; it is facing a challenge in social innovation to combat growing social problems and improve democracy. A marked potential of the civil sector, however, is the diversity of approaches and problem solving skills – alternative perspectives in a democratic milieu often prove a rich reservoir in crisis situations.

Although volunteering has some early traditions in the Hungarian society, modern forms of formal volunteering are associated with the social transition from 1989. A variety of recently emerging social phenomena functions as signifiers (‘proofs’) of the social transition in the public discourse (e.g., unemployment, homelessness and the debt trap). Negative connotations of the transition dominate, and losses are emphasised over the gains – in Hungary, this was a characteristic feature even before the beginning of the global crisis (B. Erdős 2008). Volunteering seems to be an exception to this generalised “trouble talk.” Investigations of the field have confirmed that both the volunteers and the recipients are aware of the many benefits.

Hungary is among the European countries that determined their legal framework on volunteering and initiated a volunteer policy. Policy makers, however, can not always rely on accurate statistical data, as conceptualisations are far from being unequivocal. Another permanent problem is the lack of necessary resources in infrastructure and human management in the hosting organisations. For most of the NGOs in Hungary, the lack of resources have turned NGO existence a tough struggle where employing volunteers is often regarded a kind of last remedy. Volunteering is definitely not free: volunteers have to be recruited, selected, trained, organised, supervised, and rewarded by competent persons. The results of cost-benefit analyses are often distorted, as time and expertise is not measured correctly, and management costs are neglected. Some of the benefits, such as increase in social capital, active citizenship, a stronger community network, personal growth, etc., are not represented either (Merrill 2006).

In an NGO-friendly and volunteer-friendly society, predictability is a key issue: organisations in Hungary often reflect their unpredictable environment when they ignore strategic planning. One related problem with modern volunteering is that volunteers do not normally take long-term commitments in a volatile economic and social environment, even if such commitment would be required in key and confidential positions. Benefits of volunteering seem irrelevant when the individual is struggling with serious problems, such as unemployment or poverty. Further, with a high level of overall unemployment in the society, volunteering may be regarded as a competing activity, one that ‘takes away’

possible workplaces from prospective employees. Even if vulnerable groups could benefit from volunteering in the long run, their short-term survival needs are a priority. The solutions for the problem cannot come solely “from above,” but should be based on empowering these groups.

The philosophy of volunteering is related to the theory of generativity, understood as care for others and for the welfare and well-being of the next generations. Living a meaningful life is living a responsible (response-able) life, actualising one’s potentials in generativity via active social participation. Such ideas have a vital role in solving social crisis states, when old modes of operation have proven unsustainable, but new ones (urgent as they are) have not been worked out yet: generativity is inseparable from socio-cultural innovation. CEE countries are on their way to transform learned helplessness attitudes into a more active, constructive and resourceful stance. Focusing more on social development than on forced economic growth and, for this purpose, reconstructing models of generativity and creativity, are important steps in the process. New opportunities of network societies as well as new demands and responsibilities identified in the current global crisis require new modes of conceptualising work, creativity and care, and the related innovative social strategies. CEE countries have substantial reasons to focus on the civil society as a framework, on volunteering as a form of behaviour, and on generativity as an underlying philosophy of transforming passivity to a more active stance. One of these reasons is the current and unavoidable tendency of reducing state resources in many areas of life that determine citizens’ welfare and well-being, while another reason is to assist unfolding democratisation processes and realise their recovery potentials from communism.

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**MEDIA EDUCATION AND ONLINE
TOOLS IN EDUCATION**



A Quantitative Analysis of Hungarian Media Education

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Abstract. The present essay focuses on the ability of media instruction in elementary and secondary schools to enhance general, everyday media literacy brought on by the interaction of various socialisation factors. The exploration of the topic instruction of Motion Picture Culture and Media Studies took place between February 16 and March 2, 2009. The research was based on two qualitative methods: a structured oral interview with media instructors (N=111), and a fully recorded observation journal (N=105) facilitating a more thorough look at respective efforts in the classroom.

Keywords: media instruction, qualitative procedures, Motion Picture Culture and Media Studies

Introduction

By the beginning of the 21st century, the always accessible technology interwoven in the fabric of our lives has profoundly changed the way we communicate, work and obtain information. Consequently, the sphere of valuable competences, skills and knowledge has changed, too (Molnár 2011). Due to this information society, information- and communication-related competencies now belong to the fundamental elements of literacy, since “even the successful transmission of writing, reading and calculation skills is not sufficient if it cannot adjust to the world of new media” (Z. Karvalics 1997, 694).

Media studies are prioritised in and outside Europe as well, since the appropriate understanding and application of media, the utilising of the potential positive impacts of mass communication devices, ignoring negative contents both in the future and in

the present are considered as basic *culture skills* (László 2010). In this environment, the media-related skills of media receivers, the various media, and primarily people's conscious attitude to the Internet transmitted contents are relevant issues.

Media literacy primarily relates to the critical treatment of information obtained from mass media, while in a broader sense, it denotes IT knowledge (Koltay 2001). However, it also means all the skills and abilities of the individual related to accessing, comprehending and evaluating information as well as his/her attitude to the various forms of communication. In a culture overcrowded with contents and genres of an everchanging format (e.g. picture or movie images, audio and audiovisuals), media literacy enables the individual to create his/her own printed, electronic, digital messages and multimedia products, due to some specific media comprehension skills.

The present study outcomes contribute to a larger research project that aims at studying the media literacy of students of the age group 14–18 (N=2,956). In the empirical study, two samples were applied. In the first one, the students (N=1,961) who had been provided motion picture and media studies within the curriculum were involved, while to the second sample belonged those students (N=995) who had not received such education. Therefore, we consider it relevant, since *the most important question of our research was how much primary and secondary school media education can contribute to media literacy* that has developed under various socialising conditions, and that has been applied in the everyday. This fact necessitated a study of the present state of media education methods in Hungary. In the following, the major trends in media education are to be introduced.

Major trends in media education

Media education in the 1970s was marked by a mostly aesthetic and analytical approach to films. In schools, the artistic merits of the movies were analysed for they were considered as the holders of highbrow culture and cultural heritage. From the 1980s, however, there has been a radical change in the international practice of media education. The new trend in media education has been focused on the impact of the social role and operation. Therefore, the professionals' attention as well as classroom activities have been centered around popular culture media texts, for instance, those of soap operas, commercials and news.

By the Millennium, two different directions in media education have been born (Jakab 2001). The social-democratic model basically aims at fostering voice-giving, identity building and obtaining a freedom of speech for the needy and socially challenged social groups. This intention is counterparted by the creation of equal opportunities, helping those left behind and providing opportunities to practice

the freedom of speech. It aims at coping with social and healthcare issues, such as the cult of violence, drugs or AIDS. This model is not particularly related to classroom media education or even to schools as such. It is more like a movement with activists, independent institutions, foundations, religious denominations and associations. This model mostly applies to Third World countries, India, Indonesia, Senegal or Latin America, but Italy also belongs here for media education is taken as an effective means of health education there. In Argentina, film and media studies function as facilitators of democratic social transformation. In that case, its aim is to develop citizens with the ability to understand the messages of the mass media, citizens who can utilise their media-related education in achieving their individual goals, and can better participate in local community activities.

The receptive critical model aims at developing autonomous persons who can critically understand various media texts. Its precondition is that students must learn the agents of communication (creators of the message and/or its transmitters), mass communication technologies, the various types and genres of media (media, texts and styles), the language of the media, the problem of presentation and the audience. The national curriculum expresses the intention to enable the students to properly read and use media texts as well as to select from motion picture texts. This is related to the very function of motion pictures to present representatives of the minorities, other cultures and their customs. Besides the Anglo-Saxon countries (England, Scotland and the United States), this model primarily applies to the Scandinavian countries and Europe, Slovenia, Austria, Switzerland, Poland and the Flamand section of Belgium, in particular, with their curricula that teach students for the proper understanding, reading and use of media, while stressing the relevance of the effective selection of motion picture texts (Hartai 1999). Media education is incorporated into the traditional school subject following the lesson numbers and requirements of the traditional subjects.

In the next section, some relevant features of the Hungarian media education are to be introduced, which, in comparison with some international media education models, is closer to the receptive critical model, and relies on the paradigms of mass culture and representation, while its content emphasises the film and motion picture studies (Jakab 2001).

The situation of media studies in Hungary

The traditional concept of culture in Hungarian public education rejects the inclusion of mass culture and media in the school system, consequently the majority of teachers cannot identify with the task of teaching any of their elements. In Hungary, there is some form of media and film studies since the 1960s, under such titles as film education, film aesthetics and film culture.

Between 1995 and December, 2011, the theoretical and content-related regulation of motion picture and media studies has been insured by the National Curriculum (NAT), the Framework Curriculum, the local school curricula and the curricula of the specific study circles as the basic documents that regulate all teaching and educational processes as well as by the final exam system, the outcome feedback element of the regulatory system. The first two are of central nature, as settled by the two-level curricular regulations, while the third one is a local level written document. Since 2007, the national level education programs contain the element of media competencies and knowledge required at the level of public education, the comparative measuring of the learners' knowledge and the need to create a transfer opportunity between the various schools and study circles (Szjártó 2008).

The new educational law (NAT) that came into force in 1995 has resulted in a major change in public education. Arts have become one of the chief education areas, including singing and music, dance, drama, film and media studies (Ballér 2003). The schools can provide film and media studies as a separate subject or in an integrated form, too, as part of other arts subjects, as a part of complex social studies subject, part of visual arts or even that of informatics. NAT ensures a fairly flexible framework for this purpose. The Framework Curriculum (28/2000 of 21.09) that came out in 2000 as a resolution of the Ministry of Education, entitles film and media studies of grades 8, 11 and 12 as a new independent subject, a module or partial subject (Jakab 2002).

The new form of media studies as a subject entails some special features. As compared to the traditional ones, it consisted of fewer lessons (37 at grade 8, 37 at grades 11 and 12 altogether). Furthermore, the title of the subject, film and media studies, also indicates some integration, a combination of elements from more knowledge areas. The other special feature is that owing to the nature of media education, this subject turned out to be a practical-oriented form of developing skills. In most schools, in the course of a one class per week session, the following forms of media education have been provided: separate subject, integrated in another one, optional program, as an independent track in vocational schools (technical, economic, arts, etc.), in the form of an extra curricular program (e.g. photo, video or multimedia study circle), school bulletin and news, intranet TV or film society (Jakab 2002). The choice of format in a particular institution has been influenced by several methodological factors. The educational policy related documents enabled the consideration of local demands and opportunities, as stated in the educational programs of the institutions.

According to the NAT (202/2007 of 31.07 Govn. Resolution), media education is such a system of skills and personal abilities developing tools, that is essential for the citizens in the age of information revolution and modern market economy in order to be able to obtain and select information. The aim of media education is to improve youngsters' media-related knowledge, critical skills, consciousness

and to generate media competencies to comprehend media texts, motion pictures and audio messages, too. The resolution mentions those cognitive, social and personal competencies that media education is expected to develop. These are the following: the observation skills of media texts, the ability to obtain information from mass communication devices, medial communication ability, comprehension, analytical skills, cognitive competencies, problem solving, self knowledge, cooperativeness, selection and tolerance.

According to the 2007 curriculum, film and media studies as a school subject functions as a protection of national culture and identity, besides, as a statement in favour of providing mass culture education, since media texts are the products of a society that, like other products, have more possible valid interpretations. According to the mass culture and representation paradigm, popular category media texts, like commercials, soap operas and reality shows, are also parts of a national culture since they can convey cultural patterns, too. During media classes, with the help of various media research methods, like content, genre, narrative and semiotical analyses, we can study these contents, thus facilitating the students' conscious and critical use of the media as well as their better comprehension of media texts.

Since 2004, students can have their final (so-called project) exams of media studies, too. Between 2008 and September, 2011, in Hungary, 4617 students passed their final exams at intermediate level, while 187 passed advanced media final exams.

The quantitative research of Hungarian higher education and the general characteristics of the sample

We elaborated the first background study in May, 2006, and we applied oral interviewing, more specifically, structural (fixed and standardised) interviews. The order of questions was strictly settled, and the interviews were carried out in a personal dialogue format. The sample pool was provided by 120 institutions in North-East Hungary, including 65 primary and 55 secondary schools. Questions were answered by the teachers of film and media studies.

Based on the outcomes of a pilot study, we concluded on the followings: 1) In most cases, film and media studies are provided in the course of an independent subject in most primary and secondary schools. In the first case, according to our findings, this number is 90 (80%), and in less frequent cases integrated framework is chosen. 2) Media studies are mostly provided in the 8th grade of the primary schools (83%) and in the 11th (50%) and 12th grades (36%) of secondary schools. 3) Secondary schools are professionally better prepared for

teaching media competencies: 42% of the teachers there have university degree in media studies, while 27% of the respondents have post-secondary diplomas in this subject. As for primary schools, 30% of the teachers have university degree in media studies, while 34% of the respondents have post-secondary diplomas. 31% of secondary schools and 36% of primary schools employ teachers without any degree in media studies.

A new surveying of teaching film and media studies has been carried out between February 16 and March 2, 2009. The interviews were, again, personal conversations (N=111), in several parts of the country, primarily in East Hungary and in Pest County, involving 58 primary and 53 secondary school teachers. Public education institutions were selected at random. During the sampling, we tended to represent all settlement types, including small villages, towns, and the media education practice of institutions sustained by towns of county status. With that method, we attempted to deduce information from smaller places to nation-scale data. Data recording was carried out in each case by professionally trained interviewers.

As compared to the outcomes of the 2006 survey, an innovation was that the structured interviews were extended by classroom observations, and their findings were recorded in the diaries that were based on a brand new recording technique (N=105). The complete recording of film and media studies classes aimed at obtaining a more comprehensive view on classroom processes. With its help, we can better explain the individual differences in the media competencies of students in the age group 14–18. All in all, in this sampling, the rate of primary and secondary schools was roughly equal (53% elementary institution, 50.5% and 52% secondary, 49.5 %), which is appropriate in the view of our hypotheses.

The measuring tools and some related questions

Teacher interviews

Teacher interviews were conveyed by professionally trained interviewers, applying structural questionnaires. The personal interviews were recorded (N=111), and they included almost equal numbers of primary (58 persons) and secondary (53 persons) school teachers of film and media studies. The interview contained 7 open-ended and 4 close-ended questions related to the following topics:

- 1) In the public education institutions, in which grade/year and in how many classes per week are film and media studies taught?
- 2) Is media education separate or integrated in other subjects?
- 3) What kind of professional qualification does the teacher have?
- 4) What is the goal of media education?
- 5) What are the technical requirements of media education?

6) Are any special forms of media education applied? (E.g. press and learning=PRES, bulletin for students=BUS, film circle, visiting the editor, etc.)

The answers of the interviews were recorded. The open-ended questions were noted down by the interviewers, and then the open-ended optional answers were categorised. This way we could obtain data ready to quantify, record in an SPSS program and then get it statistically analysed.

The monitoring diaries

Between February 16 and March 2, 2009, monitoring diaries have been prepared in 105 media classes. The qualified interviewers worked along a pre-set criteria system and noted down their observations in a form centrally issued during the lessons. These observation criteria are the following:

- 1) The course of the lesson (greeting, repetition, review, etc.);
- 2) Timing;
- 3) Methods applied (instructor's presentation, explanation, narration, debate, discussion, etc.);
- 4) Set-up (frontal, individual work, pair work, group work);
- 5) Teaching aids applied;
- 6) Organising the learning process (attentive techniques, confirming and preventing processes);
- 7) Content.

The rate of primary and secondary institutions was almost equal (53 primary, 50.5% and 52 secondary, 49.5%), which is appropriate for both our findings and hypotheses.

In the following, the teacher interviews and the diaries of classroom observation sessions are to be introduced.

The statistical analysis

During our investigations, beyond the descriptive statistical analyses, we have done further research to identify deeper correlations. The present paper discusses the outcomes of our observations deriving from two analytical projects. Besides the facts characterising contemporary Hungarian media education, we share some cross-tabs analysis results where in the case of the teacher interviews the type of school is the dependent variable, while in the case of the observation diaries, it is the educators' qualification, the type of school and the number of classes per week.

The teacher interviews: independent or integrated

One of the basic questions our research has been addressing is if film and media studies education is carried out as an independent subject or as an integrated part of another subject. In the view of our findings, it is an independent subject in 79 schools (71.2%), while it is provided in an integrated form in 32 schools (28.8%). There is a significant correlation between the type of institution where media studies is taught and the form of its integration ($\chi^2=14.860$; $df=4$; $p=0.05$). According to the cross-tabs analyses, we have found that there is an integrated form of media education in 23 schools ($N=54$), where it is integrated to other subjects. In the rest of the schools, there is a very limited integration, in secondary schools $N=30$, 4 persons, in primary and secondary schools $N=9$, 4 persons. There is a strong correspondence between the type of educational institution and the independent subject status or interestedness of media education ($\chi^2=17.119$; $df=4$; $p<0.03$). A control question was asked at the interviews, whether media is taught in the given school in an integrated form. Answers to the two questions show some symmetry, therefore we can conclude that there is no difference between them. According to the cross-tabs analyses, we have found that among the teachers interviewed, half of the primary school educators ($N=54$, 29 persons) teach media as an independent subject. However, we were surprised to find that among the secondary grammar and vocational school educators ($N=12$), only the independent subject is applied everywhere.

Integrated media studies pose the question to which particular other subjects this field is integrated. Media is often adjusted to Hungarian literature (17 persons, 15.3%), drawing and visual arts (12 persons, 10.8%), and computer science (5 persons, 4.5%). There is no significant correlation between the type of the institution and the integration form of media studies ($\chi^2=19.502$; $df=12$; $p>0.76$).

Weekly class numbers and the number of students by year

An important indicator in teaching a particular subject is the number of classes per week and the number of years it is taught at. In the pool of educators involved in our survey, 65.8% (73 persons) provide 1 class per week, 24.3% (27 persons) have only half an hour, that is, roughly 20 minutes per week for film and media studies. This is a very limited number, especially considering the fact that the requirements settled in NAT and the supplementary Framework Curriculum cannot be fully met, the developmental goals cannot be reached.

On the basis of the trial signification of the chi-square, there seems to be a strong correlation between the types of schools and the number of media classes provided ($\chi^2=28.013$; $df=16$; $p<0.04$). Therefore we can conclude that it is mostly the secondary grammar and vocational schools where students have one hour for

media studies. In the case of primary schools (N=54), 18 teachers provide film and media studies in half an hour sessions per week, while 33 persons hold one-hour classes per week. The yearly distribution of the subject taught shows that half of the persons asked (51 persons, 45.9%) teach it in 8th grade, while it is also provided at 11th (29 persons, 26.1%) and 12th grade (18 persons, 16.2%).

As a result of the cross-tabs analyses of the school types and years, we can observe that the teaching of film and media studies presents a varied picture. According to our data, in the various types of public education institutions, such as primary and secondary grammar, secondary vocational schools, it is taught at almost every year from 7th to 12th grade. In the primary schools, it is mostly 7th and 8th grade (6 and 48 persons teach it), while in secondary grammar schools media studies is most frequently taught at 11th grade (17 teachers).

The professional qualification of the media instructor

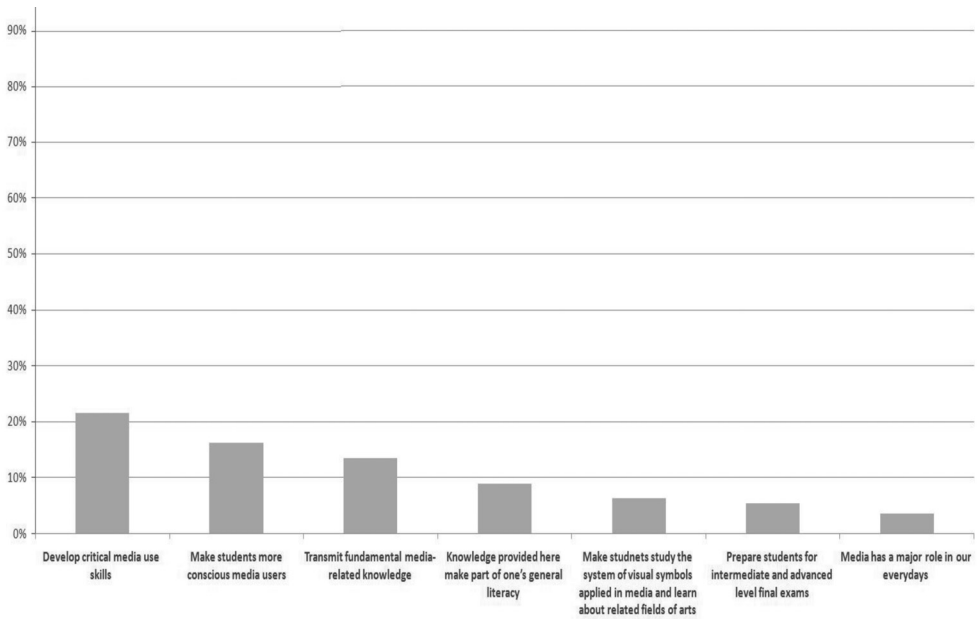
The situation and prestige of a particular subject in public education is reflected by the required qualifications of the teachers. Among the educators participating in the sample study (N=111), 37 persons (33.3%) have university degree in the subject, while 34 (30.6%) have obtained a post-secondary diploma as a result of a 120-class training. Among the further reasons for teaching the subject, missing class numbers (12 persons, 10.8%) and other miscellaneous reasons were also mentioned (28 persons, 25.2%).

According to the signification of the chi-square related to the school types and the qualifications of the teachers ($\chi^2=14.86$; $df=12$; $p>0.05$), there is no significant correlation. The number of those with post-secondary training (120-class course) is the highest among primary school teachers (N=54, 18 persons), and only 11 teachers have a university degree at this level. Among the teachers at secondary grammar schools (N=30), the rate of university degree holders (12 persons) and those with a post-secondary course (11 persons) is roughly the same. In the case of the joint grammar and vocational schools (N=12), the number of teachers of university degree were 8. The answer “I teach it because of the missing class numbers I have” was characteristic among primary school teachers, while in other school types this was not frequent.

The goal of media education, based on the interviews

In the educators' view, the major aim of film and media studies is to develop a critical understanding of the media among students (24 persons, 21.6%), turning them into more conscious media consumers (18 persons, 16.2%), and transmitting basic knowledge related to motion pictures (15 persons, 13.5%). In the view of our findings, we can conclude that teachers seem to present very different views on

the prior aims of teaching this subject. Most frequently, they mentioned the critical use of the media. Among the primary school teachers 11, while at secondary level 9 shared this opinion. Transmitting motion pictures related knowledge has also been prioritised among the goals by 11 primary and 9 secondary school teachers, along with that of conscious media use. There is no significant correlation proved between the type of school and the goal of media studies identified.



Graph 1. The goal of media education according to the teacher interviews.

What are the technical requirements of teaching media studies?

We believe that the lack of proper technical equipments cannot be the obstacle of teaching this subject. The findings, both those of ours and others, suggest that there are appropriate tools, but teachers tend to neglect them. Video player is there for 80.2% of those asked (89), and the even more popular teaching aid, the DVD player, is there with 102 teachers (91.9%). Computers are used by 36.9% (41 persons) for digital editing, and an almost equal number (48, 43.2%) uses digital cameras in the classroom for working on their media materials. Movie halls are not available in the majority (94, 84.7%) of the schools, especially due to the rate of rural institutions. Almost half (55, 49.5%) of the schools have a film collection.

The majority of the school libraries (75, 67.6%) cannot provide any opportunity for reading newspapers and magazines.

*Are the special, extra curricular teaching forms applied?
(E.g. press and learning=PRES, bulletin for students=BUS, film circle,
visiting the editor, etc.)*

The majority of students (100 pupils, 90.1%) do not participate in the *Bulletin for Students* project, which is a rather pathetic result, especially in the view of the fact that students have limited or no access in the school libraries to read printed press. The rate is similar in the case of the *Press and Learning* project, where 92.8% (103) of students are not involved.

The monitoring diaries

The majority of the monitoring diaries (N=105) came from primary schools (50 classes, 47.6%) and less from secondary institutions (31 classes, 29.5%). In the joint institutional forms, 10 classes, 9.5% provided diaries in the primary and secondary grammar combined type, while the secondary grammar and vocational subtype gave 8 classes, 7.6% of the cases. All in all, the rate of primary and secondary institutions is similar (53, 50.5% and 52, 49.5%), which matches the findings and hypotheses of our surveys. The observation criteria were the following:

The course of the lesson (greeting, repetition, review, etc.)

The rituals at the beginning of the classes, for instance greeting the students, are a common practice among most teachers (101, 96.2%). As for checking the homework done, there are more differences, for $\frac{3}{4}$ of the teachers (79, 75.2%) take this task as part of their job, while some neglect it (26, 24.8%). Repeating earlier learned items at the beginning of the class is an important methodological element for 70% of teachers (66.7%). Individual oral presentation of the learned material from the previous class seems to be the least widespread method used at film and media studies classes, as teacher interviews indicate (103, 98.1%), and that applies to written testing, too (101, 96.2%).

When introducing new materials at the classes, warm up exercises are applied by most teachers (99, 94.3%). In the case of film and media studies, the introduction of the new lesson is almost exclusive, 93.3%. Taking a thematic look at the new items, we can conclude that film making is the most popular topic, 18.1% of the classes (19) are devoted to that, while a particular mass medium and some types of commercials follows it in its popularity (8.6%, 9). In this large sample (N=103), the rest of the topics seem underrepresented, though film composition methods, like the golden section rule and symmetric composition, are also discussed (5, 4.8%), along with some periods of the history of movie making, like the birth of motion picture or the age of the silent

movie. Finally, the comprehension of motion picture texts required by NAT is very much underrepresented (4, 3.8%).

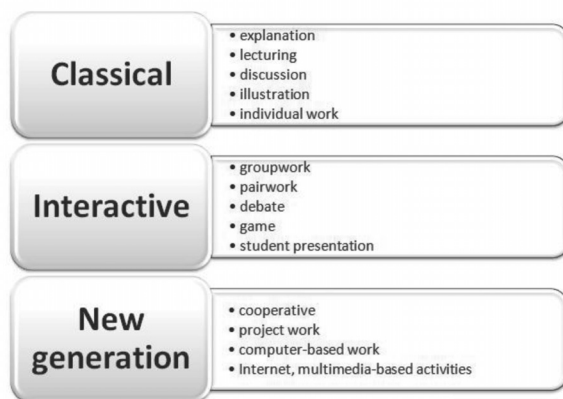
Summarising the learned materials by sections is done in 40% of the classes, while recording those in students' notebooks is done in 63.8% of the classes. The projection of these summaries on slides is there in 62.9% (66) of the classes. The end-of-class summaries (90.5%, 95) greatly contribute to the students' ability to recall the material later on. Saying good bye at the end of the class as a ritual is there in every media class.

As a result of the cross-tabs surveys, there is no significant correlation between classroom interactions, the structure of the class, the type of school (primary or secondary public education) and the summary of the previous class materials ($\chi^2=2.266$; $df=5$; $p=0.811$). As a result of the cross-tabs surveys, this kind of activity is characteristic of primary and secondary grammar schools.

School types and the individual oral review of students' knowledge of the previous class provided material shows some correlation ($\chi^2=10.003$; $df=5$; $p=0.75$). Oral revision is not a widespread method used among media teachers. As a result of the cross-tabs surveys, half of the primary school media classes present partial revision activities, while at secondary level it is less. In vocational and mixed type grammar and vocational schools, it is also irrelevant. There is no significant correlation between the type of school and partial revision practices.

In terms of timing, according to the observers, 81% (85) of the teachers provided well-organised classes, as regards to the methods applied. Students were very active and cooperative in 80% (84) of the classes visited, while 72.4% (85) presented disciplined student attitude and 81% (85) a good atmosphere.

During the classroom observations, methods have also been recorded. Applying Iván Falus's categories of teaching methods (Graph 1.), we differentiated some classical, interactive and new generational methods (Falus 2006).



Graph 2. Categories of education methods (Falus 2006).

We concluded that most of the media classes had a frontal work setup and mostly classical nature, i.e. explanation, lecturing, teacher's illustrations and individual work. Perhaps the number of discussions (96) is encouraging in this regard, for it indicates a more relaxed atmosphere in the classroom. We have seen only few examples for interactive teaching. The number of 13 of the *student presentations* (12.4%) makes us concerned, since in the age group 14–18 this form of learning is really an experience that relies on individual preparation, the ability to comprehend and organise media texts as well as to present them in an oral format, developing more skills at the same time. The success of a well-prepared and presented project relies on the student's expansion of his/her own knowledge. *Discussions and debates* are rare, too (14, 13.3%). This dialogical communication forms could enable students to express their opinions without inhibitions, as equal partners, respecting others' opinions and contrasting views, as well. The criteria of a meaningful debate are the following: proper preparation, organisation, making students respect the rules, directing the debate from the background, as integral parts of the teacher's tasks. With such a debate, we can develop a profound knowledge, problem-solving and communication skills, in-group peer relations and the whole community, too (Dillon 1994 – quoted by Falus 1998), therefore it is worth applying more often.

Even less frequent is the so-called new generation method, i.e. the cooperative, computer, Internet, multimedia and project-based methods. The *project method* is based on the cooperation of the teacher and the students, their interest, motivations and self-reliance. We could see this method applied in 9 cases (8.6%). It incorporated pre-set topics and writing-related articles, scripts, or the depiction of an age in film history, a particular artifact, commercial or video clip discussed in a project carried out in pairs or groups. These projects were always presented to the group. This method is highly recommended, since it can develop in-group relations and help the development of the community.

In terms of setup, the classes observed mostly presented a frontal setup in 91.4% (96). The new methods are still less emphatic there. Group work is characteristic in 21.9% (23) of the classes. Pair work has a low rate, only a quarter of the cases (17, 16.2%) applied it. An actual pair work activity was observed only in one class. Partly individual work characterised 38.1% (40) of the classes. Completely individual work appeared in only 8.6% (9) of the cases.

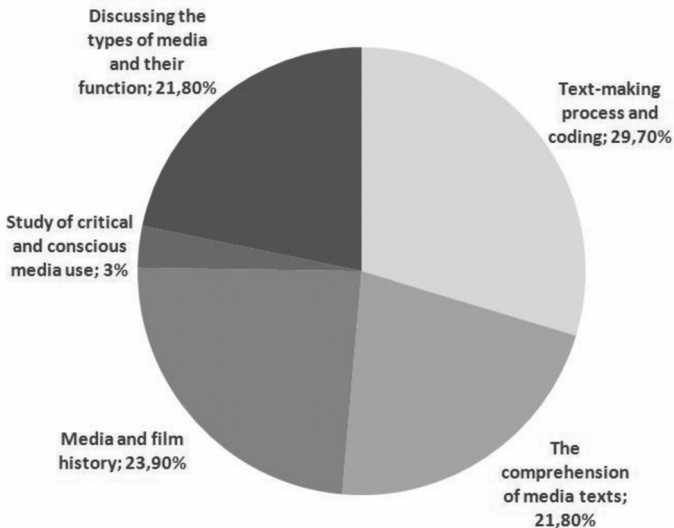
The teacher's explanation as a method does not really mark media classes (11, 10.5%). Student presentation took place in media classes (N=105) at 13 occasions (12.4%). Debating as a method is not frequently applied either in media classes (14, 13.3%), while discussion happened in 91.4% (96) of them. The project method is under-represented, 8.6% (9). Group work is also low in number, 13.3% used it at media classes. Problem-solving with pair work happened in 11.4% (12) of the classes.

In terms of teaching aids, video players were used in 10.5%, and film

presentation occurred in 61% (64) of the cases, which, in the view of the ICT (information and communication technology) devices applied, shows that movie analysis is not a significantly high component. The projector is often used as a classroom aid (64.8%, 68). Similar is the laptop use (63.8%). The PC is decreasing in its relevance, only 8% (9) of the classes had it as a technical aid. Projectors have diminished the use of OHPs with their only 7.6% use. The dictaphone is mostly not used. As for books, only half of the classes used them (49, 46.7%). Workbooks have been more utilised (58, 55.2%).

The observation concerning the organisation of the learning process (attentive techniques, confirming and preventing processes, etc.) suggested that eye contact as a disciplinary means is quite often applied (94.3%, 99). Pitch and loud speech as disciplinary means appeared only in 3.8% of the classes. Intimidating, shaming students appeared only once in the 105 observed classes, while written notices are not markant at all. Verbal praising is frequent (94, 89.5%), smile as an assurance gesture appeared in 86.7% (91), and verbal support was remarkable 89.5% (94). Written support was rare, 3.8% (4).

In terms of contents, film and media studies classes mostly discussed the text-making process and coding; 29.7% (30) of the monitoring diaries recorded it. The history of journalism was the second most significant 23.9% (24), media text comprehension was the third 21.8% (22), similarly to classes dealing with the types and functions of media. Most rare was the discussion of conscious and critical media use, only 3% (3) of the classes.



Graph 3. Observing film and media studies classes: what is actually taught? (Thematic categories of the new subject in line with the requirements specified by the National Curriculum, NAT.)

As a conclusion on the diaries, we can state that the goals of media education mentioned in the interviews did not necessarily correlate with classroom processes. Little attention is given to developing the students' abilities to better understand and select media texts, programmes and contents. Only limited opportunity was given to the students to present their own views on the influence of mass communication devices and the media, or to share their views with their peers on their relationships with and attitude to the media.

Conclusions

From the perspective of education management modes, frontal classroom activities are still very much characteristic of film and media studies classes. Books and workbooks are not frequently used there either. Homework is done, but many times it is not revised during the classes. Conscious and critical media use is almost not discussed in the film and media classes. Presenting and evaluating these projects always takes place in front of the group. This method is worth using, for it can greatly foster interpersonal relations within the group and the development of the community.

The aim of our study was to present an empirical research exploring the media literacy of the age group 14–18, analysing the current state of affairs in media studies in Hungary, in the educators' view. In this paper, we have shared some findings that present the methods applied and contents discussed at film and media classes as well as the state of the subject nowadays, its typical elements, the qualifications its educators have these days, the types of schools it is taught at and the state of technical equipment applied.

Based on the classroom observations, we can see that the goals of media education defined by the teachers in the interviews do not necessarily reflect the classroom processes. Only little time and attention are devoted to developing the students' critical and conscious media use and selection of media texts and programmes. Very few instances presented examples of the students' independent opinion making in the course of the classes related to the impacts of mass communication devices or of sharing their views with their peers.

All these data are relevant, especially since the adaptation of media education requirements on a local level can be effective and successful if we are aware of the circumstances that affect the daily work of media educators. The experiences and findings obtained during the research may foster a change in the way we approach media education towards a new one that is based on stimulating the students to incorporate their earlier media experiences in their studies and build on them with the help of some specific methods. Based on our classroom observations, we wish to argue for a major change in the methodology of media education.

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Teaching Generation Y

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Abstract. Before the emergence of network society, perhaps only Gutenberg's invention brought a comparably huge change to his times. The acceleration of communication, the possibility of rapid swap of information, produced an utterly new lifestyle. It has changed our perception of social connections, of media, of information storage, of learning, etc. What kind of effect has all this had on education? The methods used in pedagogy have changed, as well as the relation between teachers and students, the function and forms of collective work. I will attempt to outline the changes that caused the generation gap, to present my experience as a teacher in the Hungarian community from Kolozsvár, and to bring out some tools and methods teachers could use in today's classroom. I will also try to answer the question: why is this sudden development good for the educational system, and why can we consider having internet connection, discovering the world of Web2.0 a potential.

Keywords: education, Generation Y, Web2.0, network society, social learning, connectivism

Introduction: definitions and characteristics

If we had to describe the society of our days in a few words, I would say: change. We are in a continuous alteration. As we look back on history, before the information society, the biggest change was caused by Gutenberg. The speeding up of communication and information exchange has provided us with a different mood. Our perceptions of media, information and information storage, social behaviour and relation have altered. High school has become the place for continuous change, as well. Developing our knowledge, learning how to interact and solve problems in the fastest way using the internet and different social networks represents one of the highest expectations, not only in education, but in our everyday life, too. In this paper you will find some thoughts related to Generation Y, its characteristics, methods and tools that work in the classroom,

as, for example, ways to use social media for teaching and learning as well as writing and working out different Life Long Learning projects.

First of all, we will have to define what Generation Y is. Persons, who were born after the 1970's and the first half of the 1990's can be included in the group. This generation, also called 'Echo Boomers,' 'Millennium Generation,' 'iGeneration,' 'Einstein Generation,' 'Net Generation' or 'Google Generation,' has grown up in a world with diverse Internet resources, iPods, MySpace and intense multi-tasking – simultaneously chatting on AIM, finishing a problem set, watching television and listening to music. These kids are the kids of the Baby Boomers, heavily immersed in a digital world (Yan 2006). If we would like to place its appearance in the history, we could relate to the fall of the Berlin wall and the 1986 Challenger explosion. That was the moment when Generation Y took the place, or better said, got separated from Generation X (Yan 2006). What are their characteristics, how were they brought up, how can they be taught, how can all this affect their approach to learning, what are their tools for learning and communicating, how and where do they communicate and network? – you could ask. As a high school teacher, I was curious as well, I wanted to find out how they learn, where they try to find information and how I can use the internet, the social media to teach more effectively and organise the classes in a way that they would not be boring for them.

We have to know about this generation, that they are identified with cynicism, skepticism and pessimism (Yan 2006). They arrive at school or university as experienced multitaskers, who already know how to use the mobile phones, the computer meanwhile they are watching television and chatting (Thompson 2007). These youngsters can get bored really fast, because it is hard for them to concentrate only on one issue. Their brain is used to diffuse information collected from several sources, as blogs, other websites, etc. That is why they are ready for multimedia learning to be delivered on a flexible schedule, they don't like to be tied to a set time or place (Thompson 2007). Technology has grown very fast. These children were brought up in an environment where computers, mobile phones, the internet were used on a daily basis. Today's society has become, like Marshall McLuhan predicted, a global village. Information can move instantaneously from every corner of the world to the other at the same time. People can interact easily, physical distance doesn't represent a problem anymore. It's easy to search for online communities, to chat and get to know people, to gather information you need, spread and react to news instantly. This is why they expect immediate answers from us, teachers, as well as to be able to access information quickly and give or find assertive answers (Kennedy et al. 2007). Accessing different sites, they can read about everything, they can connect to whomever they wish, they are becoming more informed, more open minded, racially and culturally more tolerant than other generations. This is why we have

to consider what and how we teach. There is an increasing demand for new educational approaches and pedagogies, as McLoughlin and Lee (2007) state in their article about the Web 2.0 era. But before I write about the new methods of teaching, I would like to emphasise the difference between traditional learning and the school of information generation.

Channels and tools for learning

Our communicational channels have become digitalised and interactive. Different new ways of communication appear, like blogs, vlogs or podcasts. A few years ago none of these existed. It is old-fashioned fun to read a book, to concentrate on only one thing. Even brains have changed, they have grown because they got accustomed to the constant bombardment of change, of television shows', movies' rapid storytelling pace (Yan 2006). The monopoly situations have dissolved, everyone can write newspapers, blogs, run radios or television channels. Schools, can not exist anymore in their conservative way, they could not fill every requirement of the society which is dynamically developing and changing. The aim of the new generation of teachers and Lifelong Learning projects is to change the educational system as well as the teaching methods. An open learning environment has to be formed, the teacher-pupil relationship has to be modified in addition, to guide the students not to transfer knowledge. During traditional teaching, children learnt facts, rules and answers. Today we try to develop skills, ability, attitudes and deftness as well as desire for a lifelong learning. We do not offer a ready-made, closed knowledge anymore. Instructions received from teachers have a small number, it has become more important to persuade the students to work alone in a complex and inspiring environment. We engage them in different project-based activities instead of formal learning. Pupils have to realise, that learning is not some tiring work, but an interesting task. The opened, multi- and hypermedia learning environment should encourage them to innovate and create.

E-learning tools provide a great support for teachers. First, known were the eLearning1.0 and Web1.0, which were used to complement the traditional forms of teaching, like, for example, sites where you can find ebooks, sites where you can read about different authors or solve problems, etc. Web 1.0 was built up from predominantly hierarchised information which were controlled by a small group of content providers, mostly informaticians (Greenhow, Robelia and Hughes 2009). But these tools turned out to be less useful, because they are not interactive, we can not revise or modify them, they were read-only mediums, those who were browsing could find ready-made topics, could download, but could not change them. This was an effortless work from the receptor, pretty much a one-way experience (Thompson 2007). This is why internet and eLearning had

to be developed. As Thompson states: “Downes sees the development of Web 2.0 as a shift from being a medium, in which information was transmitted and consumed, into being a platform, in which content was created, shared, remixed, repurposed, and passed along” (Thompson 2007, 1). Today, most of the teachers use eLearning2.0 and Web2.0 in the classroom. Web 2.0 includes social networks as MySpace, Facebook, media sharing as Youtube, Flickr, social bookmarking as Delicious or CiteULike, collaborative knowledge development as the wikis, and it supports creative work with video blogs, microblogs (e.g. Twitter, Blogger), podcasts, and so on (Greenhow, Robelia and Hughes 2009).

As we can see in its characteristics, Web 2.0 is different from the previously mentioned one, because individual users can remix the provided data, add web content, which action was the province of Internet designers a few years ago. This era is the one of the personal media – consumers become creators (Thompson 2007). Internet now is the field of interactivity: people can Like pages, topics, photos, or write a comment about them. Its tools are almost endless, they can be used for information gathering or communication, which makes possible to establish a common knowledge by allowing people to write documents together on real time (e.g. Googledocs or blogs), the corporate information-production/growth changes, newsgroups, video conferences, podcasts are made by PR staff. New Media have become the tool for individual knowledge management. The students work interacting with one another, they can exchange or create topics of their own in groups or individually on the web. Blogs can be used, for example, to “expand course activities beyond the four walls of the classroom, so students are writing for a worldwide audience instead of only for classmates and the instructor” (Thompson 2007, 3).

What can a teacher in this situation do? – you can ask. How can we teach them? How can we engage them? What tools do we or can we use to encourage them to create and innovate? We are definitely lucky, because eLearning has the tools and power to transform teaching and even learning.

The role of teachers

The most beloved learning form is multitasking. As I mentioned before, pupils do not like to get bored, and they cannot concentrate on a single task anymore, their brain is shaped to be able to be attentive to several things at the same time. So, according to this information, teachers can give them skills and tools to work with, but definitely not raw information, as in the past. We can teach them how to find information, how to search for it, make sense of and use all the relevant information they get. They love to work with images, voice and video tools. This generation is a visual one, so we have to try taking this into

account. They spend more time watching television than any other generation. Movies and different shows have a great influence on them. So, in a world where television is one of the main attractions, the ubiquity of images requires teaching them how to interpret images they see, like those of movies and advertising. We have to give them the ability to choose and use information, but with critical discrimination. Helping them understand the power of images and sounds is how they will build knowledge. In my experience, they do not like to learn anything that has even a faint semblance to information, and when they have to learn, they learn in the last minute, so the information will soon fade away. This is why I consider developing skills more important than delivering ready-made knowledge. This generation lives for the moment. They expect prompt affirmation, they claim immediate reward. If a topic is not relevant, useful or entertaining enough, they are not willing to collaborate. Teenagers of today like simultaneous interactions, to set up social connections, networks. Relationships as well as knowledge have become insecure and uncontrollable. Social Media became a utility that helps people understand the world around them, develops technologies – like Facebook, for example – that facilitate the spread of information, allowing people to share their thoughts, photos, information online, like they would do it in the real world. “Internet is no longer a series of isolated silos of information; it has become a platform for users to communicate and interact with one another” (Thompson 2007).

The age of connectivism has arrived. They have to learn in groups and always have the possibility to connect with each-other and the teachers. One of the main principles of connectivism, mentioned by Siemens, is that learning and knowledge have to rest in and be based on diversity of opinions (Siemens 2004). Learning has to be a process in which we are connecting specialised nodes or information sources, and develop the ability to see connections between fields, ideas and concepts (Siemens 2004). Our knowledge has to be always up to date, we cannot learn something anymore and be certain that the information will not change in years. New information arrive all the time in such a big amount that we have to be able to select. Decision-making is an other ability we have to develop, choosing what to learn is extremely important. Teachers always have to guide their students, to nurture and maintain connections to facilitate continous learning (Siemens 2004). This is why the relationship between students and teachers has changed. It is more open. They can friend each other on social networks, they can follow each other’s blogs, tweets, can send text messages, or chat. Pupils get closer to their teachers, they are not afraid to ask questions, to express their opinion. Of course, we have to mention that respect and discipline have changed as well, children sometimes grant their teachers too much confidence. But I would not like to elude this part of education now. Instead, I would like to talk about the role of teachers, which has changed with

the turnout of New Media and Social Networking, and give some examples from my own experience, our projects worked out with my students.

As I mentioned earlier, the role of the teacher today is to brief students into the over-communicated world flooded with information, help them recognise and use their power of creating, to manipulate and transform digital media. We have to create a way of communication that helps personal growth. Teaching has to be activity- or game centered, in order to develop cognitive, personal and social abilities. This way we can form the motivation, skills and abilities for a lifelong learning. Using pictures, paintings or other visuals can be the most effective teaching medium.

The school of today: working together

In 2009, a research was made, which shows that since the mid 1990's, the percentage of schools equipped with computers and Internet connection exploded from 35% to 100% in the United States, and the ratio of students per Internet-connected instructional computer decreased from 12:1 to 3.8:1, outside of schools, more than two thirds of people in the United States have Internet connections at home, more than half of which are broadband (Greenhow, Robelia and Hughes 2009). In Romania, we still can not state that we have 100% coverage, but almost each major school is provided with necessary tools for practicing the new ways of teaching. They have computer or multimedia rooms, digital cameras and smart boards. In central high schools in Kolozsvár, there is at least one smart board and there are several multimedia tools. I use them during most of my classes to be able to learn together and network together with the pupils. We got engaged in different projects with my students from which I will present a few as examples of using New Media and Social Networking in the classroom. First of all, I have to appoint what kind of projects these are, and why we like them and engage in them, although they usually require extra (after classes) work.

The Lifelong Learning Project of the European Union has the goal to teach separateness, to develop skills and abilities, to change attitudes towards and interdisciplinary work, to rouse international or inland presence by projects based on interactivity, and, last but not least, to exchange information about each other, to build connections between students of the same age, field of interest, originating from different countries, cultures (see http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc78_en.htm). These programs are grouped by age categories. The Comenius, Youth In Action and E-twinning programs are for school-children, Erasmus is for students at university, Leonardo da Vinci and Comenius are for grown ups and staff of schools.

“We participate, therefore we are”¹

The paraphrase of the well known Cartesian deduction, used by Brown and Adler (2008) shows that development, flow of information and social learning have changed our needs, our expectations as well as our behaviour. Our understanding of content, as they say, is socially constructed through conversation about the content and thorough interactions (Brown and Adler 2008). The interest and motivation of students can be stimulated by school projects. In this open environment, they will try to find on their own information and like-minded people who they can work with (Greenhow, Robelia and Hughes 2009). I prepared activities with my colleagues during our work with the students, and provided support in case it was needed. We assisted their work, but never gave exact tasks, trying to be initiators and advisors. Preparing and planning these projects, I expected active participation by stimulating their creativity and providing the possibility to work in an open environment. By working outside of classrooms, using different tools and devices, nurturing relations with students abroad, pertaining to other cultures, having real life experiences, I expected my students to improve their sense of community, to interact more frequently with each other, to engage in different social and multidisciplinary activities.

One of the projects implemented by my team was based on the topic of environmental change. The aim of our work was to point out the negative effects of the presence of CO₂ in the air. We focused on people’s knowledge of the side-effects caused by the emission of CO₂, in order to be able to try to change their mentality and attitude (not only of those studying and working at school, but everyone’s in the country). We made posters and flyers displaying the before mentioned problems.



Photo 1. Students designing the flyers and posters.

1 Expression used by Brown and Adler (2008).

We also went outside the school and classroom to make our own measurements and surveys. It was a great opportunity to work together with the chemistry and biology teachers. After our research, we could discuss the effects and issues during a Skype meeting with other groups engaged in the project from all over Europe, and enter our results into a database on the internet, made especially for the program. We were also able to organise several presentations in which we tried to convince people to travel more on bikes or to walk. As a good example, colleagues of mine organised an expedition on bikes during the summer holiday (this had already become a tradition of the school before our project), to prove that you can have fun and visit places without a car. People could follow the team during the expedition, because the children created a blog, where they wrote about their day, their experiences, and uploaded photos, short videos. At the end of the program, a book was published containing the results of several high schools, as well as opinions about the program and the experience of working together as a team using multimedia tools.

An other project supporting multiculturalism and requiring work with New Media tools was the Europe +/- 20, organised by the Robert Schuman Foundation. The aim of the program was to invite to Warsaw (Poland) groups of students from different countries, who could talk about their past, the time of communism and the possibilities of avoiding a war by trying to accept each other, to accept multiculturalism and diversity. Before arriving to Poland, students had to compile a presentation in which they show their countries' past and their opinions about war and acceptance, their experience of living in a multicultural environment.² My group made a short video based on information, photos and music found on the internet about the war and communism in general. They emphasised the happenings from Temesvár (Timișoara), Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and Bucharest (București), getting to the conclusion that war and hatred is unnecessary, it only causes pain and suffering, and that we should focus on maintaining peace and solidarity.

After the speech of Ronald Reagan claiming Gorbachev to tear down the walls, and after so many intents to abolish differences and hate between people, the globally envisaged peace still does not exist. So, during the meeting of these schools, children were engaged in different games, conversations and multicultural evenings, dressed up in their national costumes, dancing their national dances, singing, etc., to be able to know and accept each-other's culture and to be able to connect, to find joy in living and working together. One of the most interesting activities was to symbolically tear down the walls between us. We wrote a manifesto together, with the title "No more walls," in which we stated that we would no longer let any symbolical wall to stand between us and our cultures. This was followed by a happening: the students were able to simulate the demolition of the

2 Our presentation can be watched here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JRO5piUkk2U>.

Berlin wall, to actually experience in a real life situation what a few years ago they would have just learnt from books between the four walls of a classroom.



Photo 2. Simulating the fall of the Berlin wall.³

The learning and teaching environment has been transformed, the Web is definitely changing the way we think about learners' participatory and creative practices with Web 2.0 tools, like whom with, what about and, most of all, how we should teach.

Management of the projects

It is important during and after our work to disseminate everything we managed to do. This is not only because we want to create a working place for ourselves, but because self-promotion is very important nowadays (Greenhow, Robelia and Hughes 2009). People and organisations like to define themselves using Internet tools, like social networks, blogs, etc. The created multiplied selves interact and shape learning (Greenhow, Robelia and Hughes 2009). "Tools such as blogs, wikis, social networking sites, media sharing applications and social bookmarking utilities are also pedagogical tools that stem from their *affordances* of sharing, communication and information discovery" (McLoughlin and Lee 2007). So, I thought it would be a good idea for us to create a blog and sign up for several Social Media sites where we would be able to write about our experiences, post photos and information needed as well as providing a surface where we could stay in touch. This was easiest way to coordinate the groups and allow people worldwide to get to know our work.

³ A short video of the happening can be seen here: http://warszawa.gazeta.pl/warszawa/10,88291,7237977,Mur_berlinski_upadl_w___Warszawie___html.



Photo 3. Start page of the blog.

The blog was useful because I could be in touch with the parents, as well, upload documents which we used in creating our presentations, and we could also upload the final “products,” photos made during our trips, research or work.

As you can see, teachers are not only active in the classroom anymore. They have to get out, to take students out from their accustomed environment, they have to be managers of their class, of their work and institution. The media presence has become important, because people need to hear about you, about the school in order to be able to choose where to subscribe their children. It is already a matter of reputation, prestige. On the other hand, this is the best way we can communicate with Generation Y. The traditional talk would not work with them. They want freedom instead of structured topics, they need the possibility of experiencing. Traditional teaching always focused on the individual, now these teenagers are socially driven (McCrandle 2002). They are interested in credible, useful information. Most actions have to be spontaneous, interactive and relevant. But, according to constructivist views, also moderated, because students rarely develop explicit learning strategies on their own (Ullrich et al. 2008). What we are communicating has to be interesting, the style as well as the content, and we have to somehow moderate their work to avoid problematic and offensive content or actions (e.g. plagiarism, disappearing content). They love to be entertained, so the information we would like to give them has to be mixed, multiple learning channels have to be opened. We have to be able to position ourselves as team leaders, because youth still sees most of the teachers and other adults as authorities who can provide them either good or bad information about something, creating ‘good or bad authorities,’ depending on whether they agree or not with their opinion (Ullrich et al. 2008). They will progress from dualism to multiplicity as they encounter more diversity in the world and our work together.

Among the colourful palette of activities that the Internet and smart tools, as phones, Ipads give us, we have to gain the attention of students and their positive attitude to knowledge. Today, we don't speak about information, education and entertainment anymore, but infotainment and edutainment (Kugler 2004).

SWOT analysis

With using the eLearning2.0, Social Media tools in education, we can provide the expectations and fill the requirements of this generation, like openness, vulnerability and genuine interest in those we are trying to teach and above all: understanding – points out McCrindle (McCrindle 2002). Old tools and methods tend to structure learning by strict subjects, but we have to teach in an interdisciplinary way, similarly to their way of living life in a hyperlinked world. They think in hyperlinks, McCrindle says (McCrindle 2006), they multi-task, values speed over accuracy and they absorb information from multiple sources. The more styles you use, the fewer listeners you will lose – mentality is not well suited to traditional logical communication most of us are used to.

As a summing up of all my assertions, deductions and examples, I would like to outline the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of this new way of teaching, here in Transylvania. First of all, schools should provide (and most of them do) a multimedia environment, where students use all of the ICT tools, learn ICT and Technology subjects. Students and teachers can mostly use the internet during classes, to provide fast and relevant information. We can tell that students in schools from Transylvania are well informed and entertained. This way teaching and learning is fun, most of the times.

As I have written, schools provide internet connection, but control its usage. This is one of the weaknesses. Why do we need full usage of the Internet and a computer in every classroom as well as in every home? Internet today provides free access to a wide range of courses and educational materials, and we could use them during classes, or the students could use them at home. “The movement began in 2001 when the William and Flora Hewlett and the Andrew W. Mellon foundations jointly funded MIT's OpenCourseWare (OCW) initiative, which today provides open access to undergraduate- and graduate-level materials and modules from more than 1,700 courses” (Brown and Adler 2008, 18). This movement has inspired other universities, other researchers to join and develop similar educational programs, to provide supercomputer simulation models, to invite students to personally engage in researches. In Hungary, for example, Kristóf Nyíri was the one who set the base of a virtual academy. He states that the purpose and role of different spaces have changed, Internet has become the space for learning (Nyíri 1999). The importance of personally being there, at a

campus or in the buildings of a university, has slowly disappeared, we are able to learn from home, being at the office or anywhere else.

An other disadvantage is still represented by the restricted topics which are defined by the Ministry of Education. It is hard to harmonise the formal lessons (which must be delivered by the teacher), the traditionally determined way of teaching with the eLearning2.0 experiential and participative methods (but it is not impossible). There are still problems with the ICT tools. We have computers and internet, but they are sometimes of a poor quality, they do not work at all or as well as we need them to work. We still have to test academic knowledge and memory during exams, but this generation does not need ready information, they are always connected to the internet, so they can check and search for what they need to know just in a few minutes, they live in an open-book world (McCrindle 2002).

The fact that conservative thinking still exists in schools could be considered as a threat: teachers who got used to traditional learning methods would still like to use them, and it is difficult to understand this new generation, the gap between them is deeper, they cannot get used to students controlling their own learning, making connections with peers. In the classroom they rather use the ICT tools along with traditional ones if they ought to use them.

But the positive turn – that represents an opportunity – is that many of the teachers participate in different trainings, eLearning programs where they learn about these tools, how they can compile an informative but network-based material, how they can efficiently use the internet, how they can interact and teach in small groups. They can exercise how to build up activities which are based on learner-centered instructions and are characterised by the three important features that McLoughlin and Lee (2007) point out: 1) support for conversational interaction; 2) support for social feedback; and 3) support for social networks and relationships between people.

Conclusions

The new generation has grown up in a fast moving world, where they have been flooded with information. Digital technologies have greatly impacted their learning styles. The volume of the information that we can access via internet requires skills for scanning and quick evaluating of visuals like graphs, charts, photos, etc. Learning takes place in a social context, therefore we have to be aware that students are able to participate in the learning process from anywhere, using their mobile devices, laptops or other ICT tools. Teachers will have to keep up, learn to use these new media tools, or make their presence be felt in the Social Media, use it to promote their ideas and projects, and this will lead to less artificial situations, situations which take place in the context of real life (Ullrich et al. 2008).

After the implementation of several projects, using the before mentioned ICT tools, Social Media and creating a blog, I can conclude that we are able to work in this new environment, and that my students have probably learnt more than they would have in the classroom or from books. They had the unforgettable opportunity to learn by playing. Why was the blog useful? Creating the blog we expanded our work, we could be active after school, from home or other places, and we not only wrote to ourselves, but to a worldwide audience. As the Greenhow – Robelia – Hughes trio asserts in their work, “a) speech is ephemeral but electronic text can be stored indefinitely; b) searchability: a journal in a drawer is very different from putting thoughts in an environment where people can look for specific names and places; c) replicability: electronic media make it very easy for others to duplicate and change what one or another has created; and d) invisible audiences: one cannot tell who is online reading one’s thoughts, and what is written can be read in a context other than that intended” (Greenhow, Robelia and Hughes 2009, 251).

Today, when one can build a career by changing jobs and being able to learn new things, in order to acquire new knowledge, we do not need the information that we have learnt years ago in high school. We mostly base new knowledge on that, but we have to be open to new possibilities. My role as a teacher is not to deliver information anymore, but to coordinate the info-aggregation, and to develop skills, abilities for understanding it, being able to select amongst it in a way that after class they could say: “It was fun.”

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Interactive Whiteboard in Mathematics Education

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Abstract. The spread of IT devices has great influence on present day society, and it has entirely changed our everyday life by becoming an organic part of it. We could not imagine a life without such devices. This influence is manifested in education and in schools, as well. New ICT devices have appeared and offer new possibilities for the teachers. It is a long process until education is totally reformed, the digitalisation and interactive development of teaching books happen, and teaching methods change. Teachers educate a digital generation, who use the ICT devices in the daily learning process and who easily acquire the usage of this equipment without extra instructions. The members of this generation should be taught with the help of digital pedagogy. More and more teachers learn how to use these devices and make them part of their everyday teaching, preferring mainly the IWB. (The Interactive Whiteboard – IWB – is an ICT device that gets connected to a projector and a computer, and projects the monitor of the computer onto the board on which one can realise interaction using special devices, pens or fingers.) The number of teachers using the interactive whiteboard is increasing in Hungary. Mathematics teachers are open, enthusiastic and curious about using the IWB in lessons; they do their best to learn how to use and make use of it. Experience also supports this idea since students' attitudes towards the IWB are positive. This paper aims at presenting the potentials of using IWB in mathematics lessons, the potentials of the software which is available for teachers, and the opinion of the students, which is given by means of concrete examples.

Keywords: IWB (interactive whiteboard), mathematics education, CAS (Computer Algebra System), DGS (Dynamic Geometric System), interactive learning environments

Introduction

After the appearance of the traditional blackboard, the computer and the IWB may have an impetus effect on teaching methods and on the renewal of the techniques. The first revolutionary teaching tool – the humble blackboard – found its way into classrooms back in 1801 and had a profound impact on the nature of teaching over the next 200 years. The blackboard became synonymous with the traditional classroom and, along with shiny red apples, it is still seen as a stereotypical symbol of education. The interactive whiteboard – or IWB – has the potential to be the second revolutionary teaching tool. Just as the blackboard was seen as a key part of nineteenth- and twentieth century classrooms, the IWB has the capability to become synonymous with the new digital classrooms of the twenty-first century (Betcher and Lee 2009).

The spread of IWB is varied, as we may find some schools where there is not any, in others there may be one, or quite the opposite, the number of these boards can be 10–15. It can be observed that the number of IWBs correlates with the number of the teachers who use them. The presence of IWB motivates the teachers to try it and use it in their pedagogic activities.

Maths and IWB

Mathematics is not the most popular subject with students. Many of them have not acquired the basic skills and have not taken enough time to practise, therefore they cannot catch up with the others, the lessons become more and more difficult for them to understand and they may even suffer during math lessons. Mathematics must rather be understood than studied. According to Duval, representation is the basis of understanding in the field of mathematics (Duval 1999). Using mathematical programs in the lessons seems to help representation. The acquisition of mathematical skills needs continuous study and thinking, since gaining and developing knowledge in maths is like building a pyramid: if there is no appropriate base, it is very difficult to build on it. Counting a lot may seem to be boring for a lot of students. Students often complain, saying that they do not like mathematics because it is too abstract, it contains only numbers and letters. Mathematics is a very important subject, therefore it must be made interesting, enjoyable and easy to understand for students.

The IWB and appropriate mathematical software are very good devices to facilitate representation and motivation. According to Lerman and Zevenberg, there is little doubt that IWBs have the potential to enhance learners' opportunities to experience mathematical representations and develop their mathematical thinking (Lerman and Zevenberg 2007).

By using them, we can easily represent functions and solid mathematical shapes; they are easier to see and one of their advantages is the fact that the teacher can modify them at any time. Using the board may make students more interested, because it makes it possible to emphasise practical use and involve them in the lesson, thus making the lesson more interactive, and providing the students with positive experience in order to make them see the beauty of mathematics.

The earlier survey by Tataroglu and Ayten, concerning the question whether students' attitude toward mathematics changed when using the IWB in math lessons, also supports the following claim: "Did your interest towards mathematics change after using the IWB?" were examined, it was determined that the interests of 9 (of 16) students towards mathematics increased after the lessons with the IWB. Students, who think that their interest increased, stated that it was because of their curiosity about the board, the simplicity of drawing, its ability to save time, the enjoyment of the lessons and visuals (Tataroglu and Ayten 2010).

Problem solving

In teaching mathematics, the teacher's task is to develop the intellectual competences of the students (Szalontai 2008). Thus, while solving mathematical problems, students' problem-solving skills also improve. There is a very good sequence of steps proposed by Pólya (1994), which may be very useful in helping students think while solving problems. These steps are the following:

- 1) understand the task;
- 2) find connections between the data and the unknown variable, if you cannot find any immediate connection, search for related problems, finally, make a plan;
- 3) carry out your plan;
- 4) examine your solution.

The above steps may be assisted by an interactive whiteboard. On the one hand, it can be used to illustrate the material; on the other hand, it is very good for making plans and finding connections. In addition, finding related problems is also easier with an IWB. The mathematical programs provide a fast and easy technique to check the solutions.

Fitzallen (2005) puts great emphasis on the recognition of a need for teachers to gain an understanding of how Information and Communication Technology (ICT) can be used to extend students' thinking and problem-solving skills, rather than being just a publication and research tool.

Using mathematical programs in lessons

The appearance of the computer was followed by the introduction of different calculators and other mathematical programs, which were designed to solve complex

mathematical problems that otherwise could not be calculated manually. These programs generate the results of the tasks automatically. However, some programs are for teaching purposes, helping the understanding and practice of the results.

The new devices and the different algebraic and geometric programs provide a lot of opportunities for school use. These programs might be divided into two groups: CAS (Computer Algebra Systems) and DGS (Dynamic Geometric Systems). Computer Algebra Systems appeared at the beginning of the 1980s. They are interactive programs which allow mathematical calculations containing symbols compared to those allowing only numerical calculations (Sárvári 2004). They might be systems with general purposes, e.g. Maple, Maxima, Derive, MuPad, MuMATH, DoCon, Mathematica, MathCAD, Reduce, and systems with specific purposes, which have reference to only one branch of mathematics, they can only solve one particular problem, for example differential equations or problems of group theory like Cayley, Gap, Kant.

Dynamic Geometric Systems that can be used in schools are, for example, the following: Euklidesz, Cabri, Euler, Cinderella, etc. Students like playing, especially with geometric programs by which they can easily make 2D and 3D shapes, they can easily modify these shapes and, according to the program's facilities, they can define different mathematical concepts or values. It is therefore not surprising that Interactive Geometry obtains more and more attention in many educational institutions. Around 25% of the countries within the EU refer explicitly to DGS in their national curricula or guidelines, and roughly 40% refer to ICT in general. Additionally, although the remaining countries do not mention ICT, some of them recommend the use of DGS in schools (Hendriks et al. 2008).

A distinction must be made between programs appropriate for using at primary and at secondary schools. Programs which are more colourful and playful are better to use at primary schools; such programs are Manó Matek, Geogebra and Euklidesz. Programs like Maple, Matematika or Matlab, which are more difficult and require the knowledge of the specific language of the program, may be used better at secondary schools and higher education, or in study circles.

The role of the teacher in lessons using ICT devices

It was observed how and how often teachers use ICT devices and what programs and digital material they use. With the use of ICT devices, teaching methods are also renewed. The question is how the new digital devices can be fitted into the traditional teaching methods in lessons.

The teacher's role changes in an ICT environment:

According to Kennewell (2005), the teacher is:

1) a consultant – providing information, such as prepared ‘answers’ for discussion; planned or ad hoc Internet searching; exploring simulations;

2) an organiser – providing tight structure but also unpredictable results for activities, such as games, so that the teacher is free to discuss strategies with the students as equal participants;

3) a facilitator – providing looser structure for focusing or construction activities involving choice, such as annotating or matching tasks, where teachers/students can discuss options and guide the less knowledgeable;

4) a repository – enabling student ideas to be recorded for later revisiting, reflection and revision.

In connection with teachers' roles, Betcher and Lee (2009) have proposed eight key principles for effective IWB teaching:

1) be proficient;

2) be organised;

3) be interactive;

4) be flexible;

5) be constructive;

6) be open minded;

7) be willing to share;

8) be prepared to plan.

The above characteristics and skills make the teacher have a different role than in traditional lessons. They need to pay attention to more things: apart from the students, they also have to make sure that the devices work properly.

ICT devices in Ady Endre Secondary School

Teachers put great emphasis on ICT development in Ady Endre Secondary School in Debrecen, Hungary, which can easily be seen when taking a look at the school's equipment. Teachers have internet access everywhere in the building, there are PCs in teachers' offices and in the labs, and there are portable computers, as well. There are several interactive whiteboards, some of which are fixed, and others on portable cupboards with ICT devices and projectors (Dobrászky 2008).

Picture 1. shows a portable cupboard which contains ICT devices to help the use of IWB. They are very practical because they can be moved from one classroom to the other.



Picture1. Portable cupboard.

Since the IWB and the ICT devices are very popular with teachers in the school, they made a schedule to distribute these devices among themselves.

Below, the use of the ICT devices will be analysed via observations and experiments. It should be highlighted that these observations were made in bilingual classes.

Observations in lessons using ICT devices

Students' reactions and methods of teachers using ICT devices were observed during different lessons.

Mathematics lesson in class XI.

The topic of the lesson was the square root function and plotting functions, and the lesson focused on practice.

The following competence areas were improved: mathematics, digital and social competences, creativity, combinative skills, problem solving and development of thinking.

The only ICT device used was the IWB.

Learning organisation consisted in: frontal work, individual work and then common discussion, group work.

The structure of the lesson consisted in a quick pre-test, the pupils had to solve the following equations in 10 minutes:

$$y = x^2 - 6x - 4$$

$$y = -|x - 3| + 2$$

In the meantime, the teacher set the IWB.

The pre-test was followed by the discussion of the task and corrections verifying and resolving the homework.

Picture 2. shows the online solving of the exercises and the plotting functions.

4.) Melyik az egyenlőtlenség helyes megoldása? Csak a számát ird le!

$$-x^2 > x+5$$

① $x \geq -2$ és $x \leq 1$
 ② $x < -2$ vagy $x > 1$
 ③ $x > -2$ és $x < 1$

elért: maximum: 3
pontszámok: 3 3

ellenőrzés

Picture 2. Picture of the board – solving exercises online.

A lesson of practice followed, where students solved a series of problems in groups of two, then compared and checked their results with the help of IWB.

A pupil dictated the solutions of the tasks to another one, who typed it. After each solution, the problems were explained, supplemented and corrected.

A lot of time was gained with the help of the online problem solving program, since the teacher did not have to write the text of the problem on the board, and the plot of the function was drawn by the program, too. This way the plot was more precise, and it was easier to magnify than any handmade plots.

Students could compare the geometric and algebraic solutions. While solving the problem, the students could improve their visual thinking, their plain orientation, communicative skills, calculating skills and their skills of association.

We could see a dynamic and excellent lesson, which started by checking the homework and revision. In the practice stage, the interactive whiteboard played an important role. The above picture shows the list of problems the students had to solve in a cooperative way. The different answers were marked on the board by different students. It was evident that the students used the IWB with ease – they knew the functions of the board (writing, deleting, drawing, etc.) very well. The IWB was used all through the lesson and the students' attitude was very positive.

Physics lesson in Class XI.

The lesson topic was Gay Lussac's second law, the type of lesson was teaching new material and practice.

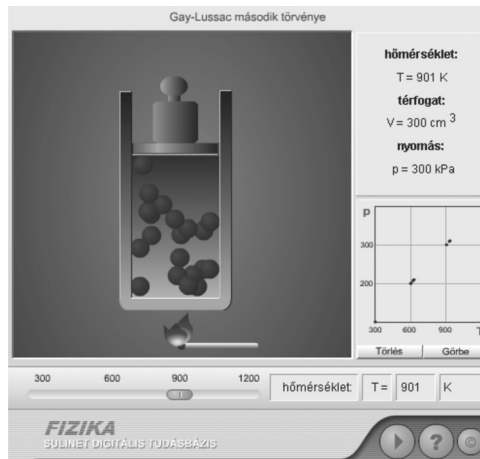
The improved competence areas were: mathematic, digital and social competences, creativity, combinative skills, problem solving, and the development of thinking.

The only ICT device used was the IWB.

Learning organisation consisted in: frontal work, individual work, then common discussion and group work.

The structure of the lesson included revision as the first step. The teacher elicited the material learnt in the previous lesson: ideal gases, equation of state, Gay Lussac's first law. After that, controlling questions (definitions, formulae) were asked and they were followed by an introduction, consisting in playing a video which presented a balloon competition.

The analysis of a video included: elevation/fall → the definition of physical phenomena and observing consistence and temperature change. The connecting question was: what would happen if we increased the temperature?



Picture 3. Picture of the board – Gay Lussac's second law.

The new lesson introduced Gay Lussac's second law. The students were taught in an inductive way. The teacher used animation to let students find out and formulate the law. The students were active during the lesson, they were deeply involved in the topic, since the animation showed the changes accompanying physical phenomena very well. Their interest was also verified by the number of questions they asked.

Calibration of IWB: Students became impatient because the special pen went dead. Students seem to rebel when something does not go well, so the teacher has to react very quickly to technical problems, and solve them.

The teacher used an animation to demonstrate and explain Gay Lussac's second law. It was a methodologically very well-developed lesson, coloured with lots of curiosities. There were videos taken from our everyday life to visualise physical phenomena to make them easier to understand and learn by the students.

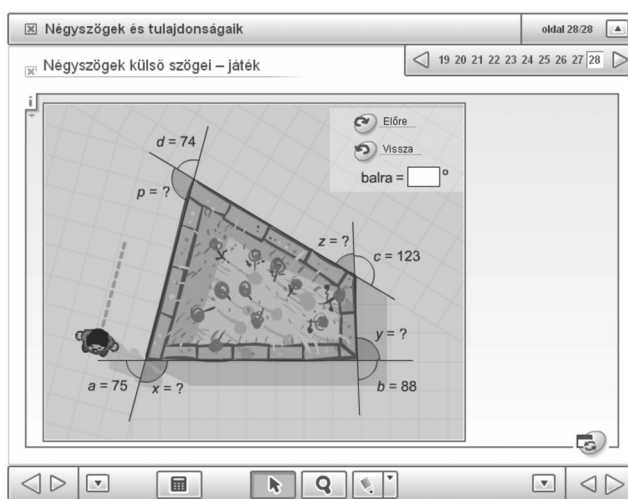
The teacher used a simulation of a physical experiment to make students discover and formulate the law. The interesting and sensible questions asked by students also demonstrated their keen interest.

Mathematics lesson in class IX.

The topic was Geometry, the title of the lesson was constructing quadrangles. The improved competence areas were: mathematic, digital and social competences, creativity, combinative skills, problem solving, and the development of thinking.

The aim of the lesson was to introduce the basic skills to construct a quadrangle, to make students become able to reproduce what they learned, to solve problems taken from the Realika digital database, and to use the IWB. The sole devices used were IWBs.

Learning organisation consisted in frontal work, individual work, and then common discussion, group work in the framework of a game.



Picture 4. Picture of the board – using Realika.

By using the interactive whiteboard, we could save a lot of time, and it was possible to practise more. The lessons started by revising general concepts; students could get acquainted with the characteristics of the quadrangle in an inductive way. Their knowledge was broadened starting from the special quadrangles towards the more general ones. The problems were taken from the Realika online database, and they were solved by students in groups.

Students quickly acquired the basic functions of the material and used them easily with the IWB. They were very interested in the loud explanations, animations and interactive tasks accompanying the material.

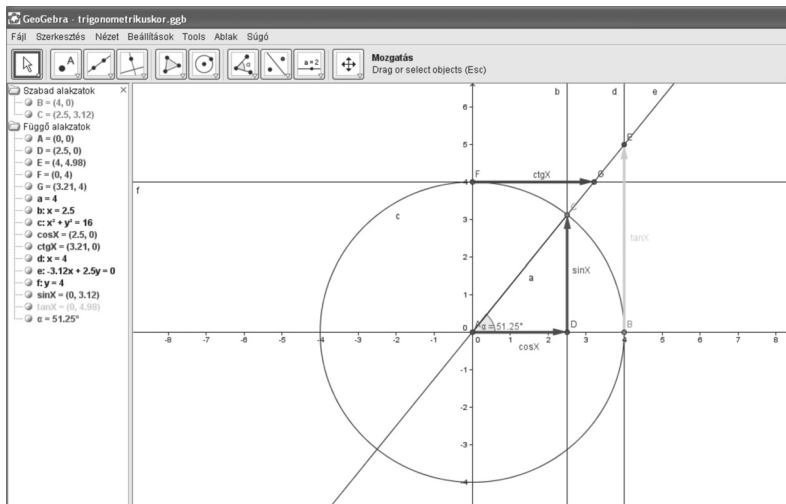
In the meantime, we also demonstrated the possibilities of constructing with the help of Geogebra, which was taken with great enthusiasm, since it is a very versatile and simple program.

Mathematics lesson in class XII.

Here the topic was Trigonometric, and the title of lesson was Rotation angles. The improved competence areas were: mathematic, digital and social competences, creativity, combinative skills, problem solving, and the development of thinking.

The aims of the lesson: constructing the trigonometric circle, plotting sin, cos, tg, ctg functions in a trigonometric circle, rotation angles, rotation, translation, reflection, dilation, using Geogebra and the IWB, and making students be able to plot a function.

The sole device used was IWB. Learning organisation included frontal work, individual work, and then common discussion, group work.



Picture 5. Picture of the board – using Geogebra.

It is important to highlight the constructing and modifying options of the diagrams made by the program Geogebra – diagrams which would be very difficult to do using traditional methods.

The program makes it possible to demonstrate more special or exceptional cases. The students also learned how to construct with the program very quickly. They were impressed by the possibility of animation. They practised their new knowledge individually and in groups, too.

Using Geogebra is recommended for primary and secondary school students, since it is quick and easy to construct mathematical shapes, and there is an algebraic

window where they can see the coordinates of the given points or equations of lines. This can help them understand the different representations of geometric shapes.

The students were really enthusiastic and wanted to download the program to be able to use it at home.

However, the amount of time used to prepare the digital material for the above two lessons is highly remarkable. Even with appropriate IT knowledge, it took at least 2 or 3 hours to put together and plan the methods, choose the pictures and dias, find the problems, construct the shape and search for curiosities on the internet.

The efforts were rewarded when the students were watching the board with sparkling eyes, asked questions and interactively took part in the lesson.

Using digital materials

While preparing the above lessons, the teacher may have the following three choices.

It is the easiest to use only ready-made digital material proposed by course book authors. Another possibility is to mix ready-made material with material or animations found on the internet and with their own self-made materials. The third choice is to use only your own material.

Among the teachers asked in the survey, the second choice was the most popular; teachers like adapting ready-made material to their students' needs.

If teachers want to make their own material for a lesson, they might refer to the following:

- SDT (Sulinet Digital Knowledgebase), electronic teaching equipment;
- Realika Digital Database;
- Digital materials on schools' or teachers' WebPages;
- Cooperation between teachers: teachers' communities (e.g. e-tanarikar);
- Multimedia CDs, DVDs, educational software, IT software, digital materials, e-books;
- Student-friendly e-contents;
- Electronic register;
- Virtual learning environment: Moodle, eLEMÉR, Quizlet.

Experience shows that it takes a lot of time and preparation to make digital material, but it is worth the invested time, because you can modify, extend and reuse the prepared material.

Questionnaires

Quantitative and qualitative methods were used to study teachers' and students' experience of IWB and using mathematical programs.

The qualitative data included case studies, lesson observations, interviews;

while the quantitative test consisted of questionnaires about students' attitude towards using IWB in mathematics lessons.

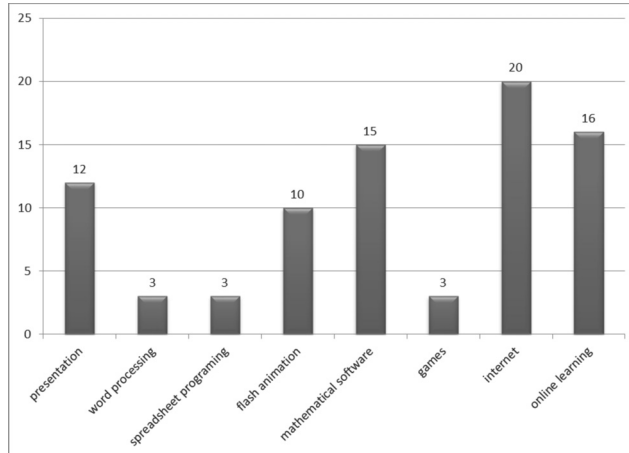
The conclusions in connection with the use of ICT devices, on the basis of lesson observations and making interviews in Ady Endre Secondary School, Debrecen, are listed in this paragraph.

The questions were the following:

- How often do they use IWBs and ICT devices?
- What kind of positive and negative experiences do they have?
- What do students think about these devices?

In the meantime, a survey among students in some bilingual classes was made after giving them some lessons, where ICT devices were used. 21 questionnaires were sent back from the observed group, 12 of which were filled in by girls and 9 by boys.

Most of the students know and use some dynamic geometric program, and they have had the opportunity to try and use other programs as well at school. The personality of the teachers is thought to have a great influence on what programs their students know. The teacher controls the learning process at school, and the students start reading about and using certain mathematical programs on the teacher's advice.



Graph 1. Using different programs in lessons.

Graph 1. shows the frequency of the programs used in mathematics lessons. It must be remarked that it is a major advantage of the school that teachers have internet access in every classroom, and, as the following diagram indicates, they are fond of using it.

Among the students involved in the survey we can find people who look up further information in connection with the material in the lesson if they find it

interesting (20%). On the other hand, the material presented during the lesson is enough for 20% of the students, and they never search the net for further information. Another 60% of them state that they rarely take advantage of the possibilities of the internet. In the future, the number of students using the net to enrich their knowledge will increase. Sometimes students may gather more information in advance than the material presented by the teacher during the lesson. Some malicious students even use this information to test their teacher's knowledge.

In most cases, the students said that the teachers used the interactive whiteboard and, in a classroom where there was none, they try to use a computer and a projector to make the lesson more interesting. The students do not know what the voting system is, which may be due to the fact that they have not heard about it, or their school has not purchased any. In the second part of the questionnaire, the questions referred to the students' opinion about the new device, and we wanted to find out their ideas about the school of the future. Their answers were the following.

Question 1. referred to what students liked about using the IWB in math lessons. The most popular answers were the following:

- *The program presented was rather useful!*
- *I liked the multiple choice task on the internet!*
- *Lots of new and interesting information got presented! There was lots of new and interesting information!*
- *Wide use of IWB!*
- *Versatility of Geogebra!*
- *Using Geogebra!*
- *I liked the most, when we solved problems on the internet!*
- *We used the interactive whiteboard a lot!*
- *The experimenting tasks presented on a website!*
- *The mathematical programs!*
- *We did not waste time taking notes, I can look up everything we learnt on the website.*

The opinions above show that the students find the mathematical programs presented with the IWB very useful and interesting. The versatility of the programs impressed them, and they started asking how they could install them on their own computers at home to be able to experiment with them. This way they could playfully improve their mathematical knowledge at home. They liked the online quiz, because it also gave them opportunity to practise.

Question 2. referred to their negative opinions, i.e. what they did not like in the lessons. The most popular answers included:

- *When Gergő broke the special IWB pen!*
- *There were no traditional devices, which was strange!*
- *Sometimes the lesson was too fast and I could not understand it!*

- *When the IWB went wrong, it took a lot of time to fix it!*
- *Sometimes my attention was diverted, even if the IWB was used!*

The students remarked that the IWB is not always useful, it is not necessary to use it during the whole lesson, but they highlighted that it was very useful when they had to solve geometric problems: it was easier to prepare the diagrams with the help of the board and the software.

In the meantime, the failure of the device and the elimination of the problems are a waste of time. One of the above opinions denotes one of the most important mistakes teachers can make: students may lag behind and find it difficult to follow the material, when the teacher plans too much for a lesson.

In **Question 3**, the students were asked about using the ICT devices and their experience (with IWB, mathematical software). Their responses included:

- *I think it is a good thing, it makes work easier for teachers and students.*
- *I think it is a very interesting and useful device!*
- *I think they are useful because they help us understand things better!*
- *They are useful!*
- *I liked it very much, it makes the material easier to understand, and raises my attention more, so I pay more attention to the lesson!*
- *Quick and useful!*
- *Useful, it makes the acquisition of the material easier.*
- *It is good for the teachers because chalk does not dry their hands, and students learn more during the lesson, since connections are not only explained, but also showed.*
- *Useful and helpful!*
- *I find it very good, the lesson is more interesting this way!*
- *IWB is useful!*
- *Useful, I liked it very much!*
- *In most cases, it helps us understand the material!*
- *I find the IWB very good, because you do not have to inhale chalk powder, but preparing the presentations takes a lot of time. It is sometimes more visual, and there are a lot of useful things on the internet, but I think it has got both advantages and disadvantages.*

The above listed opinions show that a lot of students used the word ‘useful,’ so students could experience the benefits of the IWB compared to the traditional boards. It made the material easier to understand and learn, furthermore, it made students more motivated and interested in the lesson. However, some of them pointed out that ICT devices have drawbacks as well, especially when they are not used properly.

Question 4, referred to students’ ideas about the future school. These were the following:

- *I am sure that they will use a lot of ICT devices at school!*

- *Modern, but they do not want to every subject through information technology.*
- *More modern! A lot of up-to-date ICT devices!*
- *There will be more ICT devices; maybe each student will have them. Possibly, students will learn through the internet!*
- *Only interactive devices will be used!*
- *Everyone will have a laptop, and students will get information through the internet, and they will write tests on it!*
- *IWB, electronic registers, internet, etc.*
- *I do not want the school to change, because I like it the way it is!*
- *Well equipped, but I do not really know!*
- *Full of ICT devices, with modern new things!*
- *Every student has got a laptop and they carry it to school instead of books and exercise books.*
- *Everything will be taught through the internet!*
- *More schools will have IWB!*

It is evident that the students would like to use more ICT devices in their education. They listed the equipment which they found useful. They want IWBs, laptops, modern up-to-date devices. In some schools, students do not have to wait long for these devices to arrive, since – with the help of different tenders – schools will get interactive whiteboards, computers, laptops, projectors and other supplements. It is the teachers' task to integrate the new devices into the lessons. It is a slow but continuous development through which teachers get acquainted with and find appropriate teaching methods.

Conclusions

With the use of ICT devices and different programs, the borders between different scientific areas are disappearing. It is easy to see that, together with their mathematic knowledge, students also improve their digital competences, furthermore, their artistic taste develops, too.

Using the device and the digital material lesson by lesson, they learn how to make an easy-to-follow presentation. So, while using ICT devices, students improve different competences, for example their digital, mathematical and social competence.

The growing digital or net generation needs the use of equipment; as we could see, their future ideas involve ICT devices, and they want them to be used in their education. The lessons are renewed, the teaching methods are changed, and the teachers' role becomes different: teachers will be helpers, and they will supervise and manage the lessons.

There will be more opportunities for group work, cooperation between students

and teachers, interactivity, dynamism, creativity, feedback, and, most importantly, motivation, gaining and keeping students' interest.

Besides the above advantages, the most important aim of using mathematical programs and IWB is to help students in learning.

It is supported by several international researches: it was determined that students' attitudes towards the use of IWB in mathematics classes are at a medium level, and that students see the IWB as a tool that increases their interest and facilitates learning (Tataroglu and Ayten 2010).

The IWB is not a wonder device. It can make the lesson more interesting, attractive and useful only if the teacher uses it with adequate knowledge of methodology.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Deputy Headmaster Sándor Dobránszky for giving me permission to hold and observe lessons in the school; mathematics teacher Katalin Debreczeniné Nagypál and physics teacher Csilla Nagyné Farkas for their professional help.

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BOOK REVIEW



**Zsuzsa Gerner and László Kupa (Eds.):
Minderheitendasein in Mittel- und Osteuropa –
interdisziplinär betrachtet**

Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2011

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This pithy book is a selection of lectures of an interdisciplinary conference series that has focused on ethnic and minority issues, and has been organised yearly since 2004. The organiser of the series is the *Minority Research Group* of Pécs (Hungary), accordingly, the Southern-Transdanubial town gives place to the conferences. The town that is also labeled as ‘the gate of Balkan’ was the European Capital of Culture in 2010, and a minority research group already worked on its prestigious university between the two World Wars. By the above, it is not surprising that Pécs is more and more becoming the organiser of research on the topic, and luckily not only in Hungary, but in far wider frames, that in the present instance means Central and Eastern Europe.

The book is typified by broad territorial frames as well as variegation of content: among the authors we can find anthropologists, demographers, geographers, sociologists and historians, as well. Studies with various topics are arranged in four main units in the book. The thematic unit entitled *Religion and ethnic groups in Central Europe* can be regarded as an introduction, as only two studies are placed there. The first study by Márta Font introduces the even nowadays not troublefree connection system of ‘settlement–integration–tolerance’ in medieval Hungary. The overview is founded on significant technical literature, and clairvoyantly raises events and processes significant on long distance. The study by Andrea Kriszt covers a completely different topic and territorial unit: the always gripping topic of religion–language–identity is approached by introducing epitaphes of Germans of Baranya (Southern Transdanube, Hungary).

The next thematic unit is attached to one of the issues of recent Europe coming more and more into prominence, where four studies deal with autonomous pursuits in Central Europe. Elisabeth Sándor-Szalay gives an overview on

legal frames of language usage in her study. She introduces how legalisation of language usage developed along with increasing nationalism, especially from the Eighteenth Century. After the theoretical introduction, the main part of the study is a practical example, the analysis of the Slovak Language Act, in connection to the legal protection of languages in the European Union.

In her short overview, Márta Fazekas tries 'to come round' what chances for autonomy Serbia and southern Slovakia has. Out of the two alternatives mentioned in the title of the essay, prospect or illusion – even in the author's opinion – the latter has greater chance, despite some positive developments of recent years. The next study touches upon even 'hotter' ground, where authors (Norbert Pap and Andor Végh) investigate the ethnic-geographic background of Eastern Macedonian Albans' autonomous pursuit. This ethnic group belongs to the few successful ones in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, i.e. it could significantly improve its political position. However, in the authors' opinion, this successful story is not over yet, further sequel is probable in the neighbourhood of Kosovo. Petra Englender-Virth elaborated a much more peaceful topic: she overviewed a specific aspect of German self-governments in Hungary, namely the issue of cultural autonomy, and in this context she touched upon bankrolling issues of minority groups.

The studies of the third thematic unit introduce certain aspects of ethnic migratory processes. Similarly to the topic of the previous unit, the history of Central Europe has allowed several painful events and processes in this field, as well. The study of Gerhard Seewann deals with the relocation of Germans after World War II, in two approaches. Out of antecedents, he summarises the British point of view by bills of the contemporary state department, then he confers similar and distinct elements of relocational conceptions of Hungarian and Czechoslovakian governments. The next study focuses on a current ethnic conflict: Ádám Németh investigates the 'Russian issue' in the Baltics after the formation of the three independent countries. The study, rich in data, well-illustrated by charts and maps, describes in a subtle way the process of the imperial majority becoming marginal minority.

Irén Gábrity Molnár investigates the migratory processes in Vojvodina (Serbia) after World War II. She introduces the main migratory waves in the course of which mainly Serbian population settled down in the territory, then she specifies reasons for emigration of the Hungarian population. In the second part of the study, by empirical researches, she introduces the types and effects of migration concerning Vojvodina. Then, the migratory processes occurring in the so called Vendvidék (Hungary), an area of only 94 square kilometres and seven villages are introduced in the study by Katalin Munda Hírnök. The analysis of different types of migration clasps primarily the second half of the twentieth century, still, there can be found some data on earlier times, too.

In the study by Tímea Tibori, results of a survey based on a questionnaire made in the Hungarian part of the Zemplén region can be read. Unfortunately, it is not clear-cut whom the three-hundred-member-sample belongs to: we can assume by the topic of the first two introductory pages that Roma people were asked about how they are related to different social and ethnic groups. Investigational results are rather interesting; the most popular ones were Hungarian co-ethnics from the neighbouring countries of Hungary, followed by successful entrepreneurs, then by Germans. Drug users, skinheads and drinkers are the least popular. Results are presented in twenty diagrams, yet at last we have a lack: if Roma people were asked in the survey, why are Hungarians living in Hungary out of the sixteen investigated groups?

In the study by Julianna Bodó, significant results of a survey from 2009 are introduced, in which opinions on value-selection of employees migrating from Szekler land (Transylvania/Romania) to foreign countries were revealed. An important statement of the study is that, as a consequence of migration, the national and foreign values are getting near, that is, getting difficult to draw a line between the two worlds.

The last unit is composed of the most studies, and it focuses on issues of interethnic conflicts. In the opening study, Richard Reutner irradiates the historical background of language conflicts in the Habsburg Monarchy; that type of conflict appears again and again in modern Central Europe.

László Szentirmai and József Tóth describe ethnic changes occurred in towns of the Carpathian Basin between 1880 and 2000. Conclusions drawn in the study are familiar, they are almost stereotypes: changes in power basically influenced ethnic structures of towns, and beyond the borders of Hungary, the Hungarian majority lasted in only those small and middle towns that are surrounded by Hungarian localities. Several studies had been written on this topic earlier; their results were confirmed by the present are. In the next paper, István Bibó's Trianon conception and its changes are arrestingly introduced by László Kupa. As it is written, Bibó regarded the right for autonomy of nations as a realisation of democratic values, accordingly, in his opinion, Trianon – unlike the contemporary public perception – is not a problem itself, but it is in the view of detachment of a large Hungarian population. Bibó criticised both the Horthy regime that was unable to break away from the illusion of the historic Hungary, and the Czechoslovakia of Masaryk and Beneš, the regime that was considered to be democratic in the area, but it still tried to suppress and later draw off its minorities. An important statement is that Bibó's relation to Trianon and to Hungarians outside Hungary's borders did not change essentially later either, all long he refused to use double standards.

The study by József Kugler introduces the post-1945 Hungarian–Czechoslovakian conflict and the population exchange that is a well-elaborated topic by nowadays. He draws the balance of the population exchange, and also

reviews its still lasting effects. He mainly focuses on the Hungarian population here, and the population exchange is only examined from those Slovaks' point of view, who stayed in Hungary.

The study *Effects of migrations after World War II on local communities of Southern Transdanube* was written by Zoltán Dövényi and Gábor Szalai. Forced migrations (the escape of Bukovin Szeklers, relocations of Hungarians from Czechoslovakia and Germans from Hungary) are well-known one by one, however, in this study they are systemised, thus connections become understandable. The study is further modulated by touching the local level, where we can get an insight of everyday conflicts and problems. This part could have been made pithier by quotations from interviews, which could confirm some statements (e.g. p. 216: "It took a long time for Germans to understand that Hungarians from Slovakia had not come voluntarily").

The Germans living in Hungary are in the focus of the next study. German penal servitude after World War II is represented in the mirror of a German woman's correspondence. Contents of letters and woes Germans were hit by are delineated with full particulars in the casework by Gerner Zsuzsanna.

The post-Second World War conflict is followed by a conflict of political transformation. Ethnic background of Yugoslavic wars, the order of magnitude of victims and refugees of the war is overviewed in the study by Zoltán Hajdú. A much more general conflict, discrimination and international self-governmental cooperation against discrimination, is discussed in the last study written by Laura Kovács. The fight against discrimination and racism as well as the parts of self-governments in this fight are introduced here.

On the whole, the conference book is a collection of rather heterogeneous studies. Some studies introduce familiar research topics, while other studies are real novelties. The real value of the volume can be found in its versatile approach to the topic, and in the fact that it promotes thinking of and over the diversified topic.



Nicholas A. Christakis – James H. Fowler: Kapcsolatok hálójában.¹

*Translated by András Rohonyi and Pál Rozsnyói
Budapest: Typotex, 2010*

Dénes TAMÁS

In nowadays' social sciences the expression 'network' is starting to resemble the concept of 'structure' common in the 20th century. It is becoming a more and more central concept, the descriptions and explanations of social sciences are continuously discovering the effectiveness and usefulness of the concept. Where there were different social powers, social factors and relation systems, now researchers find social relations, social networks and effects of stronger or weaker bonds. These discoveries expand to the fields of biology, computer technology and economics, thus we can conclude that this is not a mere application of a social science approach, but we are witnessing the birth of a new way of thinking, which can be called 'network mentality.'

A great introduction to this changing mentality is offered by Nicholas A. Christakis and James H. Fowler in their book entitled: *Connected. The Surprising Power of Our Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives*, the Hungarian translation of which also has some surprises in store. The book has an enjoyable style, but approaches the social phenomena with a thorough scientific background, and it is fair to say that it completely subverts our ideas about the formative effects of human relations. It actually is the construction of a new paradigm about how social networks influence our thoughts, emotions, behaviours and different habits. This new paradigm is not only a new way of understanding social phenomena, but it also presents a novel possibility in handling and solving social-community problems.

The main discovery of social mentality is that the characteristics of the social network define our human behaviour. To make this nexus explorable, one must chart the main characteristics of social networks. The first part of the book makes an attempt to that. According to the writers, social networks are an organised mass

1 In original: Nicholas A. Christakis – James H. Flower: *Connected. The Surprising Power of Our Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives*. New York: Little Brown and Co., 2009.

of people which contain two elements: the human beings and the relationships between them. The relations within the social network serve the distribution of different entities, thus the distribution is another important aspect of the network. A fundamental observation is that the network is more than the sum of the parts. Groups with a defined structure are able to do more than the individuals. This trait is explained by a few ground rules of the social networks, as follows:

- the network is malleable: the humans are constantly forming and changing the social networks;
- the network forms us too: our place in the social network has an impact on us;
- our friends and our friend’s friends affect us: people mimic not only their friends, but their friend’s friends too;
- the network has its own life: the network has characteristics that cannot be influenced by the constituent individuals, more to that, they might not even be aware of them;
- we are six steps apart from each-other: considering the acquaintance network, people on Earth are six steps (degrees of separation) from each-other;
- we are three steps apart from each-other: the influential ability of the individual is controlled by the ‘three step’ rule.

These statements are always based on complex monitorings backed up by many statistical and experimental data. The writers do not conclude their work with the laying of these rules, as the vast majority of the book consists of the presentation of those concrete researches, explorations and experiments that analyse the role of social networks in spread of joy, the search for sexual partners, the maintenance of health, the functioning of the markets, and the struggle for democracy. The effect of social networks is not always positive. The spread of depression, obesity, sexually transmitted diseases, financial panic, violence and even suicide, is also an effect of social networks that usually magnify the started processes. The social networks mostly ensure access to their inner flow. Happenings related to others seep through the network and reach us.

Due to lack of space, we will not present all the researched areas. Of the vast material of the book, we will introduce a few partial results of two researches that describe the effect social networks have on us.

In the exploration of the spreading of joy, it was concluded that in the friend-network, a person three step away from us, someone we might have never met, has a greater effect on our happiness than a wad of dollars in our pockets. At the same time, chances to be happy are greater if we occupy the central position in our network, thus we have more indirect friend relations.

The problem of obesity can also be examined with the method of network analysis. It is long ago proven that we have an inner drive to mimic others. It is a new finding, however, that within a network the obese and non-obese persons constitute separate groups and they are concentrated to certain regions of the

network. This differentiation also follows the three step rule, that is to say, an obese person is likely to have an obese relation within three steps, and beyond that the effect fades. It is also proven that people in distant relations can affect one another if the path between them is of exclusive relations. Surprising as it is, but joy and obesity are both contagious. If we are happier, wealthier, and healthier than others, it is caused by our position in the network.

These results are proven in other areas, too. The method of network analysis provided surprising results in the researches on partner selection, financial crisis and mood to vote. These results not only possess a scientific value, but also provide tools for treating certain social problems. The network can be manipulated; both its structure and its way of distribution can be changed. The writers provide a convincing demonstration of how network analysis improves the cost efficiency of interventions. In work conducted in the healthcare, one must consider not only people's financial state and place of residence, but also their acquaintances and the structure of their social network. An effective strategy against obesity is to convince the central figures of the network to lead healthy lives regardless whether they are obese or not. One also must take into account that the more immediate relations a person has in a given network, the faster the group will succeed in solving a problem. It follows that it is important to structure people in a way that is most efficacious concerning the solving of the given problem.

In the last chapter of the book, the writers try to answer the basic question behind networks: why do we construct these networks? The answer is surprising as most answers of the book are: the need for association is a genetical heritage. The social and community drive is genetically inherited. Some network formulas work better than others in solving problems. Cooperation is many times more rewarding, thus it becomes genetically fixed. Genes affect our instinct to form social relations through our emotional state. Since social relations help survival, persons with mental constitution that favours it are more likely to pass genetical selection.

The research of networks is a relatively new phenomenon. Though conditions for networks were given before, the difficulty to monitor them and the lack of information made research laborious. The appearance of the Internet, mobile phones and the more and more complex social life drew attention to the existence of networks, and made it possible to research many aspects of networks. The Internet created a whole new situation on the field of networks. The virtual presence, the individualisation, the growth of networks and information-sharing possibilities brought to life new forms of networks.

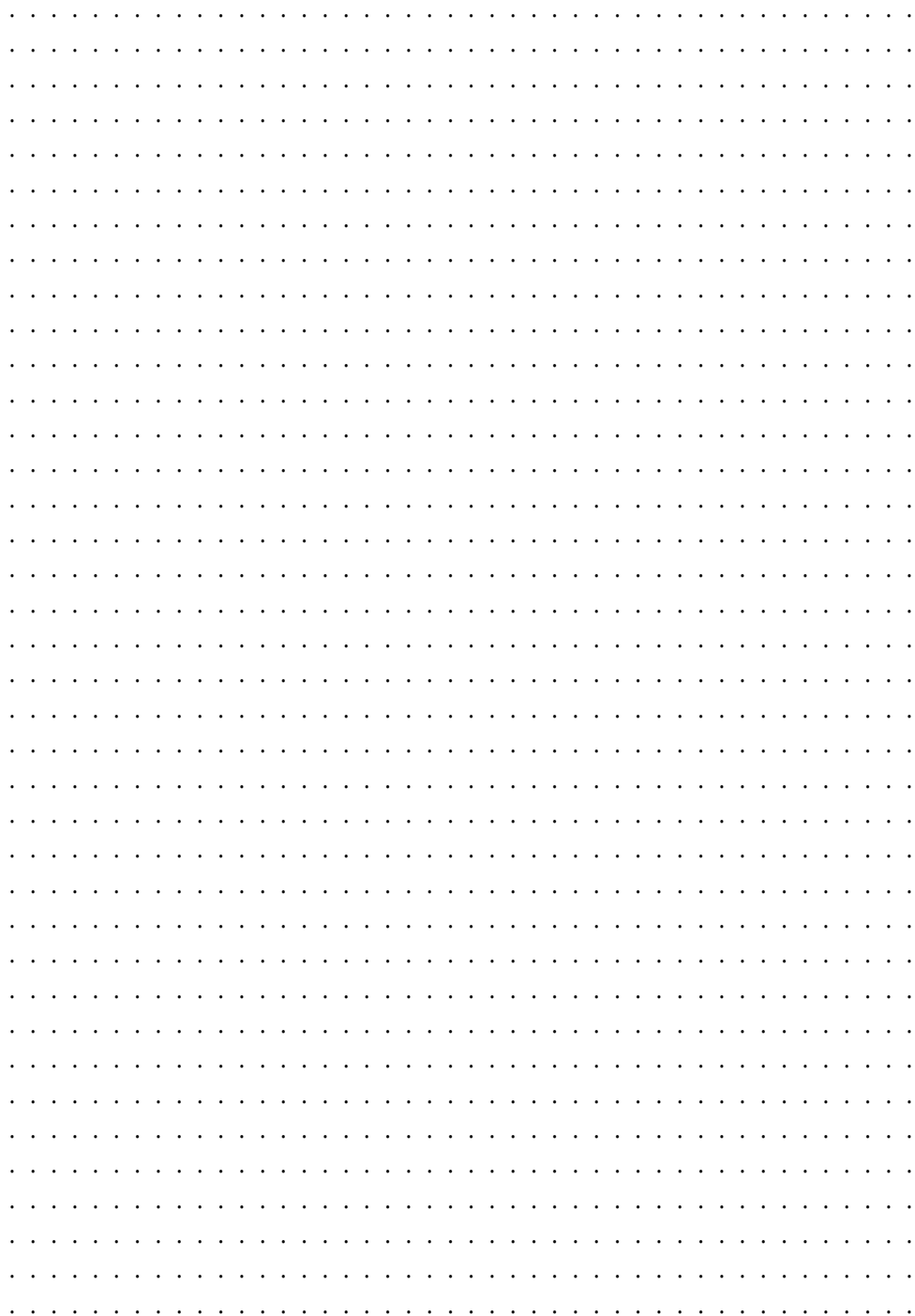
There is a generally positive view in the book concerning networks. The writers often emphasise the positive aspects of the functioning networks. Networks can be viewed as human superorganisms that have an intelligence of their own, can reproduce and heal themselves. The book sets the self-interest following person, the homo oeconomicus, against the network person, the homo diktios. While the

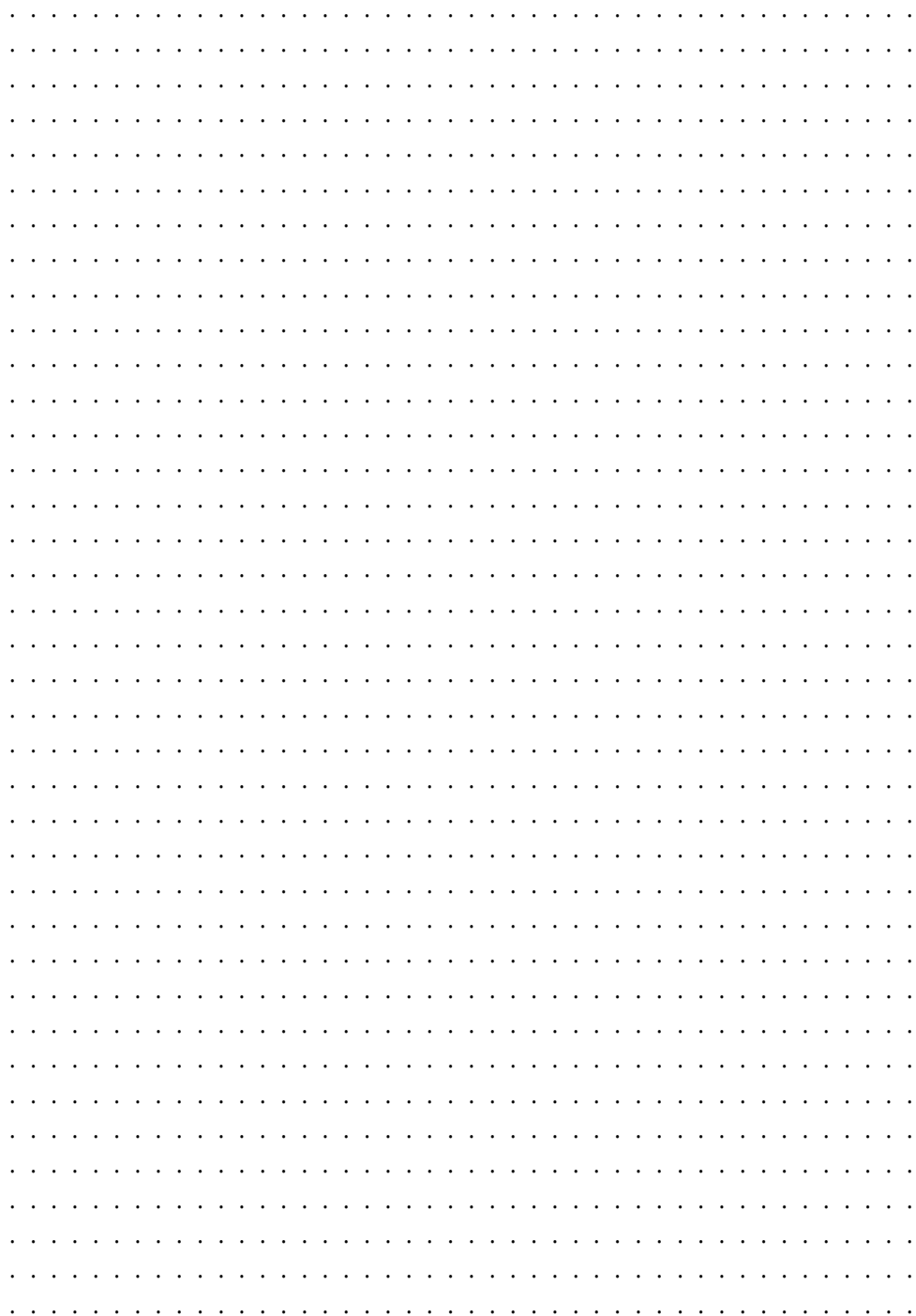
homo oeconomicus lives in a ruthless self-vindicating world, the homo diktios follows the will of the people in relation with him.

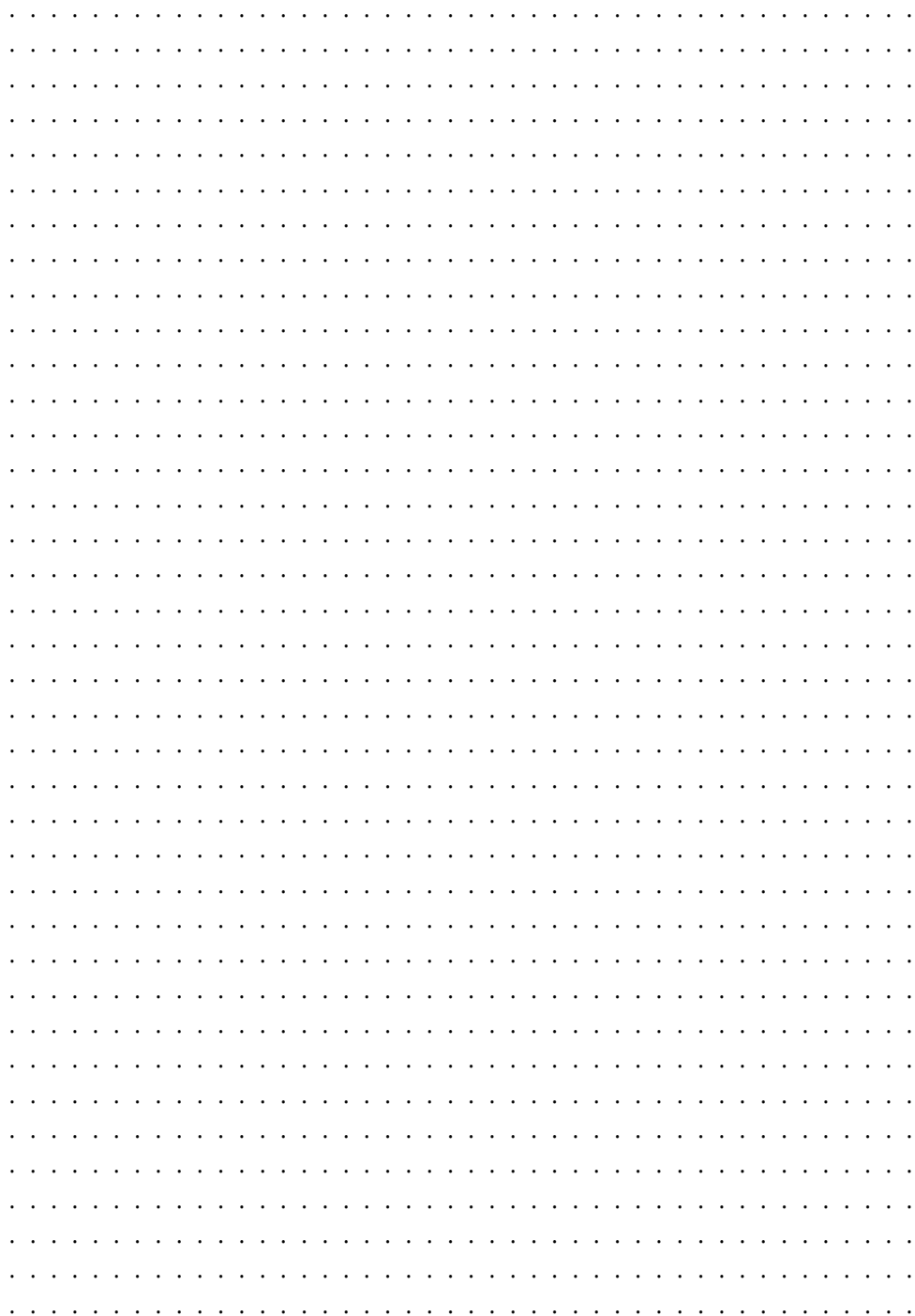
Finally, let us say a few words regarding the publishing. The book is related to networking not only by its topic, but also by its structure. The Hungarian edition does not settle for merely publishing the text, the editors called upon three Hungarian social scientists, György Bögel, Péter Csermely, László Lovrics, to comment the text. At the same time, there are spaces left for the reader to comment. Reading this book does not only take us into a topic, but also into an intellectual game. Reading the book, the comments and commenting expand the borders of the book, and draws us into a network once again.

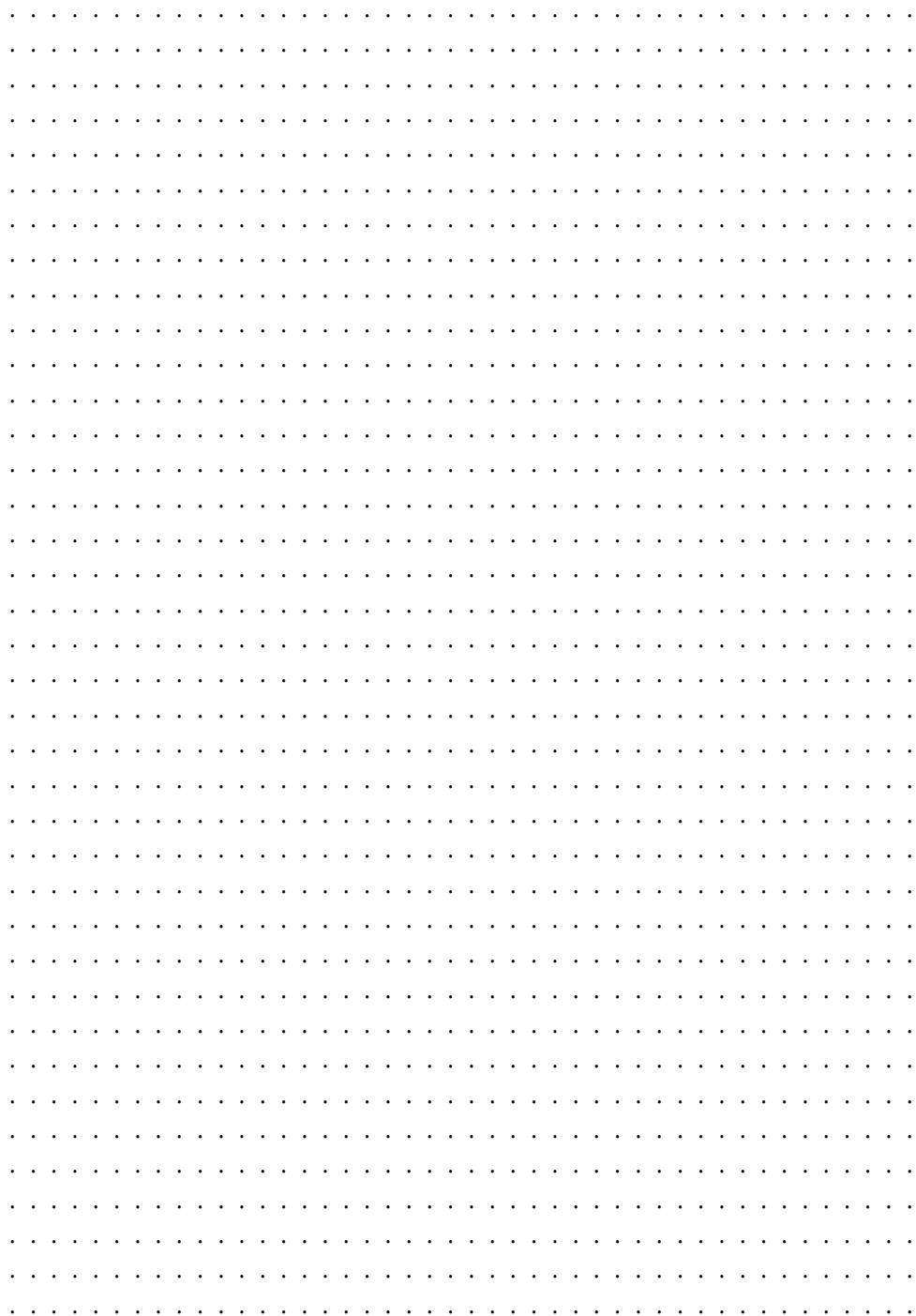
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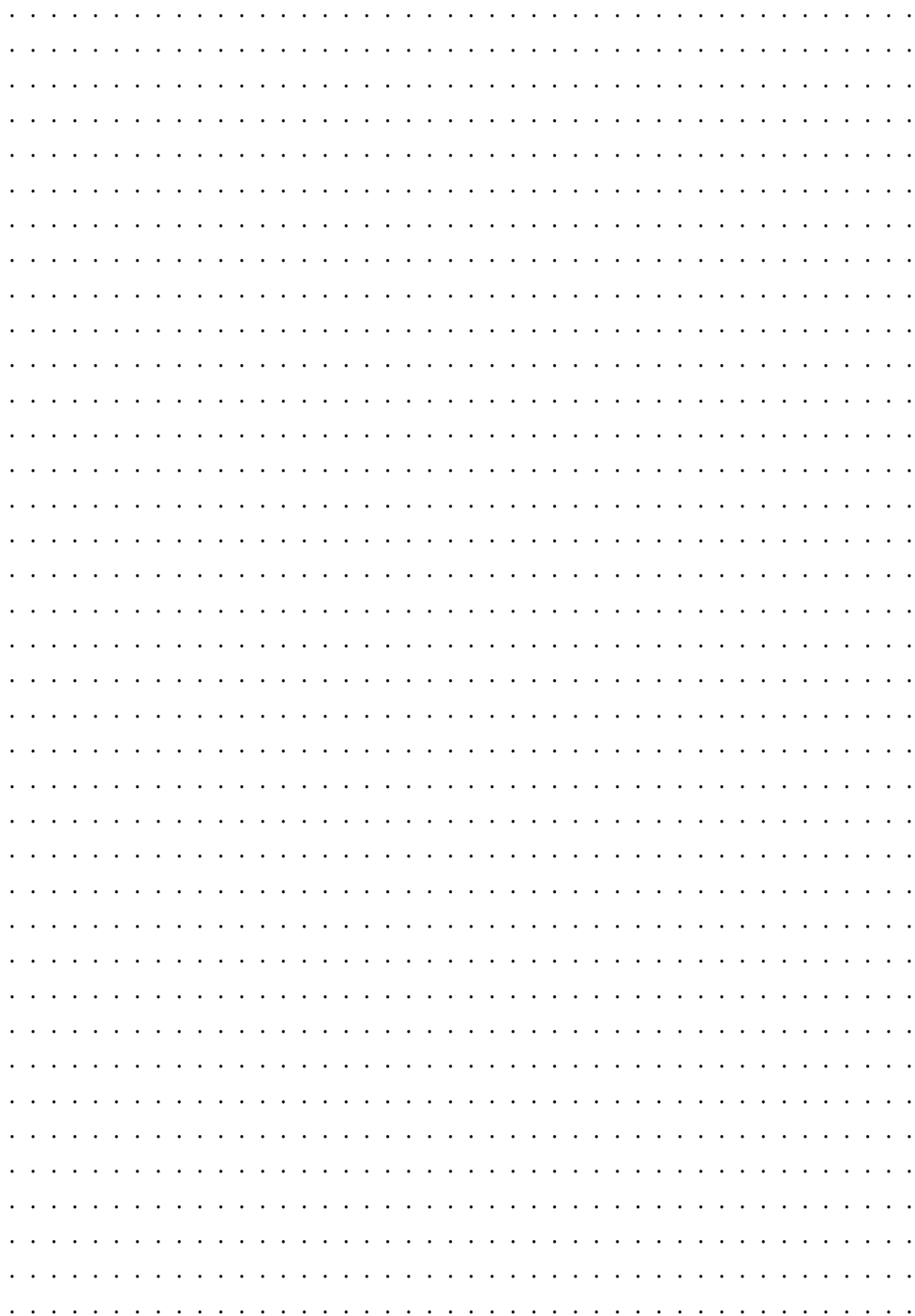
A grid of 20 rows and 100 columns of small dots, intended for taking notes.











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