Polish and Russian Youth: Education and Work in Changing Society

Moscow 2013
The book consists of Russian and Polish sociologists’ articles. In this articles the social problems of young people, related to the spheres of education and labor with the transition from education into employment are analyzed. The impact of the modernization of education in couple with the modification of the labor market and demographic processes is considered. The studies showed that the causes of the changes and their consequences are related to globalization, but at the same time they are depending differently on the specificity of the country. Considered social processes have a significant impact on the social structure in both countries. The book was prepared in the course of the joint research project “Youth-Education-Society” realization in the framework of cooperation between the Polish and Russian Academies of Sciences.

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Editor electronic edition by Elena Grigorieva.
Makeup by Ildar Sitdikov.

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Printer’s sheet: 10.
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There is not much that can surprise or amuse us today. However, Nevertheless...

There is not much that can surprise or amuse us today. However, Nevertheless...
The story behind this publication has taken its authors by surprise. A few years back
we did not even know about one another’s existence. Today we are a team that
meets systematically, organizes joint seminars, applies for research grants. How did
this happen?

It is early October of the year 2008. The two-person delegations from the
Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development of the PAS (Polish Academy of
Sciences) leaves for Moscow. The schedule of the visit focuses on meetings with
economists. It somehow obvious since our host is the Institute of Economics of the
RAS (Russian Academy of Sciences). However, professor Borys Frumklin, a guide of
our visit, does his best to meet also our sociological expectations. As it turns out,
he arranges a meeting in the Institute of Sociology of the RAS with professor David
Konstantinovskiy – the head of the Department of Sociology of Education, Science
and Culture. Our hosts – Professor and his three colleagues, Galina Czeredniczenko,
Elena Vozniesienskaja and F. A. Chochłuszkina, await us in two rooms at the end of
the corridor. Today, a young and dynamic Katia Popova has joined them.

The initial part of the meeting proceeds routinely – the aims and character
of our visit are explained, and general information on our team is presented. It
soon becomes clear that the choice of a possible partner was spot-on. Our work is
similar – we observe our societies with special emphasis placed on changes in the
system of education, the young generation, and the points of potential tensions.
Russians are more into the sociology of education, we are deeper in the field of
youth and generations. On the whole, the area of shared interests is unexpectedly
broad. When a course of conversation unwinds and we start to exchange our research
observations, we experience a strange sense of dėja vu – it is possible to meet, in fact
quite accidentaly, people so similar in their scientific interests.

When the information about the methodology we apply is exchanged, our
astonishment reaches its climax. Both teams conduct extensive studies of the school
youth and those young people who leave the education system, monitor trends and
segmentation processes, observe life trajectories. As it turns out, both Russians and
Poles apply auditorial techniques, surveys, IDI (Individual In-Depth Interview) as well
as case study analyses. As unbelievable as it may seem, there soon apppeares that we
share something else. The further description of our work reveals something really
exceptional. In both places, in Russia for a longer period, the research projects have
been conducted based on a rare, not to say unique, longitudinal study procedure. The
latter consists in observation of educational and life trajectories of chosen cohorts of
young people. One thing is clear – we were destined to cooperate. Can anyone imagine
otherwise? “Eto prosto niewozmožno!” . So there is nothing but a must of cooperation.
The book prepared by us shows elements of the research methods applied by both teams. It is not yet the result of a joint study. Nevertheless we chose the study problems issues so as to show thematic similarities of our work and to make Polish-Russian sociological comparisons possible. The core of the book are connections between education and young people entering the labour market. We have chosen that problem, because even nowadays it seems to be one of the most crucial trouble spots in functioning of our societies. Both Poland and Russia are affected by political transformation. In both places transformation processes proceed neither smoothly nor absolutely harmoniously. A world we enter is the world of capitalism – extremely expansive and dynamic, but also entangled in its internal contradictions. This world, even though it is prone to crises and imperfect, undoubtedly beguiles young people – especially with its cultural offer. Consumerism, freedom, self-oriented life (satisfaction, leisure, development) are fundamental, besides affiliation values, aims of young people. Nowadays, education and work are key means to achieve them. Without appropriate education, a job and (adequate) income the above is rather impossible and, which is the most important, the lifestyle promoted by culture and admired by them becomes unattainable.

Young people’s faith in (an instrumental) value of education contributes to higher rates of schooling than ever. They collide, however, with the reduced demand and potential of labour market. The latter results from careless and hasty changes introduced into educational system (which generates a low quality or improperly selected product), from the condition of economy uninterested in absorbing the supplied human capital, and finally from educational decisions and strategies of young people themselves who are unable to read signals from the labour market and recognize their own vocational predispositions. Instead, they choose easily accessible, a higher school diploma oriented educational profiles rather than consciously build their individual competence profile. Since the character and pace of transformation are disparate in Russia and in Poland, those lines and areas of poor adaptation, as well as demographical situation, are different in both countries.

In Poland, the generation of baby boom, entered the educational system, just when it was subject to radical structural changes. Now these baby boomers flood the labour market and contribute to some new problems. In the documents issued by the Polish government, as well as in respective reports of the European Commission concerning developmental strategies, young generation is seen as an important reservoir of innovation and change. At the same time, their future, greatly affected by economic determinants, is perceived as uncertain and as a possible threat to social order. Which seems the most alarming is the possibility that the crisis may generate so-called “lost generation”, that is young, well educated people who remain out of work and use all their energy to struggle with their life problems. Unlike Poland, Russia is the country where the proportion of young people in the whole population is one of the lowest than ever. What is more, it is the country with different historical perspective, different limits of opportunities and different tradition of coping with social problems. The latter unavoidably introduce a new perspective of civilization.
Introduction

challenges and social problems. Is the Russian educational system and young people themselves ready for them? Can they count on any systemic support? What is the social space they act within?

The book consists of works and analyses both teams which illustrate processes of adaptation of the institutions and young people to social changes, new life conditions, including modern models of the labour market and modification of educational system. The presentation of works by Polish teams opens the text by Krystyna Szafraniec (Young Poles – Work and Entering the Labour Market), defines the work expectations of young Poles, their aspirations to take a good professional position, and conditions at the labour market just after they graduate (rates of occupational activity, rates of unemployment and employment, achieved statuses and incomes, dilemmas, prospects and barriers). The analyses conducted here show how much professional careers of young Poles depend on both the investment into their education and on the overall economic situation (fluctuation in the demand for certain vocational qualifications, job offers, redundancy plans) It is the text where specificity of the Polish youth is shown in comparison with European and global trends connected with changes in value and idea of a job, with new forms of employment or with the effects of the global crisis. Drawing extensively from the wide spectrum of sources (Polish and international) the author shows the tragedy of young and well educated people who were to be beneficiaries of the economic prosperity and drivers of civilization development, and instead they are threatened by the syndrome of the “lost generation”. What is more, the latter seems to be more dangerous than the perspective of the youth’s rebellion.

The text written by Jarosław Domalewski (Neglected education – vocational training in Poland). The author describes changes in the Polish secondary education that have been taking place since the the early 1990s. These mainly involve the reduction of vocational education offer and predominance of grammar schools. By presenting these changes in a broader context (growth of educational aspirations of Poles, restructuring of the economy, the policy of economizing on the education system, the pressure of demographic factor), the author shows the complexity of the mechanisms shaping Polish vocational education for the last two decades. The analysis is based on the existing data as well as on his own study conducted within the last decade. On the one hand, the collected data enable the author to observe the processes of correction of educational aspirations and professional plans of young people, and on the other, to better understand the dilemmas and problems of education authorities in crucial segments of the educational system (interviews with headmasters of vocational secondary schools).

The third text by Polish team by Krzysztof Wasielewski focuses on higher stages of education. The author describes the directions of Polish higher education development since the year 1989. Under the influence of new challenges (economic, developmental): not only had the philosophy of higher education changed, but also social expectations with reference to it have undergone dramatic transformation. Rapidly modernizing economy generated the demand for highly qualified labour
force, and a free educational market opened a place for private higher schools within public space. Poland has become a country with the most dynamically developing education market in Europe. Within the last 20 years, the number of higher schools and their students increased four times, and at present more than every two person aged between 19-25 studies at university or college. The author, by referring to the Central Statistical Office (GUS) data, summarizes changes within the higher education system. He considers the consequences (social, economic and structural) of the educational system being receptive to the free market rules.

In the last two articles, their authors – Marta Maleszewksa and Adam Mordzon – focus on the situation of the two entirely different groups of young people. These are, active and building their careers holders of university diplomas and VLC members – young people who prematurely abandoned the educational system and joined the Voluntary Labour Corps (OHP), the place where they obtain specific vocational skills and work at the same time. Article written by Adam Mordzon considers the problem of social exclusion facing poorly educated young people. His analysis of the network of the Voluntary Labour Corps (OHP) is based on not only the results of the comprehensive all-Poland study of those institutions (survey of a social background composition of this community, quantitative data) but also materials obtained through in-depth interviews with the personnel and young people. His typology of VLC youth (“grounded”, “undermined”, “booting” and “booted”) expresses processes of educational selection and their drastic effects for young people who need to find ways to cope with the situations of social exclusion. It also illustrates the syndrome of tensions, anxieties, worries and dilemmas of young people who easily notice the offer of the consumerist society but hardly ever can reach it.

The article by Marta Malaszewska is located in context of discussion about forms of employment of those young people who are offered, as a result of the labour market liberalization, temporary contracts. Even though temporary contracts are subject of severe criticism in the press, the evaluation is not confirmed by empirical research. Young professionals, unlike worse educated people, cope quite well with temporary employment. They accept regulations that limit the stability of employment as long as they find them profitable. For some of them, it is permanent employment that is found to be an obstacle in professional development. Temporary employment contracts become the problem when one wants to buy an apartment or obtain a credit – then a permanent employment contracts are required.

The papers of Russian team describe the specific character of situation in sphere of education and problems those youth meet at start of life career and later at labor market. Authors pay special attention to youth aspirations, their changing in new life conditions and youth chances to realize varying intentions. Analysis show that youth sensitively catch the meanings of modern models and answer by changing of social behavior.

The David Konstantinovskiy’s paper (Education and Inequality) considers the problem of social inequality in education. Dynamics of social processes in Russian education from 1960s till start of 2000s is examined. Data of sociological researches
and state statistics are used. Author’s researches indicate that new conditions in Russia are not eliminating social differentiation of the young. Children from upper groups are leaders in getting high quality education. They are more oriented toward occupations, which would give them high positions in society more than children from lower groups, and these occupations usually require higher education. Researches show that the inequality arises already at secondary education and then it amplifies at transition to vocational education (universities, colleges, vocational schools). Problems the post-Soviet youth faces today have roots in the Soviet past. Data of sociological researches and state statistics are used.

The young workers and the higher education – this specific phenomenon is treated in the article of E. Voznesenskaya and G. Cherednichenko. It is based on the materials of the sociological research of the young workers of the industrial enterprises of Russia (questionnaire survey and interviewing). The workers’ positions with higher education’s diplomas, getting the higher education (an external degree) during the worker’s job, the aspirations for its getting are considered. The motives of receiving the higher education, senses which the young workers put in its achievement, practices of its use are analyzed. The research shows that getting higher education not supported by other kinds of resources – cultural capital of a family, professional status of parents etc. – doesn’t greatly change a life trajectory predetermined by the frames of a social origin. However the presence of the higher education diploma serves for the young worker as his personal cultural and social resource which allows a change of kinds of work, an exit to the wider space of social-professional choices, higher social position.

Another paper of Russian team – *The Youth’s paths through formal institutions of the educational system* by Galina Cherednichenko – study the steps of the youth through formal institutions of the educational system. The youth trajectories are shown on the base of the state statistic’s data of two last decades. It is shown that the possibilities offered by the educational system to the young people mediate the whole process of the youth’s transition to work. All main steps of the educational system are examined in series. Various statistic data is given in the dynamics of the 90’s-2000s: quota of the age group getting some levels of education, distribution of graduates of general school and of secondary school by the education’s channels, admission to the secondary vocational-technical schools, secondary technical colleges and high school, structure of admitted by the education’s level, etc. It is demonstrated how the evolutions of some indices relate to the change of the labor market and the dynamics of age cohort’s number. During this period the latter was defined by sharp and deep changes.

Article written by Ekaterina Popova (*School students and their motivation in education: moving from theory to research design*) is dedicated to 15 years old school students. The article is dedicated not only and not so much about different aspects of educational system, but mainly about human’s place in it. What motivates high school students to receive education and to continue their educational activities – it is the main question that the author tries to find the answer to. The article gives a serious theoretical analysis which is dictated by the logic of the concept “motivation”
appearing in human sciences: psychology, pedagogy and sociology. The work is also interesting in terms of methodology, since the sociological study of motivation might help to rethink the process of gaining education and skills and choosing future professional trajectory.

Our studies just sketch main social problems of youth both in Poland and Russia. Firstly, these are interrelations and relations between the educational systems and labour markets in Poland and Russia. Even though not everything we have written is comparable, certain analogies and similarities can be easily noticed. The analogies result from the similarities in the global civilisation influences. The differences refer to the scale of phenomena under study or their advancement, and result from some historical cultural dissimilarity, the size of the state organisms, or changes within the education systems.

Our studies show that in both countries education has become not only a highly regarded social value, but also an important element of young peoples’ life investment and strategies. Speaking about the educational changes (which usually take place spontaneously) we have to consider that they are fueled by new challenges of the new political reality and sustains a strong social pressure. However, the fact that the changes does not weaken their often dysfunctional character resulting from the lack of conceptions, insuitable conceptions or merely from shortage of appropriate resources.

Some undesirable phenomena are observable not only within the educational system itself but also beyond it – in relations with labour markets. In Poland, for example, such an undoubtedly undesirable phenomenon was too hasty and excessive reduction of the vocational education system which was replaced by grammar schools which enable their graduates to apply for admission to higher schools. In Russia one of the most problems discussed is the gap between the amount of specialists prepeared in the system of education and the level of their qualification that do not satisfy labor market requirements. The problem of accumulation of human capital is also of a big interest today.

Currently the phenomena mentioned above occure with different intensity both in Poland and in Russia. Furthermore, in Polish, as well as in Russian research, the category of young people emerges as those who seem to confirm the existence of devaluation of higher school diplomas, that is the phenomena known in Western societies for a long time. Its category includes higher school graduates who have difficulties with finding a job, as well as those who are employed at variance with or below their vocational qualifications. They are often categorized as “the underemployed”, although this term is slowly losing its traditional meaning. Under the fluid, rapidly changing post-modern conditions, it is difficult to talk about being employed either accordingly or at variance with one’s vocational qualifications. For instance, how to interpret the situation of young people who choose easily available, but professionally undefined, fields of studies such as political science, international relations or various subdisciplines of pedagogy, just because recruitment process is smooth, in fact all candidates are accepted and they can almost be sure of obtaining graduation diplomas. It is the quality of the higher schools offer, particularist interests
of the education sector, and unreasonable decisions made by the young people that are frequently blamed for this, but the changes within the labour market seem not less “guilty” here. The latter shifts from the demand for certain professions (as formally categorised in respective documents) to the demand for certain skills (skills defined individually and based on newly emerged social needs, which are constantly updated and supplemented).

Then, analysis of demographic processes is important for interpretation of modern situation. Our research proves it. In Poland the new regulations not only cleared the channels of social advancement but also protected the system from the effects of subsequent waves of baby boom which would not be absorbed by the labour market and young capitalist economy. The more in the situation where the labor demand was still met by professionally active middle-aged generation of baby boomers. It is undoubtedly a demographic factor that considerably differentiates conditions in both our countries. It can be said that Russia as a country is not so radically opened for market solutions, still sticking to the form of employment typical of the previous system, and lacking such a dynamic influx of young labour force, does not face as serious problems with the young generation, as Poland does.

On the other hand, Poland, where the system transformation was deeper, more rapid and created optimistic perspectives for the young generation, is to overcome some serious issues caused by the baby boom. The climax of its consequences (a period between 2004 and 2007), was relieved by opening of the EU labour markets. However, young Poles are becoming less interested in leaving the country. Simultaneously, the context of the World crisis is making itself felt and it is young people who suffer most form the labour shortage, also when they are employed. The new regulations, introduced to prevent unemployment and to facilitate entering the labour market (temporary contracts), in effect young people tend to choose various makeshift forms of employment and hinderrational planning of their professional career and further life.

To sum up, these social processes have a serious impact on the formation of social structure of both countries. Changes in education and labor market are becoming stronger or weaker because of demographic processes. Our studies show that there are different reasons and circumstances varying from conditions of different countries. In particular, they can be seen with regard to inequality and exclusion in education. For example, both in Poland and in Russia development of private educational system has taken place. In Poland on the one hand, it brings about a decline in education quality, but on the other, it increases the level of the societies as a whole, and in particular of young parents. In Russia private schools help to differentiate the system of education which partly helps special groups of young people, but on the other hand it strenthens the inequality in education.

All these new, still difficult to accept, and well-nigh “dysfunctional” phenomena can be ascribed to the, perhaps highly inaccurate, especially in the context of the world crisis, concept of the knowledge society. It can be ascribed, but is doing so really useful? It is difficult to imagine the socio-economic consequences of any
Introduction

arbitrary decisions limiting young peoples’ access to a quality education. As hard it is to imagine any modern society without well educated individuals. One of the most important conclusions drawn from our analyses is that connected with the changes in evaluation of both education itself and institutions responsible for its supply. The leading role here have economic conditions and demographic changes that define the labor market and situation in educational sphere. We do not imagine any ideal society where social institutes and social processes are absolutely in harmony. But we do hope that our investigations will help to achieve better understanding and evaluation of reality and harmony in society. That is the main sense of our joint work and publication.
For a young person, the transition from education to work and employment is a very important process. Being successful in this field is essential not only in terms of liberation from parental control (leaving family house, financial independence) but also in terms of following one’s life and professional aspirations, ambitions and plans. Work is a source of income (which for some people means a way to survive, while for others a decent and comfortable life), it is also a source of satisfaction and an opportunity for personal development. Above all, it is a condition for self-reliance and autonomy understood as a possibility to make independent life choices.

Remaining unemployed is then a source of dissatisfaction and results with many problems. The latest reports of international organisations and expert bodies present not very optimistic forecasts related to employment and labour markets for youth. Despite being increasingly well-educated, they are the group that is mostly affected by the consequences of the recession. The rates of unemployment and professional activity are much more favourable for adults than for the young. Numerous researches support the thesis that entering the job market in the times of recession may leave a permanent trace on the young generation. The biggest concerns relate to the so called “lost generation” – young, well-educated people who cannot find their place on the labour market [Global Employment Trends for Youth 2010: 1].

This situation is unfavourable globally. The more young people remain outside the labour market or have an uncertain employment status, the less hope that the youth will contribute to the civilisation progress, and the greater the fear that economic development will slow down. There is no doubt that it is the young, ambitious people that provide good and efficient work, upon which depends a better future. Taking away this hope and depriving them of any delusions by directing their life energy towards dealing with poverty or trying to enter the job market is wasting enormous economic potential and provoking social unrest. How these processes look like in contemporary Poland?
Entering the Job Market – Expectations and Barriers

Among many transformation changes the ones concerning the educational system were most expected. This need was dictated not only by political reasons but also by those related to civilisation challenges – the necessity to prepare highly qualified staff for the dynamically changing job market and its new demands. Polish educational boom of the 90s was the most spectacular one in Europe. We have educated a great number of young people. A substantial number of young Poles received a diploma that was to guarantee not only certainty of employment but also a good social position. As it has turned out, it does not. It is very difficult for universities to change their approach in favour of a more pragmatic education. Secondary education also operates separately from the demand of the labour market. As a result of liquidation of a great number of vocational schools in the 90s, a lot of professions have disappeared from the area of education.

This problem occurs not only in Poland and there are many reasons for it. The international organizations (Youth Employment Network, Youth Employment Index, International Youth Foundation) group them into several categories (Fig. 1).

![Fig. 1. Key labour market barriers for youth](image)

First, it is a mismatch between skills required by employers and those acquired by potential employees. This discrepancy occurs mainly between technical (so called “hard”) and non-technical (so called “soft”, i.e. emotional and social) skills. Today, both types of skills are considered very important, if not crucial, for one’s career. Their shortage becomes especially evident among young people who grew up in difficult conditions and received lower quality education.

The second kind of barriers is related to expectations regarding a job and the situation on the labour market. They include reduction of workplaces, change of attitude to work, employers’ discrimination practices towards young people, who are punished with worse job offers and more frequent dismissals for lack of professional experience.

The third kind of barriers is related to a job search practice, and is caused by improper skills recognition systems in relations between employees and the labour market. This results, on the one hand, from employers’ inability to state their expectations, while on the other hand, from a poor system providing employers with information on potential employee’s qualifications.

The fourth kind of barriers indicates problems connected with start-ups – creation of workplaces and starting a business activity, as an alternative to deficits in traditional employment. The most important are difficulties related to access to financial, physical and social capital. Young potential entrepreneurs face numerous barriers, they are conceptually unprepared, lack material base (an office, necessary equipment), cannot count on their families’ support and are not creditworthy bank customers.

The Polish youth quite accurately define all these barriers. Not only is it apparent in their pragmatic attitude to education, but also in their declaration of mobility and professional flexibility, the type of expectations concerning the first job and the attitude to internships [First steps in the labour market 2010]. The potential mobility of the young is also high, with half of them declaring readiness to change their place of residence if need be. They also know that one should take up many different occupations (55%) [Szafraniec 2011]. Students are even more mobile (71%), although the interest in migrating abroad diminished considerably (57%). Among teenagers it is twice as low as among the academic youth.

The expectations regarding the first job are strongly varied. Better educated people pay attention to self-development, atmosphere in the team and income (Fig. 2), while less educated people are more focused on money, good working conditions and professional stability (Fig. 3). A comparison of job expectations in both categories shows two different preference types and two different groups of people.
Fig. 2. The most important factors in the choice of first job – academic youth (%)

Interesting projects enabling development 49
Wide range of trainings 36
Good working atmosphere 35
Prestigious employer 33
High earnings 32
Co-operation with professionals 27
Chance for private life 27
Quick promotion 17
International work environment 13
Independence 11
Sense of security 9.7
Good benefits package 4.1

Source: Own work based on: *First steps on the labour market*, [Pierwsze kroki na rynku pracy], report made by Delloite and the Warsaw School of Economics, Warsaw 2010

Fig. 3. What do young people without professional experience expect of their first job?

High remuneration 51
Good working condition 38
Job satisfaction 14
Job stability 13.5
Convenient company location 13
Skills matching 9
Friendly atmosphere 8
Promotion opportunities 2
Superiors recognition 2
No expectations 9.5

Source: *Young people entering the labour market*, [Wejście ludzi młodych na rynek pracy], Central Statistical Office, February 2010.
Although many elements are the same, they have a different level of importance for both of these groups. On the one hand, expectations of those who have a worse initial start capital, underline the importance of comfort, security and professional stability, but on the other hand, a need for job satisfaction. Better educated youth clearly evolves in their attitude to work. One part of them steel glorify the success and professional career (which was typical for the young entering the labour market in the 90s), the other one strive for work-life balance and looking for new kinds of gratification (job satisfaction, development). Work is very important to them. At the same time, their attitude to work does not mean that their private life is not equally important.

This means that the contemporary, well-educated Polish youth is less restrictive in their approach to career than the youth entering the labour market in the past decade, and reveals the symbolic shift from the style of functioning characteristic for the Yuppies generation to the one represented by the so called Y generation. In the West, yuppies were a symbol of success already in the 80s. In Poland, this approach to work emerged in the 90s, as western companies started to enter our market with their specific organisational culture and career patterns. Imitation of western patterns typical of Polish culture and new experiences with market economy sustained the attractiveness of such notion of success among Polish youth\(^1\). Longer contact with the free market and mass culture that stimulates consumer society is starting to make Polish youth more cautious about career and dedication that it requires. This subtle, but in a way substantial change of attitude is most perceptible among the academic youth, who have high expectations not only in relation to their career, but also to their private life. Professional career is still the goal number one for the future specialists and menagers and a greater commitment to the strategy of “battle field”, rather than to the strategy of “raid shelter” is more expected among them. It means that work-life-balance need will be an increasingly important subject of negotiations with employers.

This process will not be easy. Dictating conditions to employers does not bring results at the time of jobs shortage. Forecasts for Poland are moderately optimistic. In recent years, the number of vacancies was systematically decreasing, just as the number of enterprises that planned to increase the number of jobs\(^2\). Within three

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\(^1\) It is perfectly illustrated in a little volume entitled “Młodzi końca wieku” [The young at the end of the century], which is a collection of opinions of the generation representatives reaching adulthood in the first stage of Polish transformation.

\(^2\) The research was conducted in the form of a panel and it involved a representative group of 1600 employers and 2000 unemployed. It was conducted at half-yearly intervals (2\(^{nd}\) and 4\(^{th}\) quarter) and are related to issues connected with economic situation of enterprises, including wages policy and employment – see W. Gumula et al., *Rynek pracy w Polsce (wynagrodzenia i migracje w listopadzie 2009 r. na tle badań panelowych w latach 2006-2009)* [Labour market in Poland (remuneration and migration in November 2009 against panel studies in 2006-2009)], National Bank of Poland, Warsaw 2010.
years, the decrease amounted to more than twice and a half\(^1\). The forecast of net employment\(^2\) for the whole country amounted to +11%, which means that employers who plan to create new job offers have an advantage over those planning dismissals. Optimism regarding employment dominated over pessimism in all regions.

**Fig. 4.1. Vacancies in the years 2006-2009 Q4**

![Bar chart showing vacancies in the years 2006-2009 Q4](image)

**Fig. 4.2. Employment forecasts in the years 2006-2009 Q4**

![Bar chart showing employment forecasts in the years 2006-2009 Q4](image)

**Source:** Own work on the basis of W. Gumula et al., *Labour market in Poland (salary and migration in November 2009 – panel studies in 2006-2009)*, [Rynek pracy w Polsce (wynagrodzenia i migracje w listopadzie 2009 r. na tle badań panelowych w latach 2006-2009)], National Bank of Poland (NBP), Warsaw 2010.

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\(^1\) The research was conducted on a representative group of employers from 36 countries (62,000 HR managers and other persons responsible for HR policy in enterprises). The research has been conducted for 47 years, Poland joined the research in 2008. The research Barometr Manpower Perspektyw Zatrudnienia dla Polski was carried out on a representative group of 750 employees. Statistical error for such a group comes to +/- 3.6% – see *Badanie Barometr Manpower Perspektyw Zatrudnienia Polska. Raport z badania IV kwartał 2010 roku*. [Manpower barometer of employment prospects in Poland research. Research report IV quarter of 2010.]

\(^2\) The “forecast of net employment” parameter is a difference in percents between the number of employers planning to increase employment and the number of employers declaring decrease in employment in their department in the next quarter.
Apart from forecasted employment problems (limited number of jobs), problems resulting from sector changes caused by economic transformations should be anticipated. Sectors, in which young people have easily found employment so far (trade, gastronomy, hotel industry, finance industry) show moderate saturation. Other – slightly popular among the young, but in a way absorptive (agriculture, mining, construction industry) – display stable or falling trend [Economic trends. Services]. Job offers will come mainly from the public sector and industrial manufacturing.

Considering the trends, both cases are related to qualified employees, more and more sought-after on the market. It is an important piece of information for both the youth (who sometimes seem disappointed with the acquired education or who study easily accessible or popular majors), and the education sector (which, from the point of view of economic needs and market demands, balances on the verge of professional uselessness of most graduates). Such a great scale of mismatch, distinguishing Poland among OECD states, is not only a matter of inconsiderate educational choices of the young, but also of the educational sector’ offer, which is not prepared for appropriate reaction to changes in its environment.

Indicators of Activity and Inactivity on the Labour Market

In most EU countries, the transition from education to work is made at the age between 18 and 24. The average age is 20 [Youth in Europe 2009:107]. In Poland, in the years 2000-2007, the average age of entering the labour market, both for men and women, was 22. In the years 2008 and 2009, the average age started to rise, mainly due to worsening economic situation and poor offer on the labour market, which caused the youth to search for other strategies that would protect them from unemployment (continuation of study education, living at the expense of parents). Young women enter the labour market later than men. It is partly a result of their higher educational ambitions and more time spent in educational system, as well as partly of barriers in the labour market (discriminating practices of employers who do not want to employ women, who may turn out to be “young mothers”). For many women, family and a child are often the most important matter. Lack of adequate institutional support in childcare prevents many women from taking up work. Those who enter the labour market change the order of life goals: they put financial stability in the first place and the child in the second.

The young who enter the labour market today constitute a very diverse group, not only in terms of professional expectations; they are also different in terms of type and level of education, experience on the labour market, age or family situation. They are all different from people from previous decades – they are usually older,

1 It is calculated on the basis of the youngest age in which at least 50% of young people are present on the labour market. See Youth in Europe. A Statistical Portrait, Eurostat, European Commission, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg 2009.
much better educated, have greater social and intercultural experience as well as
different attitudes to life and work. All this shapes new situation, new problems and
current trends.

Let us start with the professional activity. Its ratio of the young, related to
the 15-34 age category\(^1\), is 60.7%. Professionally inactive people – not working and
not searching for a job – constitute 39.3% of people falling within this age category
[Young people entering the labour market 2010]. Narrowing analyses to persons aged
between 15 and 29 causes understatement of the activity ratio and overstatement
of the professional inactivity rate\(^2\) making them more or less equal. This places
professional activity of young Poles below the average of 27 EU states (Fig. 5) and
presents our country as a place where high enrolment ratios clearly differentiate
professional activity of younger and older youth (Fig. 6).

**Fig. 5. Average professional activity and inactivity ratios within the 15-29 population
in the EU states (2007)**

\(^1\) It indicated the percentage of population of this age that is at work or is searching for a job, therefore
this category includes the unemployed.

\(^2\) Many pieces of data – both in Polish and international analyses – include both ratios, yet, they rarely
include both of them at the same time. That is why both ratios may appear in the report.
As a result of this situation, the labour market is entered gradually. While a vast majority of 18-year-old people is still at school or university (Fig. 7), more than a half of their 6-year-older peers work or look for a job. The situation of 29-year-old people is most of all characterised by their professional activity. The more advanced their age is, the more intensive professional activity and higher employment ratios are indicated. The less advanced their age is, the greater number of professionally inactive people is observed, although students, especially those at universities, indicate increasingly higher professional activity. One fourth of students are active on the labour market, and more than a half of them work.

Better educated people are much more active on the labour market – they more often search for a job and get it. This is true both for Poland and for most European countries. The gap between those who are relatively the best and relatively the least educated is 30 percentage points, which is a lot. Yet, there is an even greater gap between men and women entering the labour market. While the gap between young Polish men with relatively highest education and those with relatively lowest education is 19 percentage points, this rate is 47 percentage points among young Polish women. This kind of differences occurs not only in Poland, yet, they are more visible in our country than in the 27 EU states [Eurostat, EU-LFS 2009: 106]. On the one hand, it is caused by higher enrolment ratios, yet, on the other hand, by cultural
patterns related to professional activity, according to which the role of a woman is to take care of their home and family. Family obligations are the basic reason for professional inactivity of young women.

Fig. 7. Status of young Poles aged 18, 24 and 29 (2007)


There is an alarming category (in all EU states) of young people classified as NEET – people who are not in Education, Employment nor Training. The NEET indicator shows the percentage of young people, who are at risk of permanent loss of contact with the labour market. These rates are different for different countries and the phenomenon itself can occur in different forms. There are people who remain in this category temporarily, while others for too long. Generally, the NEET category indicates a tendency to be permanent, yet, analyses of this phenomenon related to the years 2004-2007 indicate its visible decrease [Quintini, Martin 2006]. The most prone to remain in this category are people who give up education early, women and professionally inactive people (more than the unemployed).

According to the NEET, Poland is in the middle of the scale, yet, it is also one of the countries in which NEET rates are growing with age, level of education and are higher for women. It may be related to job offers, which are below the skills of young people, to obstacles encountered by women entering the labour market or – simply – to lack of job offers, which would enable young people to gain their first professional experience, which is necessary to get further employment. Research carried out in the OECD states indicates that the transition from the state of continuous professional inactivity to employment and promising career prospects is much more difficult for the young than the transition from low earnings to more favourable ones [Quintini, Martin 2006].
In this context, any solutions that eliminate the risk of permanent absence of young people from the labour market are crucial, although the example of solutions that increase flexibility of employment shows how difficult and complex the problem of ensuring work for the youth is today.

**First Job – Employment Rates, Incomes**

According to Central Statistical Office data, among people aged between 15 and 34 who have already finished (or suspended) education 89.6% were at work for at least 3 months. The remaining group (10.4%) consists of people who did not take up work after graduation. This shows that vast majority of young people (86.5%) did not work during their education and, at the same time, had high expectations related to employment. The conclusion is that both lack of work experience during education and high expectations related to the first job are the reasons for a difficulty to find one. The employment rate among the young was 54.2% in 2009, which means that more than a half of people worked at that time. Professional activity increases with the number of graduates (the 25-29 age group), in which employment rate increases from 50% to 80% (Fig. 8). Nevertheless, these rates place Poland among countries without high or easily-available job opportunities.

**Fig. 8. Young people’s employment rate – Poland vs. EU**


The first job is usually acquired through direct contact with an employer (almost 40% of cases). The second effective way is finding a job with the help of family or friends (almost 30%). The third most effective source are press and Internet
Young Poles - Work and Entering the Labour Market

advertisements (about 10%), which are definitely underused, according to the youth. Institutional channels (employment offices, universities, schools) are extremely ineffective in supporting people in their search for a job [Young people entering the labour market 2010].

Fig. 9. Share of big cities in creation of first jobs in the years 2000-2009

![Pie chart showing the distribution of first jobs created in big cities.]

Other towns and cities: 66
Warsaw: 45
Cracow: 5
Wroclaw: 4
Poznan: 3
Lodz: 3
Katowce: 2


The most youth-friendly are markets in big urban areas and their surroundings (Fig. 9). Top positions are occupied by Polish cities, which together provide job opportunities for 34% of young people at work. This shows significant differences between regions, since labour markets in rural provinces and districts, especially the Northern Region and the Eastern Region, are less attractive. Although large urban areas are more attractive to young people, many of them would not mind working and living in the countryside. The situation in Poland in this respect has changed significantly, therefore taking advantage of this fact, though expensive due to the necessity for regional investments, could bring about interesting transformation of the Polish civilization picture.

Apart from the difficulties in finding a job, young people entering the labour market must expect the lowest incomes. Although in the last decade, systematic increase of average incomes in this group has been observed, it is still very low and usually come in the 2nd or 3rd quantile in the range of general public’s incomes. Women are definitely harmed in this respect from the very beginning of their career (Fig. 10). Salary, as well as first job offers, vary from region to region, which is visible from
different points of view. There is a clear boundary between rural and urban labour markets. The average difference between salaries is PLN 200, to the advantage of those working in a town or city. Large urban areas are definitely in the lead.

**Fig. 10. Median value and the average first salary in 2009**

![Graph showing median value and average first salary](image)


The analysis of careers of young people taking up their first jobs in comparison to all people at work indicates differences, which gradually abate. So far, it has usually taken 7 years for young employees to come out of the worst paid category. The transition from lower to higher quadriles is gradual, yet, the extending crisis on the labour market may not only slow down the dynamics of this transition, but also cause deepening of differences in salaries between older and younger generation.

The factor that has a significant influence on incomes – already at the beginning of the career – is the industry, in which the young find employment. The best salaries are offered by the IT and telecommunication industries (almost gross PLN 4000). The second position is occupied by insurance and banking sectors (PLN 3500), which are followed by industrial branches (more than PLN 3000) and services – communication, trade (more than PLN 3000). The least attractive salaries are offered by the public sector (less than PLN 2500), in which education and occupies the lowest position. A vast majority of 20-year-olds work as regular employees (44%) or specialists (41.6%). Only few are able to reach the level of management (1.3%) and are paid two or three times more than regular employees from the same age category (Fig. 11). In 2009, every tenth of them earned more than PLN 20.500 monthly.

A half of young people taking up work perform a job that fully or partially match their learned profession. Those who do not work in their learned profession most often (in 2/3 of cases) did not decide about it themselves – it was caused by their failure to find a job that would match their qualifications. The greatest chance to find a job matching the learned profession is observed among people with high
qualifications. Among people with the Ph.D. title it is almost 100%. A university diploma provides such a guarantee to only two thirds of young people. The least chance to perform the learned profession is observed among people with secondary education, especially general secondary and post-secondary education. Graduates of vocational schools, whose qualifications are in demand on the market, enjoy greater chances to find a job in their profession.

**Fig. 11. Salaries for persons aged 20-29 on each level of management**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Management</th>
<th>Regular employee</th>
<th>Specialist</th>
<th>Manager</th>
<th>Director / Management Board</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>4100</td>
<td>6500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Unemployment and Other Social Statuses

As I said in today's societies, work and profession have become central elements of people's lives. Together with the family they provide people with “internal stability” and naturally get them involved in broader social connections. People losing their jobs are lose not only the foundations of their lives, but also their internal backbone and the possibility of wider social interaction [Beck 2002: 207-208]. Unemployment, which was totally unknown to the generation of communist regime, today, is a natural element of the Polish social picture. The risk of unemployment affects most of all young people. For many years, Poland has been one of the countries in which unemployment rates among the youth (numbers and indices) are high. Although they have been reduced significantly (and do not have a long-term unemployment character), they are still too high.

The most intense unemployment is observed among the youngest age categories, i.e. 18-19; it is slightly less among people aged 20-24 (Table 1). Both groups are dominated by graduates, who are mostly affected by unemployment (the aggregate unemployment rate for persons aged 18-24 is 21.4%). Graduates of secondary schools are twice more often exposed to unemployment than graduates of universities (Table 1).
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Fig. 12. Unemployment rate in the 15-24 age group in EU states (2007 and 2010)

Source: Eurostat.

Table 1

Representatives of selected groups according to professional activity, including students and graduates – 2nd quarter of 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Detailed list</th>
<th>In total</th>
<th>Professionally active</th>
<th>Professionally inactive</th>
<th>Professionally active rate</th>
<th>Employment rate</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in total</td>
<td>in total</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General population aged 15 and above</td>
<td>31 454</td>
<td>17 202</td>
<td>15 847</td>
<td>1355</td>
<td>14 253</td>
<td>54.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in %</td>
<td>in %</td>
<td>in %</td>
<td>in %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Including population of working age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working age</td>
<td>23 806</td>
<td>16 785</td>
<td>15 438</td>
<td>1347</td>
<td>7021</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17 year old</td>
<td>1452</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1426</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>2746</td>
<td>1540</td>
<td>1252</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>1207</td>
<td>56.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>3063</td>
<td>2570</td>
<td>2332</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>83.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34 years old</td>
<td>2926</td>
<td>2534</td>
<td>2370</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>86.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Detailed list</th>
<th>In total</th>
<th>Professionally active</th>
<th>Professionally inactive</th>
<th>Professional activity rate</th>
<th>Employment rate</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in thousands</td>
<td>in %</td>
<td>in %</td>
<td>in %</td>
<td>in %</td>
<td>in %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Including general population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People aged 15-34 years old</td>
<td>11 253</td>
<td>6829</td>
<td>6095</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>4425</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduates (15-30 year old)</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students (15-24 years old)</td>
<td>4383</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>3220</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students (15-34 years old)</td>
<td>4240</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>3210</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A university diploma, which until recently provided good social opportunities, is becoming less and less valuable today and does not even provide a guarantee of getting a job. It is caused by many factors – high labour market saturation with graduates of universities, skills-market requirements mismatch (too many of students of arts and social sciences), mass character of education, which does not translate into its good quality, education market segmentation (division into public and private schools, with the former issuing valued diplomas and the latter – less prestigious) or supply factors (lack of job offers). Among people who cannot find a job, there are graduates of faculties commonly recognized as the highly guaranting finding a job (economy, marketing, law), graduates of arts and social sciences as well as graduates from promoted faculties (science, life science) or those related to agriculture. Employers became more interested in graduates from health science.

Compared to the older generation, the structure of young professionally active people is changing (Fig. 13). Most of all, there was a significant shift of the employment centre of gravity towards the private sector, which has become the main provider of work to the young. On average, a half of people aged 25+ find employment there (and three times less in the public sector).

At the same time, few young people (6.5%) operate in the private sector as employers and, what is more, entrepreneurship becomes more rare among younger representatives of the youth (2 to 3%). It does not have to mean that the young are not interested in running their own business (for years, researches have been indicating
the opposite trend), but it can be caused by lack of appropriate atmosphere, simplified procedures, starting capital\(^1\), but the attitudes of young people (not patient enough, accustomed to quick gratification, afraid of risk) as well.

**Fig. 13. Social and professional status of young people aged 23-29**

Farmers, who constitute ca. 13% of the population and 15% of professionally active people in Poland, are represented two and a half times more rarely among the young. This means that this profession is increasingly less popular among the youth. Only 0.2% in the 1990s and 0.4% of the currently studying youth declares willingness

\(^1\) The importance of this phenomenon has been confirmed by a study conducted among representatives of the management in SME. The research was conducted on a representative group of 600 managers and 1200 regular employees at SME, extended by 30 interviews with managers. The research was ordered by the Polish Agency for Enterprise Development (PARP) and conducted by the PSDB Sp. z o.o. and Quality Watch Sp. z o.o. consortium.
to be farmers [Wasielewski 2010]. In fact, more young people return to the countryside to work on a farm. These are people who cannot find employment in the city. Most of them come from poor or average farms, for whom work on a farm creates an illusion of usefulness and secure existence. Presence of this trend is confirmed by hidden unemployment rates in the countryside [Szafraniec 2004].

The third trend that is worth mentioning is the high percentage of young professionally inactive people (from 25 to 30% of the population in different age categories) whose activity in the educational system is weakening with age. This alarming tendency hides human resources that could change the structure of Polish society. This group – except for people that continue their education – consists mainly of young women, who remain outside the labour market due to their family and home duties (small children care) and men (officially disable or sick). However, these clarifications do not seem to be reliable (the data shows much higher values than the average rates for population) and they actually reveal data related to those living at the state’s expense.

Dual Labour Market – Double Regulations. Influence for the Employment of Youth

For decades, open unemployment constituted the reverse of the standardized full-time employment. Unemployment rates were the most meaningful proves of labour market irregularities and and was regarded as the greatest threat. However, as a result of civilization changes, this standardized system of full-time employment is becoming more and more fragile and liquid. As Ulrich Beck wrote (already in mid 1980s), its three pillars are unstable: labour law, work place and working hours. Thus, the boundaries between work and lack of work become liquid. Changeable, pluralist forms of employment have become dominating. Unemployment has been integrated with the system of partial employment. A unified, full employment was changed into generalization of employment uncertainty, which was unknown to the “old” system of industrial society [Beck 2002: 210-212].

In the previous decade, many European countries observed great increase of stop-gap (limited in time, temporary) employment. They were introduced due to possible economic advantages, resulting from increased flexibility of labour markets (Table 2).

In the 1980s and 1990s, high and permanent unemployment rates observed in some EU states were often reasoned by too rigorous legislation protecting permanent employment. As a result, academic circles and international organisations more and more often supported the idea of increasing labour market flexibility. They suggested introducing an open (temporary) contracts model and, at the same time, maintaining strict regulations related to permanent employment. After some time, temporary employed people became a dominant group, consisting of the youngest employees. In some countries, this temporary form of employment exceeds 60% of all employees.
Table 2

Percentage of temporary contracts among employees of different age categories – EU countries, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>15 to 24 years old</th>
<th>25 to 49 years old</th>
<th>50 to 64 years old</th>
<th>15 to 64 years old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>5M</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UE-27 states</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Temporary contracts – especially in the initial period – caused visible increase of the employment rate (honey moon effect). However, it soon led to the formation of a double (divided into segments) labour market. One of them is occupied by full-time employees oriented to permanent employment, as well as career offering promotion and increased incomes (so called insiders). The second one – by temporary employees, whose situation is unstable, they are threatened with unemployment and poor prospects for professional promotion (so called outsiders). Dual labour market is becoming a particularly serious problem to young people, since it can cause that they will be stuck in the role of permanent intern.

Labour market segmentation, which causes that young people are treated as secondary employees, also means worse employment conditions and worse professional development prospects. According to the OECD calculations, working hours of temporary employees is much longer than those of full-time employees. Temporarily employed people have limited access to trainings funded by companies (short-term contract discourages employers to invest in “flowing” human capital). Segmentation is also important in terms of remuneration, and it differentiates the level of incomes of all people at work. The results of the Labour Force Survey show that the division into temporary and full-time employment is made on the basis of qualifications (as well as training possibilities) and the period from the completion of education. Temporary contracts are more and more often signed by graduates who leave school early and by unskilled youth. Usually, after five years from completion of school, the percentage of temporary jobs against the total number of employment contracts decreases.

In many countries the probability of transition from temporary to full-time employment is low. According to the European Commission experts, the situation in Poland is hard to predict, since it represents unusual labour market conditions [Employment in Europe 2010: 151]. At the turn of the 1990s and 2000, the unemployment level of almost 20% maintained in our country for a few years, but later its significant decreases have been observed. could have result from various factors that are difficult to determine explicitly (economic and extra economic, such as economic migration abroad). The analysis of current trends is very important here and it can help us avoid oversimplified predictions, e.g. young Poles’ average incomes are higher than in older groups. They work more and harder, but job on several contracts results visibly with better incomes [Szafraniec 2011: 236-239].

Studies carried out among Polish entrepreneurs in November 2009 do not predict any large problem on the labour market in the future, yet, they are not quite positive either. The results indicate slight growth of enterprises’ incomes, which, however, will not translate into employment growth (such plans were declared by 21% of entrepreneurs at the end of 2009, while in 2006-2007 – between 40% and 48%) or the level of remunerations offered (as stated by 71% entrepreneurs) [Gumula 2010: 13-16]. These and other phenomena are symptoms of labour market stagnation rather than economic recovery. As a consequence, they predict another increase of unemployment rate. All these factors will affect most of all young employees, especially those entering the labour market.
Influence of Global Crisis on Youth Employment and Social Anxiety

Both the percentage of young people among labour force and employment rates for youth are decreasing. Economic recession is reflected in the biggest – since the time of the “great crisis” – cohort of unemployed youth. In the climax of the crisis (2007-2009), the unemployment rate among young people (in the global scale) revealed its largest annual growth – from 11.9% to 13%, reversing the pre-crisis trends, based on systematic, since 2002, employment fall among the youth.

![Fig. 14. Youth and adult unemployment rates – global indices](image)


Its rates turned out to be more sensitive to economic shocks than unemployment rates among adults (Fig. 14). In 2008, the unemployment rate among the youth was 12.1% and 4.3% among adults. This means that young people have three time less chances of becoming unemployed. Moreover, unemployment rates are not the only indicators of “injustice between generations”. Young people much more often experience other negative consequences of the economic crisis: it is more probable that they will be among the group of workers employed on worse legal and financial conditions. The young constitute 24% of all poor employees and 18.1% of total global employment. According to MOP, in 2008, 152 million of young employees lived in poor families (with per capita expenses less than US$ 1.25 per day), while in 1998 there were 234 million employed young people. In 2008, the poverty rate among the employed youth – with incomes amounting to US$ 1.25 – covered 28.1% of employed young people.
Every region is affected by the crisis in a different way (Fig. 15). In developed countries (and EU), the climax of the crisis was observed in 2008-2009 – in this period young people from there were affected by the crisis the most (the unemployment rate was 17.1%). No other regions reached the unemployment growth of almost 4.6 and 3.5 percentage points, which was observed in 2008 and 2009 in Europe. In 2007, developed countries and the EU had the sixth (counting from the highest) unemployment rate for youth, and in 2009, they occupied the fourth position (after Eastern European, Middle Eastern and North African countries).

**Fig. 15. Unemployment rate among the youth according to regions (1991-2011)**

Nowadays countries with numerous young population create so called instability curve (South America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East, Central and East and Central Asia) and problems of young people from there will be confronted with the problems of aging societies of the western world. The Arab Winter and Summer 2011 events, the actors of which were most of all young people demanding better development conditions and more employment opportunities, foreshadow serious political changes. This course of events may radically increase migration flows, yet, intercultural tensions as well [Poland 2030. The third wave of modernity 2011]. The Occupy Wall Street movement (in US) or Indignados movement (in European countries) demonstrated the dangerously high temperature of youth discontent which should be taken as a signal of serious problems ahead.
Challenges faced by the youth, especially in Europe, as a result of the crisis are not motivating. People present on the labour market compete with the increasing number of persons looking for employment, while there are less and less job offers. Searching time is increasingly longer. The shock deepens unemployment among well-educated youth, who, before the crisis, had a greater guarantee to enter the labour market easily.

**Direct and Long-Term Consequences of The Labour Markets Crisis for Youth**

One of more direct reactions of youth to the crisis is longer period of education, which seems to be more reasonable than the risk of failure on the labour market. Another phenomenon is increase of rates related to chaotic (not following any career path pattern) transition to the labour market – with greater number of unemployment periods or periods of temporary or non-optimal employment (as a result of smaller number of job offers and greater competitiveness among people searching for a job). Certain pathologies may occur here, mainly among the youth entering the market during the crisis (early use of unemployment benefits and other forms of governmental support). This, in turn, may cause spread of the opinion that a young person searching for a job can count on the government and that the role of the state is to interfere into the labour market [Giuliano 2004].

Among more distant consequences, the most serious is youth unemployment. The predictions in this respect are not optimistic – it is expected that unemployment prospects are more probable than employment growth [Kahn 2010: 1-15]. Although one can suppose that the unemployed youth will reduce their payment demands and accept less attractive job offers, it can also be expected that they will be helpless in the face of new threats. Long-term consequences of the crisis will most affect lower-educated youth entering the labour market. This does not necessarily mean that well-educated young people will not be affected by the consequences of the crisis [Employment Outlook 2010]. However, the worst danger is that well-educated youth, who were supposed to be a drive for civilization development, can become its victim (the “lost generation” effect). In the case of the unskilled youth, crisis situations mean longer queues to a limited number of works that do not require any qualifications, increased long-term unemployment and hosts of people discouraged by fruitless search for employment. These young people are threatened with permanent drop out of the labour market and with dependency on the state for the rest of their lives. This group is also mostly associated with dangers such as crime growth, risk behaviours, physical and mental health problems, political exclusion [Szafraniec 2011: 307-360].
Prospects for Labour Market Normalization in Favour of Youth

Are there any indications of more optimistic predictions? The world economy is on a very early stage of normalization after the shock that occurred at the turn of 2008 and 2009. Experts point out that even if the forecasts will be optimistic, the situation on world labour markets will still be tense. Despite economic growth, global unemployment will be increasing, which makes us believe that labour market normalization will be made with delay. ILO predicted continuation of unemployment growth among young people throughout the world and its moderate fall in 2011 to the level of 12.7%. Ratios for developed and EU countries show a fall by 0.9 percentage point, yet, the expected ratio (18.2%) would be still higher than before the crisis. One can predict that labour markets improvement processes will be slower than in the case of adults as well as more uncertain, since greater flexibility of youth unemployment rates during the economic crisis weakens the basis for making predictions.

The situation will be particularly difficult in developed countries. An educated unemployed person has increasingly higher demands and during the crisis, there is a great chance that they will perform work that does not match their skills and desired career path. Young people prepared to develop the economy will have to fight for their survival within conditions in which there is a limited number of job offers and poor protection against poverty. The danger is that with the feeling of having fewer opportunities than the previous generation, the young may become convinced that the chance for a better life was wasted not by themselves, but by forces beyond their control. In such conditions, disrelishes and anxiety of the youth become a real threat, therefore the role of wise governing bodies is invaluable.

Undoubtedly, Poland is a developed country with its social curiosities visible in ambitious expectations of the youth and their great disappointment. Although during the times of the crisis everyone has learned humbleness, we never know for how long and whether effectively. It seems that we are at a very important, difficult and, at the same time, dangerous point. The young do not lose their hope yet, but the extending stagnation on the labour market may cause marasm, aggression and retreat that will be difficult to deal with.

Summary

The transition from education to employment is a very important and difficult process. Work is not only a source of income or satisfaction. It is most of all the condition for gaining independence and autonomy – values that are the most important for youth. Finding a job and having regular incomes influence the possibility to realize other plans and life goals – starting their own families, maintaining certain
standard of life, arranging one’s leisure time and keeping good health. At the same
time, demographic and macroeconomic conditions cause that entering the labour
market and finding employment are particularly difficult. The young are the main
victims of this situation. The prospects are not very optimistic either. The greatest
fear is related to the possibility of generating so called “lost generation” of young,
well-educated people, who were supposed to drive the development of the civilization,
but due to the recession, they are not present on the labour market.

Young Poles enter the labour market later than the youth in other EU states,
slightly more often study and work simultaneously and they include more people who
neither study, nor work, which is true particularly for women. This is caused, on the
one hand, by their higher educational activity and, on the other one, by traditional
division of roles, according to which women are supposed to take care of the family
and home.

The greatest problems with employment affect unskilled persons or graduates
(only a half of them are at work). The situation improves significantly among people
above 25 – employment rates increase to 82% and to more than 90% among people
with higher education. Young people most often find employment in the private
sector, which operates mainly in large agglomerations.

For years, the number of unemployed people was the most meaningful indicator
of social problems. Today, due to civilization changes, the traditional employment
system is being replaced by various atypical forms, and the greatest threat is related
to employment instability. Legal measures, which were supposed to make the labour
market more flexible and decrease unemployment rates, led to its segmentation.

Temporary employment facilitates the transition from education to the world
of work, but in the same time increases the risk of uncertain start into adulthood as
well. The young who take up temporary work more often live with parents, postpone
the moment of reaching independence or starting their own families and are not
credible borrowers.

The generation which as the first one grew up in the conditions of market
economy, has not been a matter of particular importance to the state so far. They had
a happy childhood thanks to their parents and family support networks, which had to
deal with the lack of public nurseries and kindergartens. Their educational aspirations,
which increased significantly in the 1990s, were carried out in the education system
that started to undergo reforms when they were already leaving school. Those who
decided to go to universities must have dealt with not well-thought-out and often
poor quality offers of teaching. When they were trying to enter the labour market, they
found out that their knowledge and qualifications are not helpful in finding job. The
prospect of “lost generation” may remain hypothetical if the problem of employment
will become a subject of the government policy. Without this young people will not
be able to cope themselves with them.
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NEGLECTED EDUCATION – VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN POLAND

Keywords: vocational training, secondary school, educational career and aspirations

The changes in secondary education that have been taking place in Poland since early 1990s have principally consisted in the constriction of vocational schooling (chiefly basic vocational, but secondary vocational as well) and the promotion of general secondary schooling. The observable transformations of the structure of secondary education have essentially had three sources. First, the rise in educational aspirations. Second, the restructuring of economy – the collapse of a number of companies which comprised a natural base for vocationally trained staff. And last but not least, the cost of vocational training substantially exceeds that of general secondary education (school laboratories, workshops, etc.) One may assume that, on one hand, the three aforementioned factors have provided ample justification for the changes that have taken place in secondary education. On the other, one cannot fail to notice the shortsightedness of both central authorities, and the parents who choose general secondary schooling for their children, which fact has little or no bearing on the demands of the local labour market.

The phrase *neglected education* used for the title of the present paper naturally prompts the question – Who by? The simplest of all possible answers is education authorities. Notwithstanding the situation of labour market in modern society, the authorities have accepted those changes leading to the dissemination of professions, the demand on which dwindled as early as the first decade of transformational changes. On the other hand, the activities of education authorities were nothing less than a response to the demands of educational market (aspiring young generation). Under the existing conditions, where insufficient funds on education co-exist with the dynamics of changes in modern societies (economic crisis of the early 2000s, Poland’s accession to the EU and the opening-up of labour markets in Western Europe), any attempts to anticipate the situation on labour markets and delineating an educational policy seem doomed to failure.
The primary objective of the present paper is the analysis of changes that have been taking place in secondary schooling in Poland since 1989, with special regard to vocational and basic vocational schools. A closer examination of the educational choices made by young people at the first threshold of selection (after elementary school, and after the reform of 1999 – lower secondary school) lays the foundations for an attempt to display the mechanisms which affect what secondary education has been like over the past twenty years. The assumed perspective does not take into consideration the entities that have taken part in the process of structural changes in education, other than schoolchildren. The role of other entities, such as the ministry of education and local governments which have custody over schools, in the process of structural transformation of secondary education can be deducted indirectly. The deliberations of the present study have been inextricably connected to the socio-economic changes which have been taking place in Polish society since early 1990s and to the underestimated demographic characteristics.

The Description of Sources

The sources for the present study are grounded in the existing data and own research. First quoted source is the Central Statistical Office, which enables the analysis of the dynamics of changes in Polish secondary education since 1989. The second source is the research carried out among first grade pupils of secondary schools. This research is a direct continuation of the so-called Toruń research which was pioneered by Zbigniew Kwieciński 40 years ago. In the early 1970s a research among the pupils of the final grade of primary schools was started in one of the regions of Poland. The objective of the research was to diagnose what choices the pupils made in relation to their further education. One year later, the same community were put under scrutiny to gauge the degree of implementation of their educational plans. A similar research was conducted on the same community several times later until 1998. In mid 1980s, a concurrent study on yet another population of secondary school first grade pupils was carried out, which gave ground to comparative analysis of the dynamics of selection, educational paths and aspiration of the young generation. [see Kwieciński 2002]. The same procedure – a research among the population of first grade pupils – was repeated in 1998, 2003 and 2009 [see Domalewski, Mikiewicz 2004]. The results of the last two researches, carried out by the author of the present study, form the source foundation for this article. The object of the research herein, as in the previous researches, were social and educational selections on the threshold of secondary schooling, educational and professional aspirations of pupils.
Demographic, Social and Economic Contexts for Education to Operate

The undergoing changes in secondary schooling in Poland since 1990, which consisted in disseminating education in high schools and vocational schools, were occurring in extraordinary demographic circumstances. At the onset of systemic changes the population aged between 15 and 19 (corresponding to secondary level of education) amounted to 2.82 million in 1990. 10 years later (in 2000) the population of the same age group increased by 18.6% and amounted to 3.34 million. It was not until the turn of the century that the 15-19 population dwindled, although the number of young people attending secondary schools in 2005 was still higher than at the beginning of systemic changes. It follows that the system of education in Poland, and secondary schooling in particular (including vocational schools), was exposed to enormous demographic pressure (Fig. 1). Along with the occurring changes, the number of pupils who entered education in secondary schools increased. The structure of secondary education which had been inherited from the former political system, where, predominantly, training in vocational and basic vocational schools was taking place against the background of restructuring economy from central planning to free market, could not ensure an educational offer for the increasing number of young people. The closures of companies, which formed a natural foundation for vocational training, were accompanied by an increase in the number of young people aged between 15 and 19, forming a secondary schooling age group. The situation generated tensions between the structure of secondary schooling (with the dominant position of vocational training) and the base for practical vocational training, which had formerly been run by companies. An increasing number of pupils who entered education in vocational schools was faced with a lower quality offer of practical vocational training.

More, the tensions between vocational schooling and its natural base for practical training, set against the background of intense demographic pressure, were undergoing in the time of abrupt changes in Polish society, which consisted in compensating for the underdevelopment inherited from the previous era.

The structure of education in the society was one of such underdevelopments. The National Census of 1988 reveals that as few as 5% of Polish society held a university degree and another 22% – a certificate of secondary education. The changes that occurred after 1990, principally in the economic sphere, caused an increase in the demand for highly qualified staff. At the onset of systemic transformation higher education in Poland guaranteed not only professional, but also personal success (prestige, high income, professional status) Together with the restructuring of economy, a substantial part of Polish society with elementary professional qualifications, dropped out of the mainstream of changes, which, not uncommonly, contributed to their social, material and cultural exclusion. Vocational training began to be associated with a road to certain unemployment in the society’s consciousness, and quickly
Neglected Education – Vocational Training in Poland

gained a low-value status. This very consciousness affected the new and the old generation’s educational aspirations who began to perceive education not so much as a success, but as a shield against social and material exclusion.

Fig. 1. Changes in population numbers among people in the age group of 15 to 19 in Poland and the dynamics of changes in population numbers (shown as %) between 1980 and 2011

Source: Self-reported data based on GUS statistics (Central Statistical Office).

Fig. 2. The percentage of parents who wished university education for their daughters versus the place of residence

Source: CBOS 2009.
Figure 2 demonstrates the dynamics of educational aspirations among the adult part of Polish society. As recently as in 1993, 64% of parents wished university education for their daughters (in reference to sons, the percentage was 65%). However, by mid 1990s the percentage increased to 73%, only to exceed 80% by 2009 (in the case of daughters 86% and sons 84%). Yet clearly, environmental differences come to light when considering parental aspirations towards their children. During the first years of systemic changes in Poland (1993), 55% of rural and 72% of urban populations (cities over 500,000 inhabitants) wished university education for their daughters. In the case of sons the percentages were 56 and 75% respectively (CBOS 2009).

What is more, the increase in educational aspirations of adult generation took place in all environments, also in rural areas, where parents’ expectations of their children have always been less ambitious. In the year 2009, 84% of rural population and 91% of urban population (cities of more than 500,000 inhabitants) wish university degree for their daughters (in the case of sons the percentages are comparable). Whereas in the early 1990s the gap between urban and rural populations in the sphere of educational aspirations amounted to 17%, it dropped to only 7% in the late 2000s (CBOS 2009).

Therefore, the system of education in the first decade of systemic changes in Poland was under an overwhelming influence of the increasing number of young people in school age (population boom) on one hand, and growing educational aspirations of both younger and older generation on the other. The increasing number of secondary school graduates, characterized by growing educational aspirations, competed for seats in secondary level schools, whose structure was inadequate as far as young people’s expectations and changing economy were concerned. A high demand for specialists in all fields (with a university degree) in that period is understandable if we consider the fact that in the late 1980s (not long before systemic changes were to occur) a mere 5% of Polish society held a university degree (National Census 1988). In that time, a university diploma did not merely guarantee a professional success, but also contributed to a personal success, as it was a springboard for a higher social status in the dynamically changing social structure. Simultaneously, leaving educational system and holding a vocational school diploma meant a straight road to unemployment. The restructuring of economy, which led to the liquidation of several branches of industry that were a foundation for vocational training, caused the qualifications and skills acquired in vocational schools non-applicable to the demands of the labour market.

Outside the demographic (a growing number of young people in school age) and social (increasing educational aspirations of Polish society) contexts, it is essential to note the economic context. The specificity of vocational training is linked to the provision of a pupil with competence and skills which require adequate infrastructure. Apprenticeship must not be carried out in separation with its practical aspect. However, the natural base for vocational training i.e. companies were largely liquidated as a consequence of economic restructuring. The existing infrastructure, as represented by school workshops, was, in turn, technologically inadequate to meet
the requirements of economy. As a consequence, vocational schools were left stranded, with no infrastructure that would enable pupils to gain necessary skills in order to work professionally in restructured companies. This situation stemmed from the nature of systemic changes which occurred in the conditions of financial deficiency. Vocational training, just as the entire educational system, underwent changes which occurred with inadequate budgetary funding.

Yet it is vocational training that puts the heaviest pecuniary strain on the central budget, as it is the most expensive of all forms of education. Fig. 3 demonstrates unitary education cost in different types of higher secondary schools. The highest costs per one pupil exist in reference to vocational schools (both vocational and basic vocational schools), which follows from the need to maintain school infrastructure that is needed to ensure apprenticeship. In 2006 an average cost of education of a vocational school pupil was 5,424 PLN, whereas that of a general secondary school pupil was 1,300 PLN lower (4,124 PLN). The state, with massive financial problems already, had to face a growing number of young people who entered education in secondary schools on one hand, and increasing educational aspirations in the society on the other. With insufficient pecuniary resources to be earmarked for education, and a growing number of school-age young people and their increasing educational aspirations, which were taking place against the background of a constantly changing labour market, a decision on popularizing education on a higher secondary and university level was made. The decision was to meet social expectations, as well as the needs of society that was experiencing economic changes.

The Dynamics of Secondary Schooling Structure in Poland

It is important to remember that the changes in the structure of secondary schooling in Poland were initiated by grassroots initiatives rather than reform-based, as reforms had not been made until 1999. An increasing demand for general secondary schooling caused school principals in consultation with Local Education Authorities, with a silent consent of The Ministry of Education, to bring to existence high schools on the premises of elementary schools and vocational schools.

Therefore, the aforementioned changes in the structure of secondary schooling, which have continued since the early 1990s, were effected due to the rising aspirations of the younger generation (originating also from rural areas) whose growing majority became interested in continuing their education in schools giving the opportunity to study at universities. As mentioned before, this alteration was made possible by increasing the accessibility of high schools and vocational schools. Simultaneously, the accessibility of universities increased too. In the year 1990, 12.5% of the youth aged 19-24 continued their education at universities. In the early 2000s, the figure grew to 50%.

However, the growing interest in secondary and tertiary education was brought to a halt by mid 2000s, which was reflected in the changes in secondary schooling structure and the decrease in the number of colleges. The influx of pupils to secondary has become stable ever since, with the number of basic vocational school candidates growing. The renaissance of basic vocational schools was triggered by two factors. Firstly, the labour market became replete with college graduates. As few as five years back, a college diploma would have been an asset that would allow a candidate to find attractive employment. At this point, however, the worth of a college diploma had devalued considerably, resulting in massive employment difficulties for the graduates (economists, lawyers, humanities graduates) who could not find professions in accordance with their education. The situation was aggravated by a hiatus in economic development in Poland at the dawn of the new century.

Secondly, Poland’s accession to the EU played its part in the decreasing number of college students. The youth were convinced that the new labour markets that were opened by other European countries, would favour workers with basic vocational school skills rather than college graduates. The dissemination of secondary and tertiary schooling contributed to the inflation of college degrees. Higher education ceased to be a factor enabling to attain a position in the social structure. Admittedly, college graduates relatively seldom experience unemployment, but the new EU labour markets have brought the demand for manual working skills and services. At the same time, the changes in educational system that took place in the 1990s marginalized vocational training. The youth appear to be keen observers of the surrounding reality, the labour market in particular. The new labour opportunities were reflected in the change of educational aspirations and also in the structure of secondary schooling.
Fig. 4. The dynamics of the structure of secondary schooling in Poland in years 1990-2009


Fig. 5. The coefficients of net schooling in higher secondary schools in the school year of 2008/2009

Source: Education in 2008/09 School Year, GUS (Central Statistical Office), Warsaw.
Irrespective of all, changes in the structure of secondary schooling have been taking place under the influence of rising educational aspirations of young generation with the concurrent lack of acknowledging the needs of local and regional labour markets. Fig. 5 demonstrates coefficients of net schooling in different types of higher secondary schools. In each region vast majority of young people attend secondary schools. At the same time, the regional labour market is widely diversified. Central and Eastern Poland (except for big cities) are mostly agricultural regions with little demand for highly qualified staff. However, if we were to compare the coefficients of schooling, the results show they are higher than in Western Poland where the non-agricultural sector is much more strongly developed.

**Fig. 6. Pupils according to the most popular faculties in basic vocational schools in the school year of 2010/2011**

![Bar chart showing the distribution of pupils by major and gender.](image)

Source: *Education in 2008/09 School Year, GUS (Central Statistical Office), Warsaw.*

A separate problem lies in educational choices made by young people. Fig. 6 demonstrates 5 most popular majors in basic vocational schools according to International Standard Classification of Education. From among the selected group, two of the majors are particularly noteworthy: ‘public services’, which largely encompasses hotel industry related jobs and ‘economic and administrative’. From the point of view of basic vocational training, these faculties, regardless of having attractive names, will not give many opportunities for future employment. On the other hand though, the results of *Youth 2011* report point to the fact that the chances of employment in the acquired profession are higher for basic vocational schools graduates than secondary and post-secondary school graduates. (*Youth 2011: 157*). Labour market proves to be “an exposer” of lack of pragmatism in secondary schooling changes in Poland after 1990.
Social and Educational Descriptions of Secondary School Pupils

Who are those young people who enter education in various types of higher secondary schools. What are their elementary social and educational descriptions? At this juncture, we will relate to the results of empirical research carried out on a population of first grade pupils from higher secondary schools of a Polish city of Toruń, situated in the region of average social and economic description. The results presented herein come from the researches carried out in 2003 and 2009.

Based on the information about the education of both parents, a variable ‘status of the family of origin’ has been analogically compiled for the data of both periods. The variable took on 3 values: low, medium, high. The ‘low’ status was ascribed to the pupils’ families where one parent could boast at least secondary education and the other – lower than secondary. In this category, a situation where both parents had basic vocational training dominated. The ‘medium’ status was reserved for those pupils under examination whose at least one parent had secondary education and the other – not lower than basic vocational. In this group, a situation where both parents had secondary education was the commonest. The ‘high’ status was attributed to the pupils whose at least one parent was a university diploma holder. In the case where the educational status of only one parent was known, the status was ascribed basing on that information. In relation to the 2003 data, the procedure could apply to 98.6% of pupils’ families, whereas in the case of the 2009 data – 92.4%.

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social status of the family of origin</th>
<th>Research year</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td></td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Self-reported data, Toruń 2003 and 2009.

Between 2003 and 2009, the structure of the families’ social status in Toruń was reversed. In 2003, nearly every third pupil came from a low social status family. 6 years later, it was every fifth. At the same time, the percentage of high social status families increased from 18 to 27%, with an invariable contribution of medium social status families. The changes are the consequence of the educational boom that has been taking place since early 1990s. Higher secondary school pupils in 2003 are the generation of 1987, whereas those in 2009 are the generation of 1993. Therefore, just
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as in both cases of examined populations the level of their parents’ education, and consequently their social status is higher than that of average Poles, the differences that occurred over the span of only 6 years are clearly visible. Social descriptions from 2009 compare favourably with those of their peers from 2003.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social status of the family of origin</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic vocational school</td>
<td>Secondary vocational school and specialized secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Self-reported data, Toruń 2003 and 2009.

The observable changes in the social structure of pupils’ families of origin in entire examined population are also reflected in respective types of higher secondary schools (Table 2). In the first half of the present decade, nearly 2/3 of all young people in basic vocational schools were comprised of low social status families. At the same time, pupils from high social status families were practically non-existent in that type of higher secondary schools. Only six years later, the social makeup of basic vocational schools became heterogeneous. Young people from low and medium social status families comprise the same share of the community of pupils who attend basic vocational schools. In the period under scrutiny, the percentage of young people from higher social status families doubled in those schools. At present moment more than every twentieth pupil in a basic vocational school comes from the family wherein at least one of the parents is a university degree holder. Inasmuch as the decrease in the number of low social status pupils in basic vocational schools was marked in the whole of the population (over a fourth), the increase in the number of young people from medium and high social status families is much higher in that type of higher secondary schools than in the whole examined population. It follows that young people from medium and high social status families value the offer of basic vocational schools incomparably higher than in the past, which makes them no longer paths to social and economic exclusion in the eyes of the public.

The changes that occurred in secondary vocational schools in the period under scrutiny are, in turn, a reflection of the changes that occurred in the entire examined population. In schools of that type, the participation of young people from low social status families decreased by nearly a fourth, with an invariable participation of young people from medium social status and 1.5 increase in pupils from high status families.
However, the observable changes in general secondary schools were converse. In 2003, nearly a quarter of pupils from these schools came from lower social backgrounds. Six years later, pupils from lower social backgrounds comprised the tenth of the whole population. Therefore, the decrease of participation of pupils from low social status families attending secondary schools is higher than in the entire examined population. Additionally, it is accompanied by a decrease of participation of pupils from medium social status families whose scale is also greater than in the whole examined population. At the same time, a quite distinct increase in the population of young people from high social status families may be noted. In 2003, pupils from the families where at least one of the parents could boast a university degree comprised a fourth of the whole population in general secondary schools. Six years later, young people from the same type of families comprised 40% of the entire population of the said schools. As a result, in terms of social descriptions, general secondary schools became more homogeneous than in the early 2000s.

The observable processes of the differentiation of social structure of pupils in basic vocational schools and uniformity in general secondary schools caused the distance regarding social status between the two types of schools to remain intact.

**Fig. 7. Educational aspirations of higher secondary school pupils – dynamics of changes**

Source: Self-reported data, Toruń 2003 and 2009.
The processes of stabilisation of the secondary schooling structure are accompanied by the process of cooling down young people’s aspirations. In 2003, nearly 2/3 of all first grade pupils declared to aspire to a master’s degree in the future (plus master’s means here aspirations to a postgraduate diploma or the second faculty). Six years later this level of educational aspirations is characteristic for over a half of the first grade pupils of higher secondary schools. At the same time, the percentage of young people interested in leaving education with bachelor’s degree increased. There is also an observable minor increase in young people’s interest in obtaining secondary or vocational education, the latter still remains on the margin of expectations though.

The observable changes in the sphere of educational aspirations that have occurred over the span of only six years, which consisted in lowering their educational aspirations, stemmed from a rational and calculated appraisal of the possibilities that the labour market offered. Young people today seem to realize better than in the past that university education does not necessarily mean success on the labour market.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School type and research year</th>
<th>Basic vocational school</th>
<th>Secondary vocational school and specialized secondary school</th>
<th>High school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Self-reported data, Toruń 2003 and 2009.

The process of cooling down of educational aspirations takes place in each category of pupils’ social background and in each type of higher secondary school. The participation of young people that aspire to a university degree in basic vocational schools remained invariable in the observed periods. However, among the pupils of those schools it can be observed that a notable percentage of young people are willing to leave education after graduating from the school they are currently in. It does not preclude the fact that in 2009 over 80% of basic vocational school pupils were intending to continue their education on higher levels of education, which probably entailed a rejection of the acquired profession.

In technical secondary schools it has been noted that young people have become more interested in obtaining a bachelor’s degree at the cost of a master’s degree which has distinctly lost its popularity. Similar changes in the domain of educational
aspirations among young people can be noted in secondary schools of general education. With decreasing aspirations to obtain a master’s degree comes an increasing number of 16-year-olds who are planning to obtain a doctor’s degree in the future, study at two faculties or continue their education at postgraduate studies.

Inasmuch as in terms of pupils’ social makeup, the distance between respective types of higher secondary education remained essentially intact, the cooling down of educational aspirations, though it took place in all of the environments examined, caused an increase in higher secondary schooling diversification. We must bear in mind that the differences largely concerned the lowest (basic vocational) and the highest (postgraduate) educational aspirations.

**Conclusion**

The changes in the structure of secondary schooling in Poland that have been occurring since early 1990s, which consist in popularizing secondary schooling and the reduction in vocational training, have been a response to increasing educational aspirations of the society, which took place in the conditions of notorious deficiency in central funding. In the face of existing demographic tendencies, the restrictive measures taken against the costliest of vocational schools were functional for the state, even more so because the restructuring of the economy meant a far-reaching reduction of vocational training base.

However functional those changes were in terms of labour market demand, the beginning of the new century witnessed a gradual decline in demand for a highly qualified staff. In the following years, university graduates (secondary school graduates to a greater extent) encounter difficulties finding employment. New tendencies which brought a decline in demand for “white collars” and an increase of the demand for “blue collars” on the labour market, also present in the countries of Western Europe, in Poland were additionally enhanced by the accession to the EU and the opening-up of labour markets in other countries.

These processes are partially reflected in the educational aspirations of young people which began to cool down at the beginning of the 21st century. It does not preclude the fact that even among vocational school pupils the percentage of those willing to continue their education on higher levels exceeds 80%.

Social descriptions of pupils point to vocational schools (basic vocational as well as technical secondary schools) as base establishments for young people from lower social backgrounds. However, considering that educational aspirations of young people are still high, it appears that the choice of a vocational school was a consequence of a gradual educational strategy (the acquisition of a profession first, to be followed by education on higher levels of education). Young people still appear to believe that higher education (regardless of its quality and type of acquired qualifications) is a factor that increases one’s chances on the labour market. The responsibility for the status quo lies in the ‘vigorous’ nature of changes in the Polish system of education after 1990, in relation to which the state and educational authorities proved to be short-sighted and showed to be lacking a vision.
References


Introduction

Starting from the system transformation in 1989, the system of higher education in Poland underwent such transformations, which, as regards their scale and scope, cannot be compared to higher education systems in other countries of the Eastern Bloc. First of all, the philosophy of university education changed and was based on new challenges, which, related to economy, on the one hand, and, to society on the other hand. The economy, which underwent intensive modernisation, started to show its demand for employees with high (academic) qualifications and the free market called for an opportunity to operate in the public space of private entities (universities). The society and, in particular, young people, for whom the opportunity to take up their studies was a chance to satisfy their “hunger for education” and realise high (and even higher) status aspirations, adjusted to the new challenges. Consequently, non-public universities started to appear on a mass scale and state universities started to accept even greater numbers of students, who mainly did their extramural studies. However, the dynamic changes in the area of higher education led to significant social and economic consequences. The intensive growth of the number of students was not in line with analogous growth of the number of academics and appropriate infrastructure. This, in turn, resulted in lower and lower quality of education. As years went by, one could also perceive the so-called “academic drift” more clearly as regards education in universities, which is manifested by a systematic growth of young people’s interest in social- and humanities-oriented education faculties. Consequently,
there was a considerable deficiency of candidates in universities of technology, which did not correlate with economic demands for these types of qualifications. This was directly connected with the lack of stronger relations between the labour market and structure of educational system – changes in school curricula and university faculties and subjects failed to keep pace with changes occurring in the labour market and young people’s expectations. The problem results mainly from the academic character of knowledge provided in universities and system problems connected with implementation of changes in academic institutions. The little scope of cooperation between educational institutions and organisations operating in the labour market is also significant. Presently, consequences of such trends are more visible in the labour market. Although a positive correlation between a level of education and income gained is still maintained, the statistics expressly show a relatively high unemployment rate among those with better education levels and, especially, among university graduates.

This paper has two objectives. One of them is to show the scale of transformations within higher education in Poland after 1989. The other objective is an attempt to discuss the route of development chosen by the Polish higher education system as well as analysis of social, economic and structural consequences of opening of the market of educational services. What were advantages and failures? Who/is was the beneficiary? The paper is mainly based upon source materials of the Polish Central Statistical Office [GUS].

**Structural Transformations and Their Causes**

In the period of the Peoples’ Republic of Poland (PRL) the structure of higher education system had not changed, generally, since the beginning of the 50s, when there were 83 universities in Poland with their 125 thousand students. Throughout forty years and until as late as 1990 its was only the number of students and percentage of young people doing their extramural studies that changed. In 1989/1990 there were 97 universities in Poland, including the non-public Catholic University of Lublin. Other universities were state universities. In those times there were as few as 404 thousand students, among which approximately 100 thousand young people took extramural or evening courses.

Between 1990 and 2010, i.e. within the period of twenty years, there was a real outburst of interest in university studies. In 1990 there were 112 higher schools, whereas now there are as many as 460 higher schools, which means that the number of such schools increased by over 4 times. Most of schools operating in Poland include non-public universities. Since establishment of the first non-public university in 1991, there have been as many as 328 non-public universities in the market of educational services (Table 1). It was the system transformation and changes in law resulting from the transformation, which made it possible to establish higher schools by economic entities (funds, companies, cooperatives and associations), which were able to fulfil specified material, organisational and financial conditions. Owing to this, higher education became one of numerous elements of the commercial services sector, which proved to be very popular and, consequently, profitable.
Caught in the Trap of Mass Education – Transformations in the Polish Higher Education

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of higher schools</th>
<th>Including non-public higher schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990/91</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995/96</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/06</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/11</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The dynamic development of educational institutions in Poland also resulted in growth of the number of people studying in such institutions. In the academic year 1990/91 as few as 403 thousand students studied in all universities (including state universities). In the academic year 2010/11 the number of students grew to reach over 1.8 million (Table 2). Therefore, within 20 years the general number of young students in Poland grew by 1.4 million. It was possible owing to development of non-public education system and its institutions, where in 2010/11 as many as 580.1 thousand students studied. This means that students of non-public universities constitutes almost one-third (31.5%) of the general number of students.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total number of students</th>
<th>Including students of non-public higher schools</th>
<th>Percentage of students of non-higher schools in the general number of students (in %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990/91</td>
<td>403.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995/96</td>
<td>794.6</td>
<td>89.4</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>1584.8</td>
<td>472.3</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/06</td>
<td>1953.8</td>
<td>620.8</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/11</td>
<td>1841.2</td>
<td>580.1</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Presently, in state universities 67.5% of students include those, who do full-time studies and 32.5% include those, who do part-time studies¹ (mainly extramural). It is different in case of non-public universities, where vast majority of students include those, who do their part-time studies (83.1%) and only 16.9% of students, who do their full-time studies. It is worth adding that the Constitution of the Republic

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¹ Part-time studies include extramural studies (the system of studies involving classes held as sessions lasting from Friday afternoons till Sundays), evening studies (with classes held from Mondays till Fridays in afternoons and evenings) and external studies (for those, who were not admitted due to closing of the list of students, but got a permit from a university bodies to do their studies as auditors; such students usually do not have student rights).
of Poland guarantees gratuitous education in state (public) higher schools. Part-time studies are exceptions from this rule. This means that presently there are 990 thousand young students in Poland (including all students of non-public universities and students doing their part-time studies in state universities), i.e. 54% of the general number of students.

As far as the number of students, who study in higher schools in Poland, is concerned, the growth trend reversed in 2005. From that time the general number of university students decreased slightly and systematically. Paradoxically, this situation occurred despite the growing number of universities. This trend results from deep demographic changes and it will soon contribute to far-fetched structural changes in the higher education system. From a study conducted by Socrates’ Institute in Warsaw it results that in 2020 the number of students will decrease to 1.25 million, i.e. by 600 thousand students. The number of students will mostly decrease in non-public universities and it will result inevitably in distinct decrease, even by half, of the number of non-public universities [Demograficzne 2011]. As far as state universities are concerned, most of them will withstand liquidation, but will be forced to modernise their educational policies and cut back on expenses. In such types of universities the crisis caused by a demographic low will especially affect part-time education. the part-time education system constitutes an additional source of income for state universities funded by the state budget. Everything shows that limitation of income from extramural studies will be reflected in employment of both administrative and academic staff. Universities located in depopulated regions and smaller towns will also find it difficult to survive.

The dynamic growth of higher education obviously had an impact upon growth of scholarization indices. While in the academic year 1990/91 the gross scholarization index was as low as 12.9%, in the academic year 2010/11 it was as high as 53.8% (Table 3). This means, in fact, that nowadays every second young Pole starts his/her higher studies. Such a high scholarization index makes Poland a leader in the European countries as regards education of university students [Szafraniec 2011].

### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross scholarization index in higher education (in %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990/91</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995/96</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/06</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/11</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Young people’s drive for education and systematic growth of scholarisation indices were expressly reflected in changes in the structure of education of the entire society. Until the end of the 80s Poland was considered a country of people with poor education.
In 1988 only 5.8% could boast of their higher education, whereas 39.1% had only primary school education or did not have any education at all. Results of the National Census in 2011 show radical changes in the statistics. In 2011 as many as 17.0% of Poles, i.e. three times as many as in 1988, had higher education and only 24.6% had only primary school education, i.e. 1.5 times less than in 1988 (Table 4). The changes obviously resulted from making up for losses in education of the young generation and retirement of the old one.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary and postsecondary</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic vocational</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary and junior high school + incomplete primary school + without any education</td>
<td>39.1*</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Łącznie z nieustalonym poziom wykształcenia.


The dynamic growth of the number of students and mass establishment of non-public higher schools did not take place in a social and economic vacuum. The processes were directly connected with rejection of socialism by the society and, consequently, acceptance of liberalism and democracy as regards the political and economic realm. In the other area numerous established private companies, which constituted, to a considerable extent, to formulation of meritocratic principles of operation of economic entities in relation tom the state, had a key significance [Misztal 2000]. In turn, modernisation and privatisation of economy contributed to increase of demand for high qualifications, which could also be provided by higher schools. The newly-established companies (including, more frequently, those with a foreign capital) started to employ university graduates. At the same time, they had a significant impact upon increase of education and its role in the career process in the market. Starting from 1990 the proceeding liberalisation of economy was accompanied by a high correlation between one’s education level and income gained. It should also be added that the increase of the number of students in the 90s was an element of deliberate policy of the state. The transformation and modernisation of economy also had an impact upon considerable reduction of employment in the state sector. This, in turn, had a decisive influence on growing unemployment rates, with which the young Polish economy could not cope. But for the intensively developing higher education sector, the generation of demographic high entering the market at the beginning of the 90s would probably have been doomed to unemployment. The higher education was in this situation, a sort of a “safety vent”, owing to which the state could postpone entry of hundred thousands of young people in the labour market for a few years and the very young generation could realise their educational aspirations and improve their competences, thus increasing their vocational opportunities.
All the above-mentioned processes had an impact on increase of demand for education and perception of education as highly valuable. Establishment of such a great number of universities, which educated so many young people was, apart from changes in the law, possible for two more reasons. Firstly, it resulted from the process of growth of educational aspirations of young people. The “hunger for education”, which accompanied the Poles for the entire period of the Peoples’ Republic of Poland aroused educational aspirations among young people, who saw acquisition of good education as their opportunity to succeed and find an attractive job. The level of their aspirations relating to education and status has grown systematically since the beginning of the system transformation [CBOS 2009]. From the research conducted in various part of Poland it results that Polish secondary school graduates have very high educational aspirations, as three-fourths aim at higher studies, of whom every fifth graduate does not intend to complete his/her education at the master’s degree level, but wishes to do further studies (another faculty, doctorate studies, additional postgraduate studies) [Wasielewski 2009a, 2012]. Secondly, structural changes at lower education levels caused that education in secondary schools ending with maturity examinations and providing an opportunity to study at universities, became almost common. As many as 90% of young people in a respective cohort study in such types of schools (secondary schools ending with maturity examinations). As the research shows, since the beginning of the system transformation, the number of students of the very secondary schools of general education grew by almost three times, whereas the number of basic vocational schools students (which do not entitle to study at universities) decreased by almost 5 times. Owing to the changes, academic education became available to nearly all young people [Domalewski 2012: 60].

Consequences of Mass Popularisation of Higher Education

Generally speaking, it is relatively easy to establish a university. It only takes appropriate funds, decent infrastructure (a leased building will do) and at least four independent academics (with a degree of doctor habilitated) to establish bachelor degree studies and eight such academics to set up master’s degree studies. However, the easy way to establish the studies has far-fetched negative consequences. Apart from prominent universities, which offered a respective high level education, they started to establish universities, which offered low level education or even dishonest educational practices in bad infrastructural conditions and without appropriate academic staff. Among most dynamically developing universities there are leaders, which invested quite high funds in infrastructure, hired complete staff and provide and attractive offer to students as regards subjects and appropriate curricula. Such universities offer master’s degree and, more and more frequently, doctorate studies. Only such universities have a chance to survive in the market of educational services, which is becoming more and more competitive.
Changes in the law, which provided an opportunity for establishment of non-public higher schools also entailed a sort of symbiosis between staff employed at both types of universities (state and non-public ones). Initially, the vast majority of academic staff in non-public universities constituted academic staff of state universities, who sold their competences and labour in the new educational market. Such a solution was admitted by a respective act, which did not forbid state university staff to get hired in other places. This solutions had signs of a specific social and corporate compromise. Firstly, it complied with requirements of the new social and economic doctrine such as liberalism and economic freedom. After years of fight with private entrepreneurship in the socialistic regime, political elites found it difficult to restrict the freedom of establishment of non-public universities, which were, in fact, economic entities. Secondly, they adopted a concept of mass, and not elite, mass higher education. They decided to make it easier for young people to take up their higher studies and, at the same time, increase the number of students. This was mainly done by lowering of recruitment requirements for university student candidates, which initially took place only in non-public universities and, later, as a result of competition in the educational services market, also in state universities. Although a higher school is easy to establish and candidates are easy to find, there was not a sufficient number of academics, who would be able to work in non-public universities exclusively. Therefore, they decided to make a compromise and agree to employment of state university staff in non-public universities as well. Thirdly, this solution was a sort of consent to financial compensation for state university staff, who were paid low salaries from the state budget at that time. In other words, the consent to additional work in non-public universities was also, in fact, tantamount to an informal consent to rather low salaries in state universities accompanied by an opportunity to gain additional (quite high) income in non-public universities. This was directly connected with low funds for state education from the central budget and, consequently, disproportionately low salaries in relation to competences and expectations, which, as a consequence, contributed indirectly to custom-related legitimisation of the process of multi-employment of academic staff. Fourthly, the solution was necessary in order to respond to social expectations of young people towards education. The pressure of the society in this respect was significant, especially that state universities could not initially admit (due to relatively poor infrastructure) and educate all interested candidates.

The specific symbiosis based upon multi-employment had for years been the most characteristic element of the image of the higher education system (mainly non-public education system) in Poland. During the first decade of activities of non-public education it was difficult to encounter independent academic staff (professors) employed on a full-time basis (in their so-called first employment) at such universities. There have been several reasons, for which independent academic staff has not been particularly eager to leave their state universities. The first reason is that state universities guarantee stable employment. The second reason is that state universities are providers of certain and stable source of income. The income
may usually be lower even by several time from the income offered by non-public universities, but they guarantee certain old age pension payments. The third and most important reason is that work in the state higher education system is connected with significant prestige in the world of science and, so far, even the best among non-public universities have not been able to ensure such a prestige. What is important, the prestige in academic circles also entails a better opportunity of a vocational promotion, which is, in fact, certified by state institutions. This results from a centrally established career path in the academic hierarchy. The structure of the path usually does not provide any opportunities of making an academic career through and within non-public universities. So far there have been nine of 328 universities of the type, which acquired rights to confer the title of a PhD. Therefore, academic career is, in fact, irretrievably connected with the state system of conferring of academic degree and titles.

Therefore, in the higher education system and academic circles there has been a sort of conspiracy of silence, which admitted employment of academic staff even in several and, in extreme cases, several dozen, additional places of employment. This procedure was obviously connected with decrease of the quality of education and far-fetched pathologies. It is worth noting that the problem of “multi-employment” of academic staff was connected with a series of complications, which particularly affected students. One of them included limitation of contacts between a student and his academic supervisor, who was travelling all the time between his/her parent university, which he/she treated as a priority, and non-public university/universities. It had negative consequences definitely as regards students’ acquisition of knowledge and appropriate competences. The situation applied both to students of a parent (state) university and those, to whom academics had to travel (usually non-public universities).

In time, they have undertook activities in order to limit multi-employment of academics and improve the quality of education. One of the first steps included establishment of the National Accreditation Board (presently Polish Accreditation Board) in 2002, which aimed at supervision over quality of education and control of activities of universities with respect to their correctness. The Board has, among other, a statutory right to suspend a university’s activities, if it finds significant irregularities in its activities. Moreover, in 2005 they implemented new regulations relating to undertaking of additional work by academics. The law may not forbid academic teachers to work in a greater number of institutions, however, an opportunity to exercise their rights resulting from a degree of academic title held, has been limited to two academic institutions only. A respective clause was also included, within the meaning of which a rector has to express his/her consent to undertaking of additional employment outside one’s parent university. All the above-mentioned regulations, including natural social processes such as, among others, the demographic low, which forced universities to modernise as well as supply and demand rules based upon competition between state and non-public universities limited the number of irregularities in the higher education system considerably.
However, a key element of the human resources policy proved an insufficient number of academics employed in the higher education system in relation to the growing number of students. In the academic year 1990/91 all higher schools in Poland (only state schools at that time) employed 64.5 thousand academics. By 2010/11 the number grew systematically to reach 103.5 thousand, i.e. by almost 40 thousand. In state universities the number of academics in that period (between 1990 and 2010) grew by 21.1 thousand. On the other hand, non-public universities employed 17.9 thousand academics (Table 5).

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>The total number of academics (in thousand)</th>
<th>In state universities</th>
<th>In non-public universities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990/91</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>79.9</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/11</td>
<td>103.5</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The increase of the number of academics in the entire higher education system was manifested, in reality, in the growth of the number of academics in particular universities. From the beginning of the system transformation the number of students grew systematically. This, in turn, forced universities to increase the number of academics employed. The process applied both to state universities and non-public universities. In the academic year 1990/91 there were 575.9 academics per one state university. Within the period of twenty years until 2010/11 the number of academics grew by approximately seventy and now there are 648.5 academics employed per one state university (Table 6). In both types of universities there was a growth in the average number of academics per one university. As far as non-public education system is concerned, the growth of the average number of academics has been more dynamic. In the academic year 1996/97 there were 32.5 academics employed on average per one non-public university. In 2010/11 the number was 54.6, i.e. it grew by more than 50% (Table 7).

Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average number of academics per one university</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990/91</td>
<td>575.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>613.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/11</td>
<td>648.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of academics employed in higher education schools (both state and non-public) may have grown since 1990, the changes did not correspond to the number of students admitted. In the academic year 1990/91 in all active universities (only state ones) there were 6.3 students on average per one academic. In 1995/96, i.e. in the period of activities of non-public higher education, the number was 11.9, i.e. almost twice more as compared to 1990/91. In the academic year 2000/01 there were 18.4 students per one academic and in the peak year 2005/2006 there were as many as 19.7 students. Therefore, between 1990 and 2005 the number of students per one academic grew by as much as three times (Table 8). This means that didactic load of academics grew systematically and, consequently, the quality of education also increased. It was only from that time that the average number of students per one academic started to drop.

General trends are also well visible in the division into university types. We may perceive an analogous trend both in state and non-public universities. In the academic year 1990/91 in all active universities (only state ones) there were only 6.3 students on average per one academic; in 2000/01 there were 15.8 students and in the peak time, i.e. in the academic year 2005/2006 there were as many as 17.6 students per one academic. In the period from 1990 to 2005 the quality of education worsened systematically, which was manifested in, among others, growth of the average number of students per one academic by three times. As late as after 2005 the trend reversed and now the number is 14.7 (Table 8). With dynamic development of non-public universities and until 2000/01 the average number of students per one academic grew considerably. In the peak period in 2000/01 the number was 50.5 to decrease to 32.4 now.

Generally speaking, there are clearly more students per one academic in non-public universities. In the culminating 2000/01 in non-public universities the average number of students was 3.2 times greater than in state universities. Presently the relation is 2.2. therefore, the distance between state and non-public universities clearly decreased in this respect. It is worth noting that in state universities the average number of students per one academic started to decrease five years later than in non-public universities, i.e. in the academic year 2005/06 (Table 8). This is significant, as already in 2000/01 they recorded in the entire education system a greater number of vacancies for potential students as compared to the number of all interested student candidates. This may mean, on the one hand, that non-public education system was affected by a crisis connected with the demographic low entering

### Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average number of academics per one university</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996/97</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>47.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/11</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the market and a fight for students between state and non-public universities. On the other hand, it may mean a quicker response of the educational sector to young people’s expectations of higher quality education. Regardless of, which of the factor we may deem most important, it is true that the quality of education improved much quicker in non-public education system.

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average number of students per one academic in total</th>
<th>In state universities</th>
<th>In non-public universities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990/91</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995/96</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>no data available</td>
<td>no data available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/06</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010/11</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above-mentioned trend is also visible in case of a selectivity coefficient, which determines a relation of the total number of student tot the total number of graduates. In some simplification it shows processes of selectivity of students during studies. Although the coefficient is rather conventional, it shows a significant trend as regards the education policy at universities in Poland. As late as in the middle of the 90s the selectivity coefficient was maintained at a high level, however, in time, it began to drop systematically. In the academic year 1994/95 it was 7.7, however, now it is only 4.0. This drop occurred, first of all, “owing to” state universities, which particularly clearly decreased their requirements towards students. Between 1994/95 and 2009/10 the selectivity coefficient in state education system decreased almost twice (Table 9). This process results from the fact that more and more students are admitted and selectivity during studies is decreased. This was favoured by changes in the recruitments procedure for student candidates. As late as in 2002 higher schools could select student candidates by way of their own recruitment proceedings (so-called entrance examinations). Since 2002 selective functions have been replaced by maturity examination results, which had a uniform character in all regions of Poland. The academic circles agreed that the change contributed to decrease of the level of student candidates.

However, it is worth adding that the demographic low and competition between universities as regards students caused that both state and non-public universities decided to maintain a low level of student selectivity deliberately. This situation applies both to the even lower threshold for admission of students for their 1st year studies as well as selection of students (screening) during their studies. In practice,

\[\text{1 The higher value of the coefficient, the greater degree of selectivity of students during their studies in higher education system. Thus, it may be assumed conventionally that the coefficient also shows quality of education.}\]
candidates with even lower level of knowledge are admitted to 1st year studies (more frequently all interested candidates are admitted) and during studies the level of examinations and credits is also decreased in order to minimise student selection. Owing to such practices a lot of universities limit reduction and screening of students, which affect the greater number of students. This, in turn, contributes to a better financial standing of the entire university. In case of state universities, it is connected with budget subsidies, which is a direct function of the number of students at a given university. In other words, the rule is that public money accompanies students. The analogous rule is also true for non-public universities, which are maintained, almost totally, from tuition fees paid by students.

Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Selectivity coefficient in total (relation of the total number of students to the total number of graduates)</th>
<th>In state universities</th>
<th>In non-public universities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990/91</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994/95</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>no data available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000/01</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/06</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009/10</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, the described situation has much improved. There have been changes in legal provisions making requirements for establishment of universities more stringent. They have also implemented regulations, which are to contribute to improvement of quality of academic staff. They have also worked on changes in the method of funding of the entire education system. The changes will entail awarding best universities financially (both as regards the didactic and research sphere). Ranking lists of universities published in Polish press have become more and more significant (as regards assessment of quality and social perception of universities). Although it is difficult to find non-public universities at the top of the lists, such ranking list are very important for such types of universities. This results from the fact that ranking lists published in the press shape supply of better universities in an unbiased manner and, at the same time, depreciate those offering lowest education levels. Such factors undoubtedly favour improvement of quality of education in universities – in order to leap several ranks higher in a university ranking list it is necessary to improve the educational offer, employ better academic staff and increase expenses on research and infrastructure. The advantages are measurable – by improving quality of education a university will gain a higher social prestige and, consequently, it will become more popular, thus increasing the supply of its offer among potential students. As for students, who provide specific funds, they have an opportunity to receive education at a higher level.
The Higher Education System vs. Labour Market

Availability of education for masses has a significant impact upon increase of scholarization indexes within the higher education system. However, their growth was not proportional to the demand for qualifications in economy. In other words, the pace, at which university graduates were “released” into the labour market and dynamics of growth of the education level of the Poles anticipated transformation in the sphere of economy. As late as in 1990 there were as few as 56.1 thousand university graduates. However, then years later, in 2000, there were five times more graduates, namely 304.0 thousand and in 2009 there were as many as 478.9 university graduates. The dynamic growth of the number of university graduates took place, to a considerable extent, in non-public universities, which, within 15 years from 1995 to 2009, increased the number of promoted graduates from 2.3 to 157.6 thousand. The number constitutes 1/3 (32.9%) of the total number of university graduates in Poland (Table 10). In total, between 1990 and 2009, all universities in Poland released 4.98 million graduates.

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total number of university graduates (in thousand)</th>
<th>Including graduates of non-public universities (in thousand)</th>
<th>Percentage of graduates of non-public universities per the total number of graduates (in %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>304.0</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>394.0</td>
<td>129.2</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>478.9</td>
<td>157.6</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The following courses were most popular among students: economic and administrative, social, pedagogical and humanities. The course do not entail any costs for a university, as they do not require any specialist workshops or laboratories, expensive equipment and investments in infrastructure. Thus, such courses can be launched relatively easily and nowadays they can be found in nearly all state universities and in most of non-public universities. In the academic year 2000/01 the percentage of all Polish students doing such courses was 58.8%, whereas nowadays it is 53.8% students (Table 11). The outlined trend is usually referred to as an “academic drift” and applies to a situation, in which young people chose social and economic or general humanities courses, which are deemed easier to study, as they do not require any knowledge of mathematics and physics. In Poland this trend was supported by resignation in the 90s from the mandatory maturity examination in Maths for secondary school students (now post junior high school students). As it
turned out years after, this decision had very negative consequences. Firstly, the level of knowledge of secondary schools graduates, i.e. future university students, decreased. This, in turn, lowered the level of education in universities, which, under the pressure of social expectations and the market, adjusted their requirements to the level of knowledge of their “customers”. Secondly, young people lost their interest in universities and courses with Maths as a key subject, i.e. universities of technology. Thirdly, this caused deficiencies in the number of qualified graduates of technical and engineering faculties in the labour market. Presently, they constitute only 7.2% of the total number of students, whereas in the academic year 2000/01 an analogous percentage was twice higher and amounted to 15.0% (Table 11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course group</th>
<th>2000/01</th>
<th>2005/06</th>
<th>2010/11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic and administrative</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogical</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering and technical</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture and building</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human services</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production and processing</td>
<td>no data available</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It was roughly by the end of the 90s that graduation from a university almost always guaranteed finding an attractive job. Later, as the labour market began to saturate with highly qualified workers, one could observe the process of employment of university graduates in positions, which did not require a university completion diploma. In 2010 only more than a half (54%) of university graduates took up their first jobs, which corresponded to their professions learned. The rate of employment among university graduates increased systematically (although it was lowest among all groups of education) – in 1995 the unemployment rate was 1.5% and in 2012 it was “already” 5.4% [NSP 2002, 2011]. This growth was a consequence of a relatively high unemployment rate among university graduates, which was 21.3% in 2012. This means that, upon completion of education, every fifth university graduate, is...
Caught in the Trap of Mass Education – Transformations in the Polish Higher Education

unemployed. As detailed statistics show they mainly include graduates of faculties of humanities and pedagogy [Szafraniec 2011; Szkolny 2011]. Thus, these courses are most popular and most commonly available in the Polish higher education system.

Therefore, it seems that presently the greatest problem of the Polish higher education system is that it is not adjusted to the labour market requirement and demands. This applies, in particular, to higher education, including, most of all, universities. The society demands that they should respond flexibly to its demands towards graduates with qualifications, which are most useful in the labour market. However, in practice, such types of demands are impossible to realise. The main reason for this is that universities, as such, are conservative schools and, at the same time, find it difficult (in fact, academics also find it difficult themselves) to change curricula, forms of lecturing and resign from connections with private business etc. Such changes could contribute to deeper connection of education and labour market. However, the basic condition for such symbiosis should be increase of the number of hours of student vocational placements and even more frequent solving of real problems during university classes. It would also be significant to introduce other “innovations” such as, for example, admitting of participation of practitioners in university education and establishment of closer cooperation with various types of plants and companies in order to conduct vocational education courses. However, it is difficult to introduce such changes in universities of academic character. Non-public universities can cope better with expectations of the labour market, as they are more flexible and open to signals from young people and entrepreneurs. Their responses to demand for particular courses are definitely quicker, as their life depends on such solutions. As a consequence, such universities are much better assessed by students as regards their attitude to employers’ requirements. This is proved by higher ranks of the universities in ranking lists, which do not consider an academic character of a university, but effective allocation of graduates in the labour market. There are several non-public universities leading in such ranking lists.

One should also mention one process, which is a consequence of opening of the higher education market in Poland and making higher studies more common. Mass education of young people in higher schools led to gradual devaluation of university diplomas. This, in turn, caused that a diploma, which was desired by the society and was relatively easy to acquire, became a necessary, but insufficient certificate of one’s qualifications. This is clearly manifested both in even higher educational aspirations of young people [Domalewski, Mikiewicz 2004; Wasielewski 2007] and in real educational decisions, which result in even greater popularity of postgraduate studies, MBA or additional courses. It seems that new requirements of the labour market nowadays become a new selection threshold. It is not formal education (a university diploma) that determines finding a job, but additional competences (especially other than academic) and individual skills, which an individual has to prove during his/her interview or placement. At the same time, the very university diploma becomes less significant and any additional activities of young people in the course of their studies become more and more significant.
Transformations in The Higher Education System vs. Social Inequalities

The research on availability of young people as regards higher studies as conducted in Poland after 1989 show that the initial period of system transformation considerably affected the growth of impact of a social status upon availability of higher studies. The social mobility between generations decreased and the social structure became more “rigid”. Individuals raised in families with a higher social status had much greater opportunities than in the 80s to take a higher social rank than individuals, who were raised in families with lower social ranks. As compared to the previously observed trends, the first selection threshold (between the primary and secondary school) became less significant, whereas the second threshold (selection of secondary school graduates at the entrance to the higher education system) determined careers of young people [Białecki 1999; Domański 2000]. After this transformational shift, which, most of all, resulted from a violent revaluation of the role of education in the society and economy, inequalities as of the period of the system transformation became relatively stable [Domański 2004]. It results from the research that, although in the other half of the 70s young people from rural areas had 8 times lesser opportunities to get to a university as compared to their peers from urban areas, in 2000 this distance decreased by almost four times and rural young people had “only” twice lesser opportunities to get to a university as compared to their urban peers [see: Świerzbowska-Kowalik 2000: 112-119].

Nowadays, rural and less well-off young people have an even more open access to higher education. In this respect the scale of inequality decreases in time. Students of rural origin and less well-off students are more often to be found in universities, including state universities. The changes are significant and, yet, very diversified. The above-mentioned transformations were affected considerably by the appearing mass non-public higher education. The considerable number of such universities are located in smaller cities, thus giving poorer young people, who cannot afford to go to a big and expensive city, real opportunities to take up their studies. Classical universities are found in big cities (located mainly in cities with over 200 thousand inhabitants), which clearly has an impact upon their elite character. Generally speaking, in the academic year 2006/2007 as many as 119 out of 456 universities were located in cities with less than 100 thousand inhabitants, including 65 in cities with less than 50 thousand inhabitants, of which there were three universities located in villages. Most of (49) universities located in smaller cities are non-public universities and other include, most of all, state vocational higher schools (Table 12). However, one cannot forget about 227 branch departments (mainly conducted by non-public universities), which are also located in smaller cities [Szkoły wyższe 2007: 23]. It is not surprising

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1 It is worth noting that the studies indicate to influence of social and vocational rank of a family and not the residence environment.
that universities located in smaller academic centres (mainly non-public universities) and in regions dominated by rural people enjoy even greater popularity among rural young people (mainly owing to their easier availability).

Thus, it seems that the intensive development of the non-public education sector in Poland had a considerable impact upon decrease of educational inequalities as regards access to higher education. Maria Jarosz indicates that, paradoxically, non-public universities, which are paid universities, became more available to rural young people [Jarosz 2004: 174]. This process has an undoubtedly positive character, but it also has its disadvantages. It turns out that social and background inequalities may decrease in a general balance, but they are much more manifested in other spheres. Social inequalities in rural young people’s access to higher studies are, most of all, visible at the level of specific university faculties and courses, where they are emphasized by a diversified social and background composition of young people. The allocation character may not be an indicator of social inequalities, but factors shaping the allocation have such a diagnostic value. The main factors, which differentiate pres-

Table 12

Spatial distribution of universities in Poland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Województwo</th>
<th>Number of universities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In cities with less than 100 thousand inhabitants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolnośląskie</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kujawsko-pomorskie</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lubelskie</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lubuskie</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Łódzkie</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Małopolskie</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazowieckie</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opolskie</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Podkarpackie</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Podlaskie</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomorskie</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śląskie</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Świętokrzyskie</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warmińsko-mazurskie</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wielkopolskie</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zachodniopomorskie</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>119</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the data of Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the author’s own study.
ence of rural young people in universities is the process of auto-selection manifested by selection of specified universities and university courses, mainly for teachers, popularity of a given course (including, but not limited, to prestige of a course, demand for certain competences) and location of a given course within a specific faculty, which entails a specific recruitment policy (number of students admitted, possible entrance examinations etc.). It results from the research that young people from villages more often choose higher schools with lower prestige and quality of education and they mostly choose non-public universities and traditional courses. However, urban young people more often got to renowned state universities, which provide education at a stable and high level and they choose courses, which are popular and considered as profitable in the future [Gorlach 2005; Świerzbowska-Kowalik 2000: 116; Wasielewski 2009b, 2010, 2012]. Such choices result in diversified distribution of students with various backgrounds in the vocational structure. Persons choosing better and more prestigious universities and courses (including persons from families with high ranks and usually intellectual traditions, mostly residing in big cities) have a greater opportunity to get an interesting and attractive job. This way, background inequalities as regards access to education (in some veiled form) are transmitted again to the social structure by a social and vocational rank held by an individual [Wasielewski 2006].

Conclusions

The higher education system in Poland had a long and twisted history of transformations. A lot of indicates that the transformations in the Polish higher education system were spontaneous and surprised political decision-makers, researchers and observers of social life. Thus, it is difficult to refer to any deliberate educational policy relating to the higher education system. However, it is worth noting from the time perspective that the processed have brought specific and measurable effects both for the state and entire society. The first and fundamental advantage was “release” of non-public education. It contributed to establishment of a new non-public education sector based upon educational services for students. A new group of entrepreneurs was created, which invested high funds in higher education and hired considerable groups of persons such as, among others, academics and assistant staff (secretaries, administrative staff, cleaners, cloakroom and reception desk staff etc.). It is worth emphasizing that non-public higher schools, most of which are located in smaller academic centres, are often cultural and economic centres, which promote regional development. Secondly, mass popularisation of higher education was undoubtedly a success (even on a global scale). Young people’s demand on higher studies must have surprised everyone. Owing to the fact that higher schools have opened to students, young people have an opportunity to acquire desired qualifications and higher education. This also limited the risk of unemployment among young people. Thirdly, access to education for previously marginalised groups (rural young people and people raised in families with low social status). Obvious failures include decrease
of quality of education in universities, including the universities, which have for years been perceived as backbones of high standards. The disadvantages also include the failure to adjust the higher education system to expectations of the labour market. The pace of universities’ adjustment to changes in the economy and expectations of the society and young people is very low. The organisational and legal chaos in the Polish education system does not reflect well on decision-makers. It may be a paradox, but, owing to this, the higher education system was developed in such a manner. However, in a longer perspective, it favours, unfortunately, accommodative and conservative trends and not reformatory and innovative trends in academic circles.

Whom can we thus consider a direct beneficiary of the educational boom in the Polish education system in Poland? Certainly, it is academics, for whom establishment of non-public education has been an opportunity of financial compensation for insufficient funds offered by the state education system. Beneficiaries also include students and young people, who got an opportunity of development, self-fulfilment and improvement of their qualifications. Finally, the entire society benefited from the educational boom. Owing to the higher education system, the economy obtained new staff, ideas and vital forces. Today it is difficult to imagine a different way for the higher education in Poland. It is even more difficult to imagine other consequences …

References


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Processes of social marginalisation, destructive for adults, become even more dangerous from the perspective of young people. The significance of the problem is widely recognized among both, social scientists and public institutions. There have been attempts to develop an appropriate model of coping with the phenomenon. The Voluntary Labour Corps (the OHP) are one of the Polish organisations established for the purposes of limitation of social exclusion of young people who are already marginalized or who are exposed to such a marginalization.

This article focuses upon young people, who experienced social exclusion and are covered by the care-and-education activities conducted by The Voluntary Labour Corps (OHP). What a sociologist is interested in, when he observes such a population, is a question about relations between an objective tested situation and a subjective experience of the tested. This article attempts to answer the question about life paths, which led young people to become socially and educationally excluded. The context of analyses includes the sphere of ambitions in the lives of young people, their opportunities to realise such ambitions and possible tensions in this spheres. The sociologist’s superior aim is to answer the question, how young people of the type perceive themselves and their place in the society, to which they belong.

The study has an empirical character. The main source of knowledge includes two research projects co-supervised by the author of this study. Both projects ended with publications also delivered in cooperation with the author of this text. The presented article constitutes a synthesis of most important issues of the researches. The first research included qualitative study (IDI) conducted in 2009 on a purposive sample of young people participating in two labour corps (Toruń, Grudziądz). The research covered eight persons with different biographical and educational trajectories.
The research was conducted in April 2009 [Mordzon, Podgórski 2011]. The other empirical source included a comprehensive research realised throughout Poland in 2010. It also covered the staff of the OHP and participants in the OHP. The research was conducted with the use of qualitative techniques (IDI, N=120, FGI, N=8) as well as quantitative techniques (auditorium questionnaire N=600) and Desk Research analysis. The research was conducted between May and June 2010 [Florczak, Mordzon 2010].

A Brief History and the Functions of the Voluntary Labour Corps (the OHP)

The Voluntary Labour Corps were established on 13 June 1958 by virtue of the Resolution No 201/58 of the Council of Ministers. The organisation aimed at supporting development of the national economy and, at the same time, ensuring opportunities to gain work experience for young people. In this period OHP developed with respect to its structure and number of members.

Nowadays, the Voluntary Labour Corps are a state budget institution supervised by a competent labour minister. The institution performs state tasks for young people as regards employment and prevention of marginalisation and social exclusion of young people as well tasks relating to education and raising of young people.

The fundamental aims of the OHP include education of young people through labour. Such activities are to make it easier for young people to enter the labour market owing to job agency services, vocational counselling etc. Internships allow for gaining of practical work experience and some remuneration. Another fundamental aim of the OHP is to help young people in their educational development and enable especially socially excluded young people to resume their studies in junior high schools or vocational schools. The OHP offers a wide range of courses, which improve qualifications, namely language, computer and vocational courses as well as driving license or fork-lift operation courses. To this end, participants of the Voluntary Labour Corps, regardless of their present educational experience, take part in school classes for 3 days a week and study under the supervision of a tutor employed in the Voluntary Labour Corps.

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1 The Voluntary Labour Corps may accept any young people, who graduated from the primary school, however, there are cases, in which young people are in the course of their studies in junior high schools as well as junior high school graduates attending, for example, secondary technical schools.
Young People in the OHP

The offer of the Voluntary Labour Corps is addressed to two fundamental groups of young people. The first of them includes vocationally passive young people, who do not study or are interested in working. Those are mainly young people, who are socially excluded or exposed to social exclusion. Centres of Education and Labour, which exist in the form of job agencies (Job Agencies for Young People) and vocational counselling (Mobile Centres of Job Information) within the structure of the OHP address their services to such young people.

The needs of young people affected by deep social exclusion are satisfied by care-and-education institutions within the OHP. These include Labour Corps, Environmental Labour Corps and training and education centres. The institutions address their offers to young people, who leave their schools prematurely (are expelled due to absences and/or failure to comply with the school discipline or due to failure to acquire compulsory knowledge, which is not connected with any mental disability).

Generally, there are two types of young people, which may be found the care-and-education institutions within the OHP. The first of them includes people, who have problems with their education connected mostly with their social origin and relatively low social and cultural capital in case of those, who reside in villages and small towns and have been raised in families with its members dominated by persons with primary school education and, rarely, vocational school education. In case of the above-mentioned people, we deal with structural exclusion, which leads to exclusion from education [Czapinski, Panek 2007: 232]. The other group of young people includes those, who, for various reasons, found themselves in a difficult situation in their lives, which prevent normal education due to family problems (alcoholism, orphans) or due to educational problems and failures (playing truant, not being promoted to subsequent grades). In the first case we may deal with a kind of reproduction of educational problems. For young people attending classes organised by the OHP is a normal educational experience, as they have been told about it by their families and friends, who are often former participants of the OHP.

The Background of Participants of the OHP

The OHP is not targeted to the young people from rich families or children of educated parents. Young people entering the OHP derive from families, which are located at a low level of social hierarchy. The low social level is additionally overlapped by dysfunctions in the family. In theoretical studies, dysfunctional families include two type of families, namely families, which are incapable as regards raising and pathology [compare: Kawula. 1988].
A pathological family is a family, in which at least one of the parents in an alcoholic (or a drug addict), criminal or prostitute. In the opinion of Maria Łopatkowa, we may refer to other dysfunctional families only with respect to pathology risks. The concept of families, which are incapable as regards raising of children, is wider than the type of pathological families and it refers to the situation of disintegrated and disorganised families, families with problems (difficult homes) and negative families. It mostly refers to incomplete families, which have been broken, when parents were not able to ensure special care for their children. Insufficient supervision over children may be connected with extremely absorbing temporary work, for example, on a farm. Old parents and mothers, who raise children on their own, are particularly exposed to the risk of awkwardness in raising of their children and they will not be able or capable of having control over their children. Other factors, which may lead to incapability of families are considerable problems with funds and existence, housing problems and a great number of children. In studies on such types of families, a particular emphasis is put on the level of satisfaction of a child's biological needs (malnutrition), cognitive needs (help in education, acquisition of knowledge) and social and psychological needs (the feeling of acceptance, safety, access to culture) [compare: Ibid.].

As indicated in responses given by the respondents, some of them have been raised in incomplete families. 11.7% of respondents does not live with their mothers (or female legal guardian) in one home and as much as 33.0% do not live with their fathers (or male legal guardians).

Fig. 1. People living together with the respondents covered by the care-and-education activities conducted by the OHP (N=600)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People with whom responder lives</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother/Female guardian</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father/Male guardian</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother/Brothers</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister/Sisters</td>
<td>53.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other people</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The respondent lives in an orphanage</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The social environment of participants in the OHP may also be a source of problems, with which they try to cope. One of such problems is violence, which they face in the street and at school. Young people studying in the OHP deal with the problem of violence most often in the streets – 36.7% of the respondents (answers –
“rather agree” “definitely agree”). The other place, where the respondents usually face violence is school – this is what 25.6% of the respondents said. The respondents’ homes are much safer places, however, every tenth respondent faces violence in his or her home (10.8%). Problems most often mentioned by the respondents include problems with education – this is what 48.1% of the respondents said. For 31.5% of the respondents the lack of money is a problem. Every fifth respondent (21.7%) indicated to problems with health. 24.0% of the respondents do not have perspectives for a better life.

A particular type of dysfunctional families includes so-called difficult homes, i.e. homes marked by poverty, alcoholism or violence. In some families, a mother is so drunk that she does not even notice her children being taken to an orphanage, says one of a chiefs of the OHP Environmental Labour Corps. Children from such families enter the labour corps and have different problems than children from other families. For some of them, the OHP fills a gap between a normal school and borstal school. Other children are seemingly normal and adjust to the environment. However, they are often devoid of fundamental emotions and do not, for example, treat their siblings with emotions, but instrumentally just like individuals, who are exposed to hard life and have to be helped. A boy tells his tutor about his little brother: “Take him home for some period of time”. He begins to advertise him like a commodity saying “he is self-reliant, can do everything around and he will even clean up when spills tea”. This is what a 14- or 15-year-old child says – says claims a chief of the OHP Environmental Labour Corp.

Parents, who do not have supervision over their children, do not control their educational progress. This is reflected in lowered qualifications in the school. One of the educator staff in the OHP, indicates to this problem directly saying that they have teenagers in the OHP, who cannot write or read. Other representative of the OHP staff blames incapable parents and schools and, in particular, pedagogical failures of teachers for this situation. Teachers are not educators. They are not interested in children under their care and do not help them develop their skills. What should a child think, when a teacher says “you are stupid – you can’t read”. “ When the child asks: “what should I do?”, the teacher answers: “go and hang yourself” Is this teacher an educator? A child, who has some emotional problems, may play truant or talk back and he is right away branded by teachers as a fanatic.

The comparison of biographies of respondents made is possible for use to determine types of educational paths and life projects of young people in the OHP. Analysis considered both objective sequences of the respondents’ educational career as well as images of their background, which appeared in their narrations. It was significant to use the theoretical literary output of Pierre Bourdieu [particularly Bourdieu: 2006] as regards evaluation of described experiences. Creating types referrers to a differentiation between a type of biography imposed by fate and a type of biography constructed on one’s own as connected with the issue of life projects. In this context, Anselm Strauss’s [Stauss: 1993] and Fritz Schütze’s [Schütze: 1995] sociological differentiation between intentional activities and processes of cancellation [compare: Domecka, Mrozowicki: 1998, p. 141].
The Polish Youth from The Voluntary Labour Corps

Trying to show paths leading to the patterns, differences within them and dynamics of their development, indicates usage of qualitative methods. Searching an answer to the question, who are those excluded from a typical educational path, the following questions were stood:

- What environments do they derive from?
- What types of life paths and educational careers do they represent?
- What are their aspirations, expectations and concerns relating to the future?

Attempts to understand the problem of social and educational exclusion leads to studies on two issues: poverty as published and edited by Elżbieta Tarkowska at the beginning of the 21st century [Tarkowska: 2000]. The author was oriented on listening to representatives of the groups, which had been deeply marginalised. She let those, who do not express their experiences orally, speak about themselves in their own language. Tarkowska worked in the tradition of oral history. In accordance with the assumptions adopted by Paul Thompson [1984, p. 4] oral history, which gave the poor, disabled and illiterate an opportunity to speak, was to constitute an equivalent of written and published autobiographies. As Thompson emphasises, oral history based upon a method of retrospective interviews allows for studying of representatives of working classes, an ordinary human being, social bottom, social groups with low prestige, children, women, the poor and illiterate, representatives of minorities, persons “of no significance” and unknown people [Tarkowska: 2000, p. 31-32]. This approach is characterised by aiming at searching for a human being, who disappeared behind tables of indexes in sociology and a return to human beings, individuals and ordinary humble people and their humble worlds experienced [compare: Tarkowska: Ibid.; Hardtwig: 1996, p. 26].

The important inspiration to the fallingow paper was analytical frames suggested by Markieta Domecka and Adam Mrozowicki in an article relating to patterns of vocational careers realised in Poland [Domecka, Mrozowicki: 1998]. As it turned out in the course of analysis of conducted interviews, a lot of characteristics, to which showed up after the research of the tested young people, seem to strongly correspond to some types of vocational careers described by the above-mentioned authors.

Questions asked at this stage related to general common characteristics of young people in the OHP. Do young people, seen as a whole, show certain similarities as regards their origin, school trajectory, aspirations and ambitions in their lives?

The research conducted in 2009, as an individual In-Depth Interviews (IDI), was conducted on purposively sample of youths being covered by activities of care- and-educational institutions of the OHP in Toruń and Grudziądz [Mordzon, Podgórski 2011]. From each institution four participants were chosen, by the tutors: two boys and two girls and, at the same time, two good-tempered persons and two persons with a history. Good-tempered young people include those, who were subject to educational selection as regards their insufficient knowledge. Young people with a history are bad-tempered children, who became rebellious and often aggressive young people. The employees of the OHP characterised them as young people with considerable social maladjustment.
This method of selection of respondents was determined by two factors. A random selection for a small population (19 persons in Toruń and 70 persons in Grudziądz) would lose the value of representativeness. There is a risk that such selection might not capture the variety of life histories and types of experiences. This method is usually burdened by a certain risk, which is impossible to eliminate. A sample may become burdened as a result of use of the method. Tutors are likely to select prominent individuals, those who stand out in the crowd and most brilliant ones to participate in the research. They will do it not in bad faith, but naturally in order to show that their subordinates are valuable or make it easier for interviewers to do their job. Reading following analysis we have to be aware of fragmentary or even simplified character of the collected material. However, it is difficult to consider to the fullest extent the complexity of the problem of purposeful selection of a sample in a short study.

Grounded Young People

A pattern of grounded educational career is represented by biographical narrations, in which patterns of activities are realised by the nearest environment and continued by young people. This is a type of a life path oriented on reproduction of known practices and striving to attain the highest position only in the scope of such practices, which should guarantee appropriate functioning in a well known and treated as obvious world of social life. Domination of career by reproduction of patterns is not an intentional process. A career is planned, if applicable, only within predetermined and proven opportunities, which are reluctantly exceeded for fear of a failure or as a result of internalisation of limitations connected with a position held. Continuation of education in the OHP is one of the proven (and equivalent to continuation of education in a normal course) opportunities to acquire education.

The type of grounded educational career has specific biographical consequences. Our respondents has severe difficulties in school and were characterised by low motivation to study. This resulted in their failure of promotion to subsequent grades in early stages of their education. There is a mechanism – they fail to get promoted once, then they do not get promoted again, lose touch with their peers and cease to go to school at all – a vicious circle – says a provincial educator in the Provincial Headquarters of the OHP. An example is the history of Robert, a 19-year-old boy from a small village in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship. His family is poor, but not pathological – there are no problems with extreme poverty, alcoholism or violence there. His father has basic vocational school education and is a farm worker employed by one of the neighbouring farmers. His mother has primary school education and she does not work. Apart from Robert, their son, they also raise four daughters. One of them (younger than Robert) also participates in the OHP. The direct reasons for this educational failure were low educational competences.
Robert: You want to know about my primary school? In the fifth grade we went crazy a bit and did not get promoted. Teachers started to nag a bit and then it was good and we were quiet. In the junior high school I did not do well at English and I didn’t get promoted again [Robert – graduated from junior high school in the OHP, now attends vocational courses, 19 years old].

Marcin, a 17-year-old boy, who will graduate from junior high school in the OHP, has a similar history. Just like Robert, he was raised in a small village in a poor (but not impoverished) family. His parents have primary school education and they both work. His father is a car mechanic and mother is a cook. Marcin has four siblings, including two brothers who ceased to study when they graduated from primary school and younger sisters, who still study. He was not promoted to the second grade in the junior high school twice. Due to problems in school and hooliganism, teachers referred him to the OHP (I did not do so bad in the primary school, but I did not do well either. I had bad notes in the junior high school and found myself here due to my conduct [Marcin, primary school education, attends the junior high school and vocational courses in the OHP, 17 years old]). In the OHP he is with his friend from the same village and primary school. He spends most of time with him.

In the context of concerns and life dilemmas of the grounded young people one should look at reproduction of a social status as a reaction to complexity of the social world. Marcin dreams about going back to his village and become a cook, whereas Robert wants to be a carpenter. These aspirations are accompanied by cancellation understood as dominated by external conditions as well as inability to design and introduce significant changes [Domecka, Mrozowicki: 2008, p. 142]. The situation of being expelled from schools seems to be acceptable and understood for them (It’s quite good I came here – if I was to fail to get promoted there all the time, I would get bored with going there at all. [Robert])

As representatives of the OHP staff indicate such persons constitute a considerable percentage of young people in the OHP. Their educational failures are strictly correlated with a low social status of their parents. This status is based upon low education, unemployment or doing low-paid physical work. The lack of educational aspirations in their parents results in absence of interest in school and education of their children. In these cases, little importance is also attached to education in rural and farmers’ environments. For Robert and Marcin, labour corps are a natural element of their educational path. Repeating the same grade was a problem for them, but it was a problem in the context of an obstacle but not as a tragedy. They came to the OHP not as outcasts expelled from their societies, but as people, who realise one of the existing educational patterns. They come with their friends and neighbours from the same villages and schools, meet tutors, who remember their older siblings or cousins. They are attached to their low social status. They do not have any aspirations or tools to change this situation. What is more important, this attachment seems natural for them. They do not show any discomfort or insecurity connected with the attachment.
Undercut Young People

We deal with a different situation in case of young people, who derive from similar environments and do not approve of reproduction of educational career patterns of their parents/closest environment. If this is connected with even limited support from their family and/or teachers, such persons can make efforts to change their own habitus. From the literary output of Pierre Bourdieu [2006] this process is known to be very difficult. It is a particular challenge, when signals given by the environment are not unambiguous.

Agata: This is how it was: she is the smartest in the family, so she will do something – she will go to a secondary school.

(...) And what, if I had a child? It doesn’t matter. My mother says that he is 50 and she would like to be a grandmother. [Agata, junior high school graduate, 17 years old].

Agata was raised in a small village in a family with a lot of children. She did not have any problems with education in her primary school and junior high school. Although both parents have low education, Agata showed relatively high aspirations in her school. She was supported by her teachers. This was reflected in good notes and quite good results of external examinations. She decided to start secondary education.

Agata: I tell myself I’m going to go to a secondary school. Then the maturity exam, postsecondary school and studies. And then … I played truant. And I got a D in Maths only, had to resit my exam and … I will tell you: [the teacher] told me that [questions] would be easy for the resit exam. And then in August she told me to choose a set of questions. So I chose one set and saw that we had not do the questions at school. And then what? The teacher is always right. I missed by some 3%. This is for the present!

AM: OK, but not all people, who repeat their class in the secondary school decide to go to the Voluntary Labour Corps...

Agata: When I was in the secondary school, I wanted to come here. I was going to come here last year. My elder brother was here and I had my friends here, too. I’ve heard a lot about living in the dormitory and I think it’s great.

If efforts made are not reflected in expected achievements, one may deal with the process of withdrawal from known and safe roles – grounding. It may be accompanied by the feeling of being dominated by external limitations, blocking of educational career and getting stuck. In such cases, rationalisation is a natural defensive response:
**Agata:** Well, this means that... Oh God, I could go to the secondary school. It would take two years, a year or so, wouldn’t it? But I can’t turn back the time. I do not regret coming here. And it’s quite the other way. If I hadn’t come here I wouldn’t have met such great people, tutors and my beloved friend.

(...)

**AM:** What was your greatest failure in your opinion?

**Agata:** Well, I don’t know. It’s hard to say. Maybe the fact that I failed the secondary school. Yes, this is it. And that everyone thought I would pass (whispering) This was it.

**AM:** It was difficult...

**Agata:** (in a quiet voice) It was awful. I couldn’t stop crying...

A failure affects considerably the system of values of undercut individuals. I think that my mother and even my father raised me well. If I raised my own children I wouldn’t put so much emphasis on education [Agata]). However, it is not accompanied by total withdrawal from previous standards. Kinga’s history is similar to that of Agata’s. This is what she tells about her plans for the future:

**Kinga:** I wouldn’t like to be a homebody like my sisters and sit down and wait until my husband brings money. I would like to earn my own money (...) and have as much money as my husband does (laugh). And then it depends on how things are between us. If everything was all right, we would perhaps have some children. These are some general plans [a junior high school graduate, participates in vocational courses in the OHP, 16 years old].

This type of biography is connected with a deep concern about one’s future life path. The undercut show their confusion when it comes to determination of their social status. If their competences were challenged, they would lack confidence in facing further challenges. The failure, which they experienced was a tragedy, which was accepted, although it was not understood. A project for life understood as planning of the future in an unknown and fate-imposed card here.

**Young People Beating Themselves**

*Beating oneself* is a metaphor for approach of students towards the school meaning a more or less intentional resistance against the system of education. The metaphor reflects processes of cancellation, limitation of control over one’s own fate caused by external factors, over which individuals have a limited control. While grounding means *ordering and predictability* of one’s further life path as based upon reproduction of social status and educational career of one’s parents and in case of “undercut” young people it means determination of school targets exceeding their family patterns and a failure in realisation of such targets, the approach of young
people beating the school is expressed in an aspect of chaotic nature of the social reality. Their career is shaped by situations and is a response to circumstances resulting from choice, which are conscious to a little extent.

Considering objective reasons for educational selection, a school career of young people, who beat themselves, was broken by their failure to meet the school duties (playing truant) and problems with their conduct. Low educational results are, in this case, a secondary phenomenon. In our study the pattern is, to the greatest extent, a reflection of parents'/guardians’ incapability to raise their children. In this case, the low social and vocational status of the family has a lesser significance than in the previous cases. Przemek’s history is a good example to depict the situation. Przemek is the youngest of five siblings and, although his parents live and work, he was raised by his grandmother, with whom he lived until he was ten years old. He did not graduate from the junior high school.

He recalls:

**Przemek:** My grandmother took me with her and I lived with her for eight years. I don’t complain, as she did what she could. For example, she forced me to go to school (laugh). (...) What did I do? I went to parties and didn’t want to go to school at all. I didn’t want to get up. All I wanted to do was to meet my friends [graduated from the junior high school in the OHP, participates in vocational courses, 19 years old].

The grandmother was not able to raise the adolescent grandson. She could not force him to go to school and was not able to control his conduct outside the school. The grandson’s acts of hooliganism, consumption of drugs (marijuana) and alcohol were a catalyst for making a decision on referring him to the OHP. Persons, who beat themselves may be rude students such as Przemek was, however, they do not have to be rude. Ania was an excellent primary school pupil.

**Ania:** I did very well in the primary school. I had a good attendance, very good GPA and certificates with distinctions. I got almost maximum score for tests at the end of the sixth grade. And then I started to neglect studying in the junior high schools. I still did well in the first grade and in the second grade I started to play truant. (...) I didn’t go to school, because I didn’t want to. I attended classes during the first semester and in the second semester I appeared only once at school for the junior high school tests. (...) And it was something like that – I didn’t go one day and then I didn’t go the other day, because I was afraid of teachers and so on. I didn’t go on the third day and subsequent day either and it was a vicious circle, wasn’t it?

Ania’s both parents collect a disability benefit and worked in the Polish Post Office for their entire lives. It is the tensions in relations between her parents that are reasons for the girl’s resistance to requirements imposed upon her. She still has bad relations with them and rarely visits them.
The quoted histories indicate to fragmentation of the educational career. The significance of education is dominated by random motivation. Due to the situational character, the respondents showed resistance to their school duties despite the fact that the duties did not exceed their competences.

Ania was referred to the OHP by the court and Przemek was convinced by an educator to enter the OHP. Those two variant of young people beating the school combine issues of evaluation of one’s own situation. The persons, who, as a result of resistance, were excluded from the common course of education evaluate their own situation as comprehensible (being a result of wrong decision in the past), but not accepted (the need to change, far-fetched plans relating to their lives). Przemek learns to become a bricklayer. He is ambitious and energetic and he is not going to be a physical worker to the end of his life (Then I would like to set up my own business [a construction company] and raise some money. I have to do a driving course and get a driving license). Ania is not afraid of the future either and believes that she will still be able to graduate from university studies as she had planned (What will I do after I graduate from the junior high school? I will already have been 18 then (...) and I will still study here and go to extramural secondary school and it will be a good one. (...) We’ll see what happens then after I graduate from the secondary school. As for now I want to rent a flat here and find a job. Well, I don’t know, maybe I’ll start studying Polish philology).

**Beaten Young People**

Of all the four types of young people, the educational career of beaten young people seems to be determined, to the most extent, by psychological factors. The metaphor is used to determine their situation is to indicate to an external source of shaking their own image of students, their system of values and educational career. These are persons with biographies marked by deep trauma and objective difficulties in participation in school education. they include children from broken families, deeply pathological families and young people from orphanages. Problems with feeling of safety and a strong need to defend one’s own values affect trends of activities and are reflected in attitude to environment and school. In these cases, absence of positive examples among parents/guardians is also significant. The elements are reflected in defensive strategies involving closing, separation or hostility towards the environment.

When talking about herself, Monika emphasizes features connected with strength and resistance:

Monika: I practised judo, which is an activity for men as everyone says. I don’t have many friends, because I’m very straightforward. If I want to achieve something, I will always make it. To be honest, everyone, who knows me, can say that I may get the shaft and I will still get up and go on.

(...)
**AM:** Perhaps you are tough outside and inside you are a sensitive girl?

**Monika:** *I bloody am* (crying). *It’s better to pretend that you’re tough. I got the shaft several times in my life. If you are good, people will use you and then play a filthy trick on you* (crying out loud). *I wanted to help people many times and they played filthy tricks on me. I don’t look for any friends in this dormitory* [she will graduate from the junior high school in the OHP, 17 years old].

Such an attitude to environment is strictly connected with being raised in an incomplete family, the experience of a stigma and rejection by peers:

**Monika:** *People frown on me. If someone doesn’t like something in me, I tell them to look after themselves. Let them see the mess in their families and then frown on me. They called me a bastard, because I don’t have father and I never cared, as they weren’t better than me. How can I be called like that be a girl, who got pregnant when she was 13? When I told her so, she started to be nice for me and now says hello, talks to me and that’s all.*

Uncertainty in the sphere of social relations and chaotic attempts to control one’s own life are a characteristic element of approach to school and peers. This relation is expressed in coherent approach to a pupil’s duties – on the one hand, it is expressed in extended ambitions as regards educational results and, on the other hand, in education and activities outside school (Monika was a relatively good student and she fulfilled her ambitions by practising sports) and, on the other hand, in ignoring the necessity to participate in classes, loosening of the school hierarchy (teacher-student) and aggression. Krzysiek’s story proves that this did not collide with the awareness of significance of education as regards improvement of one’s own status.

**Krzysiek:** *It started after the failure, my father’s death and when my mother was devoid of her parental rights. It used to be different. I wasn’t the way I am now. I was like that when I was in the orphanage. Then I started to do this mess. There I started to make teachers listen to me in a way. (...) The only thing I thought then was that it was certainly too mature, but I will never let my children got to the orphanage. I know how it is and I’m sure I will never do it to them. This was the first thought and then there was another – you have to study to be a normal man* [a junior high school graduate, participates in vocational courses in the OHP, 18 years old].

The more time, energy and effort is devoted to everyday *fight for survival*, the less time there is for far-fetched and strategically planned activities, including investing in resources necessary for strengthening of one’s own position.

Similar to most of the respondents, in case of Monika and Krzysiek, a direct cause of their rejection from education were their absences, which were reflected in problems with acquisition of knowledge. For both respondents, the educational failure was a personal tragedy. Monika evaluates her participation in the OHP as follows:
**Monika:** I think it’s a good decision. (pause) (crying) One may get the shaft, but not like this. What can you tell about a month, in which you bury your dearest friend and then find out that you failed a school year and then you get to the OHP and meet some morons! (still crying).

The past and present fate is not comprehensible for them and they find it difficult to determine, what caused their failures. They do not accept this challenge or do it in a limited way. Their lack of understanding of the failures is not connected with acceptance of their own position as in the case of undercut young people. Their disagreement to social exclusion situation, in which they find themselves, is not, however, reflected, in case of young people, who beat themselves, in specific plans to change their lives.

**Dilemmas and Concerns in Lives of Young People from the Voluntary Labour Corps: Conclusions**

The goal of this paper was to approach to understand educationally and vocationally excluded youths. Their attitudes to their lives and analyse the course of their educational career, social background and presented evaluation of the situation of social exclusion, in which they found themselves. The presented typology reconstructs specificity of various life paths of the excluded young people. The theoretical concepts such as *grounding, undercut, beating oneself* and *being beaten* express processes of educational selection and effects of such selection for particular individuals. They show, how biography models interfere with full participation in an opportunity for social promotion given by education. apart from the methods of coping with the situation of social exclusion, the typology shows a set of tensions, concerns, fears and dilemmas of representatives of the Polish young people.

The researches indicate that the distinguished patterns of educational careers are coherent with a type of activities adopted in school. Despite the fact that the tested individuals were in a similar situation during the test, various circumstances of educational selection have a various influence upon their aspirations and attainable social status. The dominance of orientation on persistence as expressed in the type of grounded young people and forced in the type of undercut young people, is connected with the threat of devaluation of resources held and retaining of a low social status. In this context, the type of young people, who beat themselves as characteristic of young people, who create problems, is a more promising one. Although their biography was also imposed on them, they are characterised by a considerably greater dissonance in their present status and a much greater motivation to attempt to change it. Wanting to repair their failures, they set far-fetched targets shows an awareness of mechanisms leading to their accomplishment. The type of beaten young people refers to persons, who experienced trauma in their lives, however, this does not mean that such persons are characterised, similar to those, who beat themselves, by a willingness to structure their future career on their own. However, in their case much more depends on professional help from tutors, educators and therapists.
Most of the respondents were not afraid of how their career will develop. They want to achieve financial and emotional stability. They pay a lot of attention to fulfilment in their work and setting up their families. They are not interested in politics, but most of them are attached to Poland. They consider going abroad, however, they will do it in order to raise money and not to emigrate for life. Their dreams may fulfill, which depends much on effectiveness of mechanisms of inclusion in the society mainstream.

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This article is an answer to the question of how young employees with a university degree assess their employment conditions. As such, it is a voice in the more general discourse on the situation of the young on the job market. The ongoing debate, on the one hand, touches on the issues of increased aspirations and expectations of university graduates and the employers’ dissatisfaction with the level of their professional skills; on the other hand, it concerns the legal aspects of employing young people, predominantly based on short-term or temporary contracts. One of the hypotheses featuring in the media discourse is that young professionals are doomed to drift over the job market due to the limited opportunities to obtain permanent employment and that such situation has negative consequences for their career prospects as well as the economy. The debate rarely takes into consideration voices of the young employees themselves, particularly those who deserve to be regarded as specialists (have graduated from respectful universities, wisely invested in their education and professional experience, and today can boast a relevant competence as well as a diploma). It is their opinions that will be presented in this work. As such, this report can be treated as an attempt to answer the question about the threats resulting from the increasing flexibility of the job market.

The research\(^1\) was carried out from August to November 2012 on a sample of 40 people who had completed various university degree courses (in art, medical studies, science, technical studies, social studies, humanities) and had been working not longer than a few years. The respondents were employed in three sectors of economy (public,

\(^1\) Project has been funded with support from Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń within Faculty Research Grant no. 349-H.
private and NGOs) and in various industries (e.g. construction, education, chemical, shipment) in cities of different sizes – Warsaw, provincial capitals and small towns. They were also selected based on their employment status – permanent contract (further referred to as PC), short/fixed term contract (FTC), civil-law contracts (CLC), and self-employed (SE). The study group had been selected purposefully, in order to ensure a possibly large variety of the types of work and employment conditions of the individuals in the study group. I have used the in-depth interview technique (IDI) and the interviews concerned the professional career. The main aim of the interview was to become familiarized with the young specialists’ work style – their behavior in the workplace, their values and employment priorities (conditions of work, level and form of remuneration, working hours). In this article I will focus on presenting opinions of young professionals on the terms and conditions of their employment.

**Terms of Employment**

Polish law is considered as fairly flexible in terms of regulating the terms of employment, due to the common use of the short/fixed term contracts. The Labour Law allows signing two short/fixed term contracts with an employee before a long term contract has to be signed. In effect, most young people entering the job market are commonly employed based on the fixed/short term contracts. The basic difference between these two types of contracts is the possibility to terminate them. The fixed/short term contract provides for the termination of the contract at a specific time and with due notice without giving any justified cause for the termination. Due to the relative ease of terminating the contract, the length of employment depends, as Bauman notices, on the level of satisfaction [Bauman 2006: 253] – the employment lasts as long as both parties obtain expected benefits from it. The permanent employment contract, however, can be terminated only if there occur any conditions defined by the Labor Law in that respect. Hence, the possibilities of terminating the contract are greatly limited, which causes permanent employment contracts to be perceived as giving greater job security. Moreover, permanent contracts are definitely more preferred by banks while granting loans and mortgage, which additionally increases the attractiveness of this form of employment. Despite the advantages of the permanent contracts, young professionals are not – as it would seem obvious from my research – convinced of their particular attractiveness, and do not notice marked differences between the two forms of contacts, although such differences naturally do exist: “If it’s a fixed‑term contract with a longer perspective, I see no difference. The permanent contract doesn’t really offer any advantage. They can fire me just as easily in two or three months’ time. The threat of getting the sack, at least in my opinion, is just as real, whether it’s a fixed‑term or permanent contract” (assistant architect, F, FTC).

Such perception is usually caused by the conviction that as long as one does their

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work properly, a dismissal is not imminent. Such a way of thinking can also result from the lack of trust towards the employers as regards respecting the provisions of the Labor Law i.e. disregarding employees’ rights. Unethical conduct is sometimes also attributed to the other party of the employment contract i.e. the employees, as permanent contracts are perceived as a way of “taking advantage” of the employer. A particularly sensitive matter is the issue of young pregnant women, who must not be dismissed or made redundant only if they have a permanent employment contracts. Although pregnant employees are protected by the Labor Law, in the case when the contract expires during the pregnancy, the employer is obliged to extend it only until the date of childbirth. Thus, pregnancy and maternity frequently lead to some “trust games” – employers are reluctant to offer permanent employment to young women whereas women postpone decision to have a child until they receive a permanent contract. Nevertheless, the members of the study group do not display this kind of attitude: “I do not think of getting a permanent contract in order to be able to have a child. I’m not this kind of person to use pregnancy to be constantly on maternity leave and childcare leave. I don’t have such an approach, so fixed term contract suits me fine” (compliance specialist, F, FTC).

Young professionals are not only far from glorifying permanent contracts, but they perceive certain advantages of fixed-term contracts. The main benefit seems to lie, in their opinion, in the aforementioned level of satisfaction which entitles them to giving up a job in one place in favor of another, more satisfying, job. Such attitude also forces the employer to strive to create favorable conditions of work and career development prospects, instead of merely imposing and enforcing professional obligations. The shift towards partnership relations and fulfillment of mutual obligations has become a common trait of the young professionals’ style of work. Positive evaluation of the non-standard forms of employment parallel a negative approach to the permanent employment contract. What seems to be particularly discouraging for holding such contracts is the obligation to pay high, in the respondents’ opinion, social security taxes and health insurance premiums. “I used to think that the best solution would be to work all my life as freelance contractor and invest the money that is otherwise wasted by the State Social Security Fund (ZUS) in some private insurance and my own pension scheme. Now, I generally believe it is a good idea, but considering the fact that it’s kind of hard, at least at my age, to think about retirement and investing in some private insurance, I guess it’s a good thing that these premiums or taxes are taken away I have some insurance in case something happens” (electrical engineer, M, PC). For young specialists, the prospect of retirement is a distant one, and they tend to think in terms of here and now. They are also skeptical about ever being able to get a pension: “I don’t believe I will ever get a pension, that’s why I’m putting aside a certain amount of money every month (graphic designer, CLC), it has been calculated we have no chance for a decent pension” (junior researcher, CLC). Because young professionals are convinced that they their chances of obtaining a pension when they retire are so slim, they have a very negative attitude towards bearing the financial burdens connected with permanent contracts. Simultaneously,
it is a manifestation of highly individualistic strategies aimed at maximizing own benefits at the expense of common good and generational solidarity, which are the founding principles of the State Social Security Fund (ZUS). Such approach also reflects the critical opinion of young professionals of the inefficiency of the state, which so acutely affects the Polish retirement system. Similar irregularities are also perceived in the national health care system: “It’s really hard to pay this kind of money to NHS, because I know how much private insurance costs and what standard they offer. The NHS insurance premium is twice or three times as much and I saw the conditions and standard of services in Polish state hospitals, it’s really not good value for the hard-earned money” (electrical engineer, M, PC). Young professionals treat the obligation to pay social security tax and health insurance premiums as an individual financial burden. They fail to acknowledge the necessity to take care of the older generation by using their money and do not agree to have their profits from work wasted by the inefficient state.

In the context of formal and legal terms and conditions of employment, a particularly critical approach of the young professionals seems to be towards the banking sector, loan system in particular. Applying for a loan, be it a mortgage or a consumer credit, is a situation in which the permanent employment contract is most appreciated. “A fixed/short time contract really limits any possibilities of doing anything. I wanted to buy a car but it turned out I could not get a long-term loan, I could only get it for 5, 7 or 9 months depending on the length of my contract. (…) It doesn’t matter what my credit history is, the only thing that matters is the type of my contract, so I got really upset. I wanted to take a mortgage to buy a flat but they told me that a permanent contract would make my loan application look much better. It all comes down to this stupid contract” (supply quality inspector, F, FC), “In my previous job I really wanted to have a permanent contract because I wanted to buy a flat and I would have had no chance for that if I’d worked on a fixed-term contract. Now, it’s no longer a priority” (compliance specialist, F, FC).

Young professionals predominantly need a permanent employment contract to buy goods that would allow them to become independent. It is important as it opens the door to adulthood – without it they do not feel they are treated seriously by banks. At the same time, they notice a contradiction between the ease with which a permanent contract can be terminated and the conviction of the banking sector of the permanence of such contract, which is to guarantee a regular payment of the financial liabilities. Paradoxically, young individuals who are willing to develop their careers and improve their qualifications and skills may turn out to be more competitive and in the long run they may have stronger position on the job market than the workers currently employed on permanent contracts. Hence, possibly, they have the sense of being unjustly and unequally treated by banks, which seem to be negatively biased towards young professionals employed on fixed-term contracts.
Remuneration

Remuneration, which has been the most important aspect of work for the Poles for many years [Sikorska 2004, Czapiński, Panek 2009: 170-172], is a necessary, although not the sole, condition for achieving job satisfaction. Young professionals, with various levels of remuneration, would like to earn more compared to their present pay. There are varied reasons for that. Some would like to be able to freely satisfy their basic needs – pay the rent and the bills and do the shopping: “When you finally get your first job, the pay is so low that you there is no chance you can live on your own, and this is really terrible because when you get a degree you really feel you need to become independent and stop asking your parents for money and have a decent life” (compliance specialist, F, FC). For others, small life pleasures are more important: “My salary allows me to live comfortably and I can afford little pleasures quite often. I get enough money not to worry how to make both ends meet” (electrical engineer, M, PC). Still others aspire to having a high-class car and going on exotic holidays twice a year.

Generally, they all look for additional opportunities of earning some extra money – in the same or in a different workplace. A teacher of English in a state school works in the afternoon in a private language school, a graduate of applied linguistics supplements her badly paid job as a spokesperson in a public institution by doing translations, a psychology graduate employed in an NGO is setting up his own therapy practice, an HR specialist, also a psychologist, runs training classes as a freelancer. Some of the additional sources of income are connected with pursuing a hobby. An exports manager, who used to be a basketball player, does the statistics at basketball league matches, and a researcher, who is a bookworm, make some extra money by buying cheaply books from publishing houses and resells them at a profit in her own business. The resourcefulness of the young professionals not only allows them to earn some additional money but also opens new professional inroads that they might follow in the future. Opening a few paths of professional development is also a good way of insuring oneself against the risk of unemployment.

Despite having financial aspirations frequently exceeding the reality, young professionals do not perceive the level of remuneration as the most important motivating factor. Non-financial aspects such as good atmosphere at workplace, a compatible team, performing a job one likes, being appreciated, possibility of personal development also play a crucial role: “After graduation, I decided to stay there despite the modest salary they offered and the fact that the company was in dire straits. At some point we didn’t get paid for three months but people stayed there” (assistant architect, F, FC), “I don’t like working in ‘P’ because they are strange although they pay well. The worst paid deals are with ‘N’ but I guess I like working for them most” (graphic designer, F, CLC), “For me 90 per cent of satisfaction comes from the remuneration, and if the relations with the superiors are good and I do what I like, I couldn’t ask for more” (computer programmer, M, SE), “In my present job I don’t feel I can develop personally. It doesn’t give me any job satisfaction, apart from the fact that I get paid regularly, but the money is not really the most important factor” (program coordinator, M, PC).
Young specialists are a demanding kind of employees and they are not easy to satisfy. They do not see the need to compromise – a good pay for unexciting job or vice versa. The job they perform should be rewarding in many regards. Giving up an attractive remuneration is not an option. The respondents believe that in return for fulfilling one’s professional obligations one is entitled to a decent pay which cannot be substituted by other opportunities or benefits – financial or otherwise: “It is said that a doctor can always moonlight but I believe that a doctor should earn enough not to be forced to look for additional work” (neurosurgeon, M, FTC).

Appropriate remuneration can compensate for the lack of other material benefits. Having a choice between social package with a numerous perks and a higher salary, young professionals opt for the latter: “I think the social package should include gym or swimming pool membership cards but I can go there on my own” (computer programmer, M, SE). Again, the individualistic tendencies are clearly visible as young professionals mostly value adapting the benefits from work for their own needs. They appreciate universal benefits such as gym membership card or healthcare packages but if they had a choice, they would rather get the financial equivalent and spend it as they see fit. However, they are more enthusiastic about benefits that can be adapted to their individual needs such as professional training or company car for private use: “As for me, a company car for which I basically don’t pay anything and there is no mileage limit is as good as my own, and that’s fair enough for me” (electric engineer, M, PC).

Hard work (which many young professionals certainly put in) without proper remuneration does not give any job satisfaction in the long run: “It goes without saying that you work to earn money. There was a time I worked for my ideals, to show I can do that, to prove something, I don’t know to whom, but I really wanted to prove that I was a great worker and capable of handling anything” (supply quality inspector, F, FTC). Negative experiences of not being acknowledged and appreciated for the effort put in at work are a source of frustration. Keeping one’s commitments is a key value in the eyes of young professionals. It is crucial that the commitments are kept, regardless of the remuneration.

It is also important to consider what the standard practice in a given branch or industry is “Here we don’t get additional pay or bonuses and we have to live with that. We accepted such conditions, it was made clear during the job interview. We knew it would simply be so” (construction site engineer, M, FTC). College graduates also value clear rules at work as it gives them an opportunity to optimize the effort put in at work. They appreciate: “Clear situations, in which you know your duties and obligations, the employer knows what I expect from him in the sense that the gratification for my work is clearly defined. If I do something extra, I have to know what the employer can offer for that. Right now, there is no such system. Whether I do my job well or badly, the salary is always the same (…) I would like to know the bonus scheme. It’s not only me who keeps wondering about that, a lot of my colleagues do. There are employees who get a bonus after just two weeks of work and there are others who have not got one in four years” (program coordinator, M, PC). A clear message and communication about the conditions and rules of work are an important factor that allows young professionals make decisions about their present and future career.
**Working Hours**

Specialists with short work experience, are very conscientious about their professional duties and do not hesitate to work longer than the average eight hours a day, forty hours a week. There are different approaches to working overtime in public companies and institutions – in some it is forbidden to work overtime while in others the practice is common. Regardless of the job, young professionals attach great importance to performing their duties well and if such need arises they are usually willing to put in overtime: “I don’t really mind having to stay longer sometimes, to handle something after hours. I am flexible and available” (electrical engineer, M, PC). “If there were really such a need that <<we need you Maurice>>, I think I would go to work and it wouldn’t be a great problem for me” (project coordinator, M, PC) N), “I couldn’t go out with my friends because I had so much work that I had to stay at work until 8 p.m.. But it isn’t any great sacrifice if you do it only occasionally” (compliance specialist, F, FTC).

Despite their willingness to work longer hours, young professionals are not comfortable with the pressure to work more than eight hours if there is no need to do that. For that reason, a certain flexibility in working hours might also be a disadvantage: “There are no fixed working hours at all. I am supposed to come to work between 7 and 9 a.m. and work eight hours (...) I would prefer to come at 8 o’clock, but I can’t really get a sense of what it looks like in here, because others come at different times, though most employees come at around 9 o’clock and leave work at 5 p.m. or even later, and I would leave at 4 p.m.. I wouldn’t like to do overtime” (compliance specialist, F, FTC). The sense of discomfort is increased in the period immediately before taking a leave when the growing need to rest is frustrated by the necessity to complete all the tasks at work: “I was under a lot of pressure and felt a great responsibility, because I wanted to complete all my matters without leaving anything unfinished. The last days before going on holiday I stayed at work until 8 or 9 p.m. although I normally finish at 4 p.m.. I just didn’t want to leave anybody with some unfinished crap to do” (compliance specialist, F, FTC). Despite the inconvenience, the sense of duty and the need to complete work prevails, even if it clashes with some private needs.

The need to do overtime is rationalized in different ways. An important factor cited by young professionals are the undertaken commitments and common agreements: “At the job interview they said what the conditions were – you work eleven hours a day, sometimes longer. It was made clear right away so I didn’t have any moral right to refuse to come if I had agreed to such a rule myself. That was the agreement between us. Sometimes we had to stay until midnight, sometimes even longer” (construction site engineer, M, FTC.) An honest fulfillment of the obligations may be connected with ethical norms or institutional procedures. Whatever the decisive factor, the end result is performing the work according to the current needs: “I left early today. I came earlier so I left earlier. Sometimes when we have to run errands we leave earlier, and then we make up for it. What matters is that we get the
monthly balance right, the 40-hours-per-week balance” (assistant architect, F, FTC). “Not everything can be done in eight hours. If there is a need we stay longer. (...) if I have planned to work till 5 p.m. and it goes on until 7 or 8 p.m. and I know it can’t be done the next day, it has to be completed and even if I had an appointment with the Prime Minister himself, I would have to give up on that doubtful pleasure” (electric engineer, M, PC). If the procedures in a given branch or industry determine the pace of work, or a task or process cannot be interrupted, the tolerance and understanding for working overtime is very high: “In neurosurgery there is a job to do and many things must be adapted to that. I cannot leave a patient in the middle of an operation. I have never left work at 3.30 p.m.” (neurosurgeon, M, FTC). The necessity to complete a task is also a common reason for staying at work after hours. In the case of self-employed persons, the legal norms are treated merely as general guidelines – it is the completed task that counts: “There are times when you just have to keep working until it’s done, even if it means staying up until 3 a.m. (...) last time it happened on Corpus Christi day. I was sitting in front of the computer, finishing some work, and I sent an e-mail to the director, who is also constantly available on the phone. He thanked me for completing the job on time, but then he said << Przemek, please don’t spend the holiday in front of the computer screen>> (...) the work makes sense for me if I can make things easier for others, whatever that means, what I do must be useful for somebody. Whether I do it from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. or sometimes from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., or from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. and then I go to the cinema, is not really that important” (computer programmer, M, SE). It is important to draw attention to the very nature of the job as it largely determines the willingness to do overtime. If young professionals see the usefulness of their work and additionally like their professional duties, they do not have a problem with working overtime. Also seeing the value of work for others (helping others) or for themselves (pleasure from doing it) helps young, well-educated professionals to derive satisfaction from the tasks they perform.

Another factor motivating for longer work, at the expense of the free time or other personal plans, is the sense of belonging to a community which is a commitment but also allows young professionals to feel needed – responsible for a certain section of the process of creation: “I don’t treat this company like <<a Swiss>> – from 9 to 5 or from 8 to 4 and then goodbye. It is also a place of meeting with other people, my colleagues. (...) we are responsible for this project and although I do realize that as an assistant I am probably the most easily dispensable part of the team, I will also contribute to the success of the project“ (assistant architect, F, FTC). For young professionals, being part of a team is dignifying in a way – it lets them feel as a partner who is also important for the efficient and successful completion of a task. Belonging to a team compensates for other disadvantages of the job such as low salary or sense of insecurity resulting from the relatively small experience and low competence.

For specialists beginning their professional career, working overtime is treated as a form of investment in experience and competence. Longer working hours are officially a chance for on-the-job training, gaining experience, and enhancing personal development through performed tasks: “We often have to stay at work much
longer and put in much more work than we thought we’d have to. (...) private time has to be used for improving our skills and qualifications and expertise in a given field” (program coordinator, M, PC), “You have to do that in your private time, which means sacrificing your private time” (electrical engineer, M, PC). However, if we take a closer look, we can also notice the anxiety not to make a negative impression on the superior or the employer who can decide about our further career development prospects: “In my previous job some people wanted to show how committed they were and how hard they could work. I wouldn’t like to do overtime. In my opinion, I should do my best in eight hours and do everything I’ve got to do” (compliance specialist, F, FTC). Young professionals will not be willing to work longer hours only to make a good impression. They want to work honestly and intensively when such need arises – within their regular working hours or in overtime, but they not always see a similar approach in their working environment: “Unfortunately, I often see people treating the job as a necessary evil and the employer as a tyrant who, if possible, should be tricked or deceived” (computer programmer, M, SE), “It never happens that we go to the construction site and first thing we do is to have a coffee, breakfast, and then maybe around 10 a.m. we get down to some work if we feel like it. And then lunch and coffee around noon. There’s no such thing in our job. We respect each other and it pays off if everybody realizes that the harder, faster and more efficiently we work, of course without getting seriously overworked, the more profit our employer makes and consequently the more money will eventually end up in our pockets” (electrical engineer, M, PC). Reliability and honesty in performing professional duties are virtues which are particularly valued by young specialists due to the internalized norms or the desire to gain maximum benefits. They believe that such approach, regardless of their individual motivation, will pay off in the long run. Apart from pragmatism, they also display willingness to postpone rewards in time – one of the fundamental principles of capitalism.

Working Towards Personal Development

Young specialists have internalized the basic rule of the modern capitalism – professional success requires hard work even at the expense of private life. However, they do not agree to have their entire life subordinated to work. While they accept the necessity of putting in a lot of effort in order to gain experience and improve their professional skills and expertise, they do not plan to be equally engaged in work at the further stages of their career. The first few years on the job market are a period of adjustment to the professional work as the university courses have not equipped them with the necessary skills and expertise. Academic education is not regarded very highly: “You graduate and you have no skills, you start from scratch” (neurosurgeon, M FTC), “The system of education is obsolete, the teaching staff are in the same age as my grandfather, they are old professors, very few people remain at the university because they find it hard to break through the old mold (...) the equipment
is obsolete, there’s no investment, it’s all about cutting back on the expenses, there’s less and less money for practical training. When you leave such technical university you hit the reality head on (…) if I hadn’t arranged some part-time job in the profession while still at the university, I think all this education would be totally worthless” (electrical engineer, M, PC).

Due to their the critical assessment of the practical benefits of university and college education, young professionals feel the need to retrain or improve their skills and knowledge – whether it is on-the-job training or individual research: “I am working on a huge, prestigious project for the municipality, it is an advantage, (…) I can learn a lot of things… I have already learnt a lot” (construction site engineer, M, FTC), “[I will carry on working] as long as this job contributes to my professional development. If I see that I have no chance to get a permission to go to the construction site, and at the same time I will feel that I have learnt as much as I could and there’s nothing else the job can offer, I will change it. But right now, I still feel the job boosts my development” (assistant architect, F, FTC), “The most important thing for me now is to gain experience which will allow me to work on interesting projects. This is my main priority, to do interesting stuff” (electrical engineer, M, PC), “I am determined to go abroad to some Third World countries to gain experience (…) to improve my qualifications. I could go there even for a couple of years, just to get the experience” (architect, M, PC). Young professionals know that the time for gaining the first professional experience of any kind is particularly valuable, and, therefore, they really strive hard to achieve their goals. Intensive acquisition of a wide range of various competences and expertise is to pay off in the future with a wider career opportunities which will, on the one hand, ensure high remuneration and, on the other hand, will provide job satisfaction and self-fulfillment. A large role in creating opportunities to gain experience is attributed to the superiors. Superiors’ unwillingness to train young employees, is commonly assessed in a very negative way: “We were simply given the workload. He is not a person whose philosophy is << the young have to learn so I will help them do so>>, it was more like <<these young people, I just can’t work with them anymore, I’m fed up with them, really>>” (construction site engineer, M, FTC). They believe that it is the employers and the experienced colleagues who are crucial in turning the young employees into specialists in their field. Young professionals acknowledge that some of them display the “philosophy of facilitation” and willingness to carry on the “mission of training”: “My boss is a man with a mission. He is determined to create an opportunity for a Polish student to go abroad, that’s why we took on a girl from Bosnia. It actually didn’t make our work easier, just on the contrary, but he did it just for the very idea (…) If the employer wants to work with a young employee and lets him contribute some ideas to the design, it means a lot, and I believe my bosses let me do just that” (assistant architect, F, FTC). “Unhelpfulness of others can stymie the development. You can’t learn everything from the books” (neurosurgeon, M, FTC), “We have decided that working with my parents is the best option for me because I will never learn elsewhere all the important stuff that my parents will teach me” (architect, M, PC). Development opportunities created by superiors are one of the significant
factors for inexperienced professionals when choosing their workplace. It is a sign of mature approach to selecting their career path which is characterized by long term planning and not just immediate, short-term benefits.

Constant education is a chance for achieving higher career position. What young professional find most appealing about becoming specialized is not the possibility to increase their salary. They perceive higher qualifications as an advantage in moving around the job market, a possibility to work out a better work-life balance, and a tool for professional self-fulfillment and increasing the comfort of work. Therefore, one can assume that they perceive their current situation as fairly satisfying although hard and exhausting. They are tempted by the opportunities which are right now limited due to their lack of experience. Their professional plans and objectives are dominated by two options – becoming an expert or an entrepreneur. However, attempts to become one require time and experience that will allow a young professional to build self-confidence and position on the market: “I do not feel confident enough on the market to become a freelancer. (...) I would like to have my own office but I don’t have the ambition to do large projects independently. (...) I guess, such independence is quite attractive, it makes you self-reliant, you have more time for your family. It lets you achieve self-fulfillment in terms of job and family” (assistant architect, F, FTC), “It is cool because it is a very small niche and I would like to specialize in it and do something which maybe is not very common as there are only a handful of people who do it in Poland. I have been doing this for three or four years and if I wanted to change my job it opens a lot of doors for me. That’s why I want to learn as much as possible, and I think this is a good place to do it” (compliance specialist, F, FTC), “The really perfect arrangement would be to have my own business, to be able to organize everything on my own and have my own way” (supply quality inspector, F, FTC). Being self-employed or running own business seems to be an attractive prospect as it is perceived as a proof of achieving high professional position and independence, but it also means less physical effort put in the work: “In the future the self-employment option would suit me fine and I am planning to follow in that direction (...) right know, while I still have some motivation and drive, I would like to learn and get some hands-on experience, to build something or do some installation work. But I guess in thirty years’ time I won’t be willing to work so hard so I would like to be able to supervise some projects without having to spend so much time at the construction site as it might be quite tiring sometimes” (electrical engineer, M, PC). Such approach does not mean, however, that they do not realize the challenges connected with running their own business: “When you have your own business you are actually 24 hours a day at work, you have to keep tabs on what’s going on, to be constantly on stand-by, at least in the beginning” (electrical engineer, M, PC). Despite the obvious drawbacks, such career prospect seems to be more attractive than being just an employee.
Conclusion

Young professionals are not afraid of the terms and conditions of employment. They are capable of functioning in various non-standard forms of employment as long as the commonly agreed rules are respected and such cooperation can bring individual benefits. However, they are generally critical of any systems or arrangements in which the amount of effort and investment they put in far outweighs the expected returns and benefits from it, or in which they are not treated as partners (social security system, healthcare system, banking). Their fears result from the experience of having been “swindled” by another system – higher education. Contrary to the opinions spread by the media, they are much more willing to accept flexible forms of employment which provide the opportunity for development than being treated badly while on permanent contract. They crave attention and knowledge. An employer that will enable them to gain experience and develop professional expertise may gain a valuable and committed employee. However, we must not forget that an employee’s loyalty is guaranteed as long as the conditions for development and favorable atmosphere are maintained. Without these two factors, young professionals do not feel the obligation to work hard and will change the employer without regrets.

Also contrary to the popular belief, young professionals are willing to sacrifice their free time and private life provided they can see it as beneficial in the short and in the long run (gaining new skills and competence, additional remuneration which can be used for pursuing pastimes or life pleasures). They like to demonstrate their commitment and to prove that they work well. However, they find it difficult to maintain the committed style of work when they feel they are not understood and their efforts or initiatives are being frustrated. They consider more experienced colleagues as a source of knowledge and expertise. They often find, though, that not all colleagues are ready to share their experience and they find it discouraging and frustrating.

Young, well-educated professionals believe that the best way for them is the professional development which will enable them to become independent in the future. Right now they are intensively investing in their competences, some are planning to go on to do doctoral studies. They do all this with the view to setting up their own business in the future, becoming an experts or freelancers – to achieve high position in their profession and be able to decide more independently about their pace of work and working hours. They are not afraid of taking responsibility – they want to make decisions, create their own projects, receive appreciation. They strive to do things which they see as crucial for their development. Unfortunately, not all young professionals are given free rein at work; they are frequently denied acknowledgement for reasons they are not to blame for – young age and education which is irrelevant in the professional field. Strong, independent career position in the future is to compensate for the increased effort currently put in at work.
Summing up, young professionals do not feel threatened by exclusion from the job market due to the current, quite flexible terms of employment. Short/fixed-term contracts (made under the civil law) are appreciated not only by persons employed on their basis, but also by those employed under the permanent contracts, who notice certain benefits of such arrangement. The issue of having either a temporary or permanent contract is of lesser importance for young professionals as they are oriented on the career opportunities available in the long run. The career path towards their professional goals leads through reliable work which allows them to gain experience and competences which are desirable on the job market. They actively pursue this strategy by showing willingness to work hard, including overtime, and by active participation in projects contributing to their professional development. However, the consent to postpone the principle rewards (non-material ones, concerning high professional position in the future) creates a desire to get compensation in the form of immediate benefits (such as remuneration, good atmosphere at the workplace, sense of belonging to a team). They represent a work style which is commonly imposed on them due to the lack of relevant skills. It is then a mixture of pragmatism and ambition which may later turn them either into workaholics or experts striving at permanent professional self-improvement. Flexible forms of employment seem to prove their worth, at least in respect to the group of dynamic, well-motivated and competent specialists capable of active participation in the job market. Further along their career path, they are likely to seek more stability in their professional life as they believe that temporary, fixed-time employment contracts are a good solution only at the beginning of the career.

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The Problem and Researches

The ideals of equality are very important for millennia. In every time period they engrossed the minds of people of different social status. There is no philosopher that would not write about equality or at least remark upon that. There is and has been no politician, party, or social movement that would not manipulate the issue.

The problem of inequality is especially important for education. Partially because one cannot ignore the issue of equal allocation of educational opportunities provided by the society, i.e. opportunity to study and get a qualification; for many people, such opportunities are of value intrinsically. This is usually called terminal value, and it is especially important for all those who are involved with education professionally or in any other way. Another reason is that education, qualifications, and occupation aren’t necessarily just an inherent worth but also an instrument to reach goals and an investment capital. In such an instrumental (or even utilitarian) sense, educational opportunities also define access to other public goods later in life.

Equality is an urgent issue in many spheres besides education. Processes happening in the sphere of education reflect the situation in the country on the whole and make significant impact on the society.

A 1960s representative research by V. N. Shubkin carried out in Siberia (Shubkin et al 1964, Shubkin 1970) draw a lot of response in Russia, having showed that Russian society did have educational inequality, status transmissions and other similar phenomena common for other societies as well. It was proved that in reality, people coming from different backgrounds (e.g., from the elites and from lower social strata) had different opportunities. The propaganda-instigated myth was blown up by sociological research and disposed of with the help of scientific data.

A number of researchers in Russia and abroad believe it is most important to study young people’s attitudes and social behavior, in particular their attitude and commitment to reaching certain educational goals and their real opportunities at hand. This issue has been central to the sociology of education for decades now.
Contradictions between the declaratory equal rights to education and the real social stratification are quite rightfully approached as a societal problem. Its importance and timeliness can be seen from several interrelated aspects.

It is directly related to the issues of democracy and inequality, whose functions, in their turn, make them closely linked to educational system on the whole because educational opportunities define social mobility to a large extent.

This issue is also important from the point of view of the society’s intellectual potential. Social appeal of education for the youth, their educational goals and real opportunities for people from different social strata defines the society’s future level of education, and the number and quality of skilled workers, which is key to development in the modern world.

The issue itself is also directly related to what is called “social well-being”. Education lays the groundwork for further career and lifestyle differences between “weaker” and “stronger” groups. Individuals evaluate their place in the world prescribed by the society and the (un)fairness of their career in the given circumstances judging by the balance between their own expectations, plans and attitudes upon entering adult life and the opportunities-limiting reality. Understanding the inability to reach a desired status or life standards and to get favorite job inevitably leads to permanent dissatisfaction with one’s life. Young people get convinced that they are underprivileged and thrown out to the sidelines both in economic and social terms. Thus, they become an ideal subject for political manipulations, being rather a tool, instrument or material in the hands of other actors than an independent actor themselves.

The problem of inequality seems to be especially important in contemporary Russia, when social stratification and social mobility are becoming widely discussed. Current social situation makes one particularly worried about young people’s life tracks and the potential negative results of their setbacks and discontent. Speaking of the intellectual potential, the fact whether it is used efficiently or not will to a large extent be crucial to Russia’s position in the rapidly changing world. Each aspect of the problem is making its contribution to the public opinion and state policy in terms of defining demand for investments and developing potential policy strategies. Using new models of development, Russian society is bound to face their both positive and negative consequences and study the developing social mechanisms, emerging conflict and ways of conflict-solving on Russian cases. These are among the most pressing issues for the sociology of education in Russia.

Research results discussed hereafter have several things in common: they were aimed at describing young people’s chances at the start of their life, their expectations, and real opportunities in terms of education and social mobility.
Social Dynamics at Schools

Study materials\(^1\) showed that social differentiation at schools intensified alongside significant transformations in the country. Schools unwillingly became part of social selection, whose results manifested them again in an even rougher way at the end of the period. The period started at kindergarten level and developed all the way through to adolescence, when teens are expected to be under the supervision of the school. Let us examine the results of social selection in terms of the line-up of school graduates (we are speaking about full-time complete secondary education here), i.e. those of the young people who managed to overcome the ultimate barrier of the Russian education system on their way to a high social status, which necessarily requires a high level of education\(^2\).

As shown in Fig. 1, in the early 1960s, children of the administrators of Novosibirsk Region amounted to less than 1/10 of all daytime secondary schools in the region. Children coming from the families of skilled specialists made up to nearly 1/4 of the graduates, or 1/3 together with the former. 1/3 of all graduates came from blue-collar workers (including industrial workers and peasants) families, while slightly less than 1/4 came from white-collar families.

In the early 1980s, social composition of school graduates changed due to prior purposeful social policy aimed at making secondary education universal. By that time, the share of the age cohort completing senior secondary education had jumped from 30% to over 60%. The share of administrators' children had decreased twice, while the share of white-collars' children grew nearly by 30%, i.e. becoming the main source for mass education.

Even greater quantitative and qualitative changes followed. In 1994, administrators’ children comprised over 1/4 of all school graduates in the region, growing by 600% in relative terms. It had increased 7 times in comparison to the early 1980s and 3.5 times in comparison to the early 1960s. Administrators’ children became dominant at schools, while the share of blue-collar workers’ children declined 2.5 times.

\(^1\) Here and further data from a survey started in 1962 is used (Konstantinovskiy 2008, 24–121).

\(^2\) Data was analyzed by aggregate groups, where social status was defined by school graduates’ parents’ social position in terms of authority and property, as well as their employment and level of education. School graduates from several types of families were analyzed: children of administrators of highest, mid- and lowest ranks in the administration of the region, in the party, at factories, etc.; children of non-administrative specialists with higher education; children of employee with secondary vocational or general education; children of workers and peasants, i.e. people in non-administrative positions, with low educational level, doing manual labor. Such grouping is conventional for the Russian society and Russian sociology on the whole.

School students would fall into a certain category if both or at least one of their parents fit the description. If the parents were coming from different social groups, the one with a higher social status was taken into account (e.g., is a father taught at university and a mother was a lab assistant with secondary vocational education, their child would fall into the “specialists’ children” category). Of course, such an approach has its limitations; however, it allows to perform necessary analysis.

The 1994 survey sample also gave birth to a new category, which we called small businessmen’s children. Speaking of Novosibirsk Oblast, these were mostly children whose parents used to be engineers at research institutions or in the military industry but who were forced to open small jobbing shops or trade outlets or work as suitcase traders, bringing goods from abroad.
The results were tested on oversamples, where the percentage distribution among school graduates proved to be nearly the same as in the main sample. They were also tested on the data from local survey conducted in the same schools. Results by schools studied consequently in 1963 and 1983 or in 1983 and 1994 showed the same results as in the main sample, regardless of the level of urbanisation in the town.

Was this specific for Siberia? Survey data from Moscow, Novosibirsk and Krasnodar showed that children from higher social groups prevail among those who complete full secondary education in the capital, in the biggest Siberian city and in major city of the Russian South.

According to the figure, in 1998 the proportions of school graduates remained nearly the same. It is hard to escape a conclusion that the new situation had already establish and become stable by then. The leap and the transformations had been completed by 1994. The only group that strengthened its position was small businessmen’s children, who were hardly visible in 1994 (1.4%) but has already reached 13.4%, which is nearly the same as share as blue-collars’ children.

On the one hand, such changes partially reflect the transformations in the social structure; but on the other hand, our analysis leads us to believe that they are to a large extent defined by the deepening social differentiation in the sphere of education. It was interesting to compare the composition of students with the latest Census data; quantitative analysis of this data proved the trend of growing social differentiation in the sphere of education.

Studies show that there was re-allocation of opportunities for complete secondary education between the children of workers and peasants on the one hand and administrators’ children on the other hand in favor of the latter. The former were flunking out of the school.
system at earlier stages at an even faster pace. The total share of administrators’ and white-
collars’ children among school graduates reached 50%, i.e. the group that used to be the
biggest became a minority, while the smallest group got to include over 25% of all graduates.

Did the level of urbanization cause any changes in the social composition of
children completing full secondary education?

Relative changes in the social composition of school graduates in Novosibirsk city
was analyzed, as well as in other cities, small towns, and villages of Novosibirsk Region. The
analysis showed specific aspects of the changing profile of general secondary educations.
The effect of certain factors was different across different social groups, i.e. they caused
different behavioral changes in young people. Nation-wide factors that affected all social
strata in the country had different consequences for different social groups among the
youth. Such groups weren’t at the same “starting level” in terms of the perception of
external influences: each had their own living conditions, interests, traditions, values in
terms of education or the status of various professions, and, of course, their own cultural,
social and financial capital. They also varied in terms of their reaction on external
conditions depending on their informational environment and other factors.

How did such changes occur?

It is important that withdrawal from school at various levels (often called
“flunking out”) grew significantly in the period analyzed. Official statistics show
when the most intense stage of the process began. Let us only use the most vivid cases
(Fig. 2). Fig. 2 shows the growing level of withdrawal from school in various grades.

![Fig. 2. Decrease in the number of school students from the 7-th to the 8-th
and from the 8-th to the 9-th grades (difference in the number of students
at the beginning of an academic year). Russia](image)

**Source:** primary data of Federal Service of State Statistics.

**Notes:** For transition from the 7-th to the 8-th grades the number of students is given according to the lists at the beginning
of an academic year for the 7-th grade and the lists at the beginning of a year excluding pupils who repeats a year and newly
arrived for the 8-th form (migrants at alias). For transition from the 8-th to the 9-th form – similarly.
Withdrawal from grades was relatively low and stable in the early 1980s but it began to grow in 1986-1987, when the social and economic changes in the country were becoming visible. The process continued to intensify and reached its peak by mid-90s.

Such dynamics, of course, can be explained by social reasons. In the early 1980s, the number of school graduates changed through unequal influxes of boys and girls coming from various social groups (as shown in a comparative study of the 1963 and 1983 surveys). Reverse processes happening in the 1990s were similarly caused by the refluxes of various groups, some of which could be compared to streamlets while others — to real rivers.

Why would students leave grades so often? There were of course economic reasons, as mentioned above already: one doesn’t really think about school when the family is experiencing hardships and one has to help their parents. Another reason was the sliding appeal of education on the school in those difficult times when a successful person was the one who had a stand at a local market, not the one with two degrees. Such changes, however, had begun even earlier: professions requiring vocational training or higher education were becoming less and less prestigious (Konstantinoskiy 1999, 188–131), and the youth are of course very sensitive to such processes. Such conditions just helped young people use their right to choose their path in life freely.

Data from mid-2000s bring evidence of further changes: blue-collars’ children were coming back to school again (since the economic situation was not that pressing anymore and education was becoming prestigious once again). This gives clear proof that secondary education is becoming nearly universal. The flunking out rate has been decreasing, though it is still higher than in the 1980s. This means that teens aren’t just using their right to choose their life path but also making use of their right to education, guaranteed by Article 43 of the Constitution. Apparently, their financial situation has been getting better on the whole too, since children can actually go to school (especially when school education can be quite costly).

At the same time, it is important to remember a very important and highly powerful institutional factor that causes a lower flunking out rate, or rather forces students to stay at school. The reason is a new school funding scheme, i.e. per capita financing, which means that schools with few students are bound to be shut down. School teachers and administrators therefore risk losing their jobs and getting the jobs they might not like, so school teachers are trying to do all they can in order to preserve the same number of students, e.g. they are recommended highly against awarding the lowest grades. This is quite dangerous because it can devolve in the situation when students would just pretend to study and teachers would pretend to teach.

This can also cause a potential collapse in the quality of education, which is especially important in the modern world. This is the price of reducing flunking out rate and ensuring the survival of certain schools, which has becoming a major problem for the Russian system of education nowadays.
Modern Schools

A study of Russian schools\(^1\) was conducted in 2000s. It helped identify several types of schools in terms of the resources they had (including material resources, i.e. building, library, equipment, etc., and symbolic resources) and educational performance (it was measured by the results of school graduates’ Uniform State Examination – USE and their admission to universities rate).

As a result, the schools were divided into 8 clusters. There is no direct relationship between school type and performance, yet the results varied greatly. Cluster 1: without any special status or profile, with a low share of prime grade teachers, rarely have their own web-site and e-mail address, with a significant share of at-risk students (some of them even registered with the police). Most of such schools are rural. Their graduates show low USE results and rarely go to universities. Cluster 8: schools with a special status (usually gymnasiums) and some kind of educational profile or enhanced instruction in certain disciplines, often providing some extra services. Such schools have a large share of prime grade teachers and non-budgetary financing, well-equipped libraries, etc. Students coming from such schools show the best performance at USE and have the highest university admission rate. More than 50% of such schools are situated in the capitals of Russian regions.

Let us analyze the accessibility of education at different kinds of schools, i.e. access to education of different quality, from the point of view of obstacles, or barriers, on the way to getting an education.

Barriers include a combination of factors that make it difficult to get to a school from certain cluster for a student with limited resources. Key feature of any barrier is its height, or intensity level. It is determined by the probability of a student who doesn’t have enough resources to overcome the barrier enrolling to and graduating from a certain school. Let us look into the most important barriers.

**The socio-cultural barrier** shows us the importance of family’s social and cultural capital. There is a clear relation between the quality of secondary education and the parents’ education, sector of employment, and position.

Parents’ education is the first indicator of the socio-cultural barrier (Fig. 3). Only 28–29% of parents in cluster 1 schools have higher education versus 77–80% in cluster 8. There is a nearly linear dependence (though one cannot really talk of linear dependence in a cluster model due to the fact that “quality increase” from cluster to cluster is not linear itself). With a hook at the end, we can conclude that the probability of a child of non-degree parents getting into a cluster 8 schools is around 20%, and this barrier is rather high.

Another indicator of the socio-cultural barrier is parents’ sector of employment. In cluster 1 schools, two thirds of the fathers work in the industrial sector versus only 40% in the cluster that includes the best gymnasiums. 36% of the mothers in the

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\(^1\) This part of chapter is based on the data of a 2005–2006 survey of Russian schools (Konstantinovskiy, Vachstain, Kurakin, Roshchina 2006). (In Russian).
latter cluster work in science, education or healthcare (country average being 27%), and only 17% of the mothers in the same cluster work in service industry (country average being 29%).

**Fig. 3. Parents’ education as an indicator of socio-cultural barrier: the share of parents with higher education. Russia, 2006**

The third indicator is parents’ positions. The better the school, the fewer mothers do any kind of manual labor, their share being 39% in cluster 1 and only 8% in cluster 8. There are more mothers working in executive positions at schools with better performance, their biggest share being 14% in cluster 8 schools (country average being 6%). Father’s position is no less important. In cluster 1 schools, 2% of all fathers are business managers and 57% are blue-collars while in cluster 8 schools 11% of fathers are senior business managers (twice the country average) and only 12% are blue-collars (nearly one third of the country average).

These are the key indicators of the socio-cultural barrier: parents’ education, sphere of employment, and position. Their cumulative effect makes this barriers one of the highest in the contemporary situation of inequality, therefore having a significant social and cultural capital in the family is key to getting good education, which would ensure rising social mobility or at least help children preserve their parents’ social status.

The territorial barrier is nearly equal to the socio-cultural barrier in terms of its height. It includes the type of settlement, distance between school and home, transport availability, number of school available, and the level of urbanization. Any of this factors can become either an obstacle of resource on the way to getting an education.

Type of settlement is important as a territorial inequality factor in terms of getting complete secondary education. Good schools are mostly situated in big cities and administrative centers of the regions (Fig. 4). “Ordinary” schools are, on the contrary, mostly situated in urban-type settlements and local centers, rarely in big cities. Data from a pan-Russian survey suggest that a child living in the rural area or in a small urban-type settlement has practically no chances of studying at a cluster 6 or cluster 8 school, unless territorial deprivation is somehow compensated for.
It is also important that nearly 60% of all students and their parents are concerned the proximity of school when choosing one. This reason is most important in cluster 1 and cluster 2 schools (68–69% of the respondents) and much less important in the “best” clusters (35% of the respondents). Location is a highly differential factor that draws the line between the “best” schools and all the rest (in a way, in defines the students and parents in the latter).

Territorial barriers are complex and diverse not just because of the large number of collateral factors that only fix inequality and help replicate it further. The importance of the territorial barrier is also caused by the strong interdependence between horizontal and vertical mobility. People who are not “confined” to a particular spot and are ready (can afford) to “chase quality” have better chances in life nowadays. Due to the high level of differentiation across schools, territorial mobility in secondary education is become as important as in higher education. Our survey has only proved that this is true in a post-industrial society.

The economic barrier is not the last in the list of the most prominent barriers. When analyzing economic inequality as a factor of schools stratification, one should take into account both explicit (family income) and latent factors of accessibility of education (which, for example, is not always officially commercial).

The most explicit differentiating factor is financial standing. In cluster 1 schools, 30% of students and their parents say that they only earn “enough to buy essentials” versus 13% in cluster 8 schools. The answer “We can afford anything we want, we have no financial problems” was chose by 5% of the respondents from “low-level” schools and 13% of the respondents from the “best” schools. If comparing clusters 1 and 8, family’s financial standing is evidently seen as key factor for the accessibility of good education. The picture is even clearer when analyzing the answers to the question whether the family owns a computer. In cluster 1 schools, 38% of the families have a computer, while in clusters 6 and 8, 87–87% of the families do. This does not just show the correlation between financial standing and quality of the school but also the
parents’ degree of engagement in intellectual labor (such families are usually better “equipped” and more “computerized”) or their readiness to spend more in order to provide their children with quality education.

Another research problem is fee for education (Fig. 5), which is one of the key factors of the economic barrier. Less than 1% of the respondents in cluster 1 said that education at their schools was “on a paying basis only” versus 7% in cluster 8. The situation with “admission fee” is nearly the same: such fee is a barrier on the way to cluster 8 (and also cluster 7) schools: 12% of parents from such schools said they had had to pay some kind of such fee. 40% of cluster 1 respondents said their children’s education was fully free versus 11% in cluster 8.

Fig. 5. Economic barrier: education fee. The share of schools fully free of charge.
Russia, 2006.

Clusters

We can conclude that the economic barrier is based on both formal and informal payment mechanisms, as well as on the existing economic stratification. It also includes personal, subjective reasons, such as attitudes to and perception of paid for education as being a real barrier on one’s way to a good school. Such perceptions, especially prominent among families from “low-level” schools, only contribute to the inequalities of opportunities.

Youth’s Intentions

Young people’s personal life plans begin to take shape shortly before their graduation. They are based on young people’s attitudes to different professions, social statuses, life path opportunities and, therefore, take reality into account.

1 From here on, the paper is based on the data of a survey started in 1962 (D. L. Konstantinovsky 2008, 122-255). In the spring shortly before graduation from school, students are asked to evaluate the appeal of different professions and describe their intentions, while in the fall of the same year they are asked to talk about the real steps taken.
In has been shown throughout the years that young people’s life plans differ depending on their parents’ social and professional status. The higher the status, the more strongly young people wanted to continue their education at universities. At any taken year of the time series, the share on young people intending to get a university degree correlated positively with their parents’ social and professional status. Students coming from lower backgrounds usually prefer other educational institutions.

In Fig. 6, one can see the typical structural differences in terms of life plans among school graduates coming from different social groups. Administrators’ children are the most ambitious and intend to get higher education; specialists’ children allow for other life paths besides higher education; white-collars’ children have an even lower level of aspirations; while blue-collars’ children are the most “pliable” and unpretentious.

The data collected over a long period of time helped see a changing correlation between life intentions of school graduates coming from different social groups and the changes in the social situation in general. It had a certain effect in all social groups regarding educational opportunities. It forced young people to realign their intentions taking the reality into consideration. However, certain aspects of the situation had a different effect in different social groups. Survey data analysis helps see the dynamics between young people’s intentions, changes in the system of secondary education, and changing attitudes towards different professions.

**Fig. 6. Structure of upper-grade students’ personal plans (those who plan as % of group amount). Distribution by parents’ social-professional status.**
Novosibirsk Region, 2004
One can assume that school level young people’s intentions. At least, there are reasons to believe that those who went to senior high school in the 1960s and 1990s did so because their life goals required a higher educational level; such goals usually included getting a university degree. However, some young people lower their ambitions at the end of general secondary education when they get to get to know their own limitations better.

The formation of life plans can be seen an important intrinsic part of the process of socialization. Taking into consideration the results of the study, one has to admit that at this stage of socialization, young people from the bottom of the social hierarchy are often forced to acknowledge inequality, especially when it comes to educations, and to readjust their life strategies so that it matches the reality.

Similar results were found when analyzing life plans of young people finishing schools in the areas with a different level of urbanization.

Young people in the regional administrative centers were the most ambitious, followed by young people from smaller cities and towns and, finally, those from rural areas. In other words, the higher the level of urbanization in the area a person when to school in was, the more they would focus on continuing their education. This has proved to be a distinct, long-standing, steady correlation.

Senior high school students’ life plans according to the level of urbanization are shown in Fig. 7.

Research data helped see group dynamics and identify the levels of “persistence” and “pliability” in a changing situation. For example, the number school graduates from regional centers in the 1980s intending to pursue higher education decreased by 20% only, in contrast to other groups, and got back to the previous level in the 1990s, becoming nearly equal to the 1960s situation.

Fig. 7. The structure of school graduates’ personal life plans (% of those who voiced an intention among the group). Distribution by the level of urbanization. Novosibirsk Region, 1998
On the whole, survey data suggest that such factor as the level of urbanization is significant when it comes to young people’s life plans. This factor has been having the same regulatory control. Young people coming from areas with different levels of urbanization readjust their life intentions differently; their reactions to the changes of the social situation in general also vary. It is quite clear that the situation with life plans also varies from region to region due to educational infrastructure, labor market, population composition, and other regional elements.

Upon Graduation: First Real-life Steps

Survey data show that children coming from different social groups have different chances of getting admitted into different educational institutions; social background influence deeply life opportunities. Together with the different opportunities for complete secondary education, this shows evidence for the existence of social inequality in education. School graduates’ chances for getting into university have always correlated with their parents’ status.

Figure 8 shows different types of social behavior in terms of education among senior high school students.

Fig. 8. The first life steps of youth after they graduated from secondary school. Distribution by parents’ social status (%), Novosibirsk Region, 2004

The position of children coming from relatively high social groups in education can be described as follows. During the whole survey, administrators’ and specialists’ children showed the strongest intentions at enrolling at universities at senior high
school level. In contrast, blue-collars’ and sometimes white-collars’ children rarely showed any intention to go to university; they were rarely seen among school graduates or even newly admitted students. This is the mechanism of social selection that regulates the transition from complete secondary to higher education.

Young people coming from the top of the social hierarchy were more selective in terms of reproducing and increasing their social status, level of education, future sphere of employment and even specific profession. Such people have got to comprise most those getting a degree in economics, finance, or law. These are the spheres that are considered to be the most prestigious and high-profile and that can bring young people their long-awaited privileged positions in a restructuring society.

Time series also proved that school graduates’ opportunities also depended on the situational dynamics, i.e. on the extent to which the behavior of young people from different social groups was influenced by the situation.

The higher the level of urbanization in the area the school is situated in, the better young people’s chances in education are. This trend is evident for the whole period of study. School graduates in regional administrative centers had the best chances of becoming university students, followed by young people from smaller cities and towns, with rural school graduates having practically no chances to continue their education.

Rural school graduates would most often go to specialized secondary schools, followed by those from towns and cities, unlike students from regional centers who would rarely pursue such education. New students of vocational schools usually come from small towns or from the rural area but rarely from big cities and regional centers.

It seems to be interesting to investigate the combined influence of parents’ status and urbanization. We can see the dynamics of the first steps upon graduation undertaken by the representatives of high-potential (“strong”) group and outsider (“weak”) group. This can be considered an attempt to study initial life strategies of young people in very different starting conditions. This also helps understand the life paths of young people from intermediary social groups.

Administrators’ daughters from regional centers represent a “strong” group case. The majority of such girls would inevitable enroll at universities (Fig. 9).

In the past couple of decades, nearly every fifth female student would take up economics or finance. Among other appealing professions are law, mass communications, and IT. Those of administrators’ daughters who went to colleges and vocational schools would choose courses in the sphere of economics, finance, trading, or management. Some of them really wanted to pursue a career in the chosen sphere but for most them is was seen as a backup plan for “losers”.

The situation was very different with their peers coming from peasant families (Fig. 10).
Peasant girls in our sample who manages to get into university usually chose pedagogics. Apparently, this is typical for rural girls, especially those from peasant families; this represents a very popular group-specific life model. Those who went to specialized secondary schools usually chose secondary medical or pedagogical schools. Those who chose to pursue vocational training most often went in for the courses related to economics and finance, e.g. accounting.
Conclusion: What Does It Mean?

As the research briefly presented above suggests, social differentiation in the sphere of education in Russia increased over the years of social transformations. This can be seen both in young people’s real life paths chosen in terms of education and in the structure of their life plans, which shows that young people are especially sensitive to external signals.

The situation changed so that opportunities for the representatives of different social groups in terms of secondary education became seemingly equal. However, in reality, there is even more differentiation among schools in terms of the quality of education and performance, and each type of schools is aimed at serving a particular social group. The varying quality of secondary education is key factor to young people’s chances of going to university. Children coming from the higher social strata still receive a better education and are more successful on their way to higher education. In other words, educational inequality has not decreased. Therefore, unfortunately, there still is inequality in terms of access to vocational and higher education too. Young people coming from the lower social groups are still bound to go to “weaker” schools and remain on the outside.

Inequality in terms of access to quality education, which is a key to social mobility, remains an important social problem. It is quite clear that those whose parents can afford a good school, extra studies and a good university have better chances of receiving high-quality education at good schools and universities and getting prestigious jobs.

One has to admit that we are now experiencing the transformations of the certain functions of education, and such processes are not limited to Russia only. They went from social selection at the beginning of the XX century, which anchored the then-existing social stratification, through a meritocratic ideology, which gave grounds for the attempts to provide equal opportunities in education (somewhat successful in terms of secondary education but unsuccessful in terms of higher education), to the current “parentocratic” model, meaning that “children’s education is becoming more and more dependent on their parents financial standing and aspirations, rather than their own talents and efforts” (Brown 1992). Such differentiation is clearly seen at schools already and becomes even more transparent in higher education, affecting young generation’s life trajectories and aggravating social inequality even further.

However, it would be wrongful and meaningless to blame the educational system itself only. It only reflects what is happening in the society on the whole. The educational reform that is being discussed addresses some of the issues above, of course, but it can neither solve them nor aggravate the situation too much. The educational system is just a mirror of the society.

Is it possible to level opportunities in education at all?

There are, of course, certain mechanisms but not always were they used positively. For example, administrative measures aimed at regulating the composition of university students in the USSR in the 1970s (e.g. privileges for villagers or people sent by certain plants or kolkhozes; quotas for experienced workers, etc.) changed student
community for a while. However, this concerned first-year students only because most of the “privileged” students would drop out before graduation (Aitov & Filippov 1988). Moreover, such measures triggered a drop in the quality of education because universities had to lower the standards. Also, contrary to the expectations, blue-collars’ children did not really want to continue their education (Gerchikova 1988). In other words, this approach turned out to be inefficient and only caused negative changes.

It is quite clear that direct action should not target educational system only; it should be complex and be based on stable financial and administrative support. It is especially efficient at earlier ages. Therefore, it is very important to focus on developing preschool education.

The programs aimed at neutralizing negative social and economic effects can be quite diverse across different regions and should take into consideration social stratification and the situation with education. They should be subject to manifold unbiased evaluation that would also list potential opportunities and real limitations. Such programs should be developed with a clear understanding of their potential results and consequences in all possible spheres and aspects. We can be sure that they would be ambiguous and would possibly bring out further contradictions, which, in their turn, would require new responses. This, however, cannot be used as an argument against any kind of research or practical measures.

The issue of the costs suggested by researches is inappropriate. The society is changing and, therefore, constantly challenged by a broad range of social consequences, some of them definitely positive, others implicitly negative, which require some kind of response. The most important thing is that the society should not give some groups more opportunities at the expense of others. Discrimination measures are absolutely unacceptable, and the society should aim at leveling the opportunities for young people no matter what their social background is.

References


YOUNG WORKERS AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Keywords: young workers, educational and professional trajectories, higher education, qualitative sociological research

The growing role of the economy based on knowledge and new technologies, the qualitative transformations in a social sphere, described as a transition to an information society, make more and more high demands to competence of labor personnel and, as a whole, to the educational level of the modern young worker, in particular.

In such context the special urgency is got by studying of requirements and motivations and also behavior in a sphere of education of groups of youth which become workers and whose educational activity is far from that is shown by other social groups of youth which in a mass order go to higher schools. What place do practices of getting higher education occupy in the careers of young workers? How do the youth with higher education present themselves on the positions of industrial workers? What senses of getting higher education which the young workers put in its achievement and practices of its use? The youth with diplomas of higher education in a status of workers of industrial enterprises – the phenomenon is far from the most mass in a working environment, but according to the authors’ opinion rather symptomatic.

This article is based on the results of the qualitative sociological research of educational and professional trajectories of young workers to which the quantitative research of this category of youth preceded and with which it methodologically and methodically is closely connected. Both stages have been carried out in 2009-2010 by a collective of Department of education sociology of the Institute of sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences under the direction of D. L. Konstantinovsky.

In 2009 there has been carried out the mass sociological poll of 1000 young workers of the basic manufactures of the industrial enterprises of big cities in 13 regions of Russian Federation¹. At the second stage – a qualitative research (2010) – on

¹ The polled workers were distributed in equal shares on 13 regions of Russian Federation according a type of manufactures (hi-tech and processing), on three age groups of youth: 1) till 20 years; 2) 20-24 years; 3) 25-29 years.
the base of a typology of trajectories revealed during the poll there were interviewed representatives of the addressed chosen groups of young workers at a part of objects where earlier there were carried out the quantitative polls.

The quantitative research has allowed to reveal three models of educational-professional trajectories of the young workers conditionally named “horizontal”, “progressing” and “vertical”. The most widespread model of development of the working trajectory – “horizontal” (about 60% polled) – is characterized by a low level of school education, basically in a volume of non-full secondary school, studying of working profession at PC (professional college) and at a workplace. The workers representing this type of trajectories according to their social origin mainly regard to low-resourced groups: natives from working families prevail and a share of the former people of villages, working settlements and small cities is rather high. As a rule, such workers at the enterprises fill a segment of workplaces of a low and average qualification. They are not motivated on an active professional advancement and increasing of education but also they are not oriented on an exit from a profession. There have been prevailed the requirements in stability, guaranteed employment, social privileges and good salary. Here the most stable working personnel is concentrated.

“The progressing” trajectory being smaller in sizes than the previous (27% polled) is characterized by the greater volume of school capital and the more intensive accumulation of educational-professional resources. The working origin remains to be dominated but there are greatly less nonresidents here than in the previous group. Among representatives of this trajectory there are more those who has finished SSC (secondary special colleges), has trained at the educational centers of the enterprise, improve their qualification and pass re-training that leads to high enough qualifying categories. At the same time the further growth of the majority of representatives of the “progressing” trajectory appears to be limited by technological possibilities of manufactures. As a result the given trajectory partially forms “stable” workers and partially those “transit” which realize the requirement for professional growth by study at higher schools and at SSC not leaving their work at manufacture.

The “vertical” trajectory is traced among the smaller part young workers (16 % polled). This youth is distinguished by the presence of the full secondary education got as a rule at a day school or at SSC and also intensive improvement of qualification. The social origin from working families remains to be typical for this model that doesn’t exclude a certain share of natives from families of employees including with secondary special or (seldom) higher education (more often among mothers). The youth representing this trajectory forms by itself a sector of the most qualified labor personnel. The great volume of a general educational resource stimulates educational ambitions which are realized through

1 Strategy of qualitative research – scrupulous studying of the separate, relatively, limited in scales object (groups of young workers with different educational-professional trajectories) had dictated the necessity of collecting and analysis of information on a method of case-study. As the instrumentation there has been chosen the deep interviewing allowed focus attention as on a subjective vision by participants of their social situation and on collecting of information on objective characteristics of study and works of respondents. As a result of applying of purpose-oriented sample there has been carried out, collected and processed 62 interviews with young workers.
getting of higher education not leaving the job. Generally, such strategy is directed on an exit from a profession of the worker and advancement to positions of engineer-technical workers at their enterprise that doesn’t mean full leaving the industrial sphere.

For the given article there have been selected the interviews to those young workers whose educational-professional trajectories regard to “vertical” model and that part “progressing” which are characterized by the achievable intentions. The educational ways of these young workers, anyhow, are crossed with higher education: or it has been got prior to the beginning of labor activity or it is got in the course of labor activity, or there were attempts of its getting or respondents expressed intention of its getting in the future.

**In Workers – After Higher School**

The special and the smallest group is made of that youth which comes to the industrial enterprises as workers after graduating from the day higher school. In turn it shares on those who got higher education on technical profession at the local polytechnical, technological universities or in their branches, and those who trained by professions which do not have any relation to the industry.

The youth with higher school diplomas which finds a job at the industrial enterprises as workers – as a whole seems to be abnormal phenomenon. The impossibility of employment adequate to diplomas is one of the keen problems of development both a system of professional education and a labor market. By the results of the poll, 5.9% of the youth occupied on places of workers of the basic manufactures of the industrial enterprises have higher education. Thus, coming to a working place after graduating from the higher school more than in 70% of cases they began with a position of the pupil or from working professions of the lowest categories.

The analysis of materials of the interview has shown that those who «goes in workers» after getting higher education, as a rule, are those who has seriously made a mistake in a choice of profession, and whose diplomas have appeared to be “filkin” diploma at a labor market as their holders haven’t understood their real possibilities for the successful employment adequate to the received diploma. The principal cause of the forced choice of a working profession is the lowest level of salaries of young specialists in a number of highly skilled spheres, in particular in budgetary sphere. Maxim A. (No 37 from a working family)1 – a collector- klepalshchik has received higher pedagogical education at the Tatar state humanitarian-pedagogical university, from recent time he works at the same enterprise where also parents-workers worked: “It is necessary to live. How much money does teacher receive when he graduates from the institute? It is four-five thousands? And how will you live on such money?”. However the low salaries of the young specialists seem to be the main, but not the unique reason of non-use of the received diploma. There are a lot of different reasons for the forced choice of the working status.

1 When citing it is indicated the name of interviewed and N of its registration in database.
So, for the youth polled by us the accidental character of a choice of a profession is typical on a principle of large availability (territorial and financial) of the higher school without a special interest to a received profession. Such non-motivated choice promotes that in the further life career the got education doesn’t find application. Lyusya (No 1) – electro-assembler: «has graduated from the South Russian humanitarian institute, advertizing faculty ... even did not try to go to work on this profession... has graduated institute and a month later has come to work at a factory”. Lyucya’s parents – workers at the same factory, they also promote her employment using the established relations and contacts at “their” enterprise: “At the beginning I was a pupil for five months. I had a small salary. Then I have received the category and now I already work as the electro-assembler of ...the third category” Lyusya states a weak hope that in the future she will find application of the got education:” Well, I have got higher education, maybe, in future it will be useful”. From the interview follows that higher education for Lycuya was represented as a certain guarantee of the best position in life. Today she does not exclude the possibility of getting in the future and the second higher education, and as well without sense. On a question “What would you like to do in a sense of studying?” she answers:”I would like to work by the second education – and what is the second education? – Psychology. – And why is psychology? What attracts you in this profession? – It is simply interesting for me”.

From the interview’s materials follow that the great part is played by the insistent advises of parents orienting children on getting higher education sometimes contrary to interests of children (when these interests do not connect with getting higher education). Sergey (No 5 from a working family) having finished a full secondary school wanted to go to Army, but “parents were against. I listened to parents, there were little brains. My mother had a good friend. And I with this guy for the company have gone to the Rostov state university on the day faculty – computer safety. It seems to be a good profession. I can make there any algorithm, something mathematically, and the programming language was difficult for me. It was difficult to realize the program, to write for this purpose. Because of that I never worked on a profession. My soul doesn’t accept it. The crisis has begun and I decided to come to this enterprise [where parents work]. I became to work as a pupil of klepalshchik”.

The informational narrowness of parents (which mainly belong to working class) concerning intellectual kinds of activity, the brainwork world is a general typological property of people with a small volume of cultural capital. As P. Bourdieu shows, the decisions in such families concerning educational strategy of children (behind which there are decisions on a choice of professions) are accepted under the influence of late signals of a labor market, under the influence of personal experience which appears devaluated by the time when their children reach to getting diploma (Bourdieu 1978:8.). Denis B. (No 54 from a working family) – the dyer of the 4th category wanted “to be military man. Tried, but couldn’t enter. He has gone to the Vyazemsky branch of the university, on a day department, on a profession of economist, manager. Studied at the paid department, parents paid. Why have you chosen this profession? – The father advised. Tried to search for a work right after
institute – there wasn’t work. I have read in the announcement that the dyers were required, and the salary was good … Having come here after training I receive at once the 4th category which I have now”.

It is characteristic that, having convinced in that the received diploma is not required the parents who before oriented their children on continuation of study, help them with employment, as a rule, at the same enterprises where they work. In the rules of families of this type the values of higher education aren’t dominated, getting of it has no deep traditions. In such context returning of children with higher education on positions of workers is perceived without special frustrations, their coming to manufacture is facilitated both psychologically and practically thanks to a working origin. All occurs so as if the received higher education for them was sooner to be an accidental episode in the educational-professional trajectory, caused by extended access to its reception. At the same time coming of such young specialist at the industrial enterprise as a worker is represented quite natural. Moreover, time spent for study in a day higher school, as if “is subtracted” from the subsequent working career: its development in many respects is late, especially if the profile of a profession of study and a workplace don’t coincide at all.

Meanwhile, such not required according to direct appointment higher education brings its dividends. The presence of higher education especially if its profile to some extent coincides with a character or a content of the performed work at the enterprise now lead to the fast increment of qualifying categories in a working profession. Evgeny (No 19, father – driver, mother – economist) having finished mathematical secondary school enters the higher school: “I graduated from the Yaroslavl Demidovsky day university with specialization of “applied mathematics”. But I understood that I hadn’t got specialization I wanted. I decided to try to go [to a factory] why not. But I haven’t industrial profession, I never saw machine tools. And I was taken as a serviceman. At once I have got the sixth category as I had the higher technical education”. Practically irrespective of a profile the higher education opens prospects of growth to positions of heads of the lowest link – masters, foremen, i.e. the posts demanding communicative and administrative abilities: “I was even a senior master … now I am simply a foreman. Now I work more with people”. Evgeny realizes that for achieving of a position of an engineer it would be necessary of getting of the second higher education more corresponding to specialization of the given manufacture: “If I wanted to realize my diploma then on the other specialization. It is necessary to get the second higher education, any economic”.

Because of the long time given to study at a day higher school the process of development of working career is slowed down, however the presence of higher education strengthens young workers in their achievable intentions. The same Sergey (No 5) at a higher school got a profession to which “his soul doesn’t lie” is assured of prospects of his growth: “If I work as a collector-klepalschik it doesn’t mean that I work so all my life. The fifth category is not a limit of dreams for me. Now I have the third category and this is a matter of time”. It is possible to assume that a position of a specialist with higher education on a position of a worker – a phenomenon of time.
Young Workers and Higher Education

Sergey – and people like him – during improvement of an economic conjuncture will try to use their diploma for the designated purpose. However under conditions of the crisis development the presence of such workers at the industrial enterprises is prolonged and in a process of adaptation to their position they more and more “grow to” the enterprise connecting their future with a socially-professional growth here.

From the interview’s materials it is seen that workers with higher school diplomas in their plans don’t exclude getting the second higher education. Such prospect at the acquired attitude to education, readiness and ability to study seems to be quiet real for young workers. In this case they already regard to a choice of a profession more purposefully taking into account the requirements and possibilities of the manufacture on which they work that can help them to engage as well as engineering and supervising positions. Already mentioned Maxim A. (No 37) with a diploma of a teacher doesn’t exclude the second education: “I still will go to study. At first I will study at a college, and then at KAI [the Kazan aviation institute]. After finishing a college I can get the fourth category, and after graduated from KAI – the fifth and higher. I plan to remain and grow here”.

The given cases show that the fact of getting higher education not supported by other kinds of resources – cultural capital of a family, social status of parents, their professional statuses under conditions when higher education (in its mass variant) becomes more accessible, and highly qualified and well paid workplaces more scarce doesn’t greatly change a trajectory predetermined by the frames of a working family. However the presence of higher education and the diploma confirming it for the young worker becomes his personal cultural and social resource on which possibilities and prospects of the further advancement are being constructed.

Higher Education without Leaving a Job

By the results of quantitative poll, the young workers studied at the moment of poll at higher schools have made 13.4% of a sample. They represent the most qualified personnel: 49.6% have the mass third category, but 35.2% – the fourth, 12.0% – the fifth and 3, 2 – the sixth category. The majority of studied at higher schools doesn’t connect their future with working professions: about 70% don’t intend to remain workers. This category of youth represents the “transit” workers who consider their stay on these positions as non-continuous.

The position of a specialist-engineer is a position to which the young workers are aspiring entering the correspondence higher schools. The prospects of such professional growth are highly estimated by respondents. However here all depends on has the enterprise appropriate vacancies. Young workers with diplomas quite often motivate a refusal from official growth also with that the salaries of young specialists are lesser than earnings of the workers having more possibilities for additional earnings. All labor life of Leonid (No 49), the fitter of the fifth category is subordinated to searches of adequately paid work. Having demobilized from the Army
he entered the Kazan aviation institute on the evening department. Simultaneously with study he worked, changed work places: “For two years I worked everywhere. It was a time when everywhere were non-payments of salary, therefore it was necessary to run about. Then I worked in the security service, it was such period, because of money. Then again I returned to factory. I took the academic vacation two times, therefore I studied eight years. When I graduated from KAI it was necessary to work as a fitter at an aircraft engine. The salary was small, though I was an engineer. It was necessary to pass in working class having higher education. When I got this work I was given the fifth category, and I work so up to now. What for I studied, working here with higher education?”.

The young workers show the high status ambitions which realization also assumes getting diploma of higher education. Michael A. (No 11) graduated from the higher school and works as a radio mechanic of the fourth category. He has a purpose “to take an engineer post. Though, there is no clearness in this respect. I do not know, time will show. When there will be a diploma then it will be clear – Whom you would like to become in your profession? – I’d like to be director”. Ilya (No 49) who will finish study at higher school in two years ties his hopes of a career growth with getting higher education: “It is a step to something new. Or it will be possible to think of opening of the own business, or occupy the higher posts. As my mother says to me: “I want that you to be the chief of the transport department and went in a jacket and a neck-tie”.

The interview’s analysis has shown that young workers start study at higher schools at a mature enough youth age: in 22-23 years and even in 26-28 years. It is also confirmed by the data of a mass poll testifying that at the moment of its carrying out the share of studied at the higher school among young workers of different age looked as follows: 11.4% – in an age group till 20 years, 8.7% – among those to whom of 25-29 years. More often young people are being addressed to higher education at the age of 20-24 years: 19.6%.

This characteristic feature of educational behavior of young workers distinguishes them from graduates of secondary schools who at once after getting secondary education go to higher schools1 where at 3-4th courses they start to combine study with labor activity (on a got profession or not coinciding with it). Among young workers the professional experience precedes study and this experience is long enough: the maximum number of studied at higher schools is made of persons with 3-5-years of labor activity. Such sequence of events of the educational-professional labor trajectory promotes that the choice of profession is more oriented on requirements of a labor market and needs of a concrete manufacture. The career being built by this method has a number of advantages. The workers getting higher education without leaving a job avoid difficulties connected with a search of the

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1 By data of the state statistics, graduates of day high schools make the greatest part of a contingent accepted to the day higher educational schools: in 2009/2010 educational year among those accepted to the day higher schools 85.4% had full general secondary education, including 77.5% have finished the day secondary school during the current year.(Initial statistical data of the Federal Service of the State Statistics).
first place of work and employment by profession as they already have experience and some years of labor activity by these necessary characteristics of an applicant for a workplace. They already accumulated the certain social capital – contacts and relations in the work collective. As a result young workers who were managed to finish study at all difficulties of combination finally achieve their purpose – the resources accumulated by them allow to realize achievable intentions or with a great share of probability to hope for their realization in the future.

At the industrial enterprises the definite and, probably, the essential share of engineer-technical workers is formed not so much at the expense of graduates of a day technical higher schools how many at the expense of such “nominees” from the young workers finishing the correspondence higher schools. Such “transit” is represented by an effective use of a potential of young workers as the enterprises receive specialists possessed of industrial experience and motivated to work in the industry.

Barriers on the Way of Getting Higher Education

The study at the correspondence/evening higher school when it concern a combination of physical labor of the industrial worker and intellectual activities – difficult and labor-consuming business that is not possible to all interested persons. The achievable intentions of young workers encounter the serious obstacles forcing to interrupt or stop getting higher education. In the educational trajectory of the fitter of the fifth category Konstantin (No 14) we find the reflection of many typical circumstances aggravating the accumulation of educational resources. One of the serious disappointments – impossibility to study on a profession chosen “on a desire” because of a lack of financial means: “I finished full 11 classes on the fours, there were only two fives. I searched something for a soul and found. It was the pedagogical institute, “faculty of foreign languages”. At school I knew English language rather well and took part in the city Olympic competitions. It was not difficult for me. But it was on a paid basis, there was not a budgetary faculty and all was over. I was managed to enter the Donskoi state technical university on welding faculty – there was a budgetary place. I entered this university without any grandiose efforts at a day department“. Konstantin has studied there to the second course and as a result of a conflict with a teacher has written an application and has left the higher school. He worked about one year as a welder, then he restored at the university at a day department then passed to a chair of aircraft engineering and “on the fifth course has stopped to study as he found a good work at auto-service center. At first it was an additional work then it became basic. There was very much good money”. Soon this work should be left (has arguments with the chief посорился с начальством) and Konstantin comes back to the same enterprise on a post of the technologist. He again restored at the correspondence department of the university: “I married and the salary of engineer-technical workers was very low. I went to work in the shop as the master. I worked as the master for one year then I was invited to work in the
building private company”. He also was forced to leave this work (due to the crises из-за кризиса), at the moment of the interview he works again at a factory as the fitter of high qualification. The higher education remained incomplete.

The further ascension on a ladder of education for young workers is complicated by many factors: and the mode of work (as a rule, price-work), and the necessity of study without leaving a work and material-financial restrictions. Not less serious obstacles on a way of increase of education there are insufficiency of baggage of general educational knowledge got at schools, PC and SSC and also non-implanted values of education in a family environment and a weak motivation following from here to study in general. B. Berstein’s positions of a socio-linguistic concept of economic and cultural reasons of the lowered progresses characteristic for natives from working families keep its actual value (Bernstein 1960: 271-276; Bernstein 1964: 55-69). P. Bourdieu also spoke about the reasons of this phenomenon revealing a function of reproduction of social inequality which in a latent manner is carried out by the school tearing away as unsuccessful natives of the layers which haven’t a cultural code broadcasted by school (Bourdieu 2005: 60-74; Bourdieu, Passeron 2007).

The Relation of Young Workers to Higher Education

In opinions of workers concerning the importance of higher education the positive estimations of the received higher education prevail. Those who got the higher education at a day higher schools couldn’t use its specialization function at positions of workers. However, as well as many graduates from higher schools today they underline its cultural and developing component (Vejher, Kremenitskaya 2004.).

Sergey (No 5): “The institute all the same has given much to me. I even get acquainted with people in the street, I make a dialog with other people and I can express myself and tell something competent. People in the street look at me by other eyes: meet on clothes, and see off on mind”.

Vitaly (No 29): To try to prove that you are not a rural guy and to achieve something in life, it is necessary, of course, to get higher education. I think that in aggregate there are some important things: the experience of work if it is available; higher education it is, certainly, plus. I consider that Institute begins to develop a person in different spheres – The Institute gives development to a person”.

The period of study at a higher school for the fitter Sergey B. (No 20) is the period of expansion of human contacts, making social communications: “I liked to study at the Institute more, than to work. There is a lot of interesting there. At a factory there is all the same any monotony, the same details. At the institute there is constantly something new, dialogue with people. There is a good company, people interesting, rather well-to-do, arrive to the institute on an expensive foreign cars. I liked the life itself, student environment”. Namely then there was formed Sergey’s circle of friends with whom he continues to keep friendly relations.
Evgeny (No 19), defining the role of higher education also underlines its socializing, developing function as priority: “People having got higher education has a large baggage of knowledge, their brain is trained so that they getting information could apply it in their life. Capability of perceive knowledge is better”. At the same time Evgeny considers that higher education is not indisputable value: “Everyone has different abilities. Not every one can get higher education. At my work I see different people with different intellectual capabilities. Here all depends on a person: if he can “pull” higher education it is better to get higher education without leaving a job at a factory, after all it is possible to get correspondence education”.

Factors of Tearing Away from Higher Education

The modern young workers are opened for getting higher education even “for emergency” that makes it related with other social groups of youth. It doesn’t exclude also that in a young working environment there is the mistrust to higher education which in practice frequently doesn’t bring notable results. The participation in the world of physical labor, the possibility to get “live” money here and now convinces the workers that the investment of time, forces and money in education has no great sense. The interviews fix the comprehension by respondents of that the education which is accessible for them appears to be “poor-quality”, “second-graded”, “bad” and even the unsophisticated young workers regard rather skeptically to it.

The participation in the world of physical labor, the possibility to get “live” money here and now convinces the workers that the investment of time, forces and money in education has no great sense. In such attitudes it is possible after P. Willis (Willis1977) to see expressions of traditional working mentality characteristic for those workers who don’t want to increase their educational level. It is the opinion of Igor (No 22), the fitter of the 6th category who has no higher education. On a question, whether he considers higher education necessary for successes in life answers negatively: “I don’t consider. It is useless. For example, they come with higher education. How many boys with higher education came here? There was a desire to send. They begin: “I here I know more than others, but really they know nothing and also nothing can do. So, the diploma means nothing”. Meanwhile, answering a question what education he would like to give to his children, Igor submits to the standard opinion for today: “On an idea the higher would be necessary. But on the other hand, how I will look at the diploma, what these “crusts”? On an idea it is necessary it won’t be superfluous. It is written in the announcements: “It is required with higher education». And what is this higher education!” Igor is disoriented: declaration of a poor quality of education is contradictive combined with understanding of necessity of higher education for their children.

It is possible to speak that young workers become victims of partly imposed educational boom which has captured young generation. “Institute is a horror, Boris (No 60) speaks – it does not learn anything. Manufacture strongly differs from
Young Workers and Higher Education

Young Workers and Higher Education

education and technical college is inseparably linked with manufacture and it gives more knowledge”. Meanwhile, higher education becomes forced because of that “now a person is estimated not how he works but what education he has. If his education is lower then even if he will know more, all the same he will get less money. I have a family that’s why I have gone to institute”.

As the given examples show, the polled young workers very often speak about “uselessness” of higher education. It may be required only when at the enterprise there will be a necessity for an appropriate worker, that is a vacant post of the specialist and even in this case this post doesn’t promise an increase of the income. Insufficient conviction in necessity of higher education is supported by statements about its poor quality and uselessness – by these main arguments of workers in favor of not getting it.

The wide circulation has the statement that without protection and without money “it is impossible to enter anywhere,” that except of a diploma there are necessary wide relations, which are absent. On a question, whether his today’s position is the result of influence of external circumstances or a personal choice, Igor answers: “I have achieved something by myself, something with a help of others. Basically, today you will not enter anywhere without relations and acquaintances”. Sergey B. (No 20) has achieved a position of the foreman at a rather young age, it is a rare case: “If someone of my age and with the same education comes to a factory therefore they have someone here: parents, relatives. The person with education – can be bought – for some days he becomes here the deputy director or somebody else… I have seen a lot of such persons here during my work at the factory since 2004. And it is very difficult for me to achieve something having father and mother on working posts”.

It is indicative Ildar’s (No 32) monolog, the milling-machine operator of the fifth category, one of the most active, innovatively oriented respondents who consider the got higher education (bookkeeper-economist by profession) useless from a point of view of modern requirements addressed to the qualified employee: “I consider it absolutely useless. I have an example: the specialist has got two higher educations: one – at KGU (the Kazan State University) and the second at the higher school – I do not remember; then he has gone to Moscow and has become a specialist of conditioners. Only after training in Germany and after two months working in Canada he was noticed as the specialist who knows something and not like a man who sits in the firm and supervises. It is necessary to make great efforts that you have been noticed as the specialist”.

Simultaneously for Ildar and as well as for other respondents the education is significant as a terminal value: “Any person needs higher education because of the degradation of a brain of a person that takes place. Here, at the factory the educational level is low and as the life defines consciousness, all results in that the speech of people became less connected, there became a lot of words-parasites. It is possible to give a lot of examples, but, in general, degradation continues both in the mind and in the body” – What education would you like to give to your future children? – I don’t know. I don’t see any sense in any education. I do not see any education which would be required by 100%. They need to be studied not for education but for developing their brains. A person with higher education differs from a person with low education”.

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To Conclusions

Let’s not hurry up with conclusions that higher education in a young working environment – the superfluous phenomenon. We will say sooner that it is done superfluous by the general level of technological equipment of the Russian manufacture that is not capable to use adequately the educational potential of the highly educated worker. It is not accidently that the opinions of the necessity of higher education are more peculiar to young workers of hi-tech manufactures which open before them prospects of professional growth. Whereas the steady conviction in necessity of physical labor benefiting a society in spite of the fact of that labor seems to be non-prestigious and heavy is characteristic for the young workers of senior ages occupied at the traditional enterprises.

Nevertheless, it is possible to say that the formal channels of increase of education could be more adapted for possibilities and real life conditions and work of the today’s young worker occupied at the industrial enterprise. The important reserve is the development of the remote, including interactive education. The most rational way both for the manufacture and for studied workers seem to be the technological educational programs of the shorten cycle, for example, programs purposefully preparing technicians (highest categories) with a deep level of practical preparation or the higher schools preparing technicians-bachelors. The theme of the (technical) applied bachelor degree is actively discussed and waits for the legislative registration. It is obvious the ripened necessity of new forms of educational programs. Actually, it is stipulated by the naturally developed from below irregular process of forming initiatives of educational institutions on formation practice-oriented programs, professional modules in existing programs, creation of the base industrial chairs at higher schools or the educational centers of continuous education connecting the initial and secondary professional education.

The analysis of the interview’s materials has shown that the surveyed young workers of the industry according to their attitudes, aspirations, interests – is a component of the modern young generation for which the higher education theme has a priority value. The values of higher education irrespective of the form (realized, realizing or abstract-hypothetical) of its presence in a young working environment testify to it.

For the young worker the higher education is an indicator of overcoming a complex of intellectual inferiority, a way of rising him in own opinion and in the opinion of others. The higher education opens for the young worker the prospects of an exit to the wider space of socially-professional choices, a change of kinds of work, is a sign of the following, more high social position even if non-realized today.

The educated worker or the worker-student – as though he is not often met today and irrespective of how much he is implanted in his working status – inevitably bring with himself to the industrial enterprise the new intellectual inquiries, common
cultural interests, promoting an increase of a volume of the cumulative cultural capital of the enterprise. In turn, there has been created the environment contributing to technological re-equipment and modernization of the enterprise.

**References**


THE YOUTH’S PATHS THROUGH FORMAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Keywords: basic secondary school, day secondary school, initial, secondary, higher professional education

The Basic Secondary School

The life paths of youth are formed in a close dependence on possibilities which are opened before them by the formal institutes of an education system. Actually how the youth preliminary passes through the organizations of education system mediates all process of a transition of young generation to work. The young man gets the necessary volume of knowledge, skills of work and various abilities first of all at a school, and then improves it and gets certain professional training at the subsequent levels of education system, and only on an exit from it he actually becomes the potential worker.

The finishing of the basic general education is to be that institutional level to which the equal general educational preparation in an existing school education system is provided for all generation. This is a temporary and institutional stage – the period of the first choice between different types of educational institutions with a purpose of the further continuation of education.

Let’s suppose, what share of an age cohort at various times reached the finishing of a day basic educational school. For this purpose we will calculate the relative density of graduates of this school in a total number of born 15 years ago (that is the relative age cohort finished the basic educational school) – see Fig. 1. During the late soviet period within the eighties years the share of the youth getting incomplete secondary education, as it was called then, remained at a rather high level (93-94% of a relative age cohort).

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1 When writing this section we very often and in a full volume have used the data of the Federal Statistic Agency of the Russian Federation. Further in the text the references on these data are not given in order to exclude repetition.
During the post-reorganizational time (on the phone of the slow growth of a number of annual age cohorts within 90th) there was observed a noticeable fall of coverage of youth by 9-classes education (from 94.5% in 1988 to 83.3% in 1994 on which was the minimum) and then a slightly less intensive rise (up to XXI century boundary). The decreasing of coverage of a generation by studying in post – reorganizational and initial period of the reforms was observed not only concerning the basic education. About a fall of a number of graduates of full secondary schools in 1992 and 1993 and also about a decrease in these years of competitions to a day departments of higher schools the researchers wrote in detail earlier [Konstantinovsky: 71-72]. It was a time of the most initial economic reforms when thanks to the opened possibilities of a display of initiative many people have made their first fast careers and there has come euphoria, as that without education it is possible to become successful in life. But this temporary public illusion very quickly has got rid of itself when the developed labor market much more rigid than earlier began to make demands to qualification, an educational level and professional training. Therefore, it is no wonder that in the zero years of the XXI century there was a fast rise of an indicator of «reaching» of an age cohort to finishing of the basic day school: in 2004 it has reached 95.3% and remains approximately at this level up to the last years. The rise of a share of the age cohort finished the basic school observed in the latest years (2006-2010) is mediated by the decrease of a number of youth of appropriate ages (falling of a number of those who was born 15 years ago from 2,0 million to 1,3 million people).

After finishing the basic educational school there is a first important choice of the youth. The greater part is distributed between channels of continuation of education – study at the secondary school, at the secondary special colleges (SSC) or at the colleges of the initial professional education (IPE). The very small part of teenagers at once starts to work.
The distribution of young men and girls after finishing 9 classes of the basic educational school is shown in Table 1. At the very beginning of 90th (as a continuation of tendencies characteristic for the late Soviet period) hardly more than a half of graduates of 9 classes (53.8\% in 1991) continued studying at a day secondary school, the great part (28.6\%) entered colleges of the system of initial professional education and a small part (13.6\%) – secondary special colleges. The removing of restrictions in the second half of 90th years on acceptance of pupils to 10 classes has led to the growth of a number of teenagers continuing the study at a day secondary school. During 90th there was a redistribution of graduates of the basic school: there has become much more those who entered to study in 10 classes of a secondary school (66.8\%), a number of those accepted to professional colleges (PC) has decreased to 21.0\% and a number of accepted to SSC became minimum for all given period (11.7\%). As we see, in the dynamics of 90th years on the phone of a small growth of a number of an age cohort the secondary school has increased coverage of the youth finishing the basic school from a half of a cohort to two thirds.

### Table 1

Distribution of youth finished a day basic school on educational streams, RF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of graduates, thousand people</td>
<td>1854.4</td>
<td>1849.2</td>
<td>2128</td>
<td>1868.5</td>
<td>1412.1</td>
<td>1279.4</td>
<td>1175.7</td>
<td>1303.0</td>
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<td>Those entered (%):</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 classes of a day secondary school</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary special colleges</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional colleges</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In zero years the changes in distribution of graduates of the basic school on educational streams occur under the influence of, from one side, the fall of a number of age cohorts and from the other – differently directed development of systems of SPE and IPE (the increase of a number of acceptance in the first and the essential decrease – in the second). The relative density of those who go to study in 10 classes of a day secondary school gradually somewhat decreases, especially during the latest time (falling of an indicator by 2010 up to 56.2\%). It is a result of a strongly decreased number of an age cohort. The number of entering SSC every year becomes more and more (from 11.7\% in 2000 to 26.4\% in 2010). During these years the pupils going after the basic day school to study at SSC more often support a strategy of the two-equal purpose at a choice of this type of educational institution: to get a profession of average qualification and simultaneously a possibility to enter the higher schools on favorable terms (on some professions). The main redistribution between educational streams is carried out at the expense of an increase of a stream “entering SSC” and a decrease of a stream “entering 10 classes”. On this background the relative number of going to study in the system of IPE also falls (from 21.0\% in 2000 to 17.3\% in 2010).
A Day Secondary School

Since 1986 the rise of a demographic wave began and proceeded up to 2002, that is, there was observed a small annual but a steady growth of a number of a relative cohort of seventeen-years old people from 1 million 848 thousand in 1986 to 2 million 267 thousand in 2002. On this background let’s compare a number of the youth finished a day secondary school to those who two years earlier has finished the basic education. The indicator of “reaching” to finishing of a day secondary school in the second half of 80th remained constant and at the very beginning of 90th there was some fall of it (with a minimum in 47.8% in 1993). It was already mentioned above about a phenomenon of educational orientations of the early reformation years.

Since 1994 throughout 90th and up to 2002 there was a noticeable growth of an indicator of coverage of youth by the day secondary education (from 48.0 to 62.6%). The pressure of a labor market has affected on the increase of access of pupils to 10 classes. The excess of labor resources forces the greater part of youth to remain longer within the educational institutions and high requirements to applicants concerning qualification and a level of general and professional training stimulate parents and their children to make the greater investments in education including in a day secondary which opens the widest access to the subsequent educational careers.

Fig. 2. The share of those finishing a day (full) secondary school from those who two years earlier finished a day basic school, RF, %


In zero years of the XXI century in 2002 there was observed the maximum number of an age cohort (2 million 267 thousand people finished the basic day school). Further there was observed a fall of a number of graduates of 9 classes (to 1 million 303 thousand in 2010) which was accompanied by a small decrease of an indicator of their “reaching” to finishing from a day secondary school. Here it is slightly affected the increased competing choice of study at SSC (that was mentioned above).
The Youth’s Paths Through Formal Institutions of the Educational System

The cardinal changes occurred in a distribution of youth after finishing of a day secondary school during the last two decades (Table 2). At the boundary of the soviet and the reformation epoch more than two fifth of its graduates have been compelled at once to go to the labor market without getting any professional training. Only 29.5% of young people entered the higher schools and 21.0% – SSC. Quite small percent of youth of this category (5.6%) entered PC. During 90th years on the background of a gradual growth of a number of an age cohort (increase of a number of graduates from 909,5 to 1 million 316,1 thousand people from 1990 to 2000) there have been greatly changed the educational ways of youth after finishing a day secondary school.

Table 2

| Distribution of graduates of a day (full) secondary school on educational institutions, RF |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Graduates of a day secondary school, thousand people | 909.5 | 932.3 | 1316.1 | 1310.9 | 1213.5 | 955.9 | 807.2 | 719.6 |
| Total in %, those who entered: | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| State higher school | 29.5 | 39.6 | 44.9 | 54.8 | 54.3 | 65.4 | 70.1 | 69.9 |
| Non-state higher school | 0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 8.3 | 8.4 | 4.6 | 5.5 |
| Secondary special colleges | 21.0 | 24.6 | 25.9 | 23.3 | 20.2 | 19.4 | 20.2 | 19.6 |
| Colleges of initial professional education | 5.6 | 6.9 | 11.3 | 8.1 | ... | 6.8 | 5.2 | 5.0 |
| Others | 43.9 | 28.9 | 17.9 | 13.8 | 17.2 | ... | ... | ... |

This occurred thanks to development of all subsystems of professional education, the coverage of youth by all these forms has greatly extended. By 2000 right after school only 17.9% of graduates started to work and the majority went to get professional training. The gain of a number of those who continue education has increased first of all owing to the greatly increased as the absolute number (from 268,8 to 590,7 thousand people from 1990 to 2000) as well as the relative density (from 29.5% to 44.9%) of the youth entering to study to higher schools. There have grown up but not so promptly the number (from 190,4 to 340,6 thousand people) and the percent (from 21.0 to 25.9%) of those who enter SSC. There has also increased a number and a share of youth going after secondary school to PC (accordingly from 50,5 to 149,3 thousand people and from 5.6 to 11.3%). That is, by the boundary of centuries for those finished a day secondary school there were typical ways of life connected with a continuation of education at once after finishing it.

In zero years of the XXI century the distribution after a day secondary school occurred under a strong influence of a demographic factor and expansion of a system of higher education continued up to the latest years. There was a change in the movement of a demographic wave: if in initial zero years the age cohort of
17-year-old still very slowly grew, in the further its number began to decrease and especially quickly in the latest years. As a result the number of graduates of 11-classes from 2000 to 2004 hardly has grown up from 1316,1 to 1390,2 thousand people, then gradually decreased up to 2007 (1213,5 thousand people) and further began to decrease quickly: 955,9 thousand people in 2008, 807,2 thousand people in 2009 and 719,6 thousand people in 2010. The higher school up to the last years continued to increase the acceptance of students: the total acceptance to all higher schools of the country increased from 2000 to 2007 from 1295,2 to 1681,6 thousand people, including the acceptance to the day higher schools increased from 2000 to 2006 from 687,5 to 826,3 thousand people and only subsequently it began to decrease and has fallen by 2010 year up to 1341,2 thousand people to all higher schools and to the day higher schools up to 608,9 thousand people.

When the failure of a demographic wave has reached the cohort of 17-year-old the ratio of a number of graduates of day secondary schools and a number of accepted to the day higher schools became very close (719,6 and 608,9 thousand people in 2009). As a result within the first decade of the XXI century the share of graduates of the day secondary school entering the higher schools has greatly increased. If till 2006-2007 it occurred on the background of the increased general acceptance to higher schools, then in the latest years – under conditions of a sharp decrease of a number of an age cohort. From 2000 to 2006 the share of accepted to the state higher schools has increased almost by 12,2 percentage points (from 44.9 to 57.1%), but only from 2007 to 2009 already by 15,8 percentage points (from 54.3 to 70.1%). Under conditions of the sharp fall of a demographic wave the chances of graduates of a day secondary school on entering the more required and prestigious educational institutions increase – in this case the state higher schools. Namely, the graduates of a day secondary school finishing it during the current year make the majority of accepted to the state day higher schools (from 79 to 81% throughout zero years of the XXI century).

The mentioned movement has compensatory lowered the relative density of the youth entering SSC and PC. In 2000 year 25.9% of graduates in a year of finishing a day secondary school went to study to technical schools and colleges, in 2005 – 23.3%, in 2010 – 19.6%. The choice of study in a system of IPE decreased also as a result of the general decrease of acceptance to these educational institutions. Accordingly, in 2000 year 11.3% of the youth finished 11-classes entered PC, in 2005 – 8.1%, in 2010 – 5.0%.

Initial Professional Education

The mass channel of professional training for natives from the non-exclusive layers of population there was and there is the initial professional education. For two last decades IPE system has undergone by essential reduction. The sharp falling of a number of accepted for study in the sum in all PC was observed in the first half of
90th (from 1252 thousand people in 1990 to 928 thousand people in 1995), then the reduction of acceptance was mainly at the expense of reduction of evening (replaceable) educational institutions (Fig. 3). Then, up to 2003 the indicators of acceptance to all types of educational institutions were rather stabilized. Further there was a sharp decrease (by 48.2%) of a total number of accepted: from 823 thousand people in 2003 to 426 thousand people in 2010. It was a result of a reduction of the state investments into IPE system which, adapting for quantitative demands and qualitative requirements of a modern labor market a little changed the structure of acceptance.

Fig. 3. The number of accepted to institutions of IPE system, RF, thousand people

![Graph showing the number of accepted to institutions of IPE system, RF, thousand people.]

Based on: Narodnoe khoziaistvo RSFSR v 1990: 115; Obrazovanie v Rossiiskoi Federatsii 2007: 305; Obrazovanie v Rossiiskoi Federatsii 2010: 292; the primary data of the Federal Statistic Agency of the RF.

The graduates of the basic school and graduates of the day secondary school are the main consumers of educational services of the day PC and PC giving a secondary education. From 1990 year to 2003 namely here the decrease of a number of accepted was not so sharp: acceptance to day PC has fallen by 18% and PC giving secondary education have mainly kept indicators of acceptance (620 thousand people in 1990 and 617 thousand people in 2003). However from the middle of zero years and up to the present time and these kinds of educational institutions of IPE system have sharply lowered indicators of acceptance: from 2004 to 2010 there was the falling both on that or those by 41% accordingly from 667 to 394 thousand people and from 583 to 343 thousand people. As a result the relative density of day and secondary PC among the all professional-technical colleges throughout the given twenty years has risen: if in 1990 the day PC made 68.8% of the total acceptance and, including secondary PC 49.5%, in 2010 – 92.5% and 80.5%.

In distribution of the accepted to PC according to an educational level (Table 3) there were observed little changes from the middle of 90th up to the last years. The main part of a contingent of accepted is steadily made of those who has the basic general education. For a decade of 1995-2005 their prevalence among the accepted
increased: from 66.4 to 71.3%. By 2010 it has remained at the same level. However for this five years there was a sharp decrease of an age cohort of 15-year-old, the competitive situation was softened and graduates of 9-classes could use in a greater degree possibilities of entering the more prestigious educational institutions. The graduates of 9-classes of a current year have used this situation first of all – their share among accepted to PC has decreased from 2005 to 2010 from 62.8 to 56.2%. Among accepted persons with full secondary education there became less persons finished school during the current year. That is, among the accepted the share of “weaker” pupils has increased.

Thus, among accepted to institutions of IPE today the greater part (more than two thirds) is made of persons with basic education and among them the graduates of 9-classes of the current year prevail (eight of ten); those having full secondary education make the smaller part of acceptance (one quarter) and they to a lesser degree than the previous subgroup are presented by the graduates of the current year (six of ten). Besides, among accepted to PC remains a share of youth, though very small, which does not have even basic education (7.7% in 1995 and 7.1% in 2010).

In the system of initial professional education as well as in the other spheres of post-school education in 90th years there has appeared and more and more increased the off-budget education. At the expense of the finances of the enterprises, departments of labor and employment and also personal means of citizens it was provided in 2000 48.3% of graduates and in 2008 – 91.4% [Obrazovanie v Rossiiskoi Federatsii 2010: 294, 296].

On the background of a decrease of acceptance to the day professional-technical colleges their essential structural changes occur. Last years the educational institutions of the higher type were formed, it is mainly technical lycées which carry out preparation of highly-skilled workers. In 2009 the acceptance of students to technical lycées and the centers of continuous professional education made 22.6% of the general acceptance to day PC.
The change of a structure of preparation of personnel on different professions occurs: there is an increase of acceptance on specializations corresponding to the demands of a labor market, for example, service spheres, information technologies etc., the absolute number and the relative density of the youth which got professions of agriculture have considerably decreased and the indicators of a sphere of services and professions classified as general for all spheres of economic activities have a little increased.

Secondary Professional Education

The following channel of professional training being constantly popular among the youth from non-elite social layers is the system of secondary professional education. The competition at the acceptance to SSC during zero years was maximal in 2003 – 153 persons on 100 places, and then began to decrease – to 143 in 2010. The dynamics of a number of accepted to SSC given in Table 4 testifies about the alternation of the periods of decrease and growth of this indicator. During the 90th years there was observed the fall of a number of accepted to secondary special educational institutions (754,1 thousand people in 1990 and 668,9 – in 1995) further up to 2003 the acceptance grew (905,5 thousand people in 2003 that was equal to a number of accepted during the last decade of the Soviet period); further it began to decrease again – to 705,3 thousand people by 2010. The gradual redistribution of pupils occurred in the structure of acceptance on education departments: the share of accepted to day SSC (from 66.3 to 76.3% from 1990 to 2010) increased and the relative density of entering the day-correspondence (from 7.0 to 2.7%) and correspondence departments (from 26.7 to 20.0%) decreased. The growth of a number of accepted to the day departments is a reflection of that priority which is given to the more effective – day – preparation, and answers the requirements of practice of more wide covering by training the youngest contingents of the cohort starting the labor life.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Total Thousand people</th>
<th>Total %</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Day</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>754.1</td>
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<td>2004</td>
<td>890.2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>76.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The secondary special colleges (SSC) exist in two institutional forms – in the form of departments on the base of the basic education and departments on the base of secondary education. In Table 5 there are given data on what educational level came the youth for study at SSC during the last twenty years. The main contingent of entering – nine tenth – consisted of the young men and girls finished the basic school and the full secondary school (the remained part entered after finishing PC or the other SSC) and consequently the proportions between these two streams characterize the basic tendencies of the dynamics of acceptance to SSC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total number of accepted, %</th>
<th>Basic general education</th>
<th>Secondary full general</th>
<th>Initial professional education</th>
<th>Secondary or higher professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>854.1</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>798.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>770.7</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>666.6</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>705.3</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on: Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik 2001: 225; Obrazovanie v Rossiiskoi Federatsii 2007: 324; Obrazovanie v Rossiiskoi Federatsii 2010: 309; the primary data of the Federal Statistic Agency of the RF.

In the first half of 90th when the absolute number of acceptance was a little reduced, more than half of coming to study at SSC made persons with full secondary education and more than third – those who had the basic education. In the next five years on the background of an increase of a number of accepted there increased the relative density of finished full secondary schools (up to 58.7% in 2000) and accordingly decreased of those who has got only the basic education (31.3%). At the same time among entering SSC there has been intensively increased the percent of graduates of a day full secondary school finished it during the current year (from 25.2% in 1990 to 39.1% in 2000).
In zero years there was observed the other dynamics of acceptance. On the background of a decrease of a total number of accepted to SSC from 791,1 thousand people in 2000 to 671,8 thousand people in 2010 the acceptance of persons with the basic general education increased from 247,9 to 363,0 thousand people and acceptance of youth with full secondary education – was reduced (from 464,6 to 236,9 thousand people). Accordingly the proportions between two educational streams have changed. In 2000 there were lesser persons with basic education than those who had full secondary education (31.3 to 58.7%) and by 2010 the situation became the return: 54.0 to 35.3%. The ratio between the given educational streams among finished schools during the current year even more strongly has changed (that is, among the more competitively able pupils): the ratio 29.4 to 39.1% in 2000 was replaced with 49.0 to 21.0% in 2010. Thus, the secondary special colleges now more and more become a sphere of an attraction of the pupils coming right after finishing day basic school and they play the lesser role in a choice of graduates of full day secondary school in a year of its finishing.

The great impulse of development of a system of secondary professional education and a change of a structure of preparation on specializations became the possibility of rendering educational services on a paid basis. This process has begun in the mid-nineties and began quickly to increase rates. In 1995 in acceptance of pupils of SSC the ratio between a number of accepted at the paid basis to a number of accepted at the expense of the budget was 14.4 to 85.6% and already by 2000 it has made 34.7 to 65.3%. Further the relative density of budgetary places has grown again and by 2010 the corresponding ratio became equal 27.1 to 72.9%. Certainly this circumstance reduces the access, in particular, to priority specializations for the appropriate groups of youth. But nevertheless, the practice has shown that there are enough wide layers of population ready to bear material costs for the sake of payment of their education.

Today the preparation got in a system of secondary professional education (SPE) doesn’t yet guarantee the obligatory employment on the received profession. From year to year there is decreased a share of those who right after finishing a day SSC receives a job placement: in 1994 there were 55% of such persons and by 2000 – 30.6% [Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik 1996: 176; Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik 2001: 226]. In 2010 among those finished SSC on a day form of study at the expense of means of the budgets of all levels (i.e. except for those studied on paid basis with a full payment of education\(^1\)) 32.7% have received job placements. The rest are compelled to search for a work place and at a labor market they face a lot of offers.

**Higher Professional Education**

The most required educational places for youth and especially for graduates of a day secondary schools are the higher schools. The competition at the entrance examinations to the state higher schools for a long time was practically constant: on

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\(^1\) In 2010 there were 22% students studied at a day secondary special colleges with a full payment of education.
one accepted there were 1.9 people taken an examination in 1990 and 2000. In the second half of zero years (2006-2008) it has a little risen to 2.05-2.07 and further in connection with a sharp fall of a number of an age cohort has sharply decreased to 1.48 in 2009 and 1.30 in 2010. At the same time the competition on the day departments was always higher and only from 1995 to 2000 has increased from 2.1 to 2.9 persons while the fall of a demographic wave now has sharply lowered it – to 1.49 in 2009. When by 2010 as it was mentioned above the number of graduates of a day secondary school became comparable to acceptance to day higher schools the competition in it has fallen to 1.11 persons to one place.

The formation and development of the Russian labor market during new times was accompanied by a growth of a need in higher education from the modern economy open to scientific and technical progress. A number of accepted to the higher schools (after some stagnation in the early nineties) from the middle of decade and up to the last time constantly grew (Table 6). Especially promptly, almost by twice (from 681 thousand people to 1 million 292.5 thousand people) there increased the number of accepted from 1995 to 2000 and has reached a maximum in 1 million 681.6 thousand people by 2007. Then under the influence of a demographic factor there was outlined at first a little and then an essential fall of a number of accepted to higher schools – from 2009 to 2010 from 1 million 544.2 thousand people to 1 million 399.4 thousand people.

Table 6

Acceptance to all higher schools on forms of education, RF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>All accepted Thousand people</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Day-correspondence</th>
<th>Correspondence</th>
<th>Externat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>583.6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1292.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1461.6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1503.9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1643.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1659.1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1640.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1657.6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1681.6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1641.7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>1544.2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1399.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on: Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik 2001: 233; Obrazovanie v Rossiiskoi Federatsii 2007: 369; Obrazovanie v Rossiiskoi Federatsii 2010: 356; the primary data of the Federal Statistic Agency of the RF.
In a long prospect in the structure of acceptance of students by education kinds there were serious changes. During the last two decades of the Soviet period of time there prevailed and numerically increased the acceptance to the higher schools of a day form of education as the most effective form. This tendency continued to the middle of 90th years, in 1995 almost two thirds of students were accepted to day departments. Since then the relative density of a day form of study up to the latest time steadily decreased: from 62.1% in 1995 to 53.2% in 2000 and up to 43.9% by 2009. In 2008-2010 there was a situation when the relative density of accepted to correspondence departments has exceeded a share of accepted to day departments. But such situation hardly remains for a long time. And already by 2010 after reduction of acceptance on all forms of study and as a result of a considerable decrease of competition there was a change of a trend in distribution of accepted to higher schools on departments – the relative density of the day form has started to grow at the expense of the other forms of study.

During the given period there was also a reduction of the relative density of the accepted to day-correspondence (evening) form of study: from 10.7% in 1990 to 3.4% in 2010. The evening higher schools have ceased to play somewhat noticeable role in the higher professional education of youth (unlike that was characteristic for the soviet time). The last decade there has appeared a steady phenomenon – the additional work and even professional work of students of day departments, which now has taken a function of satisfaction of requirement of pupils of higher schools in additional employment and earnings. In parallel throughout two decades the share of the youth entering the correspondence departments of higher schools promptly increased: from 27.5% in 1990 to 38.9% in 2000 and 50.1% in 2009 (48.0% in 2010). And it was observed as well as in the state and non-state higher schools, in the last – by higher rates. The ratio of a share of accepted to the day and correspondence departments in 2010 at the state higher schools makes 52.5 to 43.1% and at the non-state – 15.4 to 76.7%. Only in 2010 because of the already mentioned reasons the relative density of accepted to correspondence departments in all higher schools as a whole has fallen to 48.0% and the share of accepted to day education has increased to 47.1%.

The considerable impulse of the development of higher education seemed to be the possibility of providing of educational services on paid basis and in particular the expansion of a system of non-state higher schools. Since 1993 when such higher schools have started to be registered by statistics the number of accepted has increased from 47,2 thousand people to 297,6 thousand people in 2007 and further has started to decrease slowly to 204 thousand people in 2010. About what share in all number of the accepted make students entered the non-state higher schools it is possible to define from data given in Table 7. During 90th years and in zero years up to the latest years the indicators of a share of the students who have entered the non-state higher schools grew (from 8.0 to 16.9% from 1993 to 2008) and especially promptly on a share of accepted to the correspondence departments (from 2.8 to 12.1%). Here it is necessary to specify that these indicators don’t settle all volume of the paid higher school education. Many state higher schools opened and until recently expanded paid departments and paid educational places. In 2000 the sizes of the paid acceptance of the state higher schools made over 40% from the
total sizes of accepted. In 2010 from 1195,4 thousand people entered to the state higher schools 56.6% made persons with full payment of the cost of education. This data vividly testify that more than a half of today’s students begin their education for a payment. Thus, the practice shows that the attractiveness of higher education is so high that the majority of population has agreed with the payment strategy for its getting.

Table 7

Percent of accepted to the non-state higher schools to all number of accepted to higher schools and on different forms of education, RF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Including by departments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on: Rossiiskii statesticheskii ezhegodnik 2001: 233; primary data of the Federal Statistic Agency of the RF.

The contingents of those who choose a day or correspondence form of study essentially differ depending on an educational level which is available by the time of entering (Table 8). Among those entering the day higher schools throughout the last two decades the persons with a full secondary education noticeable prevailed: they made 87.7% of acceptance in 1990 and about nine tenth during zero years (90.9% in 2010). It is rather indicative that graduates of the day secondary schools of the current year appear to be the most competitive in a struggle for educational places in the day higher schools. Among accepted to the day higher schools their percent increased in 90th years (from 65.6% in 1990 to 79.0% in 2000), kept at a level of four fifth in 2000th years and under the influence of a demographic factor remains high and now (81.9% in 2010).

Table 8

The level of education of accepted to higher schools on the day and correspondence forms of education, RF, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of accepted to a day form of education</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those which have education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary general (full)</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>89.2</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– those got it in the current year at a day school</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>81.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial professional</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– those got it in the current year</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary professional</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– those got it in the current year</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher professional</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are small persons with the other than the finishing of a day secondary school levels of starting education (both in absolute and in the relative relation) among accepted to the day higher schools. In 1990 the number of accepted with available initial professional education was slightly more (8.2%) than those who had secondary professional education (4.0%), by 2010 the given ratio was replaced with the return: 1.1 to 7.7%. In these two contingents of accepted (as well as among persons with full secondary education) there is increased and become prevailed the relative density of those who get both the initial and secondary professional education during the current year.

Absolutely by the other way there are combined the educational streams of the youth entering the correspondence departments of the higher schools. Here persons with full general secondary education make rather small and constantly decreasing during the given twenty years the part of a contingent of accepted (40% in 1990 and 33.8% in 2010). At the same time the graduates of the day secondary schools of the current year make a quite small percent – 8.4% in 1990 and 10.9% in 2010 – but the persons finished the secondary school in previous years prevail in this educational stream. That is, those from the former graduates of 11-classes address to the correspondence higher education, who couldn’t (or didn’t try) to enter the day higher schools in a year of finishing it.

The most part of the accepted to the correspondence departments of the higher schools is formed at the expense of the persons who have got secondary education in systems of IPE and SPE. In 1990 in a contingent of the accepted there were prevailed those who had initial professional education (50.7%) and the small share relates to entering with secondary professional education (7.7%). In ten years by 2000 the given ratio was replaced with the return (7.6 to 48.1%) and it remains during the latest years (8.75 to 48.8% in 2010). Among the accepted with initial professional education there were prevailed persons who have got it in previous years and among entered with secondary professional education the percent of graduates of the current year is relatively high and it gradually increases (in 2010 from 48.8% of accepted with secondary professional education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of accepted to a correspondence form of education</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Those which have education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary general (full)</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– those got it in the current year at a day school</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial professional</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– those got it in the current year</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary professional</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– those got it in the current year</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher professional</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20.4% made graduates of the current year). The correspondence higher education, thus, becomes in the greater degree the strategy of the persons who have finished secondary special colleges and last years even more often – graduates of SSC of the current year.

The problems of employment of specialists prepared at the higher school have essentially increased. The lesser number of graduates receive a job placement right after finishing higher schools: in 1995 51% of graduates of the day departments of the higher schools have received job placements, in 2000 there were already 46.3% of such graduates. By October 1st 2010 186,1 thousand specialists (47.3%) finished the day departments of the state and municipal higher school on the budget basis have received job placement. [Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik 1996: 212; Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik 2001: 235; Rossiia v tsifrakh: 144]. The employment problem has sharply changed the strategy of behavior of student’s youth which now more often even in a period of study at the day higher schools go to work for the sake of receiving labor experience and accumulation of social labor contacts [Konstantinovsky, Cherednichenko, Voznesenskaya].

As the important characteristics of educational potential of the nation serves the indicator of a number of pupils and students on 10 thousands population of the country (Table 9). As we see, it always was rather high. The somewhat fall which took place at the first half of 90th years has been quickly overcome.

### Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The number of students of the higher schools on 10 thousand people of the population, RF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of students of the higher schools on 10 thousand people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on: Rossiia v tsifrakh: 142; the primary data of the Federal Statistic Agency of the RF.

The rather cardinal changes – very fast growth – were outlined from the second half of 90th years. At the greater degree such increase is the answer of the education system to the demands of practice with its new technologies, the increase of requirements to the quality of specialists necessary for economy, all spheres of material and spiritual manufacture. However, one cannot but see in this sharp increase of a number of the youth studied at the secondary special and higher educational institutions the care of a society to cover by education as it is possible the most part of a youth cohort, there by having eliminated it for a while from a labor market and to lower thus the pressure upon it from young. Meanwhile the similar policy has the consequence that the problem of employment only is postponed for the later age, as the increase of a number of specialists with diplomas on the background of differentiation of an education system, the tendency of folding of “qualitative” and “non-qualitative” sectors of education is fraught with occurrence of inflation of diplomas, appearance of new “deadlock” directions of specialization and finally unemployment of already prepared personnel.
The Youth’s Paths Through Formal Institutions of the Educational System

References


*Obrazovanie v Rossii 2001 (Sb. stat. dannich).* 2001. Moscow


What Motivates High School Students to Receive Education?
Motivation as a Multidisciplinary Concept

Various aspects of education are studied today. The levels of education, effects of educational reforms and issues of equity, access and quality of education are studied both in American (American Educational Research Journal), European and Russian (Journal of Educational Studies) scientific journals. What is the family and school environment impact on child development, how educational trajectories are formed, what the important ethnic and gender differences are in the educational process – the actual questions in the study of the educational reality. Due to multi-directional research in education a lot is known today about the process of young generation passing through the stage of secondary and professional socialization.

Nevertheless, the gap between education and the labor market continues to grow. The younger generation faces with various barriers in the formation of professional trajectories: socio-cultural, territorial, economic, institutional, and other barriers [Konstantinovskiy 2008: 287-310]. The government continues to reform the system, while researchers continue to fix the changes in youths’ attitude to education and work. Carl Weber, author of «Waiting for ‘Superman’», wrote that «For forty years we’ve poured money into the system and it hasn’t work, and we’ve poured great people with the best intentions into the system and it hasn’t work” [Weber 2010: 20]. And it does not work so far.
Motivation is a multidisciplinary concept and is explained more with psychological theories, which have tools to measure it. Pedagogical thought provides us with practical guidelines for the formation and maintenance students’ motivation in education. In turn, the sociological approach considers the context of cultural meanings. Practical advice with statistics and examples is expected from researchers. But can we be sure that, saying «we have measured motivation,» we did not measure the factors of its formation or the circumstances of the social environment?

Motivation is a complex concept. Over the past 40 years, researchers of different areas studied the question of motivation in terms of psychology, pedagogy, economics and sociology, and answers for many questions have been found already:

“What moves students to learn and the quantity and quality of the effort they invest;
What choices students make;
What makes them persist in the face of hardship;
How student motivation is affected by teacher practices and peer behavior;
How motivation develops;
How the school environment affects it” [Boekaerts 2010: 6].

However, many answers are not found yet. With all the variety of motivation theories, few of them can give us an effective and practical recommendations how to make the educational process motivated activity. It is necessary to concentrate not only on how to achieve a certain level of education, but also on how to teach students to be responsible for their competence and the quality of their knowledge. Motivation is the start point of educational trajectory. Then it continues in professional interests and plans and is shown as a real choice.

The researchers involved in the study of motivation for education agree that the first difficulties begin in definition of the concept of «motivation», because different approaches highlighting certain essential aspects and develop their own definitions. In our study we use the definition given by Marshall Jones: “Motivation is concerned with how behavior gets started, is energized, is sustained, is directed, is stopped, and what kind of subjective reaction is present in the organism while all this is going on” [Wargborn 2009: 4].

Psychological Approaches to the Study of Motivation

The term «motivation» appears in professional psychologists’ dictionary in the early 1880s. Before that the term «will» was used in explaining the directional behavior (actions). Usually «motivation» is applied to a voluntary orientation of behavior [Forgas, Williams, Laham 2005: 2]. However to early 20th century the concept motivation was widely described in different approaches.
There are two main approaches in psychological theories of motivation. According to the first one to study motivation means to study the process of setting goals and achieving them. Another approach is based on the analysis of human instincts, thoughts and actions aimed at identifying the driving forces – motives. The pioneers of psychological theories of motivation are Sigmund Freud, Douglas McGregor and Abraham Maslow. Throughout the 20th century theory of motivation was developed, new methods and approaches were created. The rapid industries development and changes in relation to have led to the knowledge increase in this area. Economic growth has updated the need to study the mechanism of formation and methods of motivation, because industry effectiveness began to be depended on employees’ motivation to work.

For example, the American psychologist David McClelland examined the motivation through the analysis of those needs that motivate people to act. His theory was named the theory of Learned Needs Model. McClelland argued that the basic needs or motives are formed during the interaction with the environment. In his theory motivation is made up of the needs for achievement, affiliation and power, that is, the need to communicate. A significant part of his research McClelland dedicates to achievers, those who do the job because their need for achievement is very high. Such people tend to be self-motivated; they “tend to set goals, avoid the extremes of difficulty in selecting goals, and prefer tasks that provide feedback. Achievers strive to reach goals and measure success in terms of what their efforts have accomplished” [Wargborn 2009: 20]. McClelland wrote that “achievement is a desire to do something more advanced, more efficient, but to do it with spending less effort” [McClelland 2012]. People with different needs form the motivation in different ways. If the system of person needs combines all three base needs, their proportion might be different, so it is impossible to develop a common way of building motivation.

Another trend in the psychological theory of motivation is presented by Victor Vroom and his followers. Vroom developed a procedural theory of motivation, according to which people are motivated to act in a way that leads them to the results desired. In his opinion, it is motivation that plays a key role in the study of human behavior. In his book «Work and Motivation» motivation is understood as “a process governing choices made by persons among alternative forms of voluntary activity” [Vroom 1995: 7].

The researcher concludes that there are two types of conditions that affect the person to implement his activities: one is economic in nature and the second is motivational [ibid: 35]. Vroom stresses the need to study the influence of the level of wages, estimates of effort, the implementation of social interaction and the acquisition of a social status in the analysis of motivation. “Many researches have tested the Vroom’s expectancy theory since it saw the light of day in the 1960’s” [Wargborn 2009: 25]. His remains effective in the description of human intentions, preferences and predict their selection, implementation and of effort in spite of extensive criticism for variability aspects of the study of motivation and some of its dimension.

The theory of self-determination by R. Ryan (R. Ryan) and E. Deci (E. Deci), can be attributed to modern approaches. Be motivated means to move towards the implementation of something [Ryan, Deci: 54]. “People have not only different amounts,
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but also different kinds of motivation. That is, they vary not only in level of motivation (i.e., how much motivation), but also in the orientation of that motivation (i.e., what type of motivation). Orientation of motivation concerns the underlying attitudes and goals that give rise to action—that is, it concerns the why of actions” (ibid). In self-determination theory the main difference is between “intrinsic” and “extrinsic” motivation.

Separation between “intrinsic – extrinsic” aspects of motivation is common in the description of the research results. But what we really mean by saying so? Ryan and Deci note that one group of so-called “intrinsic” factors that influence the formation of motivation are factors that correlate with the categories of interest and enthusiasm. The second group of “extrinsic” factors associated with the focus achieving something and to get the desired result [ibid: 55].

The development of the theory of motivation continues to nowadays: in the focus of researchers’ interest are not only employees, but also the students, who will become employees in the future. Economic situation itself, the establishment of the «knowledge society” have formed a vector of modern education system. The idea of skilled labor in the rapid technological change requires many professionals with more and more knowledge and, consequently, with a higher level of education, which is becoming instrumental to the interests of the economy [Stehr 2002: 172].

McClelland in his article “Does education accelerate economic growth?” [McClelland 1966: 257] pointed out the high public interest in the economic impact of investment in education. He wonders how it is possible to speak about the need for skilled labor, when there is still a gap between education and the economy.

Rapid industrialization has led to the fact that most parents work outside the home. “Many children have only a vague idea about what their fathers and mothers are doing during their absence” [Clark 1996: 27]. Students are locked in their age group at the institute of education, where they form their own social environment, with its own values and norms, and virtually they have no contact with the «adult world». The educational process is designed so that many of the tasks do not seem to modern children attractive or interesting. Often the 15-year-olds say first that they go to school, to communicate, and then say about the acquisition of knowledge and education. Creating exciting and interesting educational process, the formation of the «external» and «internal» motivation and its maintenance is one of the teachers’ tasks.

Modern Educational Building Motivation Theories

One of the major teachers’ challenge is the establishing and maintaining the motivation of students, and a search for a balance between «intrinsic» and «extrinsic « motivation (Motivation and education). In the development of student motivation to education teacher and his behavior plays a key role. In the formation of motivation teacher should address all goals and objectives of existing activities (Gambrrell). Understanding the complexity of building motivation in various subject areas, modern educational theory focuses on stimulating pupils’ cognitive activities and motivation in general.
For example, the American researcher Linda Gambrell notes that in the development of the cognitive activity of the child a major role play educational environment in the school, an access to educational resources, the possibility of self-selection of topics of interest for self-study and preparation of project works, and perhaps most important is the involvement in communication with peers about education, its contents and books [Gambrell: 17]. Gambrell highlighted the main features of the successful student in her research made during student observation: he should be highly motivated to acquire knowledge, erudite and interested in many different subjects, use different strategies to work with information and he should be sociable and communicative. All mentioned above is the necessary set of personal qualities and skills that should be developed in the course of obtaining the school so that a person can feel comfortable in the modern world.

Another researcher in the field of education and motivation Monique Boekaerts criticizes the excessive focus on research achievers – good students, as this category differs from their less successful counterparts in many ways. So called ‘achievers’ tend to have a very clear idea of what they want to achieve in life, they see is the maintenance of their own aspirations, desires, goals and needs as the main purpose of educational institutions [Boekaerts 2010: 6]. Boekaerts began her career as a teacher. Her experience has led her to study psychology for a better understanding of what is happening in the minds of her students. At present she is a professor at Leiden University in the Netherlands and has published more than 120 articles and books on motivation and self-regulation.

During her teaching and research Monique Boekaerts formulated eight principles which are necessary to create a favorable environment in which to build and maintain the motivation [Boekaerts 2010: 8 – 22]:

1. Formation of positive motivation. The motivation is primarily associated with the opinions, views, and values that divide the students in the implementation of educational activities. Motivation acts as a kind of frame of reference, which leads the student to a particular way of thinking, feeling and the implementation of specific actions.

2. The presence of negative motivation impedes learning. Boekaerts writes that the main causes of educational failure include lack of skills, lack of ongoing efforts, not knowing how to perform a task, or even simple bad luck. Once these adverse motivational beliefs become part of the child’s views about themselves, they will generate a sense of doubt and anxiety, thereby distracting the child from the educational process, and its concentration on its own failures.

3. You should be careful in the formation of positive motivation. Students who appreciate the cognitive activity are less dependent on the support, incentives and rewards.

4. It is important to take into account the views of students about setting goals. Given the different psychological types of students, the process of goal-setting must differ. For example, students who are learning because they want to learn a new skill or to acquire new knowledge differ from those who need to demonstrate success, to get results.
5. Students have different ideas about invested efforts that need to be taken into account in the formation of positive motivation. They think they control their learning process, and continue to have high hopes for the achievement of results even after repeated failures. Their understanding of the efforts is the explanation of their achievements or disappointments. Encouragement for the efforts invested regardless of the result is a strong motivator.

6. Setting goals and evaluate their achievements. Achieving certain results, students expect to receive feedback. The joint goal setting and evaluation may be in some sense strategy for building motivation.

7. The will to succeed and the formation of will. Students need help in the formation of will.

8. The harmonious combination of different purposes. Pupils like learning process more if their educational goals coincide with their own. Often parents and teachers believe that the main purpose of education is to gain knowledge. But students think differently. Set teachers’ goals and objectives they do not consider the highest priority in their life. They serve different purposes, such as making new friends, learn more about their favorite subject or to find first love. It is these personal goals play a key role in the formation and maintenance of motivation, defining its content, direction and intensity [Boekaerts 2010: 22].

Another American researcher Carol Dweck also claims that goals are the main in shaping mans’ view of things and events. Dweck is a professor of psychology at Columbia University and is leader in the study of motivation of students. Her research has been widely recognized. She divides the students into two types: the division is based on the representation of students about their own abilities (Dweck 2012). Developed methodology allows students to understand that success depends on what they actually do, rather than their innate abilities, such as IQ, etc. Students understand why they get low marks, and make sure that they can do better next time, have a positive effect on their motivation.

Psychological and pedagogical approaches provide researchers in sociology with an understanding of what is happening with the students on a deeper level. Sociological tools can not measure the «internal» motivational mechanisms. «After all, the group is arranged differently than the individual, and its influencing objects are different in their nature» [Durkheim 2008: 54]. Sociological studies provide an opportunity to analyze the variety of attitudes of parents and children with regard to education, the idea of a sufficient level of education for success [Konstantinivskiy 2008: 300], the degree of involvement of children in the educational process, and other social aspects of the formation of motivation.
“I see as the most formidable task of sociology that of developing theory for moving from the micro level of action to the macro level of social distribution, norms and social values” – James Coleman wrote in his essay “My vision of sociology” [Clark 1996: 43].

Education being a microsystem (what was pointed out by T. Parsons and J. Coleman) gives researches an opportunity to study it in different levels. In sociological studies education refers “to a body of knowledge and skills that are mandatory for all persons or members of certain professions and confirmed by relevant documents” [Myagkov 2002: 78]. Measuring the level of literacy and educational attainment of young people is one of the ways to study the effectiveness educational process [Sudman 1982: 88]. Besides studying the learning outcomes of interest the search for answers to the questions what motivates people to the implementation of an activity, what is the understanding of education among young people, how to broadcast the value of culture and education – these questions are also very important in sociological study of education.

In sociological theory different approaches to the study of society in general and education in particular were developed: structural and functional approaches, interpretive, social behaviorist, sociological, studying values approach and rational choice theory.

In the tradition of structural and functional approaches the starting point is the notion of the function of each system unit to the system as a whole (Frolov). Education and training also perform their function in society – broadcasting values, social controlling and the social constructing and others. Durkheim in his work “Pedagogy and Sociology” wrote that the social needs of the community are realized according to its pedagogical ideal, and sociology is responsible for helping to establish the goals of education, while psychology is competent in the formation of his methods [Durkheim 2008: 370 – 371].

Speaking of structural functionalism, we cannot stay on the T. Parsons works, where the subject of scientific interest was to develop a common conceptual framework and the analysis of the functioning of social systems. His article “The school class as a social system: some of its functions in American society” is an analysis of primary and secondary education, the primary function of education in society as an agent of socialization [Parsons 1970: 129]. In “The American University” he wrote that for the social system cultural norms and individuals’ motivation are essential [Parsons 1973: 10]. As Parsons puts it is the academic environment that is created within the institution of education is an area in which one can find all subsystems of society: cultural, personal and social. Through the analysis of primary and higher education he focuses on processes of institutionalization of values and the interpenetration of one subsystem to another.
In a study of the social aspects of motivation building the structural-functional approach provides researchers with understanding of the functions of the education system, the mechanism of transmission of values and allows to include in the study aspects such as the ratio of the expectations of students with the real function of education, the impact of values on the process of motivation.

Interpretative approach puts the “semantic idea of action” as the main one. How do modern youth understands education today? If we consider that then we are dealing with social behaviorist approach in sociology, the subject of which is the behavior of individuals, as well as the cumulative impact on their rewards and punishments.

Studying values approach is divided into two: metanormative (the study of values and possibilities of their implementation) and regulatory (the study of the desired benefit within the correct way of life). Possession of information about the individual’s value hierarchy has significant importance, because without this information it is impossible to predict or correct the behavior of the individual [Spates 1983: 35].

From the point of view of the rational choice theory, which for the last decade has an impact on the social and human sciences, it is necessary to study the nature of the rational choice of the individual. The theory does not seek to explain what will show a “rational man” in a given situation – this question is explained by the decision theory. Rational choice theory is explores more the social problems of rational behavior, not the individual effects of the adoption of a decision.

It should be pointed out that the theory of rational choice in a multi-level theory. So, the lowest level of the model deals with individual cognitive abilities of a person and his system of values. And on the upper level some refinements of social structures and their interactions are taken into account [Hechter, Kanazawa 1997: 193]. Thus, the theory studies both individual values and the structural elements including a motivational component (Coleman 1990).

Main Concepts and Operationalization

Previous sociological studies measured the influence of social aspects and social environment (including different actors such as parents, teachers, peers etc.) on future short-range plans. But researches understood that there is something else very important and unknown in that process that might be measured with sociological tools. We suppose that it is motivation.

We have analyzed the different approaches of motivation study that allows us to form the main concepts. We shall speak here only about the main features of the concepts. Motivation is considered as the main driving force for the implementation of actions. Implementation of the action, that is education and the intention to continue to receive it, are analyzed in various ways. Key aspects of the formation of motivation to education were highlighted in the analysis:
• Social aspects of motivation.
• Motivation: Intrinsic / Extrinsic.

In the process of conceptualization and operationalization a number of difficult methodological problems have appeared. In order to understand how the system of concepts and operants should be constructed and to refine the measurement technique on separate operants a pilot study was undertaken.

In a pilot study were used both closed and open questions. They focused on the plans for the future after the end of ninth grade, the structure of free time, participation in further educational activities, etc. We also asked students to write a mini-essay, beginning with the words “I study, because...” Issues of socio-demographic data were also included in the questionnaire.

We interviewed 218 boys and girls in the five schools in Moscow (7,3% of boys and 6,7% of girls aged 14 years, 71,9% of boys and 75% of girls aged 15 years and 20,8% of boys and 18,3% of girls aged 16 years). These were the three secondary schools, one high school and one educational center. The study was conducted in an area on the outskirts of the south-east of Moscow (Brateevo district)\(^1\).

An object of a pilot study was selected by the following considerations. We hypothesized that it is the 9th grade school students, who face with their first and most important in educational system “fork” in the life paths. It is the period when adolescents should do their first, but very important choice. We suppose that it is the time when their motivation “starts to work”. And it does under different circumstances and it lead young student to certain consequences.

During our theoretical analysis we pointed out that motivation is divided into intrinsic and extrinsic, but that division is not an easy thing to measure with sociological tools. What is more it is hard to say what social aspects or actors have an impact on intrinsic/extrinsic motivation. According to our theoretical background we have tried to form a system of concepts and operants:

1. “Intrinsic motivation”:
   • Interest: the acquisition of knowledge.
   • Engagement in educational process.
   • Assessment of the social value of education.

2. “Extrinsic motivation”:
   • Goals.
   • Parents’ education.

3. Plans:
   • Short-range plans.

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\(^1\) I would like to express my deep gratitude and appreciation for Konstantinovskiy David who formed my motivation for cognitive activity and scientific work; Pimenov Alexander, Director of school No 975, and Igor Pimenov for assistance in organizing and conducting the pilot study.
The results of the pilot study showed that the system operants is generally effective for measuring the social aspects of motivation building. Methods of measurement on the operants associated with the study of student involvement in the educational process ensure that the social aspects of the extrinsic motivation are really important. However, the scale of the structure and forms of leisure activity required an expansion. The investigation led to the conclusion that the significant impact of social values on the intrinsic motivation of pupils, although the category of “education, sufficient for success in life” requires further operationalization. Moreover, estimating a method of measuring the future short-range plans of students, we must note that the plans study after the ninth grade is not sufficient for the analysis of the educational trajectories and targets of young people. Long-ranged plans should be studied too. Open-ended question in which respondents were asked to write a mini-essay on “I study, because ...” offers the possibility of collecting interesting to analyze data that can be the basis for a separate research.

Pilot study gave us an opportunity to clarify our conceptual model which can be illustrated with the help of following scheme.

That conceptual model helped us to define our major operants. For example, the formation and existence of plans of continuing education related to the achievement of educational goals, which are the backbone of “intrinsic” motivation. We suppose that the study of plans for future activities will allow to analyze what educational path is more favorable for modern school children. Today’s students understanding of the level of education necessary to succeed in life helps to reflect their awareness of the social value of education. For studying the “extrinsic” Motivation it is desirable to know whether there is a school tutoring available, a good library, whether the family has a computer, whether there is a “smart adult” etc.
What is more the analysis of the results of the pilot study led us to the need to supplement the questionnaire.

1. “Intrinsic motivation”:
   - Interest: the acquisition of knowledge, skills vs getting life experience vs the matriculation, “crust” on education.
   - Engagement (involvement in the process of education): visiting classes, visits to additional classes in school, tutoring repeater to improve learning in the school, tutoring repeater for admission to another school, the school self-development programs, self-study material over school program.
   - Assessment of costs: time to school, time for homework, time for extra classes, time for self.

2. “Extrinsic motivation”:
   - “Educational climate” in the school: the presence of extra-curricular activities at school (free / paid), an educational tourism, the presence of the library (consulting librarian / teacher recruitment literature), held in the school competition, intellectual games and competitions, the ability to consult with the teacher out of school.
   - “Educational climate” at home: a computer and the Internet, the availability of home library, the presence of encyclopedias, a comfortable work site presence, the presence of a calm atmosphere for learning.
   - Access to education: distance to school, free / chargeable school electives, free / payment for after-school tutoring.
   - Social Interaction: the presence of group forms of learning opportunities to discuss with peers and school material with peers in the development of the school curriculum.
   - The availability of “smart adult close”: parents’ education, the relationship with the teacher, who helps with learning.
   - Opportunities (financial, infrastructure, etc.) in a choice of further educational path.

3. Plans: short-range plans – plans after ninth grade, long-range plans – plans after the 11th grade, who will I be after 5 years, “I study, because...”.

In 2013-2014 has been made to the adjustment and testing of equipment, continued surveys and analysis of materials.
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