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Guest Editors' Foreword

Education is described as the process that transmits culture and thus prepares young people for their social roles. The concept of education can be interpreted as the general acquirement of culture which occurs either in a spontaneous way or in a structured and institutionalized context, but education can also refer to the ways in which the planned and purposeful teaching-learning process takes place. In this issue, our studies are focused on the religiosity of youth and on the religious education system. Considering the consequences of changes in youth religiosity in Central and Eastern Europe – which can be characterized by the pluralism of ideological and religious supply, individualization, disappointment in institutional traditions and the process of ideological hybridization –, we can conclude that religious education can help in non-intentional religious meaning-making process, can develop religious relationships and religious practices. Two of the articles deal with the functions and effectiveness of religious education, the third one deals with the religiosity of the Slovakian youth, and the last article deals with the religiosity of higher education students and its effect on volunteering.

The paper of Ágnes Inántsý Pap and Laura Morvai deals with the *Tanoda* programme of a Greek Catholic church in Hungary. It is well known that many *tanodas* (special afternoon schools offering extra-curricular activities) were established in Hungary after the EU integration. Their goal is to remediate education and help talent development in underdeveloped regions. The paper examines the operation of a church-run *tanoda* in one of the most disadvantaged regions of Hungary, where the Roma population is in majority. The findings are based on the content analysis of the operational documents, on the analysis of the interviews with the teachers at the *Tanoda*, and on a focus group interview with nine children. The results showed that the *Tanoda* does not only help children to catch up, avoid dropping out of school, but it also provides spiritual, psychological, and mental support for the children, even though some politicians consider this programme as a segregated one, and thus question its positive effects.

Gabriella Pusztai and Katinka Bacskai present an analysis on parochial schools and their PISA effectiveness in Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia. We can find in the special literature that private parochial schools perform better than public

schools, even if parental background is taken into consideration. The reason of this fact could be the special school climate and/or the educational values of these schools. When the authors examined the effectiveness of parochial schools in the PISA database, they encountered methodological problems as the public databases do not conclusively reveal whether the examined schools are public, private, or parochial, and the PISA sampling is not representative regarding school sectors. The results showed that the intersectional differences could be observed in Slovakia and Hungary to the advantage of the parochial sector. In Poland, there is the advantage of the private schools; government-supported parochial schools are at a disadvantage. Concerning the effect of social background (the effect of which should be allowed for as well when we examine the PISA results), the authors found that in the parochial sector the effect of social background is more moderate than is the case in public schools.

Ondrej Štefaňák's article is the description and explanation of the Slovakian youth's religiosity and morality. Many of the social researchers think that countries in Central and Eastern Europe are expected to follow a more rapid secularization than in other developed countries due to the long period of socialism. Therefore, it is interesting to search how the religiosity and morality of Slovakian young people is formed in the background of the continuous social changes. The empirical results showed that concerning the religiosity of Slovakian youth we can speak about believers, but the declared faith is often selective. Concerning morality, most of the Slovakian school-leaving youth accept abstract moral standards and rarely practical standards (especially in relation to the marriage and family morality). The independent variables which most often divide individual categories of the surveyed youth in religious and moral attitudes are: extent of actual habitation, number of siblings, and gender. Finally, the answers of the youth in this survey show that family is a decisive element in the issue of forming religious and moral knowledge and opinions of the young generation.

Hajnalka Fényes examined the effect of religiosity on volunteering among higher education students in a cross-border region of Hungary, Romania, and Ukraine. The volunteering of students can be a higher education efficiency variable as it increases several competences; so, if religiosity inspires the volunteering of students, it increases students' efficiency as well. Based on the literature, religiosity (measured in several dimensions) affects volunteering positively, even if the effects of other variables (e.g. social background) are allowed for. The author supposed that religiosity increases especially the probability of the traditional type of volunteering, where helping others is the most important motivation. The results showed that volunteering is more frequent among students from Romania and Ukraine than among those from Hungary due to their

larger religious attendance, while among religiosity measurements, participating in religious youth groups has the largest positive effect on volunteering in all countries. Contrary to her hypothesis, the results showed that the motivational background of religious students' volunteering was not just altruistic, but other self-centred motivations (e.g. career building) were also important, as it is the case of the non-religious students' motivations.

Gabriella Pusztai
Hajnalka Fényes



“Sowing Seeds” and Its Efficiency. Case Study about the *Tanoda* Programme of the Greek Catholic Church in the Huszár District in Nyíregyháza (Hungary)

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Abstract. The general laws of the school career of disadvantaged students have been studied by Hungarian researchers for decades (Kozma 1975, Papp 1997, Liskó 2002, Imre 2002ab, etc.). In Hungary, there are several remedial education programmes for the disadvantaged and talent development programmes for the gifted. Many *tanodas* (special afternoon schools offering extra-curricular activities) were established in Hungary when the country’s accession to the European Union brought about an increase in the number of grant opportunities. Scientific interest in the effectiveness of compensatory/ remedial education programmes, and thus *tanodas*, increased enormously (Lányi 2008, Krémer 2008, Fejes 2014, etc.). Our case study examines the operation of a church-run *tanoda* in one of the most disadvantaged regions of the country, in an area with Roma majority population in a county seat. Local children from 12 elementary schools go to this institution, primarily for remedial education and talent development. We conducted our research in the autumn of 2014 at the request of the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development (OFI), as members of the CHERD-Hungary research group. Our findings are based on the content analysis of the operational documents of the *Tanoda* (Organizational and Operational Regulations, House Rules, Pedagogical Programme), the analysis of the interviews with the teachers at the *Tanoda* (English teacher, Hungarian language and literature teacher, identity development coach, personal development coach, teacher of self-knowledge-spiritual guide, and the professional supervisor), and on the data from a focus group interview with 9 children from the *Tanoda*. Everyone expressing their opinion about the operation of the *Tanoda* confirmed that the complex activities of the *Tanoda* do not only help children to catch up, avoid dropping out of school, and even form plans about further education, but they also provide spiritual,

psychological, and mental support to the children. The environment provided by the *Tanoda* enables students to realize their human dignity and shape their everyday life, relationships, and future.

Keywords: talent development, *tanoda* programme, church-run schools

Introduction

There are several programmes and forms of support providing remedial education for disadvantaged children in Hungary, such as the Sure Start Programme, the School Integration Programme, the Tanoda Programme, the Útravaló (Provisions) Scholarships, the Arany János Programme, second chance programmes, etc. (Varga 2014). The need for remedial education programmes are substantiated by the findings of Kelemen (2003), namely that from the countries analysed in the PISA studies in 2000 one of the countries where the cultural capital of the families had the greatest influence on the performance of students in the study was Hungary.

Tanodas (Hungarian terminology, representing a programme for the remedial education of disadvantaged children) became widespread about 10 years ago (Fejes 2014). Although there had been programmes with similar aims earlier, such initiatives have increased significantly after Hungary joined the European Union and the number of grant opportunities increased (Lányi 2008, Krémer 2008, Fejes 2014). The operation of the majority of *tanodas* depends exclusively on grants (Németh 2009).

In our study, we briefly examine the relationship between disadvantage and education, describe the origins of the disadvantage compensation mission of the Greek Catholic Church, then we describe a church-run *tanoda* that was established in the spring of 2013 in the Huszár district in Nyíregyháza, Hungary.

Disadvantage and education

Disadvantage as a concept has several aspects, but this study focuses on disadvantage from the aspect of education. As a result of changes implemented in 2013 and of the parallel harmonization of law, disadvantage, as used in education policy, was defined in the Child Protection Act (Section 67/A of Act 31 of 1997 on child protection and guardianship administration as amended by Section 45 of Act 27 of 2013), but it also applies for the education sector (Varga 2013). As a result of the amendment in 2013, several disadvantaged students and students with multiple disadvantages were excluded from this category, and as a result of the exclusion from benefits the probability of dropping out increases, and these students cannot take part in programmes aimed at disadvantaged children (Varga 2014).

In the sociology of education, there are several approaches to disadvantage. The fundamental work by Kozma (1975) played a major part in the spread of this concept in Hungary. The Child Protection Act (Act 31 of 1997) lists only the low qualifications and unemployment of the parents and insufficient living conditions (Varga 2013); as opposed to this, sociological and/or pedagogical literature also consider the following as disadvantage: the low social status of the parents (e.g. Boudon 1981, Andor-Liskó 2000), geographic disadvantages (e.g. Imre 2002a, Papp Z. 2011, Süli-Zakar and Lenkey 2014, Garami 2014), belonging to a linguistic, cultural or ethnic minority (e.g. Papp 1997, Imre 2002a, Torgyik 2005, Papp Z. 2011), the lack of a stable family background (e.g. Papp 1997), disadvantages resulting from the characteristics of the educational system (e.g. Imre 2002a, Fejes and Józsa 2005), problems with socialization and related problems, e.g. learning difficulties (e.g. Weiss 1986), the lack of access to culture (e.g. Báthory and Falus 1997), and other, unlisted factors.

The lack of a socialization medium preparing children for social integration and the lack of an inter- or intragenerational network to support school performance also lead to disadvantage and may result in learning difficulties (Pusztai 2004a, b, 2009; Kozma et al. 2005). In order to fight this, it would be essential to establish proper teacher–student relationships, but the lack of that makes dealing with problems very difficult and it may also be related to the inappropriate social behaviour of children (Weiss 1986; Pusztai 2004b, 2009; Györgyi-Imre 2012). It is not only teacher–student relationships that are decisive in school performance, there is also a correlation with teacher–parent relationships (Coleman et al. 1982; Lannert and Szekszárdi 2015). According to some interpretations, social inequalities are reproduced in school (Bourdieu 1978), and it is doubtful whether schools can do anything to contribute to the success of disadvantaged children in school.

A study by Imre (2002a: 64) provides a multidimensional approach to disadvantage. The first segment of the model described by the author consists of factors called “inequality dimensions outside the educational system”: these are factors that are present in a student’s life even before entering the educational system, such as social background, place of residence, gender, being a member of a minority and demographical features. The second segment includes attributes that lead to inequalities in the educational system and the third segment consists of output characteristics.

Research conducted by Liskó (2002) among teachers suggests that they consider the attitude of parents towards education and learning, and the lack of equipment and proper learning conditions at home as the main underlying problems behind the school performance of Roma children. This attitude of the parents may be explained by the theory of Boudon (1981), who contends that disadvantaged social groups tend to attribute success to luck and their own lack of success to bad luck, meaning they do not consider their future as something they can influence, and

therefore education is not really important to them. The theory of Boudon (1981) is confirmed by empirical data by Imre (2002b), who showed that a significantly lower proportion of parents with lower qualifications consider generating motivation to learn as a major task of schools than parents with higher qualifications.

The disadvantage compensation mission of the Greek Catholic Church

Several international studies exist about the mission of the Catholic Church that represents the commitment to disadvantaged children, which are based on a document by the Second Vatican Council. The Declaration on Christian Education (1965: 1) in the first point contends that:

All men of every race, condition and age, since they enjoy the dignity of a human being, have an inalienable right to an education that is in keeping with their ultimate goal, their ability, their sex, and the culture and tradition of their country, and also in harmony with their fraternal association with other peoples in the fostering of true unity and peace on earth. For a true education aims at the formation of the human person in the pursuit of his ultimate end and of the good of the societies of which, as man, he is a member, and in whose obligations, as an adult, he will share.

Following the Second Vatican Council, the focus of Catholic education evidently shifted towards marginalized groups (Denig and Dosen 2009). There has been a perceivable change in the mission of Catholic schools as a result of the Catholic Church turning to the outside world, which was inspired by the documents of the Second Vatican Council. Instead of educating only the Catholic youth, the Church concentrated on a much larger group, and instead of protecting the faith, the focus shifted towards reaching out to the poor. Catechism became a religious and moral instruction, with a great emphasis on evangelization, community, holistic education, and prayer. Schools committed themselves to social justice and service (Denig and Dosen, 2009).

Studies have shown that all denominational institutions, “in addition to training, put great emphasis on education as well, and as a result they consider extracurricular activities, such as community building and leisure activities, very important” (Imre 2005: 475). Previous studies on denominational schools have shown that the religious commitment, the commitment to the specific denomination and the uniform values and norms of the teachers are essential to the successful operation of denominational schools (Pusztai 2005, 2009; Bacskai 2008). However, for the effectiveness of denominational schools, it is also crucial that schools and parents who enrol their children there have shared values (Coleman and Hoffer 1987, Dronkers 1996, Pusztai 2004).

The background of our study

In the administrative district of the municipality of Nyíregyháza, approximately 8-10% of the population is Roma, who mostly live in two large residential areas (Huszár District and Keleti District). Huszár District is only about 3 km from the centre of Nyíregyháza, but there is only one public transport route to this area, with infrequent service. Residential buildings are partly one-storey row houses converted from former military buildings (Viola Street, Dália Street), and there are some blocks of flats (Huszártér). According to data from a flash survey by the Child Welfare Centre (Gyermekjóléti Központ) in 2010, one fifth of the population have not even completed the 8-year elementary school (21.8%). More than half of the population have only completed the 8-year elementary school (56.4%). 18.6% of the population have completed their secondary education and have some vocational qualification. Crime and illegal money-making are prevalent in this district. Approximately 90% of the population live below the poverty line. According to the authors of the study, the hopelessness of the situation of those living here is made even worse by the prejudices of the majority population and usury.

The present study is based on the research we conducted in the autumn of 2014 at the request of the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development (OFI),¹ as members of the CHERD-Hungary research group. In the course of our research, we analysed the content of the operational documents of the *Tanoda* (Organizational and Operational Regulations, House Rules, Pedagogical Programme) and conducted interviews with the teachers at the *Tanoda* (English teacher, Hungarian language and literature teacher, identity development coach – personal development coach –, teacher of self-knowledge-spiritual guide, and the professional supervisor), while also carried out a focus group interview with 9 children from the *Tanoda*. The length of the interviews vary; there are interviews of 30 minutes and of 90 minutes, and the focus group interview with the children is about 40 minutes. Most of the interviews were conducted in the elementary school building that hosts the *Tanoda*. In the course of the field work, we had the opportunity to observe the teachers, some of the children from the *Tanoda*, the classrooms, the chapel, and part of Huszár District, where the *Tanoda* is located. In a subsequent phase of our research, a documentary film was shot for educational purposes. In addition to the above, parents were also interviewed for this documentary.

1 Conducted under topic unit no. 6512 “Impact assessment of remedial programmes” of topic 1 of sub-project no. 5 “Impact assessment of previous developments” of the Priority Project No. 3.1.1-11/1-2012-0001 “21st Century School Education (Development and Coordination)” 2nd Phase of the Social Renewal Operational Programme (TÁMOP).

Description of the programme

According to the pedagogical programme of the *Tanoda* analysed in the study, “the primary target group of the project is children with multiple disadvantages living in Huszár District in Nyíregyháza (...) The secondary target group consists of the families – parents, grandparents, and siblings – of these children”. Interviews and observations confirmed this, while it has to be added that according to the interviews the target group sometimes also included children in secondary school:

This programme was planned for elementary school children in grades 5–8 and for students in grades 1–2 (grades 9–10) of secondary grammar schools, secondary schools, secondary vocational schools, and vocational schools, and the grant application was submitted accordingly. We have children from the 5th grade to the 9th grade. (Professional supervisor)

Geographically, the programme focused only on Huszár District in Nyíregyháza, even though people from other areas expressed their interest after the programme started, as a result of the high reputation it gained. Before the application was submitted, a preliminary needs assessment had been conducted, when 50-60 persons expressed their interest and wish to participate. In the course of the needs assessment and determining the range of would-be participants, the organizers had to fight the objection and reservations stemming from some negative experiences with a *Tanoda* which had formerly been operated in this area by another entity. In spite of this, the demand for this opportunity was substantial:

We had to carry out a preliminary survey for the application, which meant we went through the district and assessed who would need this and who might have participated in similar programmes before. Since there has been another *tanoda* here, run by another organization as far as we know, and perhaps if people found that *tanoda* good, they would have liked to join, then they had... they would have the opportunity. So, first we assessed the environment, and we found that people were really interested in the *tanoda*, 60-70 children applied, not 30, so there are a lot... a lot of applicants. (Professional supervisor)

As the maximum number set in the application was 30, then 30 children needed to be chosen from the applicants. Selection was mostly based on the order of applications received, but there was also a preliminary meeting or talk between the organizers and the applicants to align possibilities with expectations and to explore motivations. Naturally, the intention to identify with the aims of the programme and co-operation were among the conditions. It was mentioned in the interviews several times that it was mostly the more motivated children that came to the *Tanoda*. However, interviewees also considered developing and maintaining the motivation of children as an important task.

The schedule of the programme is as follows: 4 times a week (from Monday to Thursday), from 4:15 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. children, divided into groups, take part in classes in 5 subjects: Hungarian, Mathematics, English, identity development, and self-knowledge development. Children are supposed to come to the *Tanoda* twice a week, but there are variations; most often children would like to come more frequently. However, according to the staff of the *Tanoda*, this is not good because one of their aims is for the children to learn individually at home, to experience that with the methods they have acquired they can study for written and oral tests on their own. On every *Tanoda* day, children study in three groups, and they attend classes on a rotating basis. The professional supervisor said that the staff had been the same from May 2013 when the programme started. Neither the children nor the teachers initiated a change, even though in the first few months finding a common ground and exploring the boundaries required a lot of effort from everyone, and according to the staff there were some problems, but children became more open and receptive over time. Development activities are conducted in small groups and individually, thus differentiated development is possible. Co-operative learning and the project method are considered the most important methods for organizing learning.

The objectives and functions of the *Tanoda*

Magvető Tanoda provides complex development with several objectives, most of which are determined by the grant announcement. Lannert et al. (2013) divided the main objectives of *tanodas* in five main categories. In the following section, the operation of *Magvető Tanoda* is examined in the context of these objectives, then the special, additional objectives of this *tanoda* are described.

The first group is catching up programmes to fill knowledge gaps, which includes improving school results. The Pedagogical Programme emphasizes that providing catching-up programmes is not the primary objective, but improving school results is indicated among the objectives, and it is also supported by the House Rules, where help provided by specialized teachers is listed as one of the opportunities students have. In the *Tanoda* classroom, the development programme of the children is based on individual learning plans and is aimed at the improvement of their school results. Nevertheless, filling knowledge gaps and improving school results are accompanied by the increase in the children’s motivation in relation to learning.

(...) they also know, and they tell me, they boast and I am very happy, that I got a 4. There was an oral test in history. I got a 5, because we had prepared for it. (Identity development coach)

The Pedagogical Programme of the *Tanoda* lists the objectives of the institution, a key element of which is that children should consider learning as a value,

which indirectly helps decrease the drop-out rate and increase the children's intention to take part in further education. However, self-confident participation in learning activities is impossible without acquiring proper learning techniques.

General objectives in the second category include supporting regular school attendance and preventing dropping out, but children have many problems at school, most of which are a result of their socioeconomic disadvantages.

Well, now, we can talk about how difficult is for them to integrate and what are the issues they have problems with, but from the lack of equipment or that their clothes are not as appropriate or as suitable as those of the children from the majority population, to what I think is the most serious, that while you don't need to confuse the problems of poverty with the problems of the Roma, but what I think the most serious is that they don't get help. (Hungarian teacher)

The lack of school equipment, problems with integration, patterns learned in the family, these are all factors of the children's motivation, which the staff at the *Tanoda* aim to develop and maintain. Our results are comparable to those of Liskó (2002), who says that teachers in her study consider the fact that Roma children are undermotivated as the main learning disadvantage besides insufficient learning conditions. When talking about the everyday problems of the children, several interviewees mentioned the problems between the teachers and students in the schools the children attend. The study by Györgyi and Imre (2012) analysing the conflicts between teachers and students found that students with less satisfactory results are more likely to get in conflicts with their teachers. Conflicts are also more common among those who feel there is no mutual respect in the teacher–student relationship and among those who do not perceive the school as an environment based on co-operation. Obviously, as the staff of the *Tanoda* deal with individual cases – at least on student level –, it may ease these teacher–student conflicts on the students' side, as they can discuss their problems, if not with the teacher concerned, at least with someone in a similar position, and the students at the *Tanoda* say that they cannot do this with their parents on the same level.

In the prevention of drop-out, maintaining contact with the parents is also important. In the course of our field-work, we saw that it is often the parents who take their children to the *tanoda*, so they are in daily contact with the staff, and there are also family programmes, as it is one of the aims to strengthen the role of the family, and they support co-operation in relation to finding solutions to the problems of the children and their families. It was considered important to get in touch with the families even before enrolment so that they could build a supportive relationship, which has been maintained ever since.

The third group consists of the development of social competencies, strengthening identity and establishing psychological balance, but Lannert et al.

(2013) do not use the term ‘integration,’ even though when dealing with this issue everyone involved and also all the documents considered socialization and improving integration as key issues in which identity development activities and different events are important. Activities which are life-like and are derived from conflict situations are considered important, as these help the integration of children and also stimulate their creativity.

Identity development in the *Tanoda* not only involves facilitated introduction to Roma culture and not only means embracing tradition, but children can share their everyday problems with the teacher they like the most, as they said in the focus group interview. This direct relationship is likely to stem from the fact that the identity development coach comes from a similar environment as the children, they share their culture, their place of residence, so this teacher can understand and identify with their problems, can give better advice and promote understanding, patience, acceptance, and perseverance. Crafts workshops are an integral part of identity development, where the skills and social competencies of the children both improve while they are working together.

Community programmes and the whole atmosphere of the *Tanoda* programme that supports community building make it possible to develop – often indirectly – personal and social competencies beyond learning skills. Programmes outside the regular schedule (e.g. going to the theatre, hiking, summer camps), which are apparently formative experiences for every participant, also contribute to community building. Parents and siblings can participate in some of these programmes:

There was a kid from the tanoda; he went to the match with his father, and it was great for both of them, and on the bus they sang with the seminarians, made friendships, etc. So, this is again like there is an opportunity, and then we take these to... Because I think these are the things that can be more valuable than some lesson given, and then we tell them or we explain... They get something they couldn’t get otherwise, something you can’t teach in class, you have to experience it. (Spiritual guide)

Talking about these programmes, the external expert pointed out that without the *Tanoda*, these children would probably not be able to go on holiday, go camping or travel. The professional supervisor highlighted how motivated these children are when they go hiking or go to a musical, and how nicely they can behave, that they have never had any problem in restaurants, as now the children know how to order politely, for example. These programmes are important in the development of their social competencies, and it is important how they use the good manners they learned, which is an important part of integration.

In addition to remedial education, the programme of the *Tanoda* also involves talent development, which contributes to the achievement of the aims in the fourth group, namely the support for secondary or tertiary education. The *Tanoda*

strives to support the further education of the children, as several members of the staff put it: to bring out the best in the children, according to their skills. In relation to this issue, maintaining a relationship with the parents is also essential.

There was a little girl, and, for example, when they are about to go to secondary school, and we are asked for help, and the parents come, together with their children, and parents sit in class watching how their children are doing. After that they go to the director, Kriszta, and they sit down together and ask for help, and ask about the opportunities, which school the children could go to, how they could bring out the best in them?
(English teacher)

The fifth group consists of leisure activities and also the establishment of a “safe place”. It is one of the special aims of the *Tanoda* to create a loving, inclusive and accepting atmosphere, as participants in the programme believe that it is in such environment where young people can develop effectively, and it is also ideal for the staff to perform their tasks.

Although they told me that they don’t like being at home. So this, that they don’t have a small place of their own there where they could stay. Here they are together, and they have grown to like each other. And they look forward to this. That they are looked after here. They have things here, they have devices: a computer, a notebook. Then there is a large gym, where they can play football if they want. And there are people here who listen to them. This is what they are looking for here, this is what they want to hold on to. (Identity development coach)

A special sign of how attached the participants are to the programme is that when we asked the children if they would recommend the programme to others, they said no, and the real reason was only revealed after several further questions:

Because we are jealous, I have got used to this, let it stay this way, don’t let new people come. Honestly, I’m jealous, I don’t like it when I have to share something this good, or share my friends. (Child from the *Tanoda*)

After further questions, they said that they would warmly recommend a similar *tanoda*, one they would not have to share.

A: No one should come here.

Q: I’ll put it in another way. If a *tanoda* was to open, not here but in Debrecen, would you recommend it to other children?

A: That one, yes.

Q: Why?

A: Because that’s good, and this is not. This wouldn’t be good for them... I would lie so that they wouldn’t come here. (Interview excerpts from a discussion with a child from the *Tanoda*.)

It is important that the *Tanoda* is considered a “safe place” not only by the children, but also by their parents.

They are comfortable when we are here, not (...) and wander around. They are happy that we are not at home. We aren't getting on their nerves. (Child from the *Tanoda*)

We consider elements related to the religious life of the *tanoda* as special objectives which cannot be included in the categories of general objectives above. These include the introduction to Christianity and Greek Catholic rites.

(...) so that they have, they should have the feeling that they can turn to the church, and so that when they are grown up and have problems or spiritual conflicts, they will not be alone but think of Father András or other priests or seminarians and then maybe they will turn to them. (Spiritual guide)

As the *Tanoda* is sponsored by the Church, it was important for us to ask how the children feel when they are in the chapel, especially because the interviews with the teachers revealed that many children were not familiar with the teachings of the Church and the elements of religious practice before they joined the programme.

We pray with Father András... and the singing. That's good. We love it. We learn prayers. Give your heart... And there is one, “we have come and we are going” (they sing). (Child from the *Tanoda*)

The other special objective of the *Tanoda* is that in order to provide complex social support – in addition to maintaining contact with the parents and the schools of the children – they get into contact with the social and healthcare sector if necessary, to support the children. This extended role was mentioned both in the documents and in the interviews, and it is also represented by the fact that participants are provided with a hot meal on the days they attend the *Tanoda*.

The effectiveness of the *Tanoda* and its measurability

Since the original objective of the research was to assess the impact of remedial education programmes, it was inevitable that interviewees should be asked about their opinion on the effectiveness of the *Tanoda* and also on the measurability of this effectiveness. Every expert asked considers the measurement of success important, but some of them doubt that real results are measurable and can be separated from other effects. Some even say that they do not have great results, only “smaller ones”.

Surely, it is possible. Maybe... you can tell how many of the children went to secondary school, how many of them went to college, and the like, you can cite numbers like this, but behind the numbers you will find people, and it is completely different. That in the life of a child who went to secondary school, and did so because he or she came here, and then got into a secondary school, you can start this way and measure things, but I don't know... (Spiritual guide)

Talking about measurement and effectiveness, several interviewees mentioned objective indicators that are included in the priorities of the grant application, such as going on to further education, decreasing class repetition and drop-out rates, and changes in school results. In the course of the interviews, we had the impression that even though experts often use the terminology of projects, they have real commitment towards the target group and the children in the *Tanoda*. However, it should be mentioned that objective indicators were never mentioned separately, but indicators considered subjective by recent research were mentioned in every interview, even with external experts. These indicators are difficult to measure, but are considered by the staff as great achievements of the *Tanoda*. Such factors that are difficult to measure but are considered real results, even success, include: the development of the social relationships, competencies, and openness of the children.

There was a child who said, for example, “Hey, another glass of water!” – that was how he asked for a glass of water. And by now he has learned how he should ask, how he is supposed to behave for example in a restaurant or ask for something. (Professional supervisor)

The identity development coach can observe the behaviour of the children not only in the *Tanoda*, but also elsewhere:

The way I see it that even here, in this district, a new layer has developed among the children, who say I don’t swear, I don’t destroy my environment, I say hello and I respect others. (Identity development coach)

As in the district where these children come from sanitary conditions and related standards are different from those of, let us say, the classmates of the children in the *tanoda*, the professional supervisor wanted to emphasize that the children have also developed in the area of hygiene since the programme started.

I think that these children have learned a lot also in connection with hygiene. They have learned that they should wash their hands before they sit down to study and that they should wash their hands before they sit down to eat, and the like. (Professional supervisor)

Another area that is included in the objectives of the grant application is the development of learning methods, and the experts in the programme also mentioned this.

First of all, the learning methods used by the children in our *Tanoda* are different, partly because they learn how to organize their homework. They learn how to learn the material they have to learn. The other group, I think, at least this is what we saw, that when children came here to the *Tanoda*, they didn’t know which of their homework assignments they should do and how. How they should get down to learn history, for example. And, for example, they... their learning methods are now better than that of their classmates. (Professional supervisor)

The interview, the survey, and the test were mentioned among the methods. The professional supervisor of the *Tanoda* says it is anonymity that makes surveys successful. According to the personal experience of the professional supervisor, children are more honest if they can express their opinion anonymously, and that they voice their own opinions if their parents are not present. This is why students and their parents should be asked separately, when they are not together. In relation to the measurement of success, interviewees said that it takes at least a year before the effect of the *Tanoda* is visible.

The focus group interview revealed that children attribute their current school results mostly to the *Tanoda*, as teachers helped them to prepare for the retake exam when it was necessary or they did not have to repeat a grade due to their teachers' support. The children at the *Tanoda* say that the *Tanoda* provides them with the extra activities and extra attention they need to learn the material for which the explanation they got at school was not enough, for which they need more time, more patience, and individual explanation.

They can explain it better than there [at school], as there are more children there, and here you go to a teacher and he or she explains it in a way that you understand. (Child from the *Tanoda*)

Experts in the programme said that they had plans for a follow-up programme for those who learned here, but these are only plans as no student has left the *Tanoda* yet. In this follow-up programme they wish to follow the path the students take and their life. It is not only the opinion of the students that is considered important but also the feedback from the parents.

Yes, surely. Our sponsor, his Excellency, the Bishop, is our partner in this, that no... I would like to rethink it in a different framework... but we don't want to leave these kids alone. Especially those kids, and there are a lot of them, who, I think – I truly believe – could achieve something if they got support. (Hungarian teacher)

It is interesting that – even though it was mentioned in another context that the children at the *Tanoda* are greatly influenced by the school, they go to and by their teachers, classmates, and schoolmates when discussing how to measure success – it did not come up that the teachers of the children in the *Tanoda* should be asked, although according to previous research on *tanodas* they maintain a relationship with the school of the children while they go to the *Tanoda* (Németh 2008). It would be interesting to examine whether these teachers have experienced some changes. When children go to secondary school, the former teachers could provide a more detailed profile of the children, and the profile provided by the old and the new school could be compared.

The *Tanoda* examined in this study, like many similar programmes, was established for a specific time period, which is usually the duration of the project – 2 years in this case. During this period, children get used to it, but once the

project is completed, they have to be left alone as there are no funds to carry on the programme. It might be different with this *tanoda*: what they are hoping for is another grant before the project is over.

We definitely don't want to leave these children alone, so if there is no new *tanoda* programme – of course, we already know that we would like to apply again if it is announced... And when will it be announced? But when it is announced. We will develop an evangelization programme within the church, but we will not leave it alone, at least I won't. Really, as I said, we have the support of our sponsor, as it is very important to the bishop of our diocese. Remedial education, multiple disadvantages, deep poverty, people left behind – he is always dedicated and supportive. I have been promised financial support as well. I think I can be very hopeful about the future. Yes, definitely, we will be able to raise funds, either from the government or from our own sources. (Professional supervisor)

In his overview of the successful grant applications of several years, Fejes (2014) found that the majority of *tanodas* only work for one project cycle. The effective operation of the *tanodas* is hindered by the ad hoc nature of grant funding. Continuous operation is almost impossible without a proper financial background and it also affects pedagogical work (Lányi 2008, Fejes 2014). The sponsor of the *Tanoda* in our study, however, is dedicated to the issue, which makes the prospects for the future operation of the *Tanoda* brighter.

Summary

The present study was inspired by the fact that even though there are several programmes supporting disadvantaged students, their real effectiveness is yet to be measured. Although several studies have been written about the *Tanoda* programmes (Németh 2009, Fejes 2014, etc.), the effectiveness of these programmes have not been clearly proven or refuted. Perhaps the effectiveness of these programmes should not be examined without taking into consideration the local situation as every case is unique. Our study attempted to describe a unique case, highlighting the multiple interpretations of disadvantage, on the one hand, and the disadvantage compensation mission of the Greek Catholic Church, on the other hand.

Magvető *Tanoda* lays special emphasis on cognitive, social, and emotional development and on providing a safety net for the children. What makes the *Tanoda* significant is that it provides loving and individual care for children in the afternoons, something they not always get at home. The environment provided by the *Tanoda* enables students to realize their human dignity and shape their everyday life, relationships, and future. The importance of keeping in contact

with the parents should be mentioned as they are the primary caregivers with whom the *Tanoda* needs to find a common ground.

One of the priorities of the *Tanoda* is to enhance the integration of the children through the development of social competencies, their visions, and their intentions to take part in further education and through teaching how to achieve a spiritually balanced life. No student of the *Tanoda* had to repeat a grade, so the *tanoda* plays an important role in decreasing the drop-out rate of children. The *Tanoda* provides children with useful leisure activities, and the children themselves said that without this it is likely that they would just wander around in the district instead of learning.

Based on this research, it can be established that most of the expectations and objectives outlined in the documents were mentioned in the interviews and were observed in the field. As this was a study of an ongoing programme, naturally it was not really possible to gather data on the long-term success of the programme, but, on the other hand, it was possible to get to know the inner life of the programme directly and in depth, and explore, in detail, the positive points and the problems and points yet to be developed.

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GRAVISSIMUM EDUCATIONIS – DECLARATION ON CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
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Parochial Schools and PISA Effectiveness in Three Central European Countries

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Abstract. In the 2000s, PISA surveys provided a real shock to the world of research on education. The hope of researchers of parochial schools was to receive a powerful measurement tool to benchmark performance of pupils and schools on an international scale. Unfortunately, the public PISA databases do not conclusively reveal whether the examined schools are public, private, or parochial. Furthermore, the PISA sampling is not representative regarding school sectors. There were, however, countries in every PISA wave where private schools performed better than their public counterparts, once the factor of parental background was taken into consideration. Recently, researchers have attributed this phenomenon to school climate and/or to educational values that may indicate a new type of effectiveness based on work values and on long-term returns on investments. During our analysis, we found that intersectional differences reported in scientific literature could be observed in Slovakia and Hungary, to the advantage of the parochial sector. In the third researched country, Poland, the advantage of the independent, private sector is considerable, compared to which the government-supported parochial schools are at a disadvantage.¹ We found that in the parochial sector, the dominant force of social background is more moderate than is the case in public schools. We also specifically examined reading comprehension competencies, as PISA had done in 2009.

Keywords: PISA, private schools, parochial schools, parental values, school performance

1 In Hungary and Slovakia, there were not any independent, non-public schools in the sample; this sector is present here at a very low rate.

Introduction

Surveys intending to make international comparisons based on whether a school is public, private, or parochial published significant results even before the turn of the millennium. Typical of these studies were the variety of cultural and social backgrounds of the examined schools and concepts pupils had of what constitutes effective learning. Some researchers rely on intelligence values, others focus on grades, and there are also those who use efficiency measurements of individual subjects to measure pupils' skills and knowledge (Dronkers and Hemsing 1999, Uerz et al. 2004). It is typical for schools in the private sector to be committed to focusing on their own sets of values and pedagogic values; their pedagogical and educational activities are strongly focused on values, and such schools select their pupils in order to get a group of parents and pupils with strong connections to these value sets (Pusztai 2011a). Their orientation to a chosen set of values determines how they perceive their own skills and knowledge. Parochial schools, even within the non-public sector, typically have holistic and long-term concepts of effectiveness which are independent of the results achieved in their teaching of subjects (Pusztai 2004, Morvai-Sebestyén 2014).

Unlike previously published, internationally comparative studies of the effectiveness of education in teaching skills and knowledge, which were tied to the factors of an examined nation's cultural determination and its educational system, i.e. its national curriculum, PISA chose to conduct a long-term study on the effectiveness of education in relation to the labour market although PISA's study has a rather more limited horizontal approach than the one mentioned above. There was a great international stir after the first PISA results were released, as they practically shocked politicians and public opinion in some countries. However, in other countries, the opinion of these same results was that they felt the functional principles of their own educational systems had been verified. Results in the international reports were also assessed by sectors, and from the beginning, they demonstrated the particular success of non-public schools. While PISA became such a catchword that it could be used even to justify a wide range of educational policy decisions, PISA's reports also led to non-public sector schools having to provide embarrassing explanations about their published levels of effectiveness in providing skills and knowledge (OECD 2012).

One of the characteristics of our own study of school sectors concerns the differences between how they are managed, whether as public, private, or parochial schools. Especially important for our study are the differences in their effectiveness in providing skills and knowledge. We generate effectiveness indexes on the bases of the schools' sociological and educational-sociological traditions. At first, we considered student progress in the educational system as one of the standard indexes, but because of the changes in the admission procedures for

higher education, which now allow those pupils into colleges and universities who earlier would never have made the cut, this index proved to be a decreasingly appropriate indicator. We therefore turned to devising other effectiveness indexes for predicting how pupils, after leaving the educational system, find their places in society as citizens, on the labour market, and in the family. We also studied what predictive power these indexes have, how they are related to each other and what kinds of qualities those schools possess which might strengthen or weaken the effectiveness of the education measured by such indexes. In harmony with internationally published studies, we found the best predicting indicators in the areas of work ethic, attitude to work, and the results for the efficiency of extra-curricular activities (Pusztai 2004, 2009, 2011a; Bacskai 2008).

School management in OECD data

Organized by the OECD, PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) measures, on an international scale, the levels of skills and knowledge of pupils. In doing so, it aims to make assessments of the competence of pupils in applying their knowledge and skills on the labour market, while presenting its results for countries and educational systems in such a manner that each nation's results may be compared with any others. PISA measures such knowledge and skills that are attainable during primary and secondary education, in the areas of reading, mathematics, and science. The first measurement was made in 2000. Since then, the study has been organized every three years, emphasizing different competence areas each time. Mathematical and reading comprehension abilities are analysed on the bases of less questions. The survey evaluates 15-year-old pupils, who in most of the analysed educational systems are approaching their school-leaving age. The number of participant countries has been increasing, with even non-OECD countries joining the research; in addition to the 32 partner countries which took part in the 2009 survey, 33 other countries also took part in the PISA. During the research, the pupils' knowledge was standardized, the questionnaires – including those researching the pupils' social backgrounds, attitudes, study habits, and related conditions – were translated into the assessed pupils' mother tongues. The schools' management also fill in questionnaires, in which they provide information concerning the operational conditions of their institutions (e.g. number of qualified teachers, probable deficiencies, etc.). In some countries, parents are also provided with their own questionnaires to be filled in (Balázsi et al. 2010b.).

The PISA surveys could be perfectly suitable for studying the results of the public, private, and parochial educational sectors because of their cyclic quality and their global focus; however, there is little possibility for this as a consequence of the publication of the obtained data and the actual sampling procedures used by PISA.

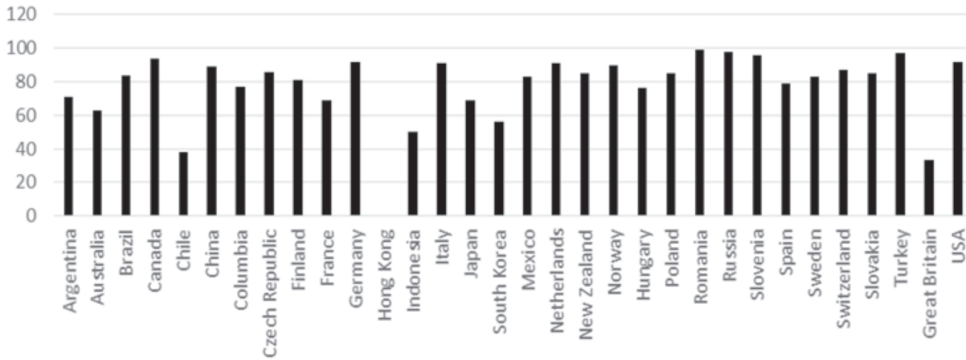
It is a problematic point that the PISA measurements performed by the OECD distinguish between three different sectors of school management in their data entry. Schools that are established and maintained by public or centralized budgets (e.g. local governments or higher educational institutes) belong to the state (public) sector. In the educational systems of PISA-examined countries, these kinds of institutes are in the overwhelming majority. The second institutional circle is that of government-dependent, private institutes. These are not established by a state organization, but by other entities, e.g. a church, foundation, or commercial enterprise, but they still receive more than 50% of the amount they need to function from their government. A great number of these types of schools are found in The Netherlands,² Belgium, the United Kingdom, and Germany. Most of these are actually parochial schools. The third small group is the group of non-public schools towards which the government either does not contribute or, if so, only to a small degree. These independent private institutes are dependent on foundational supports, tuition fees, donations and governmental budget resources are less than the half of their operation expenses. In Europe, this institutional form is rare, approaching a rate of 10% only in Malta, Cyprus, and Portugal. However, in other regions (e.g. in Brazil or Dubai), their rates are considerable (Key Data 2012). In most OECD countries, schools established by non-public organizations can receive government support if they meet the legally mandated requirements of the centrally-defined syllabus or educational requirement system. In such cases, the government contracts with the institution and contributes to its maintenance. The form, method, and the quantity of such supports can vary widely by country (Pusztai 2004). According to the data published for the year 2012, Hungary can be found in the mid-range of those countries with greater educational traditions and among those countries which possess broader parochial, non-public sectors and which also have educational systems almost solely based in the public sector (such as China, Russia, or Romania) (OECD 2014).

In addition to its financial approach, PISA databases are not structured in such a manner to reflect the actual nature of a school's administration, when it is listed as a non-public sector school. Among the data on school administration, all in all, there is only one section from which we can hope to garner information on this question,³ i.e. the question about the admission of pupils. The frequently

2 Classification of schools in the Netherlands changed in the year 2012 or it is not consistent in OECD data. The publication *Education at a Glance* (2014) indicates a rate of 91% for public-run schools in the Netherlands, while on the basis of the Dutch pupils who filled in PISA tests this rate is only 33.6%.

3 How often do they take into consideration the following during the admission of pupils? (A) scholarly achievement of the student; (b) the recommendation of the pupil's previous school; (c) the demands of the parents regarding educational and religious views; (d) the interest of the pupil in special programmes; (e) giving preference to those who belong to one family and (f) local pupils.

provided answer variations cannot be used in further analysis, primarily because they are not absolute in nature. Their more problematic deficiency is that they understand the features of an educational system in dimensions that greatly differ from one another.



Source: *Education at a Glance* (2014: 416)

Graph 1. Rate of number of the pupils studying in the public sector at ISCED Level 3.

Parochial or foundation-run schools have very different educational aims, operating features and parental backgrounds – among other differences. Moreover, parochial or foundational subsystems do not present a unified picture, whether examined on their own or even within a single country. At what rate public and non-public schools exist in a country and how big is the share of parochial schools within this rate depend on the traditions of the educational system and the development of educational sectors within the examined country. The differences among these functions are not reflected in the international comparison as such comparisons prefer to illustrate the effectiveness of non-public schools in a unified model, which simply gives a false picture of reality.

The advantage of non-public schools in PISA

We have seen what kinds of limits research of the non-public sector confronts. On the other hand, we pointed out that – in every PISA wave – in several countries there were differences in the effectiveness of the development of skills and competencies among school administrative sectors. As early as the first measurement, it was registered that non-public schools are more effective. This research is primarily attributed to Jaap Dronkers and his research fellows, who remind us the intersectoral differences and the necessity of their further analysis (Dronkers 2004, Dronkers and Robert 2005, Dronkers and Avram 2009).

They found that the PISA scores of pupils learning in government-aided (mostly parochial), non-public schools were higher than those of pupils studying in other sectors. In the traditional educational political narrative, this is usually explained by the higher social status of pupils' families in the government-aided private sector. Researchers also proved that there is considerable difference between the effectiveness of the public and non-public sectors when comparing the results of pupils with similar backgrounds. Several additional factors were taken into consideration in examining the causes for this result. Especially those factors have been examined that are equally typical for both private sectors, such as the different circumstances of school management and school autonomy, but there were analysed also independent factors such as the social background of the pupils, the historical and social differences, and even the school atmosphere. Between the two kinds of non-public and public schools, significant differences were revealed in every dimension. During the multivariate analysis, it turned out that the efficiency of learning skills and knowledge in private institutes not receiving government support was lower both in the case of the public and government-supported private institutes with pupils from the same backgrounds. This also means that the better performance of parochial schools cannot be explained in itself by school management, the social background of the pupils, or the differences between the developments of the non-public sector because the two kinds of non-public school sectors are very similar. However, the more favourable nature of a school's climate may explain the difference. Nonetheless, the positive effect of the school sector does not succeed equally in the case of every student. The form of school administration exerted a positive influence on the results of pupils from less good social backgrounds than their mates from better backgrounds, so parochial institutes created more equal opportunities. As we mentioned earlier, in these cases, researchers did not have the chance to distinguish between the types of organizations actually running the schools in the two private sectors, but in the researched countries, schools in the government-aided private sector are traditionally parochial schools.

German researchers completed research strictly on parochial schools (Standfest et al. 2005), placing at the centre of their analysis the efficiency of teaching skills and knowledge in these schools and a school's ability to reduce social disadvantage. Seen on the basis of their results, the 2000 PISA survey proved the advantage of German Lutheran schools. They especially found the school and home environments to be crucial, as well as how the values supported by the pupils' families and the teaching staff resembled each other. Where this was the case, the efficiency of passing on skills and knowledge of the school was significantly higher than expected. Vocational schools were analysed separately. The advantage of the parochial sector reduced social disadvantage, so they found that pupils from less advantageous backgrounds also performed better. On the

other hand, in German parochial vocational schools, PISA scores were higher in an absolute sense, even though this difference was not considerable in grammar schools. Explanations were found mainly in the factors of school climate; teacher–student relationships in parochial schools were found to be better, while the student–student relationship showed no significant differences. Thus, the advantage of the parochial sector in Germany was found in the harmony of values between the families and the schools and in good teacher–student relationships.

On the basis of the examined literature, we could see that the advantage of the efficiency of skills and knowledge learning in parochial or non-public schools are usually typical, but not everywhere. We think that it is worth examining how pupils' family backgrounds influence the sector's efficiency advantages. We think that it is important to do so in such a manner as not to focus on the final results of school selection, but to actually convey the real added value of these schools. In the PISA database, there is a socio-cultural family index created on the basis of the following variables: the highest level of education of the student's parents; their status on the labour market; types of products purchased for the home, including cultural elements, as well as goods facilitating learning (PISA 2009). In different PISA publications, filtering of the effects of these on the index is continuously mentioned with strong emphasis. We note that even this index does not deal with horizontal social differences (region, type of settlement inhabited), and thus it gives suitable information neither on the stratification for Hungarian nor for many other socially-geographically non-homogenous countries. If we study the data from 2012, we can see that, e.g. in Shanghai, South Korea, and Canada, the efficiency advantage of the private sector is significant, but there is no way to distinguish between the types of organizations actually running the schools. In Finland, pupils of non-public institutes also achieve better scores even if we are controlling the family background variable. We know that in Hungary there are very few parochial Lutheran schools, thus this shows realistically the advantage of foundation-run schools. In Poland, the data tend to show the advantage of the parochial but also independent, private sectors. In Slovakia and Hungary, the non-public sector also has an advantage, but for neither of these countries do we also know from which kinds of schools the pupils are included in the sample. On the other hand, e.g. in Switzerland, Japan, and Hong Kong, pupils in the public sector accomplish better. Studying the data, it is also conspicuous that in those countries where excellent test results are boasted about, the entered data for non-public schools are growing (OECD 2014).

Thus, we can see that it is different for each educational system that where, why, and how much the pupils in the non-public sector accomplish, whether better or worse. For this reason, it would be worth collecting data more efficiently in order to see how the non-public sector stands on efficiency of learning of skills and knowledge, then to which segment of the sector this result relates and

what could the reason be for certain results. If we can succeed in finding the reasons behind these questions, it would be beneficial towards improving state-run education, although we should not use examples coming from outside the system but rather to extend those good practices which are already prevalent in the education system. Therefore, it is worth thinking over how much the competence measured as a result of PISA surveys can be independent from the disposition rooted in social status.

According to Bourdieu, a class-specific disposition carries with it those predispositions which put into practice an implicit pedagogical action, requiring initial familiarity with the dominant culture, offering information which can be acquired only by subjects endowed with the system of predispositions that is the condition for the success of the transmission and of the inculcation of the culture. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture, related to a specific period of time and, as regards a pupil's reaction to cultural goods, is seen especially in a pupil's either familiar or convulsive reaction to school work (Bourdieu 1978, Nash 2002). It seems that the secret of schools run by religious organizations lays in their ability to modify the attitudes of their pupils which were originally based on status-formed disposition. As Bourdieu says, this can become possible with the help of a specific ethos.

Our research

In our research, we made a comparison of reading comprehension results of public and parochial schools of the PISA database from 2009. We worked with this database (and not with the latest from 2012) because of the difficulties of identification, as mentioned above. In this database, we could exactly identify which schools were parochial schools. In attempting to try to identify which kind of organization managed a school, we often found it very difficult to reach the responsible international contact (e.g. because of institutional conversions, personnel changes) who had both the information and the authority to give us the required data. Still, even when we could reach the right contact person, our inquiry was often received with suspicion, so it seems that the theme of parochial schools is still a sensitive issue in Central Europe. We did not get information on the Polish independent private sector from the informants because of the reasons mentioned above.

In this chapter, we would like to show briefly in what surroundings and with what backgrounds parochial institutes of the three studied countries (Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland) operate. We are only concentrating on their most significant

features and differences, and in the case of their historical overview we mostly limit our discussion to the years since the fall of communism in Central-Eastern Europe, in 1989–1990.

In the three of the concerned Central European countries, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary, the rate of parochial pupils in the PISA sampling is between two and six percent. We analyse the results and answers of these pupils below.

The studied region and its parochial schools after 1989

We have information on the religiousness of the three countries from the research study *Aufbruch 2007* (Tomka and Zulehner 2008). In Slovakia and Poland, the rate of those who belong to a church is high, at 84 and 90%, respectively, while in Hungary it is only 51.4%. Therefore, from this point of view, parochial institutions operate in different religious atmospheres. The picture becomes more unclear if we study how many citizens are attached to their churches more strongly or less strongly. We see that in Poland the level of ecclesial religiousness is significantly higher than in Slovakia (actually, after Poland, Romania ranks second among all examined countries in the *Aufbruch 2007* study) and in Hungary the figures are proportionally below the average figures the *Aufbruch 2007* research provides in both categories (*Table 1*).

Table 1. *The proportion of those who belong to a church as a function of the strength of their attachment for three countries (%)*

	Attached less strongly	Attached more strongly
Hungary	21.4	30
Slovak Republic	46	38
Poland	21	69

Source of data: *Aufbruch 2007*

As for the denominational rates, in Poland, almost every church member is Roman Catholic. The rate of Roman Catholics in Slovakia is 69%, while 7% are Lutheran and 2% Reformed Christian, the latter of whom are mostly Hungarian in ethnicity. In Hungary, half of the population is Roman Catholic, the second more populous confession is Reformed Christian (16%), with Lutherans and Greek Catholics composing roughly 3-3% of the population.

The rates of attendance and the histories of the parochial schools differ among the countries of the region. After the political transformation in the 1990s, several parochial schools started to operate. Those started by foundations were largely the first schools to be founded and to start to operate as educational institutes after the elimination of the state monopoly. At the time of communism, only few parochial schools were tolerated in Poland and Hungary (a total of 5 schools in

Hungary). After the fall of communism in 1989, a number of new parochial schools were established. There were not any parochial schools in Slovakia before 1989, so there were no continuous traditions to build on there. Where such schools had existed in the former Warsaw Pact countries, these institutions paved the way for expansion and new schools. As they perform public duties, the state financed the better part of their educational programmes. That is why international literature, as we mentioned, lists the church sector also in the government-aided private sector. In Poland, this category is made up only of parochial schools, but the remaining portion of parochial institutes belongs to the independent private sector.

Results

Below, we study whether we can speak about the effectiveness of teaching skills and knowledge competencies in the parochial sector, similar to what was documented by the literature during the analysis of the PISA 2009 data. If we can, then we shall see whether this effectiveness stems from the backgrounds of the pupils or whether other factors contributed to this success.

The data of *Table 2* show the difference between the effectiveness of teaching skills and knowledge competencies and the social background of the pupils who attend schools in the different sectors in each country. Here, we measured this effectiveness with PISA ability point of the effectiveness of learning the skill of reading comprehension,⁴ which is a standardized measure. We measured family background using a consolidated social cultural index (ESCS).⁵ We chose this method from among the traditionally used indexes because this method was the most appropriate for measuring the effectiveness of reading comprehension (r^2).

Table 2. *Pupils and results in the PISA 2009 in the three Central European countries*

		Public	Private	Government-aided parochial
Hungary	Reading comprehension effectiveness (PISA score)	497	475	550
	The index of economic, social, and cultural status (ESCS)	-0.2	-0.25	0.51
Poland	Reading comprehension effectiveness (PISA score)	501	569	530

4 The average score among OECD countries is 500 points and the standard deviation is 100 points.

5 The index was created using student reports on parental occupation, the highest level of parental education, and an index of home possessions related to family wealth, home educational resources, and possessions related to “classical” culture in the family home. 0 centred 1 dispersion normalized index. This PISA index is an index with a value of -1 and 1. The average value among OECD countries is 0. If the value is negative, the index is below the OECD average.

		Public	Private	Government-aided parochial
	The index of economic, social, and cultural status (ESCS)	-0.3	1.1	-0.2
Slovak Republic	Reading comprehension effectiveness (PISA score)	476	474	529
	The index of economic, social, and cultural status (ESCS)	-0.1	-0.03	0.19

Source: PISA 2009 datas

The data reveals that the background and results of pupils who belong to public, parochial, and other private sectors develop differently in each country. In Hungary and Slovakia, parochial schools accomplish the best results, while in Poland the pupils from the private sector schools do. Here, of course, it is about averages, as in both Hungary and Slovakia public sector school types are more diverse in form, while the parochial type schools are relatively homogeneous. Mostly, grammar schools belong here; in Poland, this age-group takes part in unified, lower secondary education (Gimnazjum; see above). Usually, parental background and the effectiveness of education visibly go together; therefore, a pupil’s family background largely determines the pupil’s effectiveness in learning skills and knowledge competencies. Simultaneously, this does not occur on the same scale. In Hungary and Slovakia, in the public sector, the predictive power of parental background is stronger ($r^2=0.25$ and 0.14) than in the parochial sector ($r^2=0.19$ and 0.08), while in Poland it is higher (public $r^2=0.14$, parochial $r^2=0.27$).

We analysed the reasons behind the differences among the sectors using multivariate regression calculation. It comes as no surprise that those pupils obtained the highest scores on the reading comprehension tests who read a lot and liked reading. The main predictor among several different possibilities (parental background, features of school climate, type of organization running a school) proved to be the effect of the love of reading. In Hungary and Slovakia, effectiveness of learning the skill of reading comprehension is most closely connected with the type of school visited. The index of the love of reading directly follows this. In Poland, the situation is different in this respect as school type was of no significance. This is why the love of reading ranked first in this country (see *Table 4*).

It is evident that there is a significant relationship between the parochial sector and learning effectiveness. During our analyses, we found that in the PISA 2009 study, the relation between the school sector and the maintainer is strong everywhere. However, for Polish schools, we can report the ascendancy of the private sector over parochial schools (see above); with multivariate regression analyses, the parochial-organization-run schools were ranked lower. In Slovakia, if we study the

school type, we find that the effect of parochial schools corresponds with the effect of grammar schools as school type – so not the effect of the organization running a school but the school type – is stronger. Yet, in the case of Hungarian pupils, it is noticeable that, after school type, social background, and pupil behaviour, the subsequent explanatory variable is the parochial organization which runs the school. In the studied countries, according to published research studies, the love of reading gives the effective advantage of pupils from parochial schools. In parochial schools, many more pupils learn for whom reading is an important and pleasurable activity (see *Table 3*). Attila Nagy, in a research on reading comprehension, argues that this relation is probable, but it is still not proved (Nagy 2011).

Table 3. *Averages of the love of reading index⁶ in each country and sector (averages)*

	Public	Private	Parochial
Hungary	0.12	-0.12	0.68
Poland	0.01	0.6	0.19
Slovak Republic	-0.12	0.11	0.67

Source: PISA 2009 data

As the love of reading became the most determinative factor, we turned to study this, as well as traditional effectiveness indicators. We determined the average of the index and we divided the pupils into separate groups as to whether they were above or below the average. We compared those pupils who liked reading more and less than the average, and investigated what sectors, school types they visited and which schools they graduated from (*Table 4*).

Table 4. *Logistic regression outputs. The dependent variable is the students' reading habit, i.e. if the student reads more than the average or not.⁷*

			Exp. (B)
Hungary	school type	grammar school	5.97 ⁷
		vocational	1.86
		primary school (reference group)	
	maintainer	other non-public	0.59

6 Joint and individual features of the love of reading are included. 0 centred 1 dispersion normalized index. From among several different statements, the pupils used a 1–4 scale to report how much they agree with a listed statement. Such statements included: “I only read if it is a must or if I have to”; “Reading is my favourite activity”; “I like talking about books with others”; “I like going to bookshops and the library”; “Reading is a waste of time for me.” This PISA index is an index with a value of -1 and 1. The average value among OECD countries is 0. If the value is negative, the index is below the OECD average.

7 Compared to the constant (primary school), in the group, the number of those who like reading more than the average raises with such a chance.

		Exp. (B)
	church	3.99
	public (reference group)	
	social background	1.6
	school background	1.47
Poland	maintainer	2.9
	church	1.5
	public (reference group)	
	social background	1.55
	school background	1.27
Slovak Republic	school type	2.68
	vocational	0.81
	primary school (reference group)	
	maintainer	1.5
	church	1.75
	public (reference group)	
	social background	1.46
	school background	1.3

Source: PISA 2009 data

We can see that in the case of Hungarian and Slovakian schools the type of school is determinative. Among grammar school pupils, in Hungary, almost six times more pupils enjoyed reading in comparison with the average. Among the same level of Slovak pupils, 2.5 times more liked reading more than the average. In Hungary, the effect of parochial schools is also considerable; this effect represents an almost four-fold increase compared to publicly-run schools. If we study the attitudes related to reading in each country and sector, we find that the attitudes of Hungarian parochial pupils typically differ from pupils of other sectors. The rate of those who read because it is only a must or just for getting information is significantly less. Fewer consider reading to be a waste of time and for most of them reading is their most favourite free-time activity. Social factors related to books also appear more strongly, e.g. these pupils are happy to receive a book as a gift or like exchanging books with friends. However, there was no significant difference among sectors, e.g. among library use, going to bookshops, or having conversations about books. In Poland, we did not experience such a degree of difference; the responses of the three sectors were similar there. It was a surprising result that 60% of Polish pupils from parochial schools (2,814 children out of 4,870) are not happy if they receive books as presents, although in the other countries the majority likes getting books. In Slovakia, there is a characteristic difference between the parochial and the other two sectors, just as

is the case in Hungary. The exchange of books is also popular in the parochial schools in Slovakia, and there more pupils from parochial schools enjoy reading for the pleasure of it than for the sake of getting functional information.

Conclusion

In our paper, we showed that parochial schools have a special atmosphere. In a paradoxical way, the key to this stimulating institutional atmosphere probably lies in the undervaluation of its importance in PISA and other competency-based studies, as compared to the average school. How can this be happening? One qualitative study made in parochial schools illustrated that they do not consider grades or test scores to be predictors of how students will succeed in adulthood but rather the pupils' co-operating skills, trust, civil activity, common standards and aims, and how they support each other (Morvai and Sebestyén 2014). Research into how any of these considerations came into being would be a rather more complicated task. Background questionnaires used by PISA also try to reveal certain behaviour patterns and attitudes (in questionnaires for school administrators and pupils), but these do not serve as forecasters but rather for describing school environments. From a cyclical study of these, researchers have pointed out four areas: behaviour during lessons as a climate index; more serious school offences as indicators of school discipline; data of absenteeism and tardiness as a disciplinary index and aspiration to receive more education. However, the analysis of this last factor as an independent factor is rare. It is noticeable from the 2012 questionnaire that there are considerably less questions on values and aspirations compared to earlier trends. In their stead, prevalent were questions related to methods and habits of the study of mathematics and informatics, and the research was exaggeratedly simplified – for the sake of convenience – on studying with a view to the later labour market (whether he/she has been to a factory visit, whether the pupil knew how to write a CV or has inquired about how to apply for a student loan); in other words, questions which are not topical at this age. Questions of attitude to work are not considered.

In our study, we would have liked to show some of the new forces that can be learned about parochial school pupils in the Central European region, using data from the 2009 PISA study. We were able to study parochial schools in three countries (Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) as such a large amount of parochial pupils were included in the sample from here. As the sampling made during the study is not representative for parochial institutions, we are not allowed to argue that our statements are true for all parochial pupils. Still, they are essential for orientation as we do not know about any similar international database.

During our analysis, we determined that in Slovakia and Hungary, we can observe intersectional differences written in the secondary literature on the advantage of the parochial sector. In the third studied country, the advantage of the independent private sector is significant, compared to which government-aided parochial schools are at a disadvantage.⁸ We also saw that in the parochial sector the determining power of social background is more moderate than in the public sector. Looking for the reasons behind such a finding, we determined that those who read a lot and who read for fun obtained considerably better results on the test, as well as those pupils from schools in those sectors which have advantages in their learning effectiveness (in Hungary and Slovakia, these pupils are from the parochial schools; in Poland, these pupils are from the private sector). It is in these schools that there are more pupils who read. In this respect, the determining effect of the school type prevails because in both Slovakia and Hungary the reading attitudes of grammar school pupils are significantly stronger than of those pupils who study at primary schools or in training institutions (vocational school, trade school). Of all factors mentioned, all other explanatory variables showed only a marginal effect. That the effect of school type appears in the results is because most parochial schools are grammar schools. However, in Hungary, it seems that the attitudes toward reading of those pupils in parochial institutions are more characteristic than those of other pupils or even of those parochial pupils from other countries (Bacsikai 2012).

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Religiosity and Morality of Slovakian Youth

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Abstract: Many social researchers think that countries in Central and Eastern Europe are expected quicker and rapid secularization. Therefore, it is interesting to research how the religiosity and morality of Slovakian young people is formed at the background of continual social changes. The main goal of the present paper, based especially on the own empirical researches, is the description and explanation of Slovakian youth's religiosity and morality. The study is situated in the area of sociology. Thus, it is important to underline that the analysis and its reflections are insufficient for spiritual pastors, educators, or teachers. However, it facilitates to understand the actual situation in the area of religiosity and morality of nowadays youth.

Keywords: morality, religiosity, Slovakia, youth

Introduction

Religiosity and morality are subjects of interest of many scientific disciplines, among which also sociology of religion – which is a sub-discipline of sociology – finds its stable position. This scientific discipline consists of a platform of all the requirements of the social empirical sciences and it does not represent prescriptive knowledge in any of its components (as opposed to the theology). P. L. Berger reminds that “sociological theory [...] will always view religion *sub specie temporis*, and therefore necessarily leaving open questions of whether and how it can be viewed *sub specie aeternitatis*” (1997: 227).

Sociology of religion “deals with religious phenomena as much as they have a common, general, and repetitive character. It examines these phenomena in the stage of formation, course, development, and ending. It, however, does not reply to the question where religion comes from and what its nature is. These questions represent a domain of other sciences, especially philosophy. The subject of sociology of religion is, instead of this, a socio-cultural aspect of religion” (Piwowarski 2000: 25).

Obviously, when we say that someone is ‘religious,’ we can mean many different things. Religiosity may indicate membership in a church, faith in religious doctrines, ethical way of life, participation in religious acts, and many other things. These are not synonyms but different aspects of the same fact. A precise answer to the question of who deserves to be called ‘a religious man’ seems to be quite a complex problem (Stark and Glock 2003: 182). Operationalization of religiosity requires a selection of parameters and indicators of religious life. A social form of religion can be captured only through a comprehensive selection of parameters, and within them – indicators of religiosity (Piwowski 2000: 58–59).

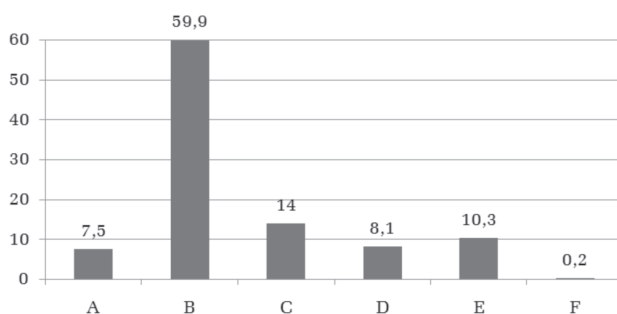
Classics of sociology of religion (in particular R. Stark and Ch. Y. Glock) distinguish five basic dimensions of religiosity: 1) Ideological dimension – it is closely linked with the expectation that a religious person will also have a religious belief and will recognize the truth of dogmas of their religion; 2) Religious acts – include everything people do, giving an external expression to their religion; 3) Dimension of experience – a religious person should also have immediate, subjective experience of the supernatural reality; 4) Intellectual dimension – associated with the expectation that religious people will be characterized by at least some minimum knowledge about the fundamental dogmas of their faith, their rites, holy books, and traditions; 5) Dimension of consequences (a moral parameter) – it is significantly different from the above mentioned four dimensions of religiosity. It is closely connected with the consequences of religious belief, acts, experience, as well as religious knowledge in their daily lives (Stark and Glock 2003: 183–185).

Within the frame of completion of the mentioned dimensions of religiosity, sociologists of religion focused their attention on one major platform that is expressed in the membership in a religious community or organization. This platform can be called “a community parameter”. In addition to the above dimensions, it is necessary to draw our attention to the attempt of introduction into the parameters of religiosity, of the so-called global relationship to faith. It is not just about auto-declaration but also about knowledge of intensity of our religiosity (Piwowski 2000: 61–63).

All the mentioned parameters have their importance in a certain stage. Consequently, any relatively comprehensive attempt of an analysis of religiosity must take them into account. In empirical research, the religious phenomena that are in the socio-cultural environment in some way present should be taken into account. In the social reality, in fact, there is a specific socio-cultural form of religiosity that was historically shaped, and transmitted in the process of socialization (Frankowski 2006: 24).

Main features of the Slovakian youth's religiosity

After a brief description of the discipline itself and the basic directives in empirical studies of religiosity, I would like to introduce to the reader some summary results of the empirical research of religiosity of the Slovakian youth (on an example of the Diocese of Spiš).¹ The main focus of the sociological research was a description of religiosity of the youth in the Diocese of Spiš as well as an attempt to settle demographic and social characteristics conditioning these attitudes. In the following lines, I will very broadly introduce the aforementioned dimensions of religiosity in the researched population of young people.²



Author's computation based on his own research (2006 data)

A – Profound believers; B – Believers; C – Connected with a religious tradition; D – Indifferent; E – Unbelievers; F – No answer.

Graph 1. Global relationship to faith (in %)

Global relationship to faith:

Looking at the Slovak society, in which strong religious pluralism is perhaps only *in statu nascendi*, we can accept the view that it is rather a religiously monopolistic society. In this society, as well as in the researched youth population, more than 80% of the people declare religious faith. The most commonly given source of the religious belief in the researched youth is education and tradition in the family, and also personal discretion and beliefs. Similarly, more than four fifths of the surveyed young people speak about at least rare implementation of some vague religious acts. In assessing their own religiosity, the youth (4

1 It was a quantitative research by means of a survey. Data collection took place in November 2006. The target group (a basic set) was the 17–18-year-old youth in the Diocese of Spiš. From the basic set, a random set was deliberately and randomly created, which consisted of 663 young people (24 classes of 8 public schools and one church school). The implemented set consists of 629 respondents, which constitutes 94.9% of the random sample.

2 Detailed results processing of the described empirical research can be found in: Štefaňák (2009a).

times) more frequently declare its decline than its deepening – it is often even without changes. If we compare the religiosity of youth with the religiosity of their parents, we can see the phenomenon of “inheritance of faith,” as well as its weakening in the younger generation.

Religious practice:

In relation to religious practice, it is necessary to confirm a relatively high level of practising of religious acts in the researched youth population. Among the Catholic youth, there are 69.5% of so-called ‘Sunday Catholics’ – i.e. those who attend the Holy Mass at least once a month. Nearly four fifths of the researched Catholic youth receive the sacrament of reconciliation at least once a year. As to an individual prayer, we noted slightly lower indicators, whereas almost one third of the surveyed youth do not pray at all, or prays only very rarely. In connection with the customary religious acts, it can be said that some of the family customary acts (common Christmas Eve and Christmas Day meals and a visit of the cemetery at All Saints’ Day) are practised widely in the families of the Diocese of Spiš. Instead, the local customary religious acts are situated at different levels – depending on the size of residence, declared relation to the religious faith, and systematic participation in the mass.

Religious knowledge:

Another dimension of religiosity is religious knowledge. Although the variable of knowledge of the Holy Trinity persons is relatively high – within the range from 82.2% to 82.5% –, knowing the names of evangelists is already weaker – less than 60% – and knowledge of individual sacraments is even weaker: from 37% to 56%. The most known is the sacrament of confirmation and the least known is the sacrament of penance. Overall, almost half of the researched youth are able to name at least five out of the seven sacraments. Finally, religious knowledge “about topical issues” – names of the current Church representatives – is situated within the range from 39% to 86%. Most often, the young people know the name of the Pope, the least often it is the name of the bishop of their own diocese.

Religious ideology:

Taking into consideration the presented indicators of the ideological dimension of religiosity, we should agree with W. Piwowarski (2005: 195), who stresses that from the confessed truths of faith respondents accept most frequently those that are abstract to them – which they count on less in their lives. On the contrary, least often they accept those religious dogmas which they “must count on” in

everyday life. The indicators of those believing in the existence of hell are in the surveyed youth somewhat lower (53.4%) compared to those believing in God (75.2%), personal God (63.9%), Trinity (61.5%), the deity of Christ (72.4%), his redeeming work (73.8%), or the after-life (74.7%). Overall, more than half of the youth accept at least six out of the seven selected religious dogmas.

Religious experience:

In the area of religious experience, the youth of the Diocese of Spiš is characterized by medium religiosity variables. This is confirmed by the percentages obtained such as: linking a sense of life (often primarily) with faith (58.6%) and belief in God's assistance in difficult life situations (65.3%). In the case of experiencing the feeling of God's closeness in the lives of the studied youth, a relatively low variable of positive responses (28.3%) was shown. However, we must think about the difficulties in understanding and describing religious experience as well as the "threat" of further specific answer, which could have encouraged the respondents to choose the corrective response "hard to say".

Religious community:

Secularization mostly affects the community character of religiosity. Even in the researched youth we noticed strong individualization processes. Although they see the Catholic Church as a community of believers in particular (53.9%), only 22.1% consciously present so-called church religiosity (guided by the doctrine of the Church). A significant percentage of the surveyed young people define their own religiosity with the statement: "I am a believer in my own way" (54.4%). However, it must be said that the obtained empirical results – in a socio-cultural context of the Slovak society – speak about the selective religiosity ("I am a Catholic, but...") rather than strictly religious individualization as 58.7% of the surveyed identify emotionally with the Church at various levels. The individualization of the studied youth is indirectly referred to by a low level of involvement in religious associations and movements, as well as the observed gap between the views on the need for priests in the society and the desire to have a priest in their own families.

Ethical dimension of religiosity:

Overall, the researched youth of the Diocese of Spiš is characterized by a relatively high indicator of verbal acceptance of each of the Ten Commandments. The average variable of resolute or moderate acceptance of these basic but rather general moral standards is 75.6%. The most often accepted moral norm is the

prohibition to kill and the command to honour one's own parents; the least often accepted is the prohibition to take God's name in vain and to keep the feast days holy. For much more specific standards of marital and family morality and euthanasia, a significant decline in their acceptance is seen. An average indicator of their unconditional acceptance is 42.2%. It is notably increased by a denial of rape and marital infidelity, and reduced by low acceptance of the prohibition of premarital cohabitation and use of contraceptives. As to the attitudes of the surveyed youth to various moral authorities, it can be said that in addition to the unquestionable authority of conscience the family's and friends' "well-disposed" advice is the most popular. The moral authority of the Church is not sought for according to the responses of the surveyed youth.

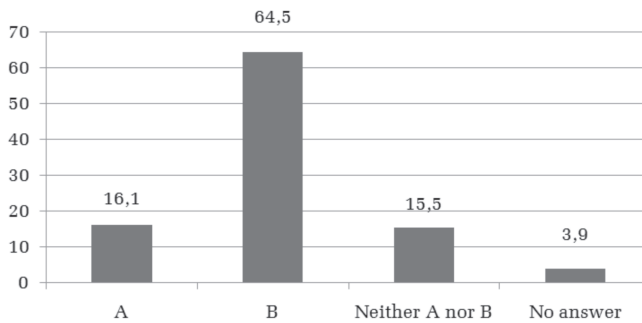
Finally, it might be asked: "What is the religiosity of the Slovakian youth at the beginning of 21st century?" In general, they are believers and they verbally acknowledge it willingly. However, the declared faith is often selective, picky. It seems that it is this characteristic which is prevailing in the religiosity of today's Slovakian youth (not only of the youth and not only of Slovakian youth). Independent variables, which most often divide individual categories of the surveyed youth in religious and moral attitudes, are actual habitation, number of siblings, and gender.

Main features of the Slovakian youth's morality

After presenting the Slovakian youth's religiosity, I would like to present to the reader some summary results of the empirical research on the morality of the Slovakian youth (also on an example of the Diocese of Spiš).³ The main goal of the mentioned research was to describe the school-leaving youth's moral values in the Diocese of Spiš and the effort to point out those demographical, social, and religious features which differentiate those values. The presented part also arises and remains in the area of empirical sociology that would like to describe and explain reality. It (in this shape) can be and is useful for other scientific fields as well as for those who work with the young generation as pastors, educators, and especially as parents.⁴

3 It was a quantitative research by means of a survey. Data collection took place in November 2011. The target group (a basic set) was the 18–19-year-old youth in the Diocese of Spiš. From the basic set, a random set was randomly created, which consisted of 1,225 young people (45 classes of 10 public schools and two church schools). The implemented set consists of 1,127 respondents, which constitutes 92% of the random sample.

4 Detailed results processing of the described empirical research can be found in: Štefaňak (2013).



Author's computation based on his own research (2011 data)

A – There are once and for all established rules to distinguish between good and evil; B – There are no once and for all established rules to distinguish between good and evil.

Graph 2. Criterions of moral good and evil (in %)

The first parameter of morality describes opinions related to the criterions of moral good and evil, people's general attitude to moral norms, their attitudes towards the Decalogue, and their relations to moral authorities. Empirical indicators report that the majority of school-leaving youth think that there are no once and for all established rules to distinguish between good and evil (64.5%) and presents a teleological or extremely compromising attitude towards moral norms (74.5%). It is interesting that while the majority of the respondents recognize the obligatoriness of the commandments of the Decalogue in their lives (the average rate is 59.3%), at the same time, they declare that the majority of the people do not recognize them as binding (the average rate is 18.9%).

The second parameter of morality communicates about daily, final, and primary values in human life. School-leaving youth accepted values that are connected especially to love, personal and family happiness, emotional security, and reciprocated contacts with others. It seems that young people prefer the affiliation values that are connected with privacy and stability. Respondents recognized that values represent 'small meanings,' 'concrete meanings,' which are lying within reach of hands, achievable 'here and now'.

The pro-social and selfish values represent the third parameter of morality. The analysis communicates that selfish attitudes are a bit more popular than pro-social values. An important indicator of pro-social orientation is a willingness to provide assistance to others. Regarding this aspect, we can say that school-leaving youths are pro-social in this respect, even if they do not always realize such value in practice. Opinions of teachers, however, point to a considerable degree of selfish orientation of adolescents.

The fourth parameter of morality communicates about values connected to the human dignity. Firstly, I would like to underline that in sociology it is

important to distinguish between the concepts of ‘personal dignity’ and ‘social dignity’. If we speak – on the basis of the referred empirical research – about the understanding of freedom as a basic component of human person and dignity, there was discovered that school-leaving young people understand freedom a little more in terms of subjectivism (50.6%) than in terms of objectivism (44.4%). In total, almost two thirds of the respondents saw an opportunity to humiliate human dignity in some private cases or interpersonal relationships – at least in certain circumstances.

The fifth parameter of morality describes the values of marriage and family life. Family – despite the undoubted change – remains one of the most important values in everyday life which very often gives meaning to the human life. This is no longer, however, an unconditional and obvious acceptance of the traditional family – tolerance towards different forms of family life is slowly growing up. The majority of school-leaving youth declares that their family relationships are positive.

The problems of moral education in the family are presented in the sixth parameter of morality. A first duty of parents is to educate their children well, but parents – in the opinion of the respondents – do not need to give everything to their children because parents have their own lives and we should not require too much from them. The duty of children, in turn, is the love and respect for parents, regardless of their advantages or disadvantages. The family relationships of the researched young people are a bit better with the mothers than with the fathers. The school-leaving youth with the mothers, more often than with the fathers, shared their views, especially in relation to social, moral, and religious questions.

In total, it can be concluded that Slovakian school-leaving youths more often accept moral standards that are more abstract, while more rarely accept standards that are more practical (especially in relation to the marriage and family morality). Moral values and attitudes of young people are most often divided by religious features, then by gender, number of siblings, and extent of actual habitation (from different demographical, social, and religious features). Related to the declared school standing and the presented economic situation of the family, there are a bit less important differences.

Considering the lack of similar empirical research, it is impossible to compare the moral values of young people of the Diocese of Spiš to young people of other dioceses or regions in Slovakia. This can be made in regard to youths from the northern side of the High Tatras. It seems that Polish youths generally approve the analysed moral values a bit more frequently than Slovakian youths – especially in regard to pro-social values, values connected to human dignity, and basic moral orientations.

In the conclusion of this part, I would like to shortly introduce the main types of school-leaving youth’s morality. Particular groups were identified according to the

procedure of two-step grouping in the nominal scale by the statistical programme SPSS. There we can distinguish two types of morality: A) canonical – principal morality (34.6%); B) teleological – relativistic morality (65.4%). People with the canonical orientation accept basic patterns, standards, and values as constant; their reactions towards new situations are based on their rules. People with the teleological orientation reject stable moral principles when making their decisions.

Religious and moral formation in Slovakian families

In western culture, significant changes are recorded in terms of family life. Sociologists point out a growing instability of marriages and family, which is caused by the processes of the de-institutionalization of traditional family structures and also by a pluralism of forms of family life and the plurality of so-called new models of life. A recent sociological research in the western world (especially Great Britain and the USA) points out the decline of marriage. These fears are based on two sources. One is the increase in divorces and the other one is the fact that marriage is slowly becoming ‘out-of-fashion’. There is a growth in the number of co-habiting unmarried people and an increase in the number of children brought up outside of standard marriage (Scott and Marshal 2005: 383). These facts have a direct or indirect connection to religiosity and morality and to the duties of believer parents to raise their children in faith.

One of the duties of a believer family is the religious and moral formation of their children. It is especially in religious documents, where the duty of believer parents is underlined to bring their children up in the faith.⁵ This general formulation includes different activities – from common prayer and attending mass, through the reading of the Holy Scripture and spiritual literature, to discussions and explanations of particular truths of faith and morality. In terms of sociology of the family, in terms of sociology of religion and morality, but also in the field of Church life, we may ask to what extent current families come after these duties. In general, we may assert that there is a weakening tendency in this respect and that these tasks are left to professionals – priests, catechists, or religious media.

At this point, I may briefly mention that in Slovakia there is currently a prevailing trend of the so-called selective religiosity, which is by some scholars, not without reason, called ‘common religiosity’. P. M. Zulehner (2003: 391) calls persons who associate themselves with the mentioned type of religiosity ‘Christians of choice’. This umbrella term of Christians of choice has its reason. The most important characteristic feature is the performance of selection. There are differences in the subject of this selection and the type of the ‘purchased

5 Compare: *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1998, 325.

church product'. These persons are marked by their consent with the fact that the Church may impose certain norms and prohibitions, and these impositions are even expected from the Church. At the same time, the Church is robbed of its right to enforce a behaviour, which is in accordance with the norms. Many Catholics select from the treasure that type of faith which corresponds to their subjective needs. Such selective attitudes to religion and morality are most of all the result of de-institutionalization, which may, in the future, lead to religious individualization and to indifference or even disbelief (Mariański 2007b: 41).

The issue of the relationship between family, religiosity, and morality may be reflected from various angles. We may deal with the issue of individualization of religiosity and morality and their effect on the individualization of marriage-family forms; we may deal with the issue of the influence of religiosity on marriage-family morality; we may deal with the position of the family within religion or the issue of the position of religion in the family, etc. I would like to touch on the last topic. The presented part wants to provide an answer (even if only a partial one) to the following questions: What is the position of religion in the family or how does the family influence the religiosity and morality of children and youth? What is the influence of the family on the religious education of children, on their knowledge and opinions in religious issues? Is it a dominant or rather a marginal influence? These questions are answered through the case of the Slovakian youth.

To get a more evident picture of this influence, it will be compared to the most prominent 'competition' of the family in this respect – priests, catechists, and peers. We asked the researched Slovakian youth: "What influence do your family, priests, catechists, or peers have on your opinions concerning religious issues?" The sociological research of Slovakian youth confirms that the family has a significant influence on religious knowledge and opinions; it is stronger than the influence of priests and much stronger than that of religious education in school. Even the influence of peers is somewhat stronger than that of catechists (see Štefaňak 2009a: 148–151). If we consider the very high and prominent influence, the result is as follows: family – 61.7%, priests – 40.7%, peers – 33.7%, catechists – 31.7%. The answers of the youth in this survey show that family is a decisive element in the issue of forming religious and moral knowledge and opinions of the young generation.

Moreover, the young people subject to the original sociological survey were asked the following question: "What is the religious atmosphere in your family?" The majority of the respondents declared a rather religious atmosphere in their family (46.3%). A large percentage responded in terms of the atmosphere being only a little religious (32.6%) or that it is religiously indifferent (15.7%). Only a small percentage of the respondents stated that the atmosphere is very religious (2.9%) or that it is anti-religious (1.7%). In total, about half of the respondents stated that in their family there is a religious atmosphere, whereas the other half

described their family as a little religious or religiously indifferent (see Štefaňák 2009b: 188–190).

What was surprising in this respect was the high statistical dependence between the declared religious atmosphere in the family and specific indicators of religiosity of the respondents. The statistical correlation between the religious atmosphere in the family and the declared relation to faith ($p < 0.0005$; $V = 0,359$),⁶ frequency of attending mass ($p < 0.0005$; $V = 0,444$), frequency of receiving the Sacrament of Reconciliation ($p < 0,0005$; $V = 0,387$), frequency of private prayers ($p < 0,0005$; $V = 0,281$), or the declared attitudes towards abortion ($p < 0,0005$; $V = 0,264$) are significant, which supports the hypothesis that religiosity is very much the result of family environment.

On the basis of the results of the original research, it may be stated that religiosity is, to a large extent, passed on to the youth in the family. On the other hand, it needs to be noted that the religious influence of the social environment is not perfect and complete. Not all deeply religiously rooted youths come from religious families and not all youths leaving faith behind come from religiously indifferent families. Nonetheless, the religious atmosphere of the family has a strong influence on the formation of religious attitudes and practice of youth (Mariański 2007a: 195). Despite the fact that there is religious education in schools, religious media and Internet pages, the family still remains the most important element in this respect.

A very important indicator of the religious life of believers is the process of change in religiosity. The investigation of such changes is a dynamic research which describes religious reality and its understanding from the viewpoint of the individuals. The relationship of people with their faith may be in a certain timeframe stable or it may be subject to change in two respects: in terms of weakening of religiosity or in terms of its strengthening. If the change is in the negative direction, this may lead to a complete breakdown of religious faith in a given individual (Jarmoch 2006: 46–51).

In this context, it is interesting and useful to perceive the self-evaluation of religiosity of the current young generation in comparison with the religiosity of their parents. In traditional societies, in which religion permeated all spheres of social life, elementary socialization functions in moral, ethical, and religious fields were fulfilled by various social institutions (especially family, Church, school, government, and others). It seems that even if we observe significant changes in this area, the key socialization role (also in terms of religion and morality) is still played by the family, especially by the closest, nuclear family. It is the parents who significantly form the attitudes and value systems of their children, whereby they consider family to be the most important – the so-called ‘significant other’ (Górny 2007: 319).

6 Cramér’s V is a measure of association between two nominal variables.

The evaluation of own religiosity and that of the parents' enables us to perform an initial diagnosis as to the extent of keeping with the faith of the fathers and the extent to which it is strengthened or weakened by the coming generation. It needs to be kept in mind that these are subjective evaluations of young people and, important as they may be, they are not a guarantee of objective results. Even though we do not have a self-evaluation of the religiosity of the parents to compare with that of their children, we may still state that the religious attitudes of the parents have a strong influence on the children.

There is a high percentage of researched Slovakian young people who declare to be about as religious as their parents or, especially in comparison with the religiosity of the mother, slightly less religious. About one third of the researched youths assess their religiosity to be on the same level as that of their parents. One third of the respondents think they are less religious than their mothers and one seventh to be less religious than their fathers. On the other hand, only one tenth of them assess their religiosity to be higher than that of their mothers. In comparison, the same indicator is twice as significant with respect to the fathers. Finally, it needs to be stressed that a significant number of respondents had difficulty to compare their own religiosity with the religiosity of their parents (Štefaňak 2009a: 108–114).

To conclude the description of the individual correlations with the religiosity of the parents, it needs to be said that faith is to a large degree subject to inheritance, as males often consider themselves to be as religious as their fathers (32.2%) and females as their mothers (37%). Therefore, young males, just like females, tend to assess their religiosity lower than that of their fathers (males) or mothers (females). It is possible that a part of this decrease can be explained by the age of the respondents, but we cannot rule it out entirely. The presented empirical indicators point to the fact that in a time of social modernization, faith is not only a matter of inheritance and socialization within the family, even though the influence of the parents is doubtless.

The influence of religiosity in the chosen moral values of the Slovakian youth

The societies nowadays doubt clear causal-contiguous relations between religious and moral attitudes. Many people who left religion would deserve moral acceptance. The refusal of God does not automatically become a cause of a non-moral life just as religious faith does not guarantee good moral acts. People are constantly shifting away from the opinion that everyone's moral values are being identified with a professed religion and morally good people can only be those who believe in God and visit church (Mariański 2003: 68). In this context, the object of the last part of this paper is not only a particular analysis of the

Slovakian youth's moral attitudes but also the observation of mutual relations between religion and morality.

Religion and morality are mutually interconnected. Religion defines the principles of acting and wants them to be identified as specific models of moral behaviour. People without religion have their own moral codes – in fact, amorality is very rare (MacIver and Page 1984: 158–159).

Regarding the relationship between religiosity and morality, we can distinguish two extreme opinions: identification and opposition. According to some researchers, there is not possible to think about morality without its connection with the religious system (ethical norms without religion lose their obligatory power). This opinion is attacked by other thinkers who claim that religious arguments are not necessary in acceptance of moral norms and values, i.e. moral capital is not created only by religion but also by other social institutions. However, in the education towards universal values, the role of a religion seems to be at least important (Mariański 2008: 339–342). From a sociological point of view, we can set a few interesting questions: How the relation between religion and morality is formed in the consciousness of today's people? Does religion influence – and, if so, to what extent – the attitudes and behaviour of the youth? Is it true that in secularized groups of youth morality is radically changing?

The last part of this paper considers the attitudes of young people towards two moral norms that protect life (prohibition of abortion and euthanasia). Consideration is given especially to the differences between groups of young people with various religious characteristics – for example the level of faith, participation in the Holy Mass, praying, and so on. Sociological analyses concerned with attitudes towards moral norms of Decalogue do not talk about a radical decline of acceptance of these general moral norms and values. It does not mean that there are no changes in the moral consciousness of today's people. Transition from objective morality to the morality of individual options is occurring rather at the level of more concrete moral norms.

In general, a group of 8.7% of the researched young people consider abortion to be morally permissible; for 41.7% of them, it depends on a concrete situation and 42.7% of the respondents consider abortion not to be morally permissible without conditions. Euthanasia is considered to be morally permissible by 15.8% of the young people, for 38.1% of them its moral value depends on a concrete situation, and 39.3% of them consider euthanasia not to be morally permissible without conditions (Štefaňák 2013: 330–346). It seems that today's people are highly valuing the quality of life; life itself is valued more rarely. There remains an open question: "Whose quality of life – those who leave or those who remain?"

We can also mention the differences in opinion on the basis of certain demographical and social features of youth. Statistical relations are noted especially in relation to the number of siblings and an extent of actual habitation.

Young people from bigger families and smaller localities more often consider the presented moral norms to be proper than young people from smaller families and larger localities. In the case of gender, there is a statistical relation noted only in attitudes towards euthanasia. It means that in the moral valuating of abortion boys and girls are very similar.

In the next lines, I would like to describe the relations and the influence of religiosity in the attitudes of youth towards abortion and euthanasia. For this purpose, I chose the following religious indicators: the level of faith, participation in the Holy Mass, realization of prayers, and religious atmosphere in a family.

In terms of the declared level of faith, we note statistically important relations especially in attitudes towards abortion, but also towards euthanasia. The most different group is the group of strong believers. Much more often than others, they consider the described bioethical norms to be proper without conditions – prohibition of abortion (85.1%) and prohibition of euthanasia (72.3%). On the other side, there are young people who are indifferent to religion, or unbelievers. They are characterized by very low indicators of acceptance of these moral norms. 15.5% of them accept prohibition of abortion and only 9.5% of them the prohibition of euthanasia. We can claim that awareness of one's religiosity and of its level is intensively related to attitudes towards the presented moral norms.

The next religious indicator is participation in the Holy Mass. Especially in attitudes towards abortion, we note statistically important differences. In attitudes towards euthanasia, the relation is a bit weaker. The group of those who systematically participate in the Holy Eucharist is the most different one – much more often than others they accept prohibition of abortion (68.3%) and euthanasia (47.9%). It seems that a regular participation in the Holy Mass and listening to the Church's teachings and explanations have strong influence on forming bioethical attitudes.

Empirical indicators claim that there is a moderate statistical relation between individual pray and attitudes towards abortion and euthanasia. The most different is the group of young people who pray every day. Nearly four fifth of them consider abortion to be morally not permissible and more than one half of them consider euthanasia in the same way. On the other hand, there are young people who do not pray at all. At least in some conditions, 70.8% of them have no moral problems with abortion. In the case of euthanasia, a similar indicator shows 81.8%.

In every group, there is also an 'atmosphere' in regard to religion. That 'atmosphere' strongly or weakly influences the attitudes and the behaviour of members of a concrete group. Statistical tests claim that between the religious atmosphere in a family and the attitudes towards the described moral norms is a middle relation. The most different are young people from families with a strong positive religious atmosphere. Nearly two thirds of them accept prohibition of abortion without conditions and one third of them prohibition of euthanasia

without conditions. More than three fourths of young people from families with religiously indifferent or antireligious atmosphere, at least in some conditions, do not have any moral problems with abortion (75.4%) or euthanasia (85.6%).

Morality, which was historically, empirically, and systematically connected with religion, is being attacked many times nowadays. More and more people think that it is possible to live without God, even to live better without God and religion. However, religious and moral attitudes are always interconnected (Mańrzycki 1999: 76–77). On the basis of the presented empirical analyses, we can talk about significant positive relations between religiosity and the attitudes of youth towards the chosen moral norms that protect life in its initial and final phase. That relation is a bit stronger in the attitudes towards abortion than towards euthanasia.

The influence of religiosity in moral attitudes does not mean, of course, that it is the same in moral behaviour. In this context, we can remind the words of W. Piwowarski, a Polish sociologist of religion and morality, who writes: “Researchers are in this area interested with ‘attitudes’ (views, opinions) and ‘declarations’. Both of them have a verbal character. It means that we do not know in which level they inform about the real behavior. However, we can accept that they communicate at least about readiness of the respondents to live according to Christian demands” (2002: 89).

Conclusion

Finally, I intend to underline that the analyses and considerations of the above research are insufficient for pastors, teachers, educators, or parents, given the fact that – as Polish classic of the sociology of religion W. Piwowarski says – “sociology of religion is not the science which could ‘automatically’ influence the change of directions and methods of pastoral action. However, it allows to ‘understand’ the current situation, showing what, how and why happens” (2000: 95).

In the situation of political, social, and religious pluralism nowadays, it is necessary to respect the common, authentic moral values with a universal character which is based on the truth about humans outreaching the operative consensus or the decision of the majority. It seems that huge world religions have to fulfil an important role in seeking and finding the *world ethos* of our ‘global village’. Within the conditions of seeking the universal ethics, the common ethical principles, the common ethical code or the universal right, the role of religion does not decrease, moreover, it increases (Mariański 2006: 161–173).

If we speak about religious and moral formation or socialization, we can confirm that also in a post-modern society, family remains the most significant place where a person, due to education, learns their first religious and moral norms, learns to distinguish good from evil and to classify people, things, and

phenomena according to their importance. This takes place through observation, mimicking, identification, and modelling. The family creates its own hierarchy of values and norms, which are passed on to the next generation (Smyczek 2002: 302–303). For an effective passing on of religious and moral values and norms, the subjectively experienced quality of the family is very important. The more positive atmosphere in the family, good relationships between children and parents, and the proper educational style create the higher probability of passing on values and norms which are kept and realized within this family (Mariański 2007a, 190).

That is why in the conclusion of this paper I would like to express something that I, as a sociologist, may not have the right to, but certainly have a right to as a member of Slovakian society in which I live and which I value. Let us all want and actually work for the good of the family, which always was and will be the elementary school of humanity. For the good of human society and for the good of the generations to come, it is necessary to make sure that it is mature people who enter the bond of marriage and conceive children, who will be able to create positive family environments for a good human, religious, and moral education.

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Effect of Religiosity on Volunteering and on the Types of Volunteering among Higher Education Students in a Cross-Border Central and Eastern European Region

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Abstract. In this paper, we examine the effect of different dimensions of religiosity on students' volunteering in a Central and Eastern European region called "Partium". In the empirical part, we first examine through logistic regression what affects volunteering. Based on the literature review, we supposed that the religiosity of students (measured by several variables) positively affects volunteering, even if we control other variables. Our second hypothesis is that volunteering is more frequent among students from Romania and Ukraine than among those from Hungary due to their larger religious attendance. The third hypothesis is that the religiosity of students increases especially the probability of the traditional type of volunteering (where helping others is the most important motivation). The results showed that among religiosity measurements, participating in religious youth groups has the largest positive effect on volunteering, but if the social capital indicators are included in the regression models the effect of religiosity is disappearing. It is also proved that students from Romania and Ukraine volunteer more than students from Hungary, but the reason can be not just their larger religious attendance but other factors as well. Based on the motivations of volunteering, we created three factors, but we could not support that religious students are doing mostly traditional type of volunteering. There were neither clear-cut traditional (based on altruistic values) volunteering factors nor clear-cut new (career building) volunteering factors; the motivational background of religious students was mixed – as it is the case of the other students' motivations.

Keywords: religiosity, volunteering, motivations of volunteering, higher education students

Introduction

Our goal in this paper is to examine the trends of religiosity and volunteering of students in a Central and Eastern European region called “Partium,” a cross-border region between Romania, Hungary, and Ukraine. Volunteering is a quite new activity of higher education students in Central and Eastern Europe and has been examined only very rarely so far. In special literature, the cross-cultural examinations of higher education students’ volunteering (for example, Handy et al. 2010) have not dealt with Central and Eastern European tendencies yet. Another important fact why volunteering of higher education students should be examined is that volunteering could be a measurement for the efficiency of higher education. Volunteering is an intermediate variable between the effects of higher education on students’ competences. Volunteering – as well as higher education – increases the students’ academic development, other life-skill development factors, and finally the civic consciousness and responsibility (see Astin and Sax 1998, Hesser 1995, Eyler et al. 1997, Mabry 1998). Furthermore, it is interesting to examine in this special region the students’ new types of volunteering (e.g. those with résumé-building motivations), which, besides traditional volunteering (based on altruistic values), is more and more popular among students (Handy et al. 2010).

We intend to reveal specifically the relationship between the different dimensions of religiosity of higher education students and the students’ volunteering. In the theoretical part of our paper, we deal with definitions and motivations of volunteering, with the effects of religiosity on volunteering and, finally, with the denominational differences and contextual effects of religiosity on volunteering. In the empirical part, with the help of logistic regression, we examine what affects volunteering among students. We examine the effects of students’ religiosity, sex, and age, the country of higher education institution, the social background of students (cultural and material capital), the place of residence of students at the age of 14, secondary school volunteering and, finally, the effect of students’ social capital indicators. We measure religiosity with several measurements based on the literature and on the possibilities of our questionnaire. We want to know if the effect of different dimensions of religiosity still exist (if it exists at all). In the second stage of the empirical part, we explore the motivation types of students’ volunteering with factor analysis, and finally we examine with regression analysis what affects these motivations.

Volunteering and the motivations of volunteering

The common elements of volunteering are as follows: it is a non-obligatory activity, it is carried out for the benefit of others (individuals, or specific organizations or

the society as a whole), it is unpaid, and normally it takes place in an organized context (Wilson 2000, Chaan and Amroffell 1994, Handy et al. 2010, Dekker and Halman 2003). The traditional motivations of volunteering are based on altruistic values (e.g. being useful for the society, doing something for others) and on the importance of social interactions and community. The modern motivations include career development, personal growth, work experience, professional improvement, gaining information, developing and practising skills, getting a job more easily, enlarging human capital, making friends, meeting people with similar interests, useful leisure activities (learning and practising sports and cultural activities). Within the young generation, the mixed motivation type is also frequent: e.g. helping others is also important for the students with modern motivations (Perpék 2012, Czike and Kuti 2006, Stefanescu and Osvat 2011, Handy et al. 2010). Inglehart (2003) showed that volunteering has not decreased these days in developed countries and only the traditional type of volunteering is less frequent. Based on Handy et al. (2010), the young generation today participates in new types of volunteering, in which their motivation is not dominantly altruistic (usually the traditional and new motivations are mixed among students).

Beside sociologists, social psychologists explore the motivations of volunteering as well. Clary et al. (1998) made a Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) scale based on the motivations of volunteering with 30 items, and made 6 factors from the items. In Hungary, Bartal and Kmetty (2011) used a modified scale in an adult sample (59 items, 15 factors). Their results are more or less similar to that of the researchers gained in developed countries, but the effect of social values was larger and the effect of social norms and religiosity were smaller on volunteering in the Hungarian sample.

What affects volunteering?

According to human resource theory, larger economic capital (e.g. income), larger human capital (e.g. education), and also larger social capital (e.g. larger range of networks, wider range of memberships in organizations, political attachment, and religious activities) increase the probability of participation in voluntary work (Wilson 2000). It is also demonstrated that social capital variables are stronger predictors of volunteering than socio-demographic factors (Perpék 2012). The cross-national analysis of Hodgkinson (2003) showed that among the social capital effects on volunteering active engagement in religious institutions, membership in voluntary organizations, and extended social network (family and friends) increased the probability of volunteering. According to the results of Voicu and Voicu (2003) in Romania, there is no particular connection between strong attachments, such as relatives and close friendships, and voluntary activity; rather weak attachments, such as having acquaintances, colleagues at the workplace,

ties beyond social classes, and trust in each other, contribute to voluntary work. Volunteering is influenced by the gender, age, and value preferences of the respondents as well, but all in all the effects of socio-demographic variables are smaller than the effect of values and religiosity.

Wilson (2000) investigated the effects of parents' volunteering on children's volunteering (if the parents did voluntary activity or not, and they liked it or not), but unfortunately we do not have data in our database about this factor. Handy et al. (2010) examined also the effect of community service in high schools on higher education students' volunteering. In Hungary, it will be in 2016 that the first group will complete high school with community service practice, so its effect cannot be measured in this paper.

Dimensions of religiosity and its effects on volunteering

Religiosity is a multidimensional phenomenon; this is why its detailed investigation is highly important. Based on Stark and Glock (1968), the following five dimensions of religiosity can be differentiated: practice, ideology, knowledge, experience, and consequences. Furthermore, the types of religiosity can be classified according to personal and community factors. In Tienen et al.'s (2011) work, the collective aspects of religiosity are denominational membership and religious attendance (not just the respondents', but their partner's and parents' denominational membership and religious attendance), and individual aspects are praying, religious worldview, spirituality, and salience. We can also differentiate between devotional dimension and affiliation dimension of religiosity (Prouteau and Sardinha 2015).

According to the literature, religiosity and especially churchgoing increases volunteering (e.g. Voicu and Voicu 2003, Ruiter and De Graaf 2006, Wilson and Musick 1997, Becker and Dhingra 2001, Tienen et al. 2011). Those who participate in religious communities volunteer more frequently than those who are not part of those communities. The other finding of the literature is that religiosity in general increases the chance of volunteering, the importance of helping others is more popular among religious people, and these value preferences are more compatible with volunteering than others. Furthermore, early religious socialization, measured by parental religious attendance, has a positive effect on volunteering (Wilson and Janoski 1995).

Religiosity can be a social capital indicator (i.e. produces networks which help in volunteering), a human capital indicator (it creates skills needed in volunteering), and a cultural capital indicator (religious values as cultural capital). Based on Wilson and Musick (1997), the ethically guided behaviour supports volunteering. This type of cultural capital was measured by personal religiosity and helping attitudes/values (Musick et al. 2000).

It is an important research question why religious people volunteer more. The structural theory says that churchgoing increases social integration, which increases volunteering. The cultural theory formed by Son and Wilson (2011) demonstrates that generativity (a desire to leave a legacy by providing for the welfare of others) mediates the influence of religiosity and volunteering. Religious people and frequent churchgoers have a subjective disposition to volunteering. It is a moral duty for them to help others, and they think too that it is in their power to do so. Son and Wilson (2012) created a normative theory of volunteering. People volunteer because of the effect of social norms, which support volunteering. In this sense, we can differentiate between altruistic and civic obligations.

Concerning the relation of religiosity and volunteering, two main theories exist: the social network theory and content of the religious belief theory. Based on the literature, both personal and collective religiosity increase volunteering, but the social network effect is stronger. The other finding is that the effect of religiosity is stronger if the above mentioned two factors interact (Monsma 2007).

Concerning the effect of personal (subjective) religiosity on volunteering, there are contradictory findings. Based on Paxton et al.'s (2014) results, individual religious practice (for example, regular praying) has a positive effect on volunteering. Contrary to these findings, Tienen et al. (2011) found no influence of individual religious characteristics on volunteering in the Netherlands. Such finding seems to be interesting because collective religiosity (for example, churchgoing) has decreased in the Netherlands nowadays, but volunteering has not declined, so they supposed that individual aspects of religiosity could affect volunteering in a positive way. The effect of personal religiosity was not significant if active church membership was also included in the model. The only significant correlation was in Prouteau and Sardinha's (2015) work: if somebody is an active prayer, he/she does religious volunteering more frequently than secular volunteering.

The findings about the effect of collective religiosity are more consistent. Church attendance and participation in various religious groups increase the probability of volunteering. There are several explanations as to why these effects exist. The first is that church members are likely to have skills which can be used in volunteering, so church attendance seems to be developing human capital. The second explanation is that active church membership reinforces those norms and values which promote volunteering. The third explanation underlines the network and social capital effect. Congregation connections create social capital, i.e. both "bonding" and "bridging" social capital (Putnam 2000). Churchgoing produces social interactions, which help to get information about volunteering opportunities and increases the probability of being asked to volunteer (Wilson 2000). In addition, social networks can promote social trust and increase openness to the needs of people and to civic engagement (Prouteau and Sardinha 2015, Paxton et al. 2014). Church involvement increases volunteering

because religious institutions offer values that encourage charitable concern for community members and because they can get information in the church about concrete volunteering opportunities (Mattis et al. 2000). Furthermore, churchgoing sustains social capital (Yeung 2004). Much of the church effects on volunteering works through friendship networks. Those who have close friends in congregation are much more likely to volunteer, and especially religious type of volunteering is more frequent among them (Becker and Dhingra 2001).

Brown and Ferris (2007) have shown that the effect of religiosity on volunteering decreases if social capital indicators are involved (social capital is measured by indicators of people's associational networks and of trust in others and in their community). This could mean that religiosity is fostering associational networks and norms of trust and co-operation (Brown and Ferris 2007).

Church attendance has an indirect effect as well. If somebody is a regular churchgoer, he/she can join groups which are conducive to volunteer work, but there is also a so-called 'spillover effect,' as regular churchgoers do secular volunteering also more frequently than others. The spillover effect is the strongest among Catholics (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006, Tienen et al. 2011). Social networks in the congregation contribute to the competition between the Church and other institutions for volunteers (Becker and Dhingra 2001). Some scholars did not demonstrate the 'spillover effect' (see Prouteau and Sardinha 2015), perhaps due to the different samples and countries which were examined.

There is an interaction effect of personal and collective religiosity as well. The stronger a person's individual religiosity, the more religious attendance increases the frequency of volunteering (Tienen et al. 2011). Paxton et al. (2014) showed a vice versa effect between personal and collective religiosity, as both seem to increase the effect of each other concerning volunteering.

Denominational differences and contextual effects

The results show that Protestants volunteer more than Catholics and Catholics do it more than the Orthodox (see Ruiter and De Graaf 2006, Prouteau and Sardinha 2015). Protestants (especially liberal Protestants) are more likely to be involved in charitable and other social service activities than Catholics are. Another finding is that in the US conservative Protestants, who attend church regularly, are less likely to do secular volunteering than religious volunteering (Wilson and Janoski 1995).

The influences of individual and collective religiosity on volunteering differ by denominational membership. Based on Paxton et al. (2014), collective religiosity has a stronger effect on volunteering in the case of Protestants than in the case of Catholics. Contrary to this finding, the research of Wilson and Janoski (1995) showed that among Catholics the relation between church attendance and volunteering is very strong.

Another interesting research result is that religious pluralism increases the quality of social networks and there is a greater probability of volunteering as well. There is an indirect effect, namely religious pluralism increases choice and competition, and increases church attendance, so it also promotes volunteering. But religious pluralism can also increase secularization and can lead to a lower level of religious participation and volunteering. Based on the results in the US, high level of religious pluralism is not associated with more active religiosity. However, high level of religious pluralism is positively related to the religious type of volunteering. The findings of Borgonovi (2008) show that there is no minority effect, whether people live in regions where their religious group represents a majority or a minority: individuals are equally likely to volunteer for secular and religious causes (Borgonovi 2008).

Taniguchi and Thomas (2011) examined the influence of religious attitudes on volunteering. The attitudes were measured by religious exclusiveness or inclusiveness and openness to other religious faiths. They have found that exclusiveness promotes only religious volunteering, but religious inclusiveness and openness to other religious faiths promotes both secular and religious volunteering (Taniguchi and Thomas 2011).

Concerning the contextual effects of religiosity on volunteering, there are inconsistent results. Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) found that in devout countries volunteering is also higher. On the other hand, Prouteau and Sardinha (2015) found negative correlation between macro-contextual religiosity and volunteering, where they examined 27 EU countries, and Borgonovi (2008) found no correlation in the case of the US. The reason for inconsistent results can be that the last two investigations were established in the EU and in the US, but Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) made their research in a more global cultural context. In the US, religion is much more a matter of personal choice. The reason for negative correlation in the EU can be that high income countries are more secular, but volunteering is more common there. Based on Inglehart's (2003) modernization theory, there is a shift from survival values to self-expression values, and in modern, secular countries there is a higher level of civic activism and volunteering. In the EU – as Prouteau and Sardinha (2015) have found – secularism is positively associated with volunteering.

Hypotheses

Based on a 2008 research among adult volunteers in Hungary, Bartal (2010) showed that religious people are overrepresented among volunteers. Our previous results showed as well that among students of the University of Debrecen religiosity increased volunteering. 28.4% of students, who were religious in their own way,

did voluntary work, which is higher than the average, and regular churchgoers volunteered even at a higher rate (45%) (Fényes and Kiss 2011a, b). Based on the results in the Partium region (our present investigated region, which is a cross-border region between Hungary, Ukraine, and Romania), religiosity increased students' volunteering as well, especially if they followed the teaching of the Church (Bocsi and Fényes 2012).

It is an important phenomenon that young people practise their religion in small rather than in the large community (Fényes 2014, Pusztai 2009). Religion-based voluntary membership is the most popular organized activity among young people, even more popular than sports activities. 12.3% of the students participate in religious groups at the University of Debrecen, which can involve various voluntary activities, such as managing, providing food and drink on the occasion of social gatherings of young people, or helping the homeless in ecumenical organizations, for example. (A qualitative analysis of volunteering among higher education students can be seen in Fényes et al.'s [2012] work.)

In 2012, we have already examined the relation of the students' religiosity and values and students' volunteering in the Partium region (Bocsi and Fényes 2012, Fényes and Pusztai 2012). We found that personal religious practice is less important concerning volunteering than churchgoing, and it was also proved that religiosity in general enlarges the possibility of volunteering in line with the literature. The data showed as well that the value background of voluntary work is mixed. The values of those who did volunteering are more material (the hedonistic intellectual value factor has significant connection with volunteering) and also the conservative value factor is related positively to volunteering.

H1. Our first hypothesis is that the religiosity of students' positively effects volunteering, even allowing for the effects of other explanatory variables. Based on the literature, we differentiate between the effects of various indicators of religiosity, such as personal and collective religiosity, their interaction effect, the effect of early religious socialization and denominational effects.

Our previous results (Fényes and Pusztai 2012) showed that in the Romanian and Ukrainian part of the examined Partium region the students volunteered more than in the Hungarian part, and the reason for this could be that these regions are multiethnic and multi-confessional and, consequently, religiosity is stronger where confessional affiliation functions as a central component of identity. According to the supply-side theory, confessional pluralism stimulates religiosity and volunteering could be more common there as well. Furthermore, based on Pusztai (2011), the ethnic Hungarian minority students in the Partium region are practising religiosity more than the home-country students. It is also well known that Romania is the most religious country in Europe as it is a multiethnic and multi-confessional state (Fényes and Pusztai 2012).

H2. Our second hypothesis is that volunteering is more frequent among students

in the Romanian and Ukrainian higher education institutions in the investigated region than among students in Hungarian institutions, and the reason could be the larger religious attendance.

The international literature examines mostly the traditional type of volunteering, based on altruistic values, and does not deal with new types of volunteering, which are more popular among the young generation. Furthermore, there are only few studies about higher education students' volunteering and about their motivations. Psychologists showed that altruism and religiosity are positively correlated with volunteering among students, but the helping attitude (altruism) is a more important predictor of volunteering than solely religiosity (Eubanks 2008). Moore et al. (2014) showed in a small sample that altruistic motivations are the most popular among the examined students concerning volunteering, and the second strongest motivation was to volunteer for the opportunity for learning new experiences.

Sociologists (Handy et al. 2010) showed also in a comparative study that students volunteered more based on altruistic, value-driven reasons than based on résumé-building motivations. Résumé-building motivations are highest in the US, Canada, and England, where volunteering is a more positive signal for employers when someone is searching for a job. Their results showed as well that motivations of volunteering are mixed among students, i.e. new and traditional motivations are combined.

In the literature, the effects of socio-demographic factors and religiosity on the motivations of students' volunteering have been examined very rarely, so we will try to examine this as well in our work. In our previous work (Fényes and Pusztai 2012), we found that religious students are not overrepresented in the traditional type of volunteering. We made cluster analysis based on the motivation of volunteering of students, and we did not find significant relationships between different dimensions of religiosity and cluster memberships. This could be due to the fact that helping others was important not just for religious students but for explicitly non-religious students.

H3. Our third research question is what volunteering-motivation types exist among students and what these motivations are affected by. Concerning the effect of religiosity, our hypothesis is that religiosity increases especially the probability of the traditional type of volunteering among higher education students.

Databases, methods, and examined variables

The quantitative method is applied to examine our research questions. We use the databases of TESSCEE research (II. Teacher Education Students Survey in Central and Eastern Europe) and IESA research (Institutional Effect on Students'

Achievement in Higher Education) in the frame of the SZAKTÁRNET project (TÁMOP-4.1.2.B.2-13/1-2013-0009). In the research, 1,792 questionnaires were filled in the Partium region in 2014 among second-year full-time BA and BSc students and among first-year MA and MSc students.

The historical Partium region is a cross-border region of Hungary, Romania, and Ukraine. The region includes counties of Hungary (Hajdu-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg), Subcarpathia from Ukraine, and the western part of Romania, which nowadays is called Partium. We asked students proportionately at different faculties of the region, and we made cluster sampling; we asked all the students in the chosen seminar groups that were selected at random. We used factor analysis to examine the motivations of volunteering and regression models to explore what affects volunteering and three motivation-type factors of volunteering by the means of the SPSS programme.

To measure the motivations of volunteering, we used a 20-item Likert scale based on the special literature. We modified the standard VFI scale (founded by Clary et al. 1998) because of the special sample (students), and we also reduced the number of the items because of the limitations of the length of the questionnaire.

In our first regression model, our dependent variable was whether the student had done voluntary work during university studies or not, and in the second stage our dependent variables were the three volunteering-motivation factors. The first group of independent variables in the regression models included the various dimensions of religiosity, such as the confessional composition, early religious socialization measured by the fathers' and mothers' churchgoing frequency, membership in religious youth groups, the personal religious practice (praying habits), participation in the religious communities (churchgoing) and, finally, the interaction effect of praying and churchgoing.

The further independent variables were the students' gender and age and the country of the higher education institution. The social background variables – measured by the cultural and material capital of students – were: the education of father and mother; the parents' and students' index of the possession of durable consumer goods; subjective financial situation, i.e. the financial situation compared to an average family from the country; regular financial problems in the family. Further independent variables were the students' place of residence at the age of 14, secondary school volunteering and, finally, four social capital indicators (the connection with parents, friends and teachers, and a group membership index). The social capital effects are not included in the case of motivation factors regression models.

Table 1. *Frequencies and means of the most important dependent and independent variables*

Short name	Longer name	Frequencies, means
Dependent	Did volunteering during university studies or not	1: yes 37% 0: no 63%
Independent		1: yes 38.3% 0: no 61.7%
Catholic	Denomination: catholic	
Reform	Denomination: reformed church	1: yes 35.8% 0: no 64.2%
Churchfather	Fathers' churchgoing activity	1: regular 21.6% 0: not: 78.4%
Churchmother	Mothers' churchgoing activity	1: regular 32.1% 0: not: 67.9%
Relig_youth	Member of religious youth group	1: yes 35.9% 0: no 64.1%
Praying	Praying habits	1: regular 32.4% 0: not: 67.6%
Churchgoing	Churchgoing habits	1: regular 33.2% 0: not: 66.8%
Pray_Church	The interaction effect of praying and churchgoing	1: both regular 21.7% 0: not: 78.3%
Sex	Sex of the students	1: male 27% 0: female 73%
Age	Age of the student	Mean: 21.2 variance: 2.87
RO_UKR	The country of the higher education institution	1: Romania or Ukraine 31.8% 0: Hungary 68.2%
Fathered	The fathers' number of completed years of school	Mean: 12.6 variance: 2.4 (6–20)
Mother Ed	The mothers' number of completed years of school	Mean: 13 variance: 2.4 (6–20)
OBmaterial	Durable consumer goods in the family, index	Mean: 5.7 variance: 2.2 (0–10)
SUBmaterial	Financial situation compared to an average family from the country	Mean: 5.1 variance: 1.2 (1–9)
Fin problems	There are regular financial problems in the family or not	1: regular 11.1% 0: not 88.9%
Urban_rural	The place of residence at the age of 14	1: urban 62.3% 0: rural 37.7%
Second_vol	Secondary school volunteering	1: yes 40.6% 0: no 59.4%
Par_index	Social capital indicators: the connection with parents 0–12 item mean 7.4 variance 3.1	1: higher than the average 56.3% 0: lower than the average: 43.8%
Friends_index	The connection with friends 0–33 item mean 22.8 variance 8.2	1: higher than the average 56% 0: lower than the average: 44%

Short name	Longer name	Frequencies, means
Teacher_ind	The connection with teachers 0–8 item mean 2.7 variance 2.5	1: higher than the average: 47% 0: lower than the average: 53%
Groupmemb	Group membership index 0–10 item mean 1.4 variance 2.1	1: higher than the average: 30.5% 0: lower than the average: 69.5%

Results

Our first hypothesis dealt with the effect of religiosity on volunteering among students. Contrary to the literature, churchgoing has only a small effect on volunteering, and it only exists if the negative and not significant interaction effect of churchgoing and praying is separated. Furthermore, if the effect of the country of the higher education institution is included, the positive effect of churchgoing disappears (the students from Romania and Ukraine are more active churchgoers than the students from Hungary). It is an interesting result that the effect of praying on volunteering is larger than the effect of churchgoing, but after allowing for the social background of students this effect is disappearing as well (we may suppose those who have financial problems are more active prayers). Our further result is that the interaction effect of praying and churchgoing is not significant, regular churchgoers and prayers do not volunteer more than others, contrary to the literature (*Table 2*).

Table 2. *Logistic regression models on students' higher education volunteering*

	Model 1 exp(B)	Model 2 exp(B)	Model 3 exp(B)	Model 4 Exp(B)	Model 5 exp(B)	Model 6 exp(B)
Catholic	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns
Reform	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns
Churchfather	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns
Churchmother	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns
Relig_youth	1.54**	1.52**	1.5**	1.65**	Ns	Ns
Praying	1.59**	1.89**	1.57*	Ns	Ns	Ns
Churchgoing	Ns	1.59*	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns
Pray_Church		Ns (-)	Ns	Ns	Ns	Ns
Sex			Ns	Ns	Ns	0.69*
Age			1.08**	1.1**	1.17***	1.15***
RO_UKR			2.08***	2.4***	1.92***	1.51*
Fathered				Ns	Ns	Ns
Mother Ed				Ns	Ns	Ns

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
	exp(B)	exp(B)	exp(B)	Exp(B)	exp(B)	exp(B)
OBmaterial				Ns	Ns	Ns
SUBmaterial				Ns	Ns	Ns
Fin problems				1.83**	1.93*	1.63 (*)
Urban_rural				1.35*	Ns	1.47*
Second_vol					9.0***	8.25***
Par_index						0.59**
Friends_index						Ns
Teacher_ind						1.59**
Groupmemb						3.8***
R_L²	4.3%	4.5%	6.5%	8.3%	23.8%	29.8%

In the 6 models, the groups of independent variables were included step by step, as it can be seen in the table. The significance of the Wald statistics is displayed along Exp (B) values. *** marks significance below 0.000; ** marks significance between 0.001 and 0.01; * marks significance between 0.01 and 0.05. R_L² marks the fit of the model (the decrease of -2LL in percentages).

The large positive effect of praying on volunteering among students is quite surprising. The reason for this could be that within the young generation personal religious practice is becoming more important. More and more students are religious in their own way and do not attend religious communities regularly. Volunteering is more popular among religious students than among others, and probably it is not just the traditional type of volunteering, but the new type of volunteering is also getting more popular (this will be examined later). The large effect of regular praying on volunteering is compatible with the cultural theory (see Wilson's and Son's theory in the first part of this article) and with the content of the religious belief theory.

The minor effect of churchgoing may be due to the fact that students practise their religion in small religious youth groups rather than in large communities. As we can see in our models, this youth religious group membership has a large and positive effect on volunteering. This result is in accordance with the literature on higher education students' religiosity in the investigated region (Fényes 2014, Pusztai 2009). It can be seen as well that after allowing for the positive effect of secondary school volunteering this effect is disappearing as well. The reason for this could be that students volunteer in their secondary school years in religious church groups.

All in all, participating in religious youth groups has the largest effect on students' volunteering among religiosity measurements, but we can see that in the last two models, when secondary school volunteering and the social capital indicators are included, the effects of all religiosity variables on volunteering are not significant. It is also an interesting result that denomination and the early religious socialization (measured by the parents' churchgoing) have no effect on students' volunteering at all.

Concerning the effect of socio-demographic variables, not surprisingly, older students volunteered more as they studied for a longer period of time in higher education. Women volunteered more as well, but only if the effect of social capital indicators are included (males have more social capital). It is interesting that parents' education had no effect on volunteering and regular financial problems in the family increased volunteering. Our previous results (Fényes 2014, Bocsi and Fényes 2012) showed a positive cultural capital effect (better educated parents and mothers' regular reading increased volunteering) and a positive material capital effect (better financial situation of students increased volunteering) in accordance with the literature. But in the present investigation, there is no cultural capital effect, and regular financial problems did not decrease but increased volunteering. The reason for this could be that due to regular financial problems there is a greater solidarity and a greater intention to help others among students, and due to this they do voluntary work more frequently. A further result is that if the place of residence at the age of 14 is an urban one (town) the students volunteer more due to more possibilities available for volunteering in their home towns.

The largest effect in our models is the positive effect of secondary school volunteering on higher education volunteering, which has been detected in Handy's et al. (2010) work as well among students of developed countries. Concerning social capital effects, better contact with parents has a negative effect on volunteering, but better contact with teachers has a positive effect. So, if the students are more independent from their parents, they volunteer more frequently, and probably the new type (résumé-building) of volunteering is more popular among them. The positive effect of teachers can be due to the fact that teachers can help students to find voluntary work, especially to find voluntary activities, which are in accordance with their field of study. Finally, among the social capital effects, more active group membership largely increased volunteering, a finding which is in accordance with the literature.

In accordance with our second hypothesis, students from Romanian and Ukrainian higher education institutions volunteered more (the chance of volunteering is 1.5–2 times greater than in Hungary). But, contrary to our hypothesis, the effect remained strong even if the more active religiosity and worse financial background of these students is taken into consideration. In our previous paper (Fényes and Pusztai 2012), we explained the greater volunteering of Romanian and Ukrainian students with the facts that this part of the Partium region is a multiethnic region; Hungarian minority students are more active churchgoers; there is a more active religiosity as it is a multi-confessional region and, all in all, due to the more active churchgoing, there is a more active volunteering. However, in the present investigation, after allowing for the effect of religiosity indicators, the positive effect of the country of the institution is still

in case, so we have to find other explanations. In Ukraine and Romania, the civil sector is underdeveloped, and this could be the reason for larger volunteering activity (for example, in Ukraine, the students' parents paint the building of the school in the summer, the students collect rubbish in the weekends, etc.). Another reason could be that in different countries the students defined voluntary activity differently (the definition problems can be examined by a qualitative analysis among students). The third explanation can be that in Ukraine and Romania the economic situation is worse than in Hungary, which may induce solidarity and volunteering among people.

In the second part of our empirical work, we examine the motivations of students' volunteering (motivations are measured by a 20-item Likert scale). In *Table 3*, we can see the factor analysis results based on the motivations of volunteering among students who volunteered during their higher education studies.

Table 3. *Volunteering motivation factors, factor scores higher than 0.4*

Motivations (Likert scale 1–4)	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
To spend free time usefully	0.522		
To acquire new knowledge, professional development	0.845		
To feel better	0.528	0.439	
To practise my skills	0.716		
To help others	0.533		
To make new friends and relationships	0.621		
To gain professional relationships	0.687		
To get work experience	0.751		
To learn languages			0.645
To get to know new cultures			0.693
I wanted to make changes in the world		0.427	
Because my friends, relatives have done voluntary work			0.462
To put it in the CV			0.425
To make myself useful		0.660	
To get through my problems		0.661	
To gain recognition somewhere		0.487	
To see the world differently due to volunteering		0.629	
To get to know and understand others		0.499	
To save the environment, to solve global problems			0.476
To save the traditions, to save cultural values			0.512

* Extraction Method: Alpha Factoring. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

The table refers only to those students who volunteered during their university studies.

The first factor can be called the “new type of volunteering with helping attitude” factor. The new motivations beside the helping others motivation are: spending free time usefully; getting new knowledge; professional development; practising someone’s skills; getting new friends and relationships; gaining professional relationships and getting work experience. This means that among students there is no clear-cut traditional motivation type where helping others is the most important motivation and there is no clear-cut new type of volunteering as helping others is important for new-type volunteers as well.

The second factor can be called the “personal psychological improvement volunteering” factor, where the motivations of volunteering are: to feel better; to make changes in the world; to make myself useful; to get through my problems; to gain recognition somewhere; to see the world differently due to volunteering and to get to know and understand others.

The third factor can be called the “postmodern volunteering” factor. The motivations included in this factor are learning languages; to get to know new cultures; because my friends, relatives have done voluntary work; to put it in the CV; to save the environment; to solve global problems and, finally, to save the traditions and cultural values.

In tables 4 and 5, we examine the effects of religiosity and socio-demographic variables on these motivation factors.

Table 4. *Linear regression models on the “New type of volunteering with helping attitude” factor*

	Model 1 (betas)	Model 2 (betas)	Model 3 (betas)
Praying	Ns	Ns	Ns
Churchgoing	-0.21*	-0.24*	-0.24*
Pray_church	Ns	Ns	Ns
Churchfather	Ns	Ns	Ns
Churchmother	Ns	Ns	Ns
Relig_youth	Ns	Ns	Ns
Reform	Ns	Ns	Ns
Catholic	0.16*	0.14*	0.13*
Sex		-0.16**	-0.14**
Age		0.14**	0.13*
RO_UKR		0.13*	0.13*
Fathered			Ns
Mother Ed			Ns
OBmaterial			Ns
SUBmaterial			-0.13*
Fin problems			Ns

	Model 1 (betas)	Model 2 (betas)	Model 3 (betas)
Urban_rural			0.12*
Adjusted R square	0.016	0.061	0.07

In the 3 models, the groups of independent variables are included step by step as it can be seen in the table. *** marks significance below 0.000; ** marks significance between 0.001 and 0.01; * marks significance between 0.01 and 0.05.

As shown in *Table 4*, churchgoing has a negative effect on the “new type of volunteering with helping attitude” motivation. Based on the literature, the reason could be that active churchgoing students can find voluntary work possibilities especially not in accordance with their field of studies, but they can find mostly traditional type of volunteering, so the new motivations of volunteering – which are dominant in this factor – are not so important for them. But it is an interesting result that Catholic students do this type of volunteering more frequently than others. The reason could be that Catholic students are overrepresented in helping professions, so their traditional type of volunteering is more compatible with their future profession, and beside the helping attitude they volunteer for career-building reasons as well.

Our further result is that this mixed (traditional and also new) motivation type is more popular among women and older students. For older students, the career-building aspects are more important, and that is why this motivation is more popular among them. Moreover, this mixed motivation is more popular among students from Romania and Ukraine. In the Romanian and Ukrainian part of our investigated region, the résumé-building motivations can be more important due to the worse financial situation of these countries. Our further result shows that students who estimate their financial situation worse than the average family from the country are overrepresented concerning this motivation factor. Finally, students from urban backgrounds volunteer more based on these motivations, which may be due to the more possibilities in their home towns for career-building volunteering.

Concerning the “personal psychological improvement volunteering” factor, in the linear regression models, there is only one significant effect, which is the sex of the students. Not surprisingly, women are overrepresented concerning this motivation (the detailed regression output is not shown here).

Table 5. Linear regression models on the “postmodern volunteering” factor

	Model 1 (betas)	Model 2 (betas)	Model 3 (betas)
Praying	Ns	Ns	Ns
Churchgoing	Ns	Ns	Ns
Pray_church	-0.23*	Ns	Ns
Churchfather	Ns	Ns	Ns
Churchmother	Ns	Ns	Ns

	Model 1(betas)	Model 2 (betas)	Model 3 (betas)
Relig_youth	0.13*	Ns	Ns
Reform	Ns	Ns	Ns
Catholic	Ns	Ns	Ns
Sex		Ns	Ns
Age		-0.12**	-0.12*
RO_UKR		0.19**	0.19**
Fathered			Ns
Mother Ed			Ns
OBmaterial			Ns
SUBmaterial			Ns
Fin problems			Ns
Urban_rural			Ns
Adjusted R square	0.013	0.049	0.05

In the 3 models, the groups of independent variables are included step by step as it can be seen in the table. *** marks significance below 0.000; ** marks significance between 0.001 and 0.01; * marks significance between 0.01 and 0.05.

As we can see in *Table 5*, regarding “postmodern volunteering,” the negative churchgoing and praying interaction effect and the positive religious youth group membership effect are disappearing when socio-demographic variables are included. It can be seen as well that more young students are postmodern volunteers as saving the environment and solving global problems can be more important to them, and career-building motivations (see Factor 1) do not seem to be so important to them yet. It can also be seen that students from Ukraine and Romania are overrepresented concerning this motivation.

All in all, our third hypothesis that religious students are doing more traditional type of volunteering is not supported. The reason could be that we could not detect clear-cut traditional and clear-cut new motivation types as helping others was important for the new type of volunteers as well. Among all students, but also among religious students, traditional and new motivations are mixed. For religious students, the rational motivations are also important beside the helping attitude. Getting work experience through volunteering is also important to them. The other reason for religious students not being overrepresented in traditional volunteering could be that there are more religious students in the helping professions (there are more religious students in the trainings of teachers, social workers and medical professions, etc). In this case, the traditional type of volunteering is more compatible with the “getting work experience” motivation, i.e. they can help and they can get work experience at the same time, which helps them in getting a job in the future.

Conclusions

The literature and our previous results showed that value preference and religiosity affect volunteering to a larger extent than someone's social background or gender. Based on the literature, we supposed that the religiosity of students (assessed by several measurements) positively affects volunteering, even after allowing for the effects of other explanatory variables. Concerning volunteering, the results showed that among religiosity measurements the effect of regular praying is more important than the effect of churchgoing. This finding is contrary to the literature. The reason for this could be that participating in small religious youth groups is the most popular activity among students and it has the largest positive effect on volunteering. It has been shown as well that if the social capital indicators are included in the regression models, the effect of religiosity is disappearing in accordance with the literature.

Our second hypothesis was that volunteering is more frequent among students from Romania and Ukraine due to their larger religious attendance. It has been proved that students from Romania and Ukraine volunteer more than students from Hungary, but the reason for this cannot be solely their larger religious attendance, but there must be other factors as well. The effect of the country factor on volunteering still exists, even after including students' religiosity measurements. The reasons could be the following: in Ukraine and Romania, the civil sector is relatively underdeveloped; in different countries, the students defined voluntary activity differently; in Ukraine and Romania, the economic situation is worse than in Hungary, which may induce solidarity and volunteering among people.

Our third hypothesis was that religiosity increases especially the probability of the traditional type of volunteering (where helping others is the most important motivation) among higher education students. We examined what volunteering-motivation types exist and what affects these motivations. Based on the motivations, we created three factors, but we could not support that religious students are doing mostly traditional type of volunteering. There was no clear-cut traditional (based on altruistic values) or clear-cut new (career-building) volunteering factors. The motivational background of religious students was mixed as it applies to all students' motivations.

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Book Reviews



**Detlef Pollack and Gergely Rosta: Religion in der
Moderne. Ein internationaler Vergleich**
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The term ‘secularization’ has dominated the field of the social scientific study of religion for decades, either as an almost ideological assertion of the inevitable decline of religion or as a phrase invoking endless debates on its validity as a theoretical explanation of the dropping societal significance of traditional churches. It is extremely hard to resolve the dispute even on empirical grounds, partly because the diverse concepts of secularization – just like many common or fashionable social scientific terms – lack an exact definition, or at least approximately uniform interpretation or a generally accepted use. The various or even vague concept of religion of researchers, as well as many alternative and in certain ways contradictory theoretical explanatory models of religious change make the overview of this area even more difficult. Thus, the authors of the present book have undertaken a rather difficult task to systematize existing knowledge and conclusions drawn so far within this research area, and also to add their new findings and insights.

The authors begin their work with an in-depth definitional and methodological clarification (Part I). During this discussion, they consistently acknowledge that the theoretical work can not be an end in itself. On the contrary, it should be an essential tool of empirical social research since without this it is impossible to delimit the phenomena to be tested and to interpret the test results. At the same time, they emphasize in several places that theorizing must be done without preconceptions, what in their opinion has been the most common weakness within previous research, and wherein lies the novelty of their current volume.

They attempt to extract the meaning of the terms ‘modernity’ and ‘religion’ in detail. This is not to say that the argumentation is becoming lost in philological or philosophical excursions. While they review some previous understandings, they confine their attention on those references which offer a key to the scientific examination of the relationship between the two social phenomena. Their goal is

to achieve an interpretation of them that are both simple enough and sufficiently nuanced to lay the foundations for further analysis. As the result of their definitional efforts, on the one hand, they attribute functional differentiation to modernity as its most characteristic aspect – a persuasive choice despite leaving it somewhat unclear exactly what kind of causal mechanisms link them together (Chapter 1). On the other hand, they successfully link the functional and substantive definitional approaches of religion inasmuch as they regard all social phenomena ‘religious’ which provide answers to the questions raised by the problem of contingency (the functional aspect), based on the simultaneity of transcendence and immanence (the substantive aspect) (Chapter 2).

After a brief methodological outlining (Chapter 3), the book is continued with discussing the secondary analysis of survey data on religiosity in the light of national cultural-historical contexts.

Part II focuses on the religious decline in Western Europe through three case studies. The Western part of Germany with a moderately secularized culture and with a relatively stable public presence of traditional churches exemplifies a midway between the other two scrutinized countries (Chapter 4). Catholic Italy appears to be one of the most religious countries of Western Europe, which has experienced even slight increases in the religious field (Chapter 5). The Netherlands, however, can be regarded as one of the most unchurched countries of Western Europe and characterized by an exceptionally strong secularization.

In Part III, the authors explore the alleged religious boom in Eastern Europe after the political transitions, an evidence cited by many against the secularization thesis. In the case of Russia (Chapter 7) and Poland (Chapter 9), the importance of national identity emerges. As to the former, it can be concluded that the rising numbers of church affiliation has much more to do with national sentiments than with personal belief and socialization. In the latter case, it seems that the surprisingly high level of belief and high vitality of Catholicism is due to the political role of the Church during the centuries of Polish history in defending threatened identity and at the same time providing community space for persecuted opposition groups. The case of East Germany (Chapter 8) raises the question of why the rate of religiosity has fallen to an exceptionally low level during the decades of communist rule, which has not necessarily happened in other Eastern Bloc countries, and why it remained at about the same level after 1989 despite playing an important public role during the political transition similar to that of the Polish Church.

The authors scrutinize the religious changes outside of Europe through three further case studies in Part IV. The example of the United States of America has been mostly applied as the counter-evidence of secularization or the starting point of religious market model. As the authors argue, however, it seems that both theoretical preoccupations obscure reality. Similar to the South Korean case (as

presented in Chapter 11), it rather shows how non-religious functions combined with more strictly church-related activities contribute to the revitalization of religious life and provide its limitations at the same time. Together with their comparison of Charismatic, Pentecostal, and Evangelical movements in Europe, the USA, and Brazil (Chapter 12), they suggest that it is highly context-dependent how religious minorities can relate to the dominant religious cultures and whether and how they can become quickly growing groups in certain strata of a given society, most often at the cost of other major denominations.

The lengthiest part of the study (Part II to Part IV) is certainly not aimed at providing evidence for or against secularization theory nor at giving a proof of the inability to offer a universalistic explanative framework of trends of religiosity within contemporary societies. Much more it is an implementation of the authors' methodological principles. That is, they try to re-evaluate the much-quoted and thus well-known – or, rather, often misunderstood or selectively examined – data, mainly from the European Values Study and World Values Survey. And, as mentioned above, they try to carry out this analysis without the previous assumption of a religious decline or revival. They assert rightly that only this way it is possible to explore the underlying causes of both trends and the bewildering diversity of contemporary religiosity in Europe and worldwide.

Moreover, the analysis of the religious change in the individual countries serves to develop common principles beyond country-specific features and historical circumstances in order to understand in a wider framework how these factors impact churches and religious situation in general. Part V aims to explicate systematic perspectives based on these findings. First, they test by multi-level models in cross-country comparisons how diverse individual and contextual factors explain intensity of religiosity and various rates of religious indicators (Chapter 13). Here, one could raise the objection that the way how the concept of modernization – closely related with contingency and the concept of horizontal and vertical functional differentiation as described above – is operationalized through the chosen variables (the approval of Church–state separation, GINI coefficient, GDP and welfare expenditures) might need further theoretical clarification and justification. However, the available variables of the databases applied have evidently limited the possibility of the analysis. Apart from that, the key findings indeed sound convincing.

As a concluding section, Chapter 14 summarizes these theoretical insights, together with the brief evaluation of earlier theoretical models as well as the suggested new theorems. Whereas the authors started their study with distancing themselves from existing theoretical viewpoints or taking their substantial assertions for granted, they are not inclined to commit themselves to any of them even at the end of their inquiry. Instead, they offer a multi-paradigmatic approach. The proposed set of theorems – theory of differentiation and de-

differentiation, absorption hypothesis, distraction hypothesis, coupling thesis, overpowering thesis, thesis of the simultaneous presence of religion in different levels of society, theorem of the majority confirmation, theorem of internal diversification, and conflict hypothesis – all show a relationship between religion and society presumably more complex than the previous theoretical approaches have assumed.

The value of the presented study lies not only in its efforts to outline new theoretical and methodological approaches and to put the existing ones into new light by re-evaluating them on a thorough and sound empirical basis. The volume is at the same time an insightful systematization of previous works in the field of the social scientific study of religion, rich in data and comprehensive references, building on the classical and also on the most recent publications in the scope. A must-read for all who are interested in contemporary religiosity and an essential item for those dealing with social research.



**Gabriella Pusztai and Ágnes Lukács (eds):
Közösségteremtők – Tisztelgés a magyar
vallásszociológusok nagy nemzedéke előtt
(*In English: Creators of Communities:
Tribute to the Great Generation of Hungarian
Sociologists of Religion*)**

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Creators of Communities: Tribute to the Great Generation of Hungarian Sociologists of Religion was written in honour of Ferenc Gereben, István Kamarás, and Endre Nagy J., whose jubilee we are celebrating now and who undertook to render a kind of the summary of their life-work and life-philosophy for the present and future generations, on the pages of this book.

The editors, Gabriella Pusztai and Ágnes Lukács, paid special attention not only to the authors, who provided the high-quality intellectual content of the book, but they also looked at its layout, where – symbolically – a tree with deep and far-reaching roots, producing plenty of fruits, can be observed.

In this book, we can read the writings of the above mentioned three researchers, in the first place, composed in different but remarkable styles. Among others, we can get to know Ferenc Gereben, whose area of research was cultural behaviour, self-awareness, and value orientation. In the beginning, he was interested in arts and literature, but later, in the mid-1980s, he got more and more involved in the sociology of religion in addition to cultural sociology. One of his most important researches abroad (Gereben and Tomka 2000) was carried out by using the multidimensional scaling method (MDS). The research points out the positive connections of the various parameters of national identity and religiousness, as well as the nature of native and reading culture. In this work, the peaceful and harmonious self of a believer and researcher emerges, who is passing down his work to the younger generation and is soon resigning.

We can get to know the life-work of István Kamarás (OJD, Ordo Joculatorum Dei) in seventy concise lines containing thought-provoking metaphors and one-word renderings of his life-experience as well as expressions like “disabled youth,” “catcalled singing birds,” and “butterflies strung on leashes” (p. 21). It sets questions and visions to the reader about the historical and religious sociological past of the former 70 years. The researcher of sociology, assuming the role of a sociographer on occasions, lays the largest emphasis on the question “what could be,” one of the main results of which has become the invention and creation of subjects such as the knowledge of the human character and ethics. After his research into the environmental effects of the Catholic Church, which has been regarded by many as provocative, he carried out research into the latest Hungarian religious phenomena in an extraordinary way. In the course of time, he turned out to be a talented writer producing radio plays, fairy tales, and story-books. His important message as a deep believer is as follows: “Apart from God, nothing and nobody should be taken seriously....” (p. 27).

One of the most significant focal points of Endre Nagy J.’s work can be learnt about in the complex message of a philosophical study in which he attempts to interpret two relevant social problems. He examines two tendencies: on the one hand, how the various subsystems of society assume autonomy and how they get reified and, in response to the former, the individualism’s cult of self and revolt against society. The main message of his theoretical examination is boiled down to one thought-provoking sentence: “The holiness of Impersonal Order and the revolt of the subject” (p. 29). The first part of the study introduces the growing rule of the Impersonal Order, in other words, the reification of society as well as its becoming an autonomous entity: how the personal transcends itself and thereby becomes holy, dissolving in impersonal love. He refutes both from a religious and scientific standpoint the views according to which no brotherly communities based on the religion of love can be established under the above-mentioned social conditions. In the second part of his study, within the context of the effects of individualism, he explains man’s proclivity for weakness, which can cause man to fall into the “abyss” by standing against morality, a value-oriented life-style and by acting antisocially. Today’s Christians and Church have to face both these tendencies while looking for suitable solutions for the future. The author uses a well-selected special literature to introduce the two tendencies and to justify their hypotheses.

The next three chapters of the book introduce religious, educational, and youth sociological topics from home and abroad, based on the empirical research of two dozen scholars. The chapters are interspersed with references to valuable special literature. They are written in a pleasantly readable style.

The chapter entitled *Individual and communal religiousness* introduces the circle of young sociologists of religion and value, which is closely connected to the name of Ferenc Gereben. The organization FIVÉSZ (Fiatall Vallás és

Értékszociológusok. *In English: Young Sociologists of Religion and Value*) fulfils an especially important mission as it attempts to motivate the young generation to take an active part in public affairs, which is the basis of a democratic community.

In two further studies, we can read about the results of a research into the effectiveness of small religious communities, carried out with the survey method, on the one hand. They also offer intriguing information about another research done by conducting interviews about the religiousness of the elderly living in old people's homes. The two studies are concluded with a concise passage about learning and understanding, employing the technical terms of P. L. Berger's mythical matrix, which is in perfect accordance with the chronological arrangement of the chapter's studies. The passage, in effect, sums up the message of the previous chapters.

Further on, we can read about a remarkable rarity within the sociology of religion in a recent analysis of the original sin originating in a research data basis from before the turn of the millennium. It points out that there is no determining connection between the original sin and religiousness. Moreover, conservatism and traditionalism within a religious group accounts for the belief in the already mentioned dogma.

The chapter introducing the topic of individual and communal religiousness is concluded with two highly different studies. One of them presents the changes of youth religiousness derived from ISSP (International Social Survey Programme) and EVS (European Values Survey) examinations. This study shows the nature and measure of the religious practice of the youth from the beginning of the 90s to the end of the 2000s pointing out the decrease of religiousness among the youth but, at the same time, also reassuring us about the fact that several tight connections can be observed between the dimensions of religiousness with the young practising religion. This chapter is concluded with an impressive study presenting the motivations of the monastic profession as well as the circumstances of becoming a monk, and reflects the author's wide and firm knowledge of the subject. In relation to those who choose this profession, he points to certain influencing factors such as the religiousness of the parents, attending church services, and religious classes in childhood.

The chapter *Religiousness and education* focuses on higher education and on students. Each study, with almost no exception, presents an individual research analysis, which can, first of all, interest the young generation. Introducing special courses in higher education is a relevant subject because we can learn about differences in students deriving from belonging or not belonging to a denomination, for example, the performance characteristic of denominational students taking part in the research.

Although competence tests seem to be of crucial importance for those interested in public education, in the next study, the partial results of a special research give us an idea of the performance of church schools and their students as well as

about part of the factors lying behind the results. In essence, we can read a study made prior to the analysis of the results of competence tests done in church schools concentrating on forming further questions for research while providing a profound survey. The study presenting the further training of teachers after changing the schools' financial management takes us closer to teachers working in church schools who, according to the survey, are satisfied with their situation as they can take part in more trainings than before 2010.

Two other interesting studies take us to the international site of the PISA researches, presenting data from home on the knowledge of 15-year-old students, highlighting research data on understanding texts and good examples. We can also follow the research analysis of the reading and Internet habits of university students, where religiousness as a factor influencing these habits is given special emphasis.

The closing study of the chapter aptly evokes the Horthy era as well as the financing of denominational schools. The author does so rightly because the 1930s, similarly to the past few years, demanded an extensive re-planning in denominational financing as a result of the economic crisis.

The closing chapter is entitled *In minority or majority*, and in it first-rate studies give us an even closer look at the indices of the relation of university students to religion: we can see proven that if the younger one experiences the different rites of religiousness, the more certain the survival and preservation of religiousness in adulthood will be.

The study presenting the connections of religiousness and voluntarism abroad supplements well the previous studies as it emphasizes the positive effects of denominational diversity in relation to religious practice in the first place, which often results in voluntary work. We can also learn about the fact that religiousness inspires voluntarism; moreover, it is communal existence that gives voluntary work real impetus. The topic of the sociology of religion is completed with a study on the religiousness of gypsies. It presents their denominational division and its changes on the basis of two consensuses while creating a positive image of the growing number of gypsy communities and their members.

The closing study of the chapter illuminates the assessment of culture and its consequences on the basis of the value surveys in different countries.

This book on the sociology of religion puts together at least two dozen authors and fulfils its mission, and transcends the celebration of the anniversary of the great generation. It invites the reader onto a new road by reintroducing the forgotten topic of religiousness in order that the reader can get to know the current Hungarian and foreign tendencies in the individual and communal religiousness of the youth. In this way, the reader can gain an insight into the inner changes taking place in church schools after the change of their financial management and can take notice of the qualitative and quantitative transformation of the religiousness of denominational communities and individuals adhering to them as well.