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Contents

Research Notes

Book Reviews

Rural-Urban Inequalities and Expansion of Tertiary Education in Romania[1]

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Abstract

Rural-urban inequalities of access to higher education occasionally come on the top of the Romanian agenda of education debate. However, there are few attempts to estimate these differences, both in quantitative (access to university) and qualitative terms (differences between fields of study). Our paper focuses on the quantitative inequalities. Our argument is that the historical context shaped the dynamics of such inequalities in the past century. The Raftery and Hout (1993) MMI hypothesis finds some support in the Romanian cases. Romania has low rates of tertiary participation as compared to most European societies. Therefore, the recent expansion of higher education initially led to increasing urban-rural divide. Latter on this divide started to decrease, but it still exists. We use logistic regression models to show that rural-urban inequalities continuously produced effects starting with early 1900s and that these effects are deeper than the ones given by parent education.

Keywords: Rural-Urban Inequalities, Massification of Higher Education, Social Stratification, Communist Legacy.

Introduction

Studying educational inequality was a constant preoccupation in the last decades, being at the crossroad between well established fields, such as social stratification and sociology of education. Important scholars like Coleman (1990), Jencks (1973), Boudon (1973, 1974), Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), Collins (1979) published seminal works, and maintained the topic in the focus. Inspired by human capital theories, the debate considered and labeled nonparticipation to and low participation to

different forms of formal education as a source for social exclusion. The minimal level of formal education which does not lead to marginalization is always changing, gradually moving during the past century from primary to lower secondary and then to higher secondary. On the other hand, the public discourse and the academic debate moved from emphasizing constructed differences between social classes which were induced by „ascribed merits", to considering and promoting equality of access, and, more recently, equality of opportunities (Clancy and Goastellec, 2007).

Regarding tertiary education, equality of access was understood as the possibility of all individuals, irrespective of their social position, to access at least one form of university degree. This meaning was used first for assuring women's access to a university degree, later being extended to different ethnic or racial groups. Despite its generalization at different social levels and groups, the ideal of universal and meritocratic access, has never been achieved.

On the other side, a pure equality of access ignores the differences between individuals, their preferences, social organization, needs of labour market. During the last decades, equality of opportunities became the socially accepted norm. However, it is not normative, but defined in a flexible manner and taking into account individuals preferences. While access to higher secondary started to be almost universal, the debate moved to tertiary education. Furthermore, the quality of tertiary education rather than the simple equality of access to this level come into focus. So, it is important to consider not only the equality of access to a university but also the access to the world class ones (Brennan, 2008).

Despite its certain dependence on meritocratic criteria, such as past academic performances, the access to tertiary education continues to be determined by the ascribed status. Clancy and Goastellec (2007) show that moving from access to tertiary education based on inherited merits to equality of access, as it is understood today, has decreased the inequalities but did not eliminate them. For instance, even if some types of qualitative inequalities between women and men were preserved, the social change made the quantitative inequalities disappear (Shavit, 2007).

This paper tries to explain the Romanian rural-urban inequalities of access to tertiary education, and its dynamics during the twentieth century.

We place the discussion in the larger framework of changes experienced by contemporary Romanian, starting from the „democratization" of access to tertiary education, as well as in the context of relative gap of development between rural and urban. Balica (2008) shows that rural area has the highest levels in school abandon. Voicu (2007b) notices that the number of students from rural area is somewhere between 5 and 6% from the total numbers of student, keeping in mind that approximately half (47%) of the Romanians live in this area. The disparities are obvious. They are probably the result of an unbalanced social structure with a historical higher access to tertiary education of the people from urban area.

The first aim of this paper is to analyze how changed over time the basic conditions governing the access to higher education. The second objective is to test to which degree the above-mentioned urban-rural inequalities are explained by educational structure of the population or by cumulative factors at rural area level.

To accomplish these objectives we are using survey data gathered into the series Barometer of Opinion founded by Soros Foundation. Using to the general assumptions regarding the dynamics of tertiary education, we distinguish between generations of possible students and track their access to university studies. Finally, we employ regression analysis to identify the persistence of the rural-urban inequalities controlling for several indicators of the population structure.

The first section of the paper discusses the conceptual framework, making refererence to existing literature and its possible particularizations in the Romanian context. In the second section we state and validate several hypotheses regarding differentiated access to education given the residence area. We expect to find a descendent trend of inequality in the 1960s, given the historical conditions from that period, and, also, in the years 2000 when, given the relative expansion of university education, the access of urban inhabitants tends to become saturated. We construct an hypothesis related to the origin effect on accessing higher education. We argue that

"the rural" embeds a series of factors that have a negative influence on the access to education, and maintain their influence no matter which generation one considers, and no matter the individual that one considers. This means that given two identical individuals, one born in rural area and the second in urban area, the first one would have lower propensity to follow university studies.

The third section discusses the data and the method. Then we present the findings. A section of discussion about implications of the results concludes the paper.

Conceptual framework

Educational inequality is one of the key themes in the sociology of education (Hatos, 2006; Blossfeld and Shavit, 1993), being analyzed both in the developed societies (Shavit, 2007) and in developing ones (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001). The differences between social groups have been treated, in chronological order, in terms of absolute inequality, inequality of access, and inequality of chance (Clancy and Goastellec, 2007). All these labels mainly refer to the existence of a discrepancy between social groups regarding the average level of school instruction that is reached by each of them. Ethnicity, race, gender, social class, residence etc. have been used in different studies as stratification criteria that explain inequalities regarding education.

Several decades ago, university education was not the focus of the educational inequality debate (Coleman et al., 1966; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Boudon, 1973, 1974). In the 1970s the discussion around expansion and generalization of tertiary education started to become salient (Trow, 1972, 1999). In fact, switching the emphasis to university studies is not an entirely new phenomenon. Almost a hundred years ago the higher secondary education was rather for elites. Today, in almost all human societies, to be a student in secondary education level is a mass phenomenon.

The same transformation affects nowadays the first cycle of university education (Bachelor) and it is possible to be soon followed by the MA/MS and PhD levels. Given the science and technology progress, this is a simple and natural way of prolonging the formal education instruction process. The progress forces individuals to master more and more information and skills required to cope with the complexity of everyday life and to make full use of the existing opportunities for fulfillment.

Two distinct phenomena offer the necessary time resources. First there is the continuosly increasing life expectancy. A longer life means more years that one can spend in formal learning. On the other hand, the rising levels of labour productivity induce lower demand for labour force, permitting to the younger generations to postpone the entering in the labour market. Also, a higher productivity generates the necessary resources for financing highest level of education for more individuals.

Under these conditions, the developed countries, but also the East-Europeans ones, know for several decades a continuous expansion of tertiary education (Trow, 1999; Kivinen et al., 2007; Teichler, 2008; etc.). In Western Europe, for example, the percent of those enrolled in tertiary education has increased almost 6 times as compared with the 1960s, and similar tendencies are also seen in the Eastern Europe former communist countries (Koucký et al., 2007). Romania has a less educated population in comparison with the other European countries regarding the number of students in tertiary education and the number of students in the context of the current generations (Voicu, 2005b). But in the last ten years the increase of the number of students was a bigger than the average of the European countries. Between 1998 and 2004 the number of students from the tertiary education level from a generation has doubled (Voicu, 2007c). These numbers maintain Romania between the European countries with the fewest students given the dimension of the reference generation, but create the premises that tertiary education will lose the elitist character and will expand. Therefore, the debate about inequalities of access at tertiary education becomes relevant for the contemporary Romanian society.

Educational inequalities also refer to school performance inequalities and differences of access at superior levels of education (Shavit, 2007). There are several factors that explain these differences. Some of them refer to family background. In the 1980s, according to Mare (1981), in the western societies, the education path use to be the byproduct of successive (silent) negotiations between

the student and the family, around financing the continuation of the studies and choosing the appropriate schools. Such negotiations might have led to the continuation of educational process on the academic path (high school-faculty) or on the vocational/technical one, or to leaving school. In the contemporary context, the use of student loans is one of the policies that can diminish the inequalities determined by income (Voicu, 2001). Besides the financial constraints, some other family-related factors may determine the educational inequalities. Such factors include parents' level of formal education, reading exposure in general and particularly in the family of origin, or the level of aspirations of the birth family (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; De Graaf et al., 2000).

One can add the influence of the school (Sadker and Sadker, 1994), the type of accessed social networks (Coleman, 1988), the type of family and the position as the first, the second, the third etc. born child (Shavit, 2007). The gender is also important but its effect knows important fluctuations. For instance, in Romania, since the generations born in the 1970s, women had a lower probability to enroll in university education than men did. Today, for almost 20 years, there are more women than men students, and the gap increases every year (Vlăsceanu, 2007: 205; Voicu, 2007a: 15, 2007b: 24). This situation is not specific for Romania, giving birth to lively debates in the local and also international public space[4].

Other factors that influence access to tertiary education are the patterns of structuring the educational system and way in which the society self-structure its functioning. Discussing about transition from school to labour, Bernardi (2007) identifies several levels where the factors that explain the positive trajectory of the individual locates. Besides personal characteristics, such levels include: (a) standardization of the education system, the stratification of education opportunities and the inflation of diplomas; (b) the process through which graduates get useful information about jobs and employers; (c) the availability of jobs with specific requirements. The standardization of the education system refers the degree to which education quality reaches certain standards. The stratification of education opportunities refers to the structure of educational system and to the selection procedures that classify students after their degree of preparation. Availability of jobs depends on the efficiency of the overall economic system of a country and on the market and organizational strategies of national companies. Putting this at the level of rural-urban inequalities it becomes probable that the youth from rural area will be less attracted by tertiary education given the lower demand of high qualification jobs from this area.

All these three aspects that Bernandi mentioned, talk about the influence of the system on the access to tertiary education. The history of the educational system and society are important premises for the existence of educational inequalities.

In the next section, we use this assumption to build hypotheses about the level and the evolution of urban-rural inequalities to access tertiary education, depending on the context given by the political and economic development.

Hypothesis

Dynamics of the differences between urban and rural areas regarding access to tertiary education

Before World War II, keeping in mind that the overall access to tertiary education was generally low, it is likely that those from urban area would have enrolled more frequently for university studies. On the other side, access depended on family status. Many wealthy families obtained

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4   See, for example, „Is There a Crisis in Education of Males?", in *Inside Higher Ed*, on 21 May 2008 <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2008/05/21/gender>. In Romania, *Gardianul* published in September 18, 2008 an article entitled "The statistics shows that women are better prepared than men in the work force from Romania", talking about a similar subject. The discussion is unfortunately presented in a chaotic manner (the article, signed by Elena Gulin and Alexandru Calmacu, is available online at <http://www.gardianul.ro/Statisticile-arata-ca-femeile-sunt-mai-culte-decAYt-barbatii,-in-rAYndul-populatiei-active-din-RomAYnia-s120776.html>). Both papers were accessed online at October 8, 2008

their wellbeing from agriculture. So, it is possible that many students were in fact born in rural areas, but from these wealthy families.

During WWII and immediately after and also in the first decade of the communist regime, the positive discrimination of working class, most of it from urban areas, probably increased the differences of access between these two residence areas.

Let also note that, despite the pretended promotion of universal equality, the communist regimes from Eastern Europe did not modified the inherent inequalities. The advantaged groups found different modalities through which they used their abilities to maintain at least some of the former privileges, despite the equalizing pressure (Blossfeld and Shavit, 1993; Hanley and McKeever, 1997; Ganzeboom and Nieuwbeerta, 1999; Hanley, 2001; Kessler, 2003; Voicu, 2005a).

Especially during the 1960s, this tendency overlapped with the ascendant mobility of a part of working class, and with recruiting new low-level nomenclature from rural areas. Considering the generations that enrolled in tertiary education during the 1960s, we expect them to have employed in their advantage the relative opening toward the rural areas from those times. Many families were migrating from rural to urban area to ensure the labour force for the industrialization. Their children, often born in rural area, benefited from the relative more opportunities to enroll in university studies than those that were born in the urban areas. A fairly generous system of scholarships facilitated the access to education irrespectively of income, stimulating youth from rural areas to continue its education in universities. On the other side, the internal fights and disputes for supremacy which fragmented Communist Party, have disadvantaged especially the potential students from the families of the older party activists. Such potential students were mainly urban: most of them born or at least their families lived long periods in the city.

In the first decades of communist regime, the countries from Eastern Europe experienced decreasing levels of educational inequalities. But after that period, inequalities increased. Blossfeld and Shavit (1993: 9) explain this situation through "the hypothesis of socialist transformation". Changing the regime is, in fact, the replacement of the old elite that cannot conserve its privileges in a satisfactory way. For Romania, the 1950s were a period of continuous change of the elites. However, they were recruited mostly from the higher part of the old society (Tănase, 1998). Only during the 1960s a relative stability installs. A conservation of the privileges of the new elite follows during the last decades of the communist regime. Under these circumstances, decreasing levels of educational inequality were likely to occur mainly for the generation that enrolled in university education in the 1960s.

In the 1970s, the expansion of the tertiary education continues, but the above-mentioned stimulating factors for rural areas slowly disappear. Also, the migration from rural to urban diminishes.

The 1980s are characterized by the freezing of the number of places in tertiary education. Part of the geneatins that reach the age of enrollment in faculty in this period feel the effect of pro-natalist policy initiated at the end of the 1960s. Thus, even though the number of young people that reached the age of enrollment in tertiary education increases, the number of students does not modify. There is a lower probability that a random individual to become student. As argued, in such conditions the dominant group will tend to better use the few existing opportunities (Paterson and Iannelli, 2007). The immediate consequence is maintenance of the educational inequality. Moreover, almost all communist countries experienced in the 1980s similar increases in educational inequality (Gazenboom and Nieuwbeerta, 1999; Kessler, 2003).

After 1990, two factors concomitantly influenced the educational system: economic recession and expansion of tertiary education. We expect that both of them contributed to the exacerbation of the inequalities between rural and urban. The recession affects mainly the lower classes, less prepared to cope with it, tending to increase their degree of materialism (Inglehart and Baker, 2000), choosing rather to become an employee then to continue formal education. The tertiary education expansion diminishes the inequalities, but, as Paterson and Iannelli (2007) shows, first they contribute to their

increasing. Those that profit first from these new opportunities are those occupying advantaged positions. They have faster access to information and can engage resources through which to access the possibilities offered by these expansions, using them until they saturate the need for supplementary education, as *Maximal Maintained Inequality* (MMI) theory sustains (Raftery and Hout, 1993).

On the other hand the expansion of tertiary education also brought increases in the volume of financing from private founds. Initially this meant the appearance of "private"[5] universities, students having to pay to gain access to tertiary education. Later on, in the 200s, different forms of financing the public universities from private funds have emerged. Part of the students started to be accepted if the pay the tuition fee, without the former condition to pass a standard admission exam. As Arum et al. (2007) shows, when the relative importance of the financing from private funds increases, the inequalities also increase. The first affected are those coming from lower strata of the society.

Expansion of university education, by itself, does not decreases of inequality, but diversification of the offer does (Ayalon et al., 2008). It is possible that the inequality decreases only quantitatively, transforming into qualitative differences, as the Effectively Maintained Inequality (EMI) argues (Lucas, 2001). The upper strata continue to have a higher probability to profit from their position, choosing, for example, to study at better universities and to take majors in the fields with higher prestige. Unfortunately, because we do not have data to test these assumptions, we limit the scope of the paper to discussing urban-rural quantitative inequalities of access at university education.

After the year 2000, Romania knows three relevant processes that are putting the grounds for decreases in the levels of educational inequalities, particularly of the rural-urban ones. The first process is inherent to the educational system, being similar with the rest of transformation in the whole world: proliferation of distance learning and increases of three years college number (Vlăsceanu, 2007), which are more accessible for lower strata. The process continues with the reduction of the superior educational cycle to 3, respectively 4 years, depending on the studies topic. Secondly, there is an economic increase, also determining higher household incomes and creating the necessary resources for accessing university education. Finally, the upper stratum begins to saturate, from the quantitative point of view, the need to access university education.

To summarize, we expect to observe the maintaining of the urban-rural inequalities at the level of all analyzed generations. We expect to find serious fluctuations in the sense of decreasing inequalities at the generations that are reaching the age of enrollment in the tertiary education in the 1960s and after 2000, and in the sense of important increases between 1970 and 1990.

Is there a negative impact inherent to rural area?

In the next paragraphs, we build a second major hypothesis of our study, trying to identify if and how being born and raised in the rural area determines a lower probability to enroll in university education.

Classical studies of educational inequalities correlate the academic success and access to higher forms of education with familial background (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Boudon, 1973; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990; Coleman et al., 1966; Jencks, 1973). The most important factor in this respect is the parents' education. Practically, the impact of social origin on the academic performances is strongly mediated by parents' cultural capital (van de Werfhorst and Hofstede, 2007).

Social class is another factor that increases the chances of graduating more academic levels (Werner, 2004). Children from lower strata need more academic successes then those from upper strata to decide if they continue to enroll in superior levels of education (Breen and Yaish, 2006). Again, parents education can be used as a proxy of social class.

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5   The label is properly used in its intimate senses, because these universities were actually not-for-profit organizations. We can use it because it suggests on the one side that these organizations are no longer under the management of public authorities, and on the other side, that the access to educational services offered is conditioned by paying tuition fees, not by passing an examination, as it used to be, at the time, in the "state universities".

Relational social capital is, also, a covariate of academic success. The most important aspects are the quantity of resources available in the network and the degree in which these can be accessed by the members, rather than the size of the network (De Graaf, 2007). The type of education accessed by the majority of the network members is a norm for that group, conforming to it being a factor that determines aspirations and behaviors.

Children which parents are actively involved in their education have more positive attitudes toward school, come more often to school, and have better academic successes then those with parents that are not actively (Hill et al. 2004; Catsambis, 2007). All these are influenced by several factors: the children age, socioeconomic background, race, family relations, family life, school policy, overall wellbeing of the neighborhood (Catsambis and Beveridge 2001; Gonzalez 2004; Catsambis, 2007).

The number of brothers/sisters is negatively correlated with academic success especially if the age difference is small, being an effect of resources distribution inside the family of origin (Zajonc and Markus, 1975).

Coming from a single parent family is negatively associated with academic success (Shavit, 2007). This situation can be explained in three ways: (a) the economic situation of this type of family is negative especially when there is only the mother; (b) children get less attention; (c) the parent is isolated from the community having less social capital that is so important.

Types of qualification available on the local labour market also influence the options regarding the educational path (Bernardi, 2007).

The quality of academic training and the way in which pupils are school oriented by their teachers are also important factors that contribute to the decision of further enrolling in secondary and tertiary forms of education (Sadker and Sadker, 1994).

Most of these factors are closely related with the family of origin education. Others, like social norms imposed by the belonging social network, school quality, teachers contribution in the first cycles of education, imply negative factors that are cumulating in the rural area.

Another factor is proximity to the nearest universities which is smaller for those born in rural area. When this distance increases so does the costs of accessing tertiary education, expressed at least as the need for transportation to the faculty. These costs are adding to the quality of infrastructure and low access to information acting like an obstacle for the whole friends' network, reducing the probability to enroll in university courses.

Finally, let's note that access to university studies is conditioned by the graduation of secondary education level. In contemporary Romania the relative number of early school-leavers is much higher than in the rest of the European countries (Voicu, 2007d: 99-100). More than three quarters of those in the position of leaving education system without a secondary level diploma are from rural area (Balica, 2008: 77 and the following ones). All these describe urban-rural inequalities which already exist at the age of enrollment in tertiary education and which perpetuate at tertiary level.

Summarizing, the main factor that can determine inequality of access to the tertiary education is closely related with family background. For this reason parents' education is a reasonable indicator. Besides the "legacy" given by the family, we expect that being born in rural area is associated with a significant lower probability to attend and graduate university courses.

Data and method

Data bases, variables

To test the hypothesis we are using databases from the series *Barometer of Opinion (BOP)*. BOP was done twice a year being funded by Soros Foundation. Representative national samples for Romanian adult population were asked to answer to face-to-face omnibus questionnaires. Three of the research waves (May 2007, November 2006 and May 2006) included information about

the place of birth, more precisely about the residential area of that locality. This information is essential for our analysis and is not available in other databases that we can access. Choosing BOP to test our hypotheses is therefore the natural choice.

The BOP samples include 1994 respondents in May 2006, 1975 in November 2006, and 1999 in May 2007. To increase the number of cases for every relevant age category (see further in this paper) we merged the three data bases, finally formed by 5968 subjects. The short distance in time between those three waves and the theme discussed here, that is practically not time constrained, allows us to do this operation. The resulted sample is similar with the main characteristics of the reference population.

We use a dichotomous **dependent variable**, distinguishing between those who graduated tertiary education and those who didn't, regardless of the level: college, BA, MA/MSc or PhD. Those who at the moment of the data collection were enrolled as students were labeled as graduates of tertiary education. In the final sample 14.4% of the respondents were labeled as graduates of tertiary education. For 13 cases (0.2% from total) we didn't have information regarding education, so these were excluded from the analyses.

Regarding independent variables, a first methodological issue is related with the **identification of residential area** of the students and graduates of tertiary education. Voicu (2007b: 24) discuss the provenience of students from today Romanian universities, observing that 2/3 from those who declare themselves as born in rural area have lived at least 5 years in urban area at the moment of enrollment in faculty being rather townspeople than village people. On the other side, it is possible that the years spent in urban area to be actually years when they just were guests at boarding houses, situation that increases the difficulty of labeling in just two ways residential area.

Using the place where the family of origin lived in the moment of respondents' enrollment in tertiary education can also generate classification errors. That family could have been in a process of migration. More than that, for the older people especially, the memory can be affected by time.

Our option is to use in the analysis the inequalities between those *born in the rural area* and those *born in the urban area*.

Obviously there can be measurement errors induced by changing the administrative status of the birth place. The number of rural localities that became cities and the number of cities that became villages in the last 100 years is relatively small compared with the total number of localities from Romania. The probability to include in the sample respondents born in such localities and to label the birth place after the new classification criteria and not after that from the moment of birth is very low, the errors created being negligible.

The hypotheses impose **the identification of the generations** that should have started tertiary education at different moments in time: before 1944, between 1945 and 1959, during the 1960s, during the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and after year 2000. The rule is to graduate the gymnasium, then the high school, and then the university. There can be a number of deviations from this rule, including paths like gymnasium-vocational school-evening high school-university or high school-working several years-university. Several generations that were enrolled before the 1950s or after 2000 could graduate even two years of high school in a single year. So, the theoretical age of enrollment in tertiary education can vary a lot.

Table 1: *Sample distribution after "educational" generation*

Year of birth	"Educational" generation	Number of cases in the pooled database	Percent of tertiary education graduates in the generation
Before 1927	Before 1944	257	3,5%
1928 - 1942	1945-1959	1.120	5,7%
1943 - 1954	1960-1971	1.170	9,8%
1955 - 1963	1972-1980	852	12,1%
1964 - 1972	1981-1990	941	13,4%
1973 - 1981	1991-1999	801	20,8%
After 1982	After 2000	826	32,9%
Total		5.967	14,3%

Without other information about educational paths followed by every individual, to simplify the categorization, we choose to use a generic age at which every respondent could have started his/ hers university studies. In order to set up the theoretical age we took in consideration the dynamic of the number of classes from pre-university education and of the age of starting primary education. The result is two reference ages: 17 years for those that could have enrolled in faculty before 1960, respectively 18 years for the rest. For example, those that were 18 in one of the years between 1960 and 1971, are labeled in the following analysis as belonging to generation 1960-1971 (Table 1).

Parents' education is the key control variable. Our objective is to identify the influence of being born in rural area over the inequality of access to tertiary education controlling for the characteristics of family of origin. Parents' education is the only variable available, measured satisfactorily, that indicate the probable status of the family of origin in the moment of the decision on the enrollment in tertiary education. As we showed, using Mare's (1981) research, it is essential to control for the family status at the moment when that decision is made and not at present. In many data bases, including BOP, there is information about parents' social status at the present moment like occupation, for example. However, as compared to education, occupation is more likely to change overtime. So, parents' current education is more likely than other indicators of the the current status, to be similar with the one at the moment when the decision about the enrollment or non-enrollment of the respondent in university education was made.

Measurement of family education presupposes several other important methodological options. The discussion is similar with the previous one about measurement of occupational status of the family. One may consider either the educational status of the father (Goldthorpe 1983, 1984; Hatos, 2008), the one of the mother (Rios-Neto et al., 2003), an average of the number of school years graduated or other indicator of parents education (Korrup 2000: 36-37), or maximum level of education graduated by any of the parents (Erikson, 1984).

If using the status of only one parent, either mother or father, may exclude from the analysis the respondents for which we lack the respective information. Besides, given the change in the sense of inequality of access at tertiary education induced by gender, using the education of a only one parent becomes problematic.

We choose to measure family education at the maximum level reached by one of the parents, regardless of gender. In the BOP databases, parents' education is recorded using categorical variables. We have recoded the categories such as to obtain an ordinal variable with the following levels: "no education", "at least gymnasium", "apprentice or vocational school", „high school", „posthighschool or foreman school", „university degree".

For 10,5% of respondents there is no information about the educational status of any parents. This reduced the sample at 5344 cases. The cases removed were mostly from older generations, reaching 21% for those born in urban area in the educational generation before 1944, and 22% for those born in rural area in the same generation. For the rest of the groups given by the cross tabulation between educational generation and residential area at birth, the number of cases for which we lack information is decreasing with every newer generation.

Method

Bivariate analysis and logistic regression adequately answers our aims. We first describe the variation of access to tertiary education, differentiated by areas and educational generations. Then we use logistic regression for the pooled sample. Finally, we repeat the same logistic regression model for every educational generation taken into consideration, testing in this way the stability in time of the observed effects.

The dynamics of differences between rural-urban regarding access to tertiary education in Romania

According to Eurostat[6], in 2007, 10% of the population from Romania with the age between 20 and 74 years has graduated tertiary education. The number puts Romanian society on the last place in EU. That number is smaller even than those in the partner or EU candidate countries, with the exception of Turkey. To this situation has contributed the relative freezing of the number of places in the tertiary education from the 1980s, but also the accumulated gap between Romania and the rest of the European countries (Voicu, 2005b).
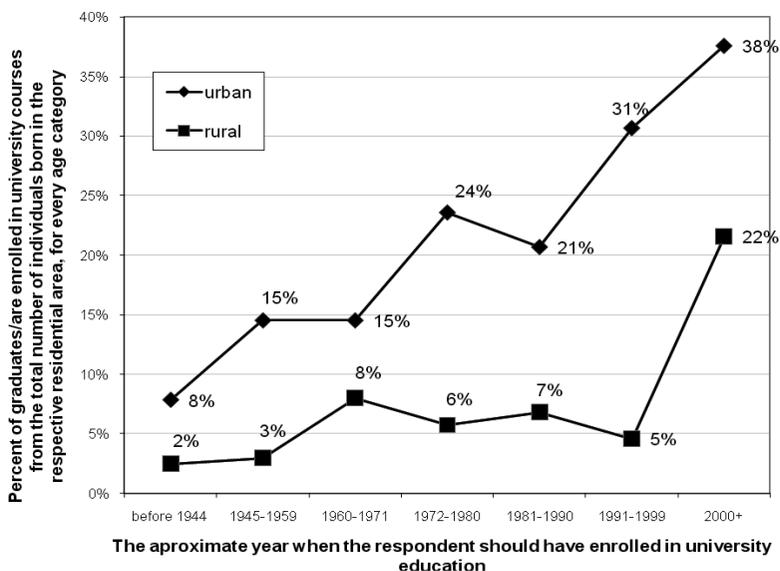

Figure 1: *The dynamics of the access to tertiary education in Romania, split by residential areas*

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6   Online database, accessed at http://eurostat.eu.int on 8 October 2008.

<u>*Reading tips*</u>: *In the 1990s, considering those born in urban area that reach the age of enrollment in university, 31% enrolled in and graduated this level of education. For those born in rural area, in the same generation, the equivalent number is only 5%.*
<u>*Note*</u>: *The small dimension of the sample in the case of those that should have enrolled after 2000 imposes caution in reading and interpreting the figures for the respective generation. Such numbers are rather tentative.*

In the pooled sample of the three waves of BOP, 14% are graduates of tertiary education[7]. Almost three quarters of them (73%) are born in urban area. In the sample, those born in urban localities are only 40%. The difference eloquently describes the urban-rural inequalities regarding access to university studies. As compared to those born in villages, the ones born in cities are more present in the population of graduates of tertiary education, than in the overall population of Romania.

Figure 1 describes the dynamics of the percent of those that graduated tertiary education within the respective educational generations and residential area at birth. The general hypothesis regarding the dynamic of the number of graduates is confirmed: with the exception of the 1980s generation, the access to higher education continuously increases from a period to another. This is more obvious in urban area. For those born in villages, starting from 1960 and until 1990s there are no statistical significant differences.

Besides the basic access to higher education, urban-rural inequalities display an interesting dynamic. For example, in the 1990s, from those born in urban areas that reached age of enrollment in university, 31% manage to graduate tertiary education. The same figure for those born in rural area is much smaller: 5%. This means that, in the respective generation, an important majority of the university graduates comes from urban area. At the opposite, for the generation that reached the age of enrollment in faculty during the 1960s the distance between urban and rural is smaller.

Table 2 further explores the evolution of these inequalities, adjusting the differences for the structure on residential area for every generation. If the total population of the rural area would have equalized the total population of the urban area, for the generations that reached age of enrollment in faculty before 1944, at 10 graduates of tertiary education born in the city, 3 were born in the rural localities. In other words, those born in the city had 3 times more chances to enroll in faculty than those born in rural areas. This ratio functions like a measure of inequality of access. It increases for the generation that will enroll in faculty in the 1940s. Then, the generation of those that become students in the 1960s is more egalitarian, but the inequality comes back, reaching the highest peak during the recession from the 1990s. After 2000, in the context of massification of university education, the urban-rural inequality diminishes, returning to a level similar with one registered in the 1960s.

Table 2: *The dynamics of rural-urban inequality of opportunity of access in tertiary education in Romania*

Rural-urban relative difference:	The approximate year when they should enroll in university education						
	before 1944	1945-1959	1960-1971	1972-1980	1981-1990	1991-1999	after 2000
Ratio of the access to tertiary education of those born in rural localities and those born in cities*	3/10	2/10	6/10	2/10	3/10	1/10	6/10

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7 The difference from the number reported by Eurostat comes from the different age categories used (20-74 years for Eurostat, 18-98 for BOP samples), from the labeling as graduates of those enrolled in university education (even if some of them will probably abandon the university studies before graduation), and from the usual sampling errors.

*the numbers were rounded so the denominator of every fraction to be a whole number
<u>Reading tips</u>: *If the total population of the rural area would have equal to the total population of urban area, for the generations that reached the age of enrollment in faculty before 1944, for 10 graduates of tertiary education born in the city, 3 were born in the rural. When this ratio decreases the inequality increases and vice versa.*

This short analysis confirms the hypotheses stated about the dynamic of rural-urban inequalities. It decreases in the 1960 decade, then it increases, it becomes acute in the 1990s and it decreases a lot in the 2000s. The results are practically the same if, instead of working with the pooled sample, one separately considers every BOP wave.

The next step is to identify the source of these inequalities. Are they determined by historical inequalities recorded at the level of past generations, or they come from factors that are specific to Romanian rural areas?

Does it really matters that you live in a rural area?

For a first analysis of the factors that influence the access of individuals to tertiary education, we set up a logistic regression model, We have employed the pooled sample resulting from the three BOP waves, in order to isolate the influence of the residential area when controlling for educational generation, parents education, and gender (Table 3). In such a model, if the rural influence remain negative, then, considering the overall Romanian population, there are historical inequalities of access to tertiary education that transcend the legacy represented by educational background of the birth family, as well as the general access differences induced by gender and the period when reaching the age to enroll in tertiary education.

Table 3: *Logistic regression model of access to tertiary education*

	B	Wald	Sig.
Born in rural area	-0,67	43,1	0,000
Gender (masculine=1).	0,00	0,0	0,972
Parents' education (the more educated parent)			
no school	-21,35	0,0	0,991
at most gymnasium	-3,12	386,4	0,000
Apprentince/vocational school	-2,45	176,5	0,000
highschool	-1,18	56,7	0,000
Post highschool/foreman school	-1,13	36,3	0,000
Generation **(the approximate year when they should enroll in university education)**			
1945-1959	0,37	0,9	0,355
1960-1971	0,67	3,9	0,086
1972-1980	0,60	2,3	0,127
1981-1990	0,38	1,0	0,320
1991-1999	0,60	2,4	0,119
2000+	0,80	4,4	0,037
Constant	0,25	0,4	0,528

Reference category: gender women, should have started tertiary education before 1944, at least one parent graduated tertiary education.
R^2 (Cox & Snell) = 19,4%; R^2 (Nagelkerke) = 34,1%; sig. X^2 (omnibus test)=0,000; sig. X^2 (Hosmer and Lemeshow Test)=0,235; increase in correct classification of those with tertiary education: from 0% to 22,9%.

Table 3 confirms our expectations. The educational of family of origin proved to be the most important predictor from those taken into consideration here. The indicator is relevant not just for education, but also works as (at least) rough proxy for social class, income, and participation of family as a support for academic improvement of their children. The table shows how, through comparison with those which parents graduated tertiary education, the probability of accessing faculty studies of the other groups is significantly lower[8]. More, this decreases when the maximal level of education reached by the parents is lower.

The influence of rural is not as important as the parents' education. But it remains significant when we control for the generation, parents education or gender. More than that, to be born in rural or urban area is more important in predicting the educational path then belonging generation.

To test if the influence of the birth residential area remains the same regardless the period in which the respective generation reaches maturity, we have run similar logistic regression models for every generation (Table 4). They allow us to identify the sources of the observed rural-urban inequalities.

Table 4: *Logistic regression models of access to tertiary education by educational generation*

	Generation (the approximate year when they should enroll in university education)						
	before 1944	1945-1959	1960-1971	1972-1980	1981-1990	1991-1999	after 2000
Born in rural area	2,18	-0,56+	0,01	-1,24***	-0,56*	-1,76***	-0,33+
man	-0,88	1,33***	0,74**	0,06	0,13	-0,37+	-0,57***
Parents' education							
no school	-22,94	-20,90	-21,54	-21,83	-21,60	-21,78	-21,81
at most gymnasium	-6,57**	-3,03***	-3,14***	-3,61***	-3,29***	-3,48***	-2,46***
apprentice/vocational school	-23,14	-2,25**	-2,36***	-4,10***	-3,04***	-2,43***	-2,11***
highschool	-0,17	0,32	-0,97+	-1,93**	-1,13**	-1,60***	-1,09***
Post-highschool/ foreman school	0,11	-0,61	-0,82	-1,93**	-1,55***	-1,62***	-0,54
Constant	0,00	-0,52	0,05	1,65**	0,72*	1,50***	1,02***
R^2 (Cox & Snell)	20,0%	13,8%	12,0%	17,9%	16,0%	25,0%	15,6%
R^2 (Nagelkerke)	64,6%	36,5%	25,2%	34,9%	29,8%	38,6%	21,8%
sig. X^2 (Hosmer and Lemeshow Test)	0,595	0,997	0,975	0,124	0,677	0,594	0,958
sig. X^2 (omnibus test)	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Increase of correct classification for university graduates	55,6%	31,0%	17,0%	26,7%	22,8%	26,1%	31,0%
N	198	910	1009	767	878	747	784

*** *p<0,001;* ** *p<0,01;* * *p<0,05;* + *p≤0,10;*
The figures are unstandardized regression coefficients. Reference category: woman, at least a parent graduated tertiary education.

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8   For the parents without education, the B coefficient is not significant given the high heterogenity of the group. However, the sign and the magnitude of the coefficient tend to confirm the hypothesis stated and the interpretation proposed in this section.

Before interpreting the results, one should note a necessary caution, to be applied for the generations that have reached the age of enrollment in tertiary education before 1944. The age of these generations at the moment of the data collection was 72 years or more. At the time of the interviewing, most of these respondents have been already living behind the average life expectancy. The mortality strongly affects the educational structure of this generation: the least educated use to have a shorter life expectancy. Therefore, as compared to the moment when deciding for following the academic route or leaving the school system, the university are overrepresented among the "before 1944" educational generation.

On the other hand, the respective age group comprises only 198 cases in the pooled sample. This implies the need for an even more careful interpretation of the the regression results.

More than that, because an important part of that generation have reached the age of enrollment in tertiary education during the War, there obviously are important perturbations regarding access to this level of education.

A second precaution with respect to the youngest generation is that all the teenagers enrolled in tertiary education at the moment of data collection were considered as university graduates. In fact it is likely that many of them would not complete their studies. Such situations are more likely to occur among the disadvantaged groups. In other words, in the sample of the educational generation 2000+, there is a big probability of over-representing those coming from disadvantaged groups and which were labeled as tertiary education graduates.

With these cautions in mind, we can interpret the data from Table 4. The first result describes the dynamic of rural-urban differences. The place of birth prove to be determine important effects for every generation considered with the exception of those that have reached the age of enrollment in faculty during the 1960s. As we were expecting, the maximal inequality is encountered during the 1990s when, besides the differences given by the parents' education, urban-born teenagers were much more advantaged than the rural-born ones.

The results are similar on every generation, only the magnitude differ. In other words, knowing the age and gender of an individual, parent's education and residential area at birth, we can predict with good precision if he will graduate or not a form of tertiary education. From these factors, the most important seems to be for all the generations considered, parents education.

Synthesizing, the answer to the question from the section title is positive. Controlling for differences induced by parents' education and gender, being born in rural area creates negative effects on the probability to enroll and graduate university studies. These effects were stronger for the generations that reached the age of enrolling in tertiary education during the 1990s, but also in the before period – the 1970s and the 1980s. For the generations that reached maturity after the year 2000, the rural-urban inherent inequalities tend to decrease.

The main factor that determines the rural-urban differences is the structural one, given by the historical inequalities between these two residential areas. The parents' education measures this gap, being copied latter by their children and then perpetuated from generation to generation. Analyzing the B coefficients from the parents' education, from Table 4, shows that the effect of the educational differences between parents tends to diminishes for newer generations even if it remains significant.

For example, regardless of the generation, those whose parents graduated at least vocational school, have a smaller probability to enroll ixn faculty than those whose parents have university degrees. The difference is decreasing from generation 1972-1980, to the generation 1981-1990, than to the generation 1991-1999, knowing a difference even smaller for those that reached the age of enrollment in tertiary studies after 2000. The same finding holds true for the categories of parents' education taken into consideration.

Conclusions and implications

The rural area accumulates a series of factors that negatively influences the decision to continue education at a university degree. They include the social norm (of non-continuing education at university level) imposed by the friends network, the distance to the university, the demand on the labor market, the quality of pre-university school teaching, especially at the primary level and gymnasium etc. Our analyses prove their importance even when we control for social origin, gender or generation.

The data supports our hypothesis regarding the dynamic in time of the urban-rural gap regarding the decisions to enroll in university. During the communist regime, the fluctuations of these inequalities followed the administrative decision of the centralized government. The decrease of inequalities from the 1960s was followed by an increase during the subsequent decades, and a freezing in the last years of the regime. The expansion of tertiary education form the 1990s, in the context of economic recession, contributed to the increase of inequalities, confirming the Maximally Maintained Inequality hypothesis (MMI) (Raftery and Hout, 1993). The years 2000 bring the relative saturation of education demand from the urban people and marks the decreases of quantitative inequalities of access to superior education, confirming Effectively Maintained Inequality hypothesis (EMI) (Lucas, 2001).

An important question is if the current tendency of decreasing rural-urban quantitative inequalities will remain the same in the future. On one hand, one should note that the gap is a historical one, mainly depending on the inequalities between families of origin. These differences are inherent and difficult, maybe impossible, to recover even on long run, equivalent with several succeeding decades. From this point of view, reducing the inequalities requires wealthy families moving to rural areas. Such families might comprise young adults that currently attend or will attend university courses, irrespectively of their birth place, or older migrants from urban to rural areas.

In the outskirts of larger cities, the changing of social structure is already happening. (Voicu, 2005a). Green spaces, easy to obtain comfort and proximity to the city - where are located almost all jobs that require high qualification, are factors favoring this change. The change is not an inherent one for the rural area but derives from the population structure change determined by the migration to peri-urban. The situation is different for the villages located far from the big cities, particularly for the remote localities. These are less attractive because of the little comfort offered, in terms of access to public utilities, commercial spaces, health and education services, better paid jobs.

On the other side, the youth from the rural area might be attracted to higher education through educational vouchers. However, this can be difficult. Using this type of loan is conditioned, as is the case of other types of consumption, by the prediction made on the evolution of future income and the experience of past incomes (Modigliani, 1944). Youth can be reluctant to the offers of the future Agency for Student Loans, and such attitudes are more likely to be more frequent in remote localities. There are many other obstacles that will continue to hinder the access to university studies and perpetuate inequalities. They include the norms of the social network, the proximity to the faculty, the availability of jobs in the locality of residence, the attractiveness of international migration, the education background from the origin family, the primary and secondary teaching and guidance, the already existing gap when considering the early school leaving.

There is also the perspective of qualitative inequalities. The other countries experience shows that the massification of tertiary education does not decrease the educational inequalities, moving them to the next level (Koucký et al., 2007). For undergraduate level the quantitative inequalities can disappear but they may transform to a more subtle imbalance due to accessing universities oe specializations of different quality (Lucas, 2001; Ayalon an Shavit, 2004; Ayalon et al., 2008). Students from upper strata enroll rather in elite universities, leaving the others a higher probability to enroll in low level universities. Similar processes may occur inside the same university, when considering the social background of students for different faculties or

specializations. The departments with higher prestige will attract student for upper strata. Also, the quantitative inequalities are moving to master and doctorate level.

Unfortunately, available data does not allow us to develop analysis in this direction. This will be the objective for further validation. A further step would be to investigate for the differences *within* the rural area, particularly using multilevel modeling to distinguish the effects due to the type of locality, such as development level or distance to larger urban areas.

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Generative Mechanisms of Parental Involvment in the Romanian Schools[1]

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Abstract

The research project we have carried out here targets to highlight the relation between parental involvement and family characteristics, on the one hand, and management/infrastructure' characteristics, on the other hand. We were particularly interested in this former aspect as it defines a space where public intervention is able to find room for manoeuvre. The statistical data collected as a part of the 2008 Cross-National Survey of School Principals in South East Europe countries allowed us to reach this objective. The results show that in the case of Romania, the pupil family characteristics (parents' interest, communication skills, ethnic background, spare time, on parent's emigration abroad for labour purposes, etc) are highly relevant for parental involvement but certain school management practices are important as well (visits made by teacher and school staff to pupil's domicile, the right of Parents' council in initiating school management measures, providing information to parents for home learning environment, parents-school principals meetings) or certain characteristics of school infrastructure (number of pupils enrolled in school or the share of fully qualified teaching professionals). These results allowed us to propose a set of recommendations as starting point for potential public policies as incentives for parental involvement in Romania.

Keywords: Parental Involvement, Family Characteristics, Management Characteristics of Schools, Binomial Logistic Regression Method, 2008 Cross-National Survey of School Principals in South East Europe Countries, Public Policies as Incentives for Parental Involvement in Romania.

Equality of opportunities in education – theoretical foundations[3]

Equality of chances is currently an important topic in sociology and a challenge for the future of European wellbeing. Despite the hope expressed by several thinkers after the World War II that the industrialization and liberalization of the labour market will "crush the social immobility" and provide equal life chances to all children, irrespective of their social background, this did not happen (Blossfeld and Shavit, 1993). Education is the key mechanism through which the life chances are defined and the main agent that allows reducing poverty, on one hand, and enables social development, on the other.

Research in the educational sciences and psychology showed that intelligence is distributed approximately in an equal manner among children, no matter of their parents' social background, and the pupils' school performance may be attributed to the genetic heritage to an insignificant degree (see Erikson and Jonsson, 1996, p.10-13).

We concluded in this way, but we should mention that some authors claimed the contrary – maybe the most known are Herrnstein and Murray, 1994. However, every time these voices receives a solid critics – for a pertinent discussion about the implications and validity of Herrnstein and Murray's conclusions see Heckman, J., 1995.

This fact shows that the persisting difference between school performance – as a premise for later success and expression of equality of opportunities – among children coming from families with different socio-economic background may be attributed to factors that have more likely a social nature. There are no explicit data on the degree of association in the Romanian space between genetic heritage and the differences in pupils' school performance. Still, there are no reasons to believe that things are different in Romania as against the other countries.

However we must always remember that the ideal society is that in which a child's life success[4] is not conditioned irremediably by the traits of his/her family of origin, but it depends highly on his worth, endowment and individual effort.

Is there a "constant flow" (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1993) by which children reproduce their parents' educational status in Europe and particularly in Romania? *And if the answer is yes, how is this explained?*

Related to the first question, the data collected so far showed convincingly that the child's school performance, the level of education he will choose when coming of age, depends fundamentally of his parents' educational status. In other words, children born in families with high educational status will have increased chances to reach a status similar to those of their parents, as against other children born in families with a lower status (Blossfeld and Shavit, 1993, Erikson and Jonsson, 1996, and for the study case of Romania: Voicu and Vasile, 2009, Hatos, 2006, Vlasceanu, 2002, Ivan, 2009).

As regards the second question, this field of research is broad enough to include a detailed elaboration and here is the point where we would like to provide our contribution thanks to Open Society Institute's project.

Certainly, family plays a key role in the process of promoting equality of chances in education. Family characteristics are the most important in determining pupil's success and, for a broader effect, the social success later in adulthood. We will not further elaborate here on the validity of the causal link between school success and social success, as it should be a topic of a separate and detailed discussion. Here, we would like to point out only the fact that school success has at least two measurable aspects: number of school years completed, as well as the ability to make transition from one educational phase to another (from middle school to high school, for example). We have also added the internal school performance, this being the rank occupied by a pupil in school hierarchy according to the grades acquired. The social success is a less clear concept that may be defined by different dimensions, from the ability to avoid poverty and social exclusion to acquiring a leader, manager, entrepreneur status, broadly a management position; we can also include an individual's level of income and, broader, the quality of his/her life. Anyway, the school success is considered to be the main agent for social success (irrespective of the manner one understand the two variables of the causal relation).

Considering that educational status is one of the family characteristics of that determine pupil's success in Romania, we can assume that there is a generative mechanism behind this relation that should be explored in detail. We state previously 'in Romania' because some studies have showed that some countries such as Sweden or Denmark managed to dislocate this 'constant flow' of cultural heritage; thus, the children, irrespective of their social background, have approximately equal changes of success.

Part of the investment in the pupil's education is provided in the family, in the primary domestic

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4 I am using the life success concept with the broad meaning of situation of the individual that acquires a higher life quality standard on its all dimensions. Of course, this definition may be deemed limitative but it is not considered in this paper in details because it should be a subject matter of an elaborate discussion.

space, at home. At this point, it is obvious that the support granted to pupil is differentiated, with leverage for the pupil fortunate enough to have parents and greater educational resources, being more familiarised with the expectations and challenges of the school environment. There is a low margin of public intervention in this area in order to assure an equal support received by all pupils.

However, very important part of the child's education occurs in the extra-family environment, namely in school. This is a public meeting place of the family heritage with the formal expectations of school education. Some theories express a view that the treatment received by pupils is not equal in this space, being a reflection of the initial family pre-school training (Bourdieu). Nevertheless, even if this is true, vital is the fact that school should be an extended public intervention place; thus, the non-discriminatory treatment for all pupils may be promoted with real chances of success. The participation and involvement of parents in school activities, the permanent monitoring of the pupils' development and collaboration with the teaching staff in order to assure a successful educational performance of pupil are factors that represent vital dimensions in this framework.

Previous studies showed that there is a significant relation between a degree of parental involvement in school education of children and their educational achievement (see for instance, Smit et al. 2007, Desforges, 2003). Moreover, some authors discuss that parental involvement in school education of children is the main driver which brings about school success and performance (Hara, 1998). In a meta-analysis that includes 52 studies in United States Jeynes (2007) found a significant correlation between the degree of parental involvement and students' academic achievement in urban secondary schools; Barnard (2004) found a significant relationship between parental involvement in elementary school and educational achievement and concludes that parental involvement in school is an important component in early childhood education that helps promoting long-term school succes.

Our basic assumption is that, behind the reproduction of educational status, there is also a different positioning of parents according to certain traits that they have – educational, cultural/ values-related, time and financial resources – with respect to their involvement in pupil's school education. For example, a parent that attained a higher educational level may easier assists the children in fulfilling the school success, understands more adequately the importance and relevance of education for the later success so we can hypothesize that he will be more involved in his/her child's school activity. Practically, inequality in children's family status is reflected in different parental involvement of various cathegories of parents defined by educational status, values, attitudes and practices in raising young children - on the nuances of the participation of parents in the school activity, please see: Theodorou, 2007, Smit et al. 2007, Sheridan, & Kratochwill, 2007, Epstein, 1996.

It is necessary to point out here that there are different aspects of parental involvement in school education of their children:

1. *General parental involvement* includes the overall measure of parental involvement.
2. *Specific parental involvement* includes a specific measure of parental involvement, as distinguished from other measures of parental involvement;
3. *Parental expectations* represent the degree to which a student's parent maintained high expectations with respect to student's ability to achieve at high level;
4. *Attendance and participation* refers to whether and how frequently parents attend and participate in school functions and activities;
5. *Communication* is the extent to which parents and their children communicate about school activities and report a high level of communication in general;
6. *Homework* is the extent to which parents checked their children's homework;
7. *Parental style* is the extent to which a parent demonstrates a supportive and helpful parenting approach. It frequently referred to a simultaneous ability to be caring and supportive and yet maintain an adequate level of discipline in the household. It also includes such qualities parental trust and approachability (Jeynes, 2007).

Literature on parents' role in their children's education differentiates between parental involvement and parental participation. Practically, there are two dimensions in understanding parental role: 1) home involvement, and 2) school involvement. The concept of parental involvement has evolved throughout time from the idea of parents 'involvement in school domestic activities towards a broader idea of the involvement of parents in supporting their children at home, in domestic environment. Parental involvement can thus be conceptualised as the support activity offered by parents to pupils both at home (through their concern about the problems faced by children in school environment and support/monitoring the homework) but also in school through monitoring/communication with teachers on their children' grades and pupil's school performance and success level (Smit et al. 2007). On the other hand, parental participation refers to an active participation of parents in mainly administrative activities organised by school.

Conclusively, we follow the findings extracted from *"Harvard Family Research Project"* considering that the key-determinants of child's schooling must be found out at the congruence of a mix of three pillars: *parenting*, *home-school relationship* and *responsibility for learning outcomes* (Caspe and others, 2007): *"Parenting* consists of the attitudes, values, and practices of parents in raising young children; *Home–school relationships* are the formal and informal connections between family and educational setting; *Responsibility for learning* is the aspect of parenting that places emphasis on activities in the home and community that promote learning skills in the young child."

We would add to this list another component referring to the social values of community and society regarding the importance of education and the role of education in promoting a high self-esteem and appreciation from others. However empirical data on this aspect should be obtained from entire population (not just from a sample involved in OSI's project), so we would limit our analysis to previously mentioned components.

Research questions, hypotheses

Numerous research studies revealed that the role of parental involvement in children's performance at school is fundamental. We should therefore try to identify the determinants that may explain the variation of parental involvement within both different schools categories and different families/parents categories. Both research problems were deeply analysed and studied in Western countries (see, for example, Desforges, C., 2003) but less frequently in South-East European countries, and especially in Romania – it is another argument for the usefulness of current research project initiated by Open Society Institute. This endeavour represents a step forward in the identification of mechanisms generating the parental involvement and, further on, in the identification of intervention strategies designed to promoting this behaviour within all categories of parents. The wider purpose is to have a society within which the school performance of children depends mainly on their personal merits and secondary on their family background and social origins (the latter being a matter of personal fortune).

In the light of the previous research on parental involvement in the educational process, we could formulate a set of hypotheses related to the outcomes and findings of this research.

We expect that the schools that have a greater proportion of parents with higher socio-economic status will have a higher involvement of parents. For example, Desforges (2003) reported a consistent ratio between the level of education and parental involvement. Schools where parents feel more comfortable in approaching teachers have a higher rate of parental involvement. A lack of communication skills is a strong indicator of the discomfort experienced by those parents' who find themselves in the situation to participate at activities organised by schools. On the

other hand, these skills are strongly related to the educational level of parents[5]. Smit et al. (2007) reported that low communication skills are a barrier for parental participation in schools with the lower share of parents with low education.

Another relevant element is the perception parents have about the importance of a child's education. In this context we expect a higher participation rate in schools where parents' interest for communicating with teachers is higher, reflecting their understanding of the importance of school education in adult life.

Some surveys reported that, within the schools where the 'career parents' are dominant, there is a low level of parental participation due to the parent's lack of spare time (Smit et al. 2007). We therefore expect that in schools where the share of parents with limited time they can dedicate to school life of their child, the level of parental involvement will be lower .

One of the variables highlighted as important for parental involvement is the share of families with ethnic minority' background in school (Smit et al. 2007). For certain countries in South-East Europe, Romania in particular, children of Roma origin face difficulties in school integration: low parental involvement in their children's school education is considered to be a primary cause of difficulties minority children face in school. We expect that in the schools with larger share of Roma pupils, the parental involvement lower.

The phenomenon of mass emigration in western EU member states – reaching high quotas in Romania - generated many consequences, one of which being the sharp decrease of the level of parental support and assistance provided to children. We expect that schools with the higher share of families whose members emigrated abroad will have lower rate of parental involvement. Related to this, family structure may have an important role in parental involvement ratio. In single parent families, the tutor is forced to take over a set of responsibilities in child care and we expect that the time allotted to his/her involvement in pupil(s)' education will proportionally decrease. Thus, we anticipate a relation between the share of single parent families' in school and the parental involvement rate. We included in the analysis the variable representing the share of families with unstable income with the hypothesis that the lack of a stable, permanent job may affect the interest and rate of parental involvement.

The relevant literature shows that parents' education is related to their level of involvement in school activity (Desforges, 2003, Eccles & Harold, 1996). The OSI' study did not provide specific information about the share of parents in different educational categories. However, in order to assess this variable we used an open question which indicated the categories of parents with the lowest involvement rate (the respondents could to provide three possible answers to this question – see ANNEX). We recoded the answers to this question so the schools where school principals indicated that the less educated parents are less involved formed one of the two categories. Of course, this variable is an aproximative one, as it shows the school principal capacity to give an accurate estimation of the rate of parental involvement. At the same time, the fact that the school principal assesses the lower participation rate of less educated parents in school does not automatically imply that their engagement in school is actually lower. Yet, we decided to include this variable in the statistical model because it is desirable to control its effect.

So far, we have elaborated the hypotheses related to the expected relation between the parental involvement levels, as it has been operationalized by the Open Society Institute research and elements of the 'school parental' structure. We will further adress our expectations about the relation of parental characteristics and the school practices aimed at promotingparental involvement. The previous research revealed that a simulative framework of communication and involvement of parents (i.e. by organising meetings, providing regular information, school management preoccupation and concern as regards parents' involvement) has a positive effect on the parental involvement and children school outcomes and success rate (Seitsinger et al., 2007,

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5   There were no indicators in the database to highlight directly the variation of the parents' involvement in school as a function of their level of education.

Smit et al. 2007). When parents perceive that school, through its representatives, acts in order to involve them in school education of their children, parental involvement ratio will increase (Eccles & Harold, 1996). Therefore, we tested the ratio between the school parental involvement and issues related to 'school management' as well as the frequency of the following actions:

1. Meetings organised by school between school principals and parents;
2. Providing written evaluations of pupils to parents;
3. Providing information on school policies;
4. Teachers or professional support personnel making home visits;
5. School provided information for parents' home environment;
6. School provided counselling services to parents.

We have also included the variable indicating whether school has elaborated a strategy or policy on communication with all parents in school. We have anticipated that such a policy endorsed by school management will be consistently related in a positive manner to the parental involvement level. There are two basic aspects which may explain this: firstly, school initiative to communicate with parents may decrease 'shyness' of the less educated parents; secondly, the awareness of their child's school life may be an incentive for parents to become actively involved in solving the potential problems. Parents often become involved too late, when the school problems of their child increase to a significant level. Of great interest is the role played by the Parents' Council in school. We have tested the relation between the authority Parents' Council has in the adoption of new policies in school and the rate of parental involvement. This indicator can be informative of the level of school openness towards parental initiative and involvement in school.

We included also the following school characteristics as independent variables in the regression model: school residential milieu (urban/rural), number of pupils enrolled in school and the share of fulltime teachers in schools. The fulltime teacher status is an indicator of teacher's experience, of his/her higher capacity to interact with parents, not only with pupils. We have therefore decided to analyze the effect of the share of fulltime teachers in school. The rural milieu has specific characteristics in comparison to the urban environment which may be reflected in the parental involvement level at least in Romania, the most familiar case to us among the South-East Europe countries. The differences occur both in the quality of school infrastructure being less developed in the rural milieu, teachers' level of training and skills as well as in the interest of rural parents to provide a high level of educational standard and skills to their children. We have also included a variable of school size expressed through the number of pupils enrolled. We expect that in schools with fewer pupils, the teachers should have a better opportunity to manage and organise the communication process with parents. At the same time, one can hypothesize that schools with a reduced number of pupils are located in parents' communities with less anonymity and stronger inter-individual relations where people have tighter social networks leading to a more intensive communication and social control. All this may facilitate the involvement of the parent in his/her child's school life. On the other hand, larger schools have bureaucratised management and they are organised based on classes and teaching subjects (at lower and upper secondary levels – gymnasium and high-schools,) which leads to less frequent interactions of teachers with pupils and parents (see Eccles & Harold, 1996). This could be one of the explanations for the decreasing level of parental involvement while pupils advance from one educational cycle to another - at the primary level, the parents' involvement is much higher in comparison to the one at the lower secondary level, while the one at lower secondary level is higher than the one of upper secondary level. Another explanation concerns the parents' attitude and perception in every situation: primary school can be regarded as an extension of the family milieu in certain communities, and the parents experience more intensively the duty to participate in their child's school activity in his/her early ages at school (Eccles & Harold, 1996). In the regression model we were not able to control the effect of the educational level (lower secondary schools, upper secondary schools-

lyceums, etc) as all the sample schools were in the final year of compulsory education.

Moreover, we need to take into consideration the fact that primary and lower secondary schools are located closer to the pupils and parents' neighbourhood, while upper-secondary schools (lyceums) cluster more pupils from a wider area[6]. The proximity of school stimulates parental involvement in the first instance and discourages it in the second one.

Data used and methodology

In this research we analyzed the statistical data collected as a part of the 2008 Cross-National Survey of School Principals in South East Europe (SEE). This survey was administered on a sample of school principals**.** Their answers provided data about a set of school characteristics that served as units of analysis in our research.

The analysis performed targeted Romania. It would have been interesting to develop a comparative dimension throughout the countries where the study was performed in – this was our initial intention and goal. However, due to the sample size variations and a rate of missing answers for the comparative analysis a specific statical model would have to be developed containing variables valid for all the countries participating in the survey. Such a step would require a separate analysis, and can be a topic of article we plan to write in the future. In Romania, the sample was of 670 principals (schools) out of which a number of 169 are from urban milieu and the remaining 501 were from rural environment.

Sample stratification was done by region and type of settlement. Schools' stratification by region and type of settlement was done proportionally to total population distribution. At the end, the results for Romania had confidence interval of +/-3% at a probability level of 95%.

We used the binomial logistic regression method (Agresti, 1996) for the categorical dependent variable. Independent variables were assessed on the ordinal or nominal scale so they were coded as dummy variables in order to be included in analysis. A detailed description of the variables used in analysis as well as the grouping of answers in specific classes /categories. We aimed at creating a uniform, homogenous distribution between the categories included in the regression method in order to prevent possible errors that might occur due to the cells with less or no cases.

Variables used in regression model

Taking into account the specific features of research survey and available data on school characteristics, we will analyze only one dimension of the previously debated issue, namely whether a degree of parental school involvement is related with other characteristics of schools.

There are two large data sets about school that we are going to use in our research project. On one hand, there are characteristics that define the following: 1) the school's 'parental structure' or, more accurately, the share of certain parental categories in schoolson the basis of parents' level of interest in communication with school, their income, ethnic background, single parent status, level of education, skills in communication with teachers, spare time, emigration abroad for labour purposes , and 2) characteristics of the school, namely the share of the full teachers, number of pupils in school, the communication policies' presence and implementation, parental involvement and information, etc. The aim of our research was to explore the relation of these two sets of variables to the the level of parents' involvement. In other words, we will analyze whether parental school participation ratio is correlated with 'parental structure' of the school on one hand and with 'managerial structure' of the school on the other hand.

The ideal situation would be the one where the variables related to the familiy structure of

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6   We can confirm this fact, for Romania.

school pupils' are shown to be irrelevant for the participation ratio or, at least, less relevant than the ones related to the school management. The reason behind this is the fact that the first category of characteristics are indicative of the cultural heritage reproducing inequal opportunities and may hardly become a target of public intervention aiming at equalising the pupils' chances. On the other hand, variables related to school management are within the space of intervention for the policy makers. This research can assist in identifying the aspects of school management that are relevant for the parental participation in South East Europe.

It is important to emphasize that the concept of parental involvement used here is operationalized by an Open Society Institute survey and targets the presence and participation at activities organised within school. Within the previous section, we showed that the parental involvement may embrace many levels of analysis such as: parents' support awarded to children at home in doing their homework, parents' general/particular interest and concern for their children condition at school, the expectations level regarding their children' future careers, communication level between parents and children on the issues and events within school environment, parental style – support, authority, etc. All these dimensions will be addressed in a study of parents carried out by Open Society Institute.

We have created the dependent variable entered in the statistical analysis model by mixing two items which measured the rate of parents who attend school activities on a regular basis to (this means the presence on at least half of the activities) at:

1. ***Form teacher-parents meetings -*** Form teacher (form tutor) is that teacher who takes the responsability on how a certain class is functioning as a whole including administrative issues – not just as regard specific domain of teaching; he or she had duty to manage lessons apart from lessons on subject he or she regularly teaches. Accordingly form teacher-parents meeting are those meetings with parents organised by this kind of special theacher (form tutor), while teacher-parents meeting are organised by regular teachers of the class.

2. ***Teacher-parents meetings.*** The question used in questionnaire was this one: '*Please estimate the percentage of parents in your school regularly (at least half time of meetings) engaged in…: a) Form teacher-parents meetings b) Teacher-parents meetings*'. The measurement scale for these item was a categorical one with 4 degrees/levels -'1=Less than 25 percent', '2=Over 25 but less than 50 percent', '3=Over 50 but less than 75 percent', '4=Over 75 percent' - and other three possible answers - 'Not the case', 'Don't know', 'Refused'.

The internal consistency of these two items is good (Cronbach alpha > 0.8). Within the measurement basis, the item measuring the share of parents regularly attending 'principal-parents meetings' was also included; however as this item represents a co-notification of participation at school administrative issues, while those employed by us in the construction of dependent variable are related to school education and thus have a larger potential to influence the pupils' school performance, we preferred to include only the later ones in the construction of the dependent variable.

Therefore we calculated the result summing the answers on these two items - lower result indicates lower level of participation. Because we added two items with four categories each of them, the new scale resulted had seven points – from 2 to 8. 2 means that the respondent indicated category one for each of the items took into consideration when we created the new variables – see previously the categories of items and what means each of them.

Taking into account the distribution of the results, we have re-created a new dichotomous variable where schools with results at the lowest four levels were cathegorized schools with a low level of parental participation, while the schools at the highest three levels were cathegorized as schools with a high ratio of parental participation. If, in the case of a school, an answer was indicated on just one of the two items, this was properly allocated to the two categories (reduced or high participation)[7]. The cases where school principals provided the no' answers on

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7   We assumed that if the principals indicated an answer for at least one item, his or her opinion about the second item is identic.

both items were not included in the analysis. At the end, 40,2% of schools were in the category with low parental involvement while the remaining 59,8% of the total sample were placed in the category of schools with high parental involvement - we developed analysis only for the case of Romania. This new variable had 22 missing cases that represent 3,3% out of sample (as we already mentioned the Romanian sample had 670 schools/principals).

I referred implicitly to independend variables when I discussed about hypotheses. The independent variables and items such as these were used in questionnaire are presented in Annex 1. The annex also contains the original categories of each items and the way how these were recoded in order to be included in regression analysis – please see annex 1.

Results

We aimed to assess and compare the impact of the school pupils' family characteristics and characteristics of the school (school management and school infrastructure) on parental involvement. Results of the logistic regression are presented in Table 2. The data show the fact that parental involvement basically depends on family characteristics of the pupils'. For the logical regression model operated only with the variables related to family characteristics R^2 (Cox & Snell) = 16,7%; R^2 (Nagelkerke) = 22,6%; sig. X^2 (omnibus test)=0,000; sig. X^2 (Hosmer and Lemeshow Test)=0,956. If we add in the model the specific variations related of infrastructure and school management, the quality of the assessment model increases significantly, namely: R^2 (Cox & Snell) = 27,9%; R^2 (Nagelkerke) = 37,6%; sig. X^2 (omnibus test)=0,000; sig. X^2 (Hosmer and Lemeshow Test)=0,981.

At the same time, the final regression model (containing the interaction terms) shows that in the top 5 variables according to their relevance in explaining parental involvement two are related to pupil's family characteristics while the remaining three are related to the school conditions and management.

Thus, the variable which has the strongest relation with parental involvement refers to the parents' lack of interest in communicating with school (Wald = 28,892 for the variable showing the categories of schools where the share of disinterested parents is a very high one). In those schools where the school principals pointed out the fact that the parents' lack of interest represents a significant barrier in communication between parents and school, parental involvement is likely to be a lower one. Technically speaking, in a school where lack of parents' interest is to a large extent a communication problem, the rate of probability for the low level of parental involvement rather than a higher one is 4,5 times higher than in the case of the schools where parents lack of interest is to a minor extent a communication barrier, by controlling the effect of other variables included in the statistics model – odds ratio = 5,55 (1/0,18=5,55), B= -1,708 (sig. <0,001).

Table 1: *Logistic regression model used in assessing the Romania's schools profile with low parental involvement.*

Model 1 – Independent variables related to social conditions of schools

0 - Low parental involvement; 1 - high parental involvement	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Percentage of families with no stable income – between 10% și 25%	-0,117	0,13	0,718	0,89
Percentage of families with no stable income – over 25%	-0,381	2,581	0,108	0,683
Percentage of the families with ethnic minorities' background – over 5%	-0,556	7,387	0,007	0,574**
Lack of parents' interest – to a large extent a communication problem	-1,86	47,192	0	0,156**
Lack of parents' interest – to some extent a communication problem	-0,79	12,804	0	0,454**
Lack of communication skills of parents – to a large extent a problem	-0,503	2,575	0,109	0,604
Lack of communication skills of parents – to some extent a problem	-0,453	2,167	0,141	0,636
Lack of spare time of parents is to some extent a communication problem	-0,358	3,346	0,067	0,699*
Families with at least one parent works abroad – between 5% and 10%	-0,496	4,386	0,036	0,609**
Families with at least one parent works abroad – over 10%	-0,486	4,41	0,036	0,615**
Percentage of single parent families – between 5% and 10%	-0,051	0,057	0,812	0,95
Percentage of single parent families – over 10%	0,254	0,757	0,384	1,289
Group of less educated parents are less involved in school activity	0,51	1,125	0,289	1,666
Constant	2,344	42,519	0	10,426

R^2 (Cox&Snell) =16,7%; R^2 (Nagelkerke)=22,6%; sig.X^2(omnibus test)=0,000; sig. X^2 (Hosmer and Lemeshow Test)=0,956. 10,3% represented non-answers. Analysis was computed based on 601 cases.
Significance: ** p<0,05; * p<0,1;

Model 2 – Independent variables related to social conditions + resources of schools

0 - Low parental involvment; 1 - high parental involvement	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Percentage of families with no stable income - between 10% și 25%	0,067	0,037	0,847	1,07
Percentage of families with no stable income - over 25%	-0,189	0,5	0,479	0,828
Percentage of the families with ethnic minorities' background - over 5%	-0,472	4,736	0,03	0,624**
Lack of parents' interest - to a large extent a communication problem	-1,752	36,969	0	0,173**
Lack of parents' interest - to some extent a communication problem	-0,858	13,217	0	0,424**
Lack of communication skills of parents - to a large extent a problem	-0,224	0,157	0,692	0,799
Lack of communication skills of parents - to some extent a problem	0,592	1,112	0,292	1,808
Lack of spare time of parents is to some extent a communication problem	-0,754	6,307	0,012	0,47**
Families with at least one parent works abroad - between 5% and 10%	-0,84	4,94	0,026	0,432**
Families with at least one parent works abroad - over 10%	-0,904	6,112	0,013	0,405**
Percentage of single parent families - between 5% and 10%	-0,033	0,021	0,884	0,967
Percentage of single parent families - over 10%	0,155	0,232	0,63	1,167
Group of less educated parents are less involved in school activity	0,835	2,487	0,115	2,304
Schools settled in rural area	0,804	1,714	0,191	2,234
Schools where the number of pupils varies between 101 and 200	-0,421	2,584	0,108	0,656
Schools where the number of pupils varies between 201 and 350	-0,858	8,156	0,004	0,424**
Schools where the number of pupils is over 350	-0,368	1,068	0,301	0,692
Schools where the share of fully qualified teaching professionals is over 80%	0,518	5,257	0,022	1,678**
Interaction term of rural schools by schools where the communication skills of parents are developed to a larger extent	-0,55	0,627	0,429	0,577
Interaction term of rural schools by schools where the communication skills of parents are developed to a some extent	-1,645	5,606	0,018	0,193**
Interactions term of schools with parents with no sufficient spare time by share of those working abroad f 5+10%	0,705	2,016	0,156	2,024
Interactions term of schools with no sufficient spare time sufficient by share of those working abroad. > 10%	0,739	2,454	0,117	2,093
Constant	1,906	9,689	0,002	6,726

R^2 (Cox&Snell) =20,1%; R^2 (Nagelkerke)=27,2%; sig.X^2(omnibus test)=0,000; sig.X^2 (Hosmer and Lemeshow Test)=0,021. 10,6% represented non-answers. Analysis was computed based on 599 cases.
Significance: ** p<0,05; * p<0,1;

Model 3 – Independent variables related to social conditions + resources + managerial characteristics of schools

0 - Low parental involvement; 1 - high parental involvement	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Percentage of families with no stable income - between 10% și 25%	-0,104	0,078	0,781	0,902
Percentage of families with no stable income - over 25%	-0,431	2,161	0,142	0,65
Percentage of the families with ethnic minorities' background - over 5%	-0,465	3,813	0,051	**0,628***
Lack of parents' interest - to a large extent a communication problem	-1,708	28,892	0	**0,181****
Lack of parents' interest - to some extent a communication problem	-0,692	7,277	0,007	**0,5****
Lack of communication skills of parents - to a large extent a problem	-0,621	0,94	0,332	0,537
Lack of communication skills of parents - to some extent a problem	0,473	0,578	0,447	1,605
Lack of spare time of parents is to some extent a communication problem	-0,877	7,394	0,007	**0,416****
Families with at least one parent works abroad - between 5% and 10%	-1,083	6,877	0,009	**0,339****
Families with at least one parent works abroad - over 10%	-1,299	10,462	0,001	**0,273****
Percentage of single parent families - between 5% and 10%	0,149	0,35	0,554	1,16
Percentage of single parent families - over 10%	0,204	0,351	0,554	1,226
Group of less educated parents are less involved in school activity	0,81	2,008	0,156	2,248
Schools settled in rural area	0,519	0,577	0,447	1,68
Schools where the number of pupils varies between 101 and 200	-0,645	4,858	0,028	**0,525****
Schools where the number of pupils varies between 201 and 350	-1,273	13,559	0	**0,28****
Schools where the number of pupils is over 350	-0,666	2,792	0,095	**0,514***
Schools where the share of fully qualified teaching professionals is over 80%	0,74	8,795	0,003	**2,096****
Interaction term of rural schools by schools where the communication skills of parents are developed to a larger extent	-0,337	0,184	0,668	0,714
Interaction term of rural schools by schools where the communication skills of parents are developed to a some extent	-1,666	4,649	0,031	**0,189****
Interactions term of schools with parents with no sufficient spare time by share of those working abroad f 5+10%	0,821	2,328	0,127	2,273
Interactions term of schools with no sufficient spare time sufficient by share of those working abroad. > 10%	1,159	5,049	0,025	**3,186****
Schools-principals perceive the parental involvement to a large extent as useful	0,504	5,129	0,024	**1,655****
Regular meetings between principals and parents - at least once a month	0,519	3,031	0,082	**1,68***

	B	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Regular meetings between principals and parents - at least once a quarter	0,483	3,125	0,077	**1,621***
Written evaluations of pupils are being sent to parents on a monthly basis	-0,216	0,306	0,58	0,806
Written evaluations of pupils are being sent to parents on a quarter basis	-0,041	0,012	0,911	0,959
Written evaluation of pupils are being sent to parents on a semestrial basis	-0,171	0,318	0,573	0,843
Parents informed on the school policies/regulations at least once a month	-0,043	0,013	0,909	0,958
Parents informed on the school policies/regulations at least once a quarter	-0,498	2,465	0,116	0,608
Parents informed on the school policies/regulations at least once a semester	0,286	0,986	0,321	1,331
Teachers/school personnel visits to pupils' domicile at least once a quarter	-0,591	3,785	0,052	**0,554***
Teachers or school personnel visit to pupils' domicile at least once a semester	-0,509	2,555	0,11	0,601
Teachers or school personnel visit to pupils' domicile once a year/not at all	-1,222	10,388	0,001	**0,295****
Information for parents on creating a home learning environment monthly	0,525	1,759	0,185	1,691
Information for parents on creating a home learning environment semestrial	0,693	4,216	0,04	**2****
Parents had received last year counselling service on monthly basis	0,296	0,792	0,374	1,345
Parents had received the previous year counselling service on semestrial basis	0,36	1,817	0,178	1,433
School has a communication strategy with all parents	-0,104	0,112	0,738	0,901
Help for parents monthly in assisting their children in doing their homework	-0,267	0,567	0,451	0,766
Help for parents semestrial in assisting their children in doing their homework	0,207	0,519	0,471	1,23
The Parents' Council - entitled to initiate the adoption of new policies without restriction	-0,446	2,45	0,118	0,64
The Parents' Council - entitled to initiate the adoption of new policies by invitation only	-1,048	9,96	0,002	**0,351****
Constant	2,544	8,971	0,003	12,73

R^2 (Cox&Snell) =27,9%; R^2 (Nagelkerke)=37,6%; sig.X^2(omnibus test)=0,000; sig.X^2 (Hosmer and Lemeshow Test)=0,981. 16,3% represented non-answers.
Analysis was computed based on 561 cases.
Significance: ** p<0,05; * p<0,1;

This fact is consistent with previous research revealing that family level variables are the most important determinants of parental involvement in school education. However, the lack of parents' interest is not necessarily a datum, impossible to alter. In theory, this can be stimulated through school and public initiatives intended to generate a new attitudinal and legal framework that would help to modify the level of parents' interest in their children school education. There is also the other side of the problem. The lack of parental interest may be an objective datum which is the cause of a reduced parental involvement, but, at the same time, within the framework of our research, the school principal perception itself regarding the importance of the lack of parental interest in the communication process with them may be one side of the problem. When school principal and, in general, teachers consider that parents are insufficiently interested in communicating with school (a fact or, maybe, only a false subjective perception) this can lead to a lack of of school' representatives initiative to stimulate parental involvement. Thus we are in the middle of a potentially vicious circle which has to be prevented. The data available in this research, exclusively based on school principals' perception do not reveal which side of the problem is more important: the level of the parents' lack of interest itself or the perception of the school principals on the lack of parents' interest. However, a research on parents would hopefully clarify this aspect[8]. Still, the lack of parents' interest, assessed as perception of the school principals remains a solid variable which explains a part of the variance in parental involvement. The lack of parental involvement should therefore be a special focus of public policiy recommendations.

Another variable which is shown to be relevant for the level of parental involvement the parent's level of communication skills; however, the relation with parental involvement is weaker than in the case of parents' interest level. Thus, there is a low level of parental involvement in schools where school principals assessed that the lack of parents' communication skills hampers the interaction with them. This is in line with our expectations, as previous research shows that the 'reluctance' experienced by parents who fail to communicate adequately leads to a lower level of their involvement in the activities of the school where their children learn. The effect of parental communication skills on the parental involvement rate shows different level of intensity in rural milieu as against urban milieu (interaction terms between the area where the school is located and the importance of parents' communication skills are significant in the relation to the parental involvement). Thus, in the rural area schools the relation of parents' communication skills to parental involvement is lower than in the urban milieu (although this relation exists as well). Probably, the reluctance of those parents with low communication skills in attending school activities is higher in urban environment than in the rural milieu due to the fact that in urban areas the community ties are more impersonal, the schools are organised more bureaucratically. Although we tested other potential interaction terms too, we have preserved in the model only those which prove significant at the end. In the above presented table, the indicators of dummy variables on the parents' skills occur as insignificant, while in the regression table, where the interaction terms with school residential environment are lacking, these are significant.

In the light of some previous empirical evidence we anticipated that in the case of schools with a large share of parents with insufficient free time, there is a lower ratio of parental involvement. Our results confirmed these expectations. Moreover, the effect of insufficient free time on parental involvement is different in the school where the proportion of families having at least one parent working abroad is larger than 5% as compared with the school where the same proportion is under 5%. Thus, in the schools where the proportion of pupils coming from families with at least one parent working abroad is under 5%, the effect of the lack of free time on parental involvement is higher than in the case of the schools with share of the families with a parent working abroad is larger than 5%.

A large share of the families with at least one parent working abroad has a negative impact on the rate of parental involvement in school. The maximum effect is in schools where the share

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8   In this regard, an opportunity is provided by the analysis of the data collected by Open Society Institute research on parents.

of these families surpasses the 10% (according to the school principals' judgments). However, this outcome depends on the amount of spare time parents have to inform themselves on school issues. If we take into account only the schools where the share of parents lacking spare time is large, than there are no differences in terms of parental involvement between the schools where the proportion of families having at least one parent working abroad is larger than 5% and the school where the same proportion is under 5%. However, in those schools where the parents have enough time to communicate with school, the emigration of one parent decreased the parental involvement rate. This is due to the specific profile of Romanian communities with a high migratory ratio: rural communities, rather poor ones, where people have small chances to find employment and, consequently, to reduce the spare time they have. When parents have enough spare time and there are no adult parents left to work, the level of parental involvement is higher. The chances that pupil will benefit from the positive outcomes of parents' involvement are diminished when at least one of the parents left to work abroad. In conclusion, the emigration has an effect on decreased school support awarded to pupils - this reality was also highlighted in Romania by other authors (Voicu et al., 2007).

In line with our expectations, the ethnic structure of school influences the parental involvement. Thus, the parental participation tends to be lower in the schools where the share of families with ethnic minorities' background is over 5%. The basic variable did not allow us to distinguish between the different types of ethnic minorities. In Romania there are two main ethnic minorities – the Hungarians and the Roma – with different cultural and social characteristics. Thus, the conclusions drawn are not equally valid for all schools irrespective of the ethnic minorities groups represented in school. Bearing in mind that the school status of Roma children (low access to education, high school drop-out rate, etc.) is very problematic, one may suppose that the conclusions about parental involvement are even more valid for those schools where the share of Roma children is higher. It should be a top priority for the public policy designed to ensure equal opportunities.

We anticipated that the type of family, defined as the number of adults in household, would be a significant variable for the parental participation. The analysis did not show a correlation between the number of adults in household and the parental involvement rate; the families' regular or unstable income does not correlate with the parental involvement rate either.

Previous research showed that the parent's level of education correlated positively with the level of parental involvement. We were not able to directly test this relationship as we had no information regarding the school' families level of education, but we used a variable created on the basis of information about parents categories which are less involved in school activity. The analysis did not show a significant effect of this variable. Anyway we should mention that one cannot draw the conclusion, on the basis of this outcome, that in Romania, the level of education is not relevant for the level of parental involvement, taking into account that we employed a variable which only approximates the share if parents function of their level of school education.

In conclusion, the families' characteristics relevant for the rate of parental involvement are strictly dependent on the parents' level of interest and their communication skills, the spare time they have, the emigration abroad for labour purposes of one or both parents and the ethnic structure.

Now we will discuss the relevance of the variables which characterise the school management/ infrastructure for the parental involvement rate.

In the light of the obtained results one may conclude that the frequency of teachers' visits to pupil's domicile is positively related to parental involvement. This is a dimension where the public intervention may be successful. Moreover, schools where school principals asses that parents' involvement has positive aspects (reflected in parents' attitudes towards teachers, improved school environment, higher level of support for school, improved school performance of pupils) are more likely to have higher parental involvement. Of course, it is difficult to infer the causal direction, but we can presume that, given the context where school management is aware of the positive

outcomes of parental involvement in school, the conditions are created to raise the level of efforts to support it.

Another incentive for parental involvement is a frequent organisation of meetings between parents and school principals where information on creating a home learning environment is provided to parents. These measures should be assumed by Romanian school management as a regular and desirable practice.

The authority of the Parents' Council to initiate and adopt new measures regarding school management does seem to have a positive effect on the level of parental involvement. Co-involvement of the the Parents' Council in school management decisions and their involvement in the school problems and the acceptance of their initiatives by the school management seem to create a school environment where parents feel more attracted to participate. Among the variables targeting school management in our analysis these have one of the strongest correlations with parental involvement at school level (Wald = 9,96).

On the other hand, characteristics related to school management such as the presence of communication strategy with parents, sending a written evaluation regarding pupils' school activity to parents, notifications regarding school curricula, providing counselling techniques to parents or the organisation of training sessions for parents designed to help them to assist their children in doing their homework, did not correlate with the parental involvement ratio in expected way. Of course, in these cases not only the measures themselves are important but also the manner in which they are being implemented along with the teachers' level of professionalism and experience in interacting with parents, etc.

Consistently with the presented data, the share of school teachers who are fully qualified (full time teachers) and teach within their area of expertise is a factor related to parental involvement. One can expect higher parental involvement in the schools where the share of these teachers is higher than 80%. Our hypothesis that the number of school pupils would be directly related to the parental involvement was also confirmed by our analysis. The schools having up to 100 pupils are more likely to have a higher level of parental involvement in comparison to schools with a larger number of pupils. The analysis shows that there is no significant difference regarding the level of parental involvement in rural area schools in comparison to the urban area ones.

Conclusions and recommendations

We presumed that one of the hidden mechanisms supporting the inequality of chances in education is the inequality of parental support offered to children (pupils) in the educational process. Within this framework, the analysis carried out on the data gathered through the 2008 Cross-National Survey of School Principals in South East Europe (SEE) had a twofold purpose. We should bear in mind that the survey collected opinions from principals. Their answers provided data about a set of school characteristics that served as units of analysis in our research, this being a potential source of errors. For instance we estimated the level of parental involvement in school based on the principal' assessments but the later one is not an objective assesment of the former. This could be a limitation of the results obtained.

Our first aim was to test whether the theories and empirical outcomes of the "western" studies on parental involvement as a way to enhance equality of opportunities for pupils are relevant in Romania. More important aim, in our opinion, was to identify points of intervention and provide recommendations for public policies in order to support the parental involvement in the education process of their children.

Regarding the first goal, survey demonstrated that the family characteristics in Romania are at least as much important as school management/infrastructure in generating parental involvement in school education of their children. In the case of Romania, characteristics such as: the level of interest manifested by the parent for his/her child education, parents' communication skills in

interacting with teachers, the spare time for parents involvement in their children education, and, a relative new phenomenon, emigration of parents for work abroad - proved to be relevant for the pupil's success. Naturally, the relevance of these 'conjectural' characteristics which are purely related to the child 'fortune' or 'misfortune' to be born in a certain family should be diminished trough public intervention. This can be largely done at the level of school management. The research highlighted that some measures focused at school management may generate the increase in parental involvement level in Romania and thus supports the equal opportunities in education. Thus, our analysis showed the utility of the visits made by teachers or school personnel to pupil's domicile as an incentive for parental involvement. The school principal attitude is also important – their level of trust in the positive impact of parental involvement for school education of their children may enhance a level of parental involvement in school. Another practice that could be useful refers to increasing the rate of meetings with teachers organised by school principals as well as providing parents with information on creating a home learning environment. The role of Parents' Council proved to be a key one in stimulating the parental involvement ratio. More authority Council has to initiate new school management policies is likely to enhance the level of parental involvement. High rate of experienced teachers, qualified in subjects they teach is also a variable positive correlated with high parental involvement rate. We should mention that in this case the causal direction is difficult to be inferred; it may be that the schools with large share of qualified teachers are better overall so they have a better policy regarding parental involvement itself.

In the light of the above mentioned results, a set of recommendations for public interventions can be put forward as guidelines for enhancing the parental involvement in Romania:

- The role of the Parents' Council in school management should be extended and implemented at a full scale. Taking into account that schools where Parents' Council has more power and better competences in initiating management policies, provide a better context for parental involvement; this practice should be extended, institutionalized and legally regulated;

- The regular visits made to pupil's domicile by the teachers and school staff (school counsellor, etc.) are recommended to become a general practice at the level of all schools in the system; the visits should mainly target pupils with poor educational achievement, as well as pupils facing problems in the educational process – for example, Roma children, children having one or both parents emigrated for labour purposes, children with parents having limited spare time or with low communication skills. Eventually, these regular visits may be institutionalised to become compulsory practice for teachers or they may represent an asset in his/her career (upgrade his/her teaching rank, receive merit bonuses, etc.);

- It would be useful to initiate an awarness-rasing campaign on the benefits of parental involvement in improving the school environment (improving the positive attitudes of parents about school, enhancing school performance and success of pupils, etc This campaign could present to the target groups (school principals, school management and teachers) the conclusions of the research showing the benefits of parental involvement. The objective of this campaign would be to promote a favourable attitude and approach of teachers to parental involvement in educational process.

- The meetings between school principals and parents are related to increased level of parental involvement in education. Therefore it would be desirable to design and implement a public policy measure, at the level of school management, to widely promote such meetings on a regular basis.

- Frequently provided information to parents regarding the creation of a suitable home learning environment (learning with children, book purchase, as well as a permanent renewal of library, etc.) may be an incentive for parental involvement. It is notable that the information about pupils' performance or data on school policies and regulations do not seem to have the desired impact, namely to increase the parental involvement rate. Thus it is not enough only to inform - it is necessary that school provides information and communication with an

adequate content as data regarding home learning environment seem to stimulate parental involvement. It is would be also recommendable to implement such a practice at large scale in all Romanian schools.

• It would be useful to adopt measures aimed at increasing the share of fully qualified teaching professionals carrying out teaching activities in accordance with their qualifications for at least 80% of the total teaching staff in a school. The research data showed that the rate of parental involvement in these schools is higher than in the rest of schools.

• We pledge for creation and implementation of a public policies package aiming at enhancing all aspects of parental involvement in Romania. It is highly recommendable that such a program targets groups having, according to our research, a low level of parental involvement: schools with more than 200 pupils, schools with the share of fully qualified teachers below 80%, with high percentage of Roma pupils (over 5%), and with children coming from families with at least one parent working abroad. Not only schools should be a target of intervention, but also the parents of the pupils from these schools. It is most important that such a public policy targets the stimulation of participation especially among those parents with a low human capital, reflected both by their lack of interest as regards children education and the lack of communication skills.

These are the main guidelines for intervention aimed ad increasing the parental involvement rate in children education and may be considered as a starting point in developing public policies dedicated to this purpose in Romania but also in other South-East Europe countries. It is necessary to realize that enhancing parental involvement rate is not a purpose *per se*, but rather a way to reach a higher purpose which must be assumed worldwide, not only in EU or in western democracies. It is about the construction of a society where equal opportunities in education will be provided to everyone, creating reality in which the children's chances for school success are not dependent on social characteristics of his/her family of origin but are maximally depending on his/her native gifts, effort, will and other personal qualities. It is a desideratum of both moral and economic relevance.

Annex 1. Independent variables, items and recoding into new items

Variables	Question	Original answer categories	Recoded answer categories[1]
Lack of parents' interest , barrier in communication with school	How much of the following present barriers and problems in meaningful communication with parents in your school: q13aBPLPINT - lack of parents interest	1- to a large extent, 2-to some extent, 3-to a limited extent, 4-not at all, 89-don't know 99-refused	1-to a large extent 2-to medium extent '3+4' – to a limited extent 0,89+99'= NR
Lack of parents' communication skills, barrier in communication with school	How much of the following present barriers and problems in meaningful communication with parents in your school: q13cBPLPCS - lack of parents communication skills	1- to a large extent, 2-to some extent, 3-to a limited extent, 4-not at all, 89-don't know 99-refused	"1+2'-to a large extent 3-to medium extent '4' – to a limited extent 0,89+99'= NR
Parents have no sufficient time at their disposal, barrier in communication with school	How much of the following present barriers and problems in meaningful communication with parents in your school: q13bBPPLTGI - parents limited time to get informed	1- to a large extent, 2-to some extent, 3-to a limited extent, 4-not at all, 89-don't know 99-refused	'1+2'-to some extent '3+4'-to limited extent 0,89+99'= NR
The share of pupils coming from families with no regular income	What percentage of pupils in your school you would say that: q6aSHPPHRI- come from a household without regular income.	1- less than 5%, 2- Over 5 but less than 10%, 3- Over 10 but less than 25%, 4- Over 25%, 89-don't know 99-refused	'1+2'- less than 10%, 3- Over 10 but less than 25%,, 4 – over 25% 0,89+99'= NR
The share of pupils living with a single parent in the household	What percentage of pupils in your school you would say that: q6bSHPPHSP - come from single parent households..	1- less than 5%, 2- Over 5 but less than 10%, 3- Over 10 but less than 25%, 4- Over 25%, 89-don't know 99-refused	1- less than 5%, 2- Over 5 but less than 10%, '3+4' – over 10% ,89+99'= NR
The share of the pupils' families with at least one parent working abroad	What percentage of pupils in your school you would say that: q6cSHPPHOW - share of pupils with one parent working abroad	1- less than 5%, 2- Over 5 but less than 10%, 3- Over 10 but less than 25%, 4- Over 25%, 89-don't know 99-refused	1- less than 5%, 2- Over 5 but less than 10%, '3+4' – over 10% 0,89+99'= NR
The share of school pupils families of ethnic minorities' origin	What percentage of pupils in your school you would say that: q6fSHPPHEM - share of pupils that belong to an ethnic group different from the majority ethnic group in your school	1- less than 5%, 2- Over 5 but less than 10%, 3- Over 10 but less than 25%, 4- Over 25%, 89-don't know 99-refused	1- less than 5%, '2+3+4' – over 10% 0,89+99'= NR
School where parents with lower educational level involved themselves less in school activities	It is said that some parents are less likely to engage in school activities than others. Are there any groups of parents in your school that generally tend to get less involved than others? Which are these ones: Open-ended question, three possible answers	Open-ended question	School where school-principals pointed out the lower level of parental involvement of those parents with a lower level of education – variable category – the rest is for the other variable.

He frequency of visits paid to pupils' domicile performed by teachers or supporting professional staff	In average, how often in your school, if at all: do teachers or professional support personnel make home visits?	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter 3- At least once a semester 4- At least once a year 5- Not at all 89-don't know 99-refused	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter 3- At least once a semester '4+5'- At least once a year or not at all 0,89+99'= NR
The school-principal perception as regards the benefits of parental involvement	Overall what do you think the main benefits of engaging parents are: a.Overall improved school climate b. More positive attitudes and behaviour of parents towards school c. More overall support of parents for school d. Improved pupil educational performance	1- to a large extent, 2-to some extent, 3-to a limited extent, 4-not at all, 89-don't know 99-refused	We sum up the 4 variables and re-create a new dichotomic variable (Cronbach Alpha = 0,895 for the reliability of these variables).
The frequency of meetings between parents-school principals	In average, how often in your school, if at all: q8aRMEETDR - are school director–parents meetings organized?	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter 3- At least once a semester 4- At least once a year 5- Not at all 89-don't know 99-refused	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter '3+4+5'- At least once a semester or rarely 0,89+99'= NR
The frequency written evaluation of pupils are sent to parents	In average, how often in your school, if at all: q8bRWREVAL - is written evaluation of pupil's performance sent to parents?	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter 3- At least once a semester 4- At least once a year 5- Not at all 89-don't know 99-refused	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter 3- At least once a semester '4+5'- At least once a year or not at all 0,89+99'= NR
The frequency the parents are sent information on school policies and regulations	In average, how often in your school, if at all: q8eRINFSCHP - is information on school policies and regulations sent to parents?	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter 3- At least once a semester 4- At least once a year 5- Not at all 89-don't know 99-refused	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter 3- At least once a semester '4+5'- At least once a year or not at all 0,89+99'= NR
The frequency the parents or school staff pay visits ro pupil's domicile	In average, how often in your school, if at all: q8gRSCHHMV- do teachers or professional support personnel make home visits?	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter 3- At least once a semester 4- At least once a year 5- Not at all 89-don't know 99-refused	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a quarter 3- At least once a semester '4+5'- At least once a year or not at all 0,89+99'= NR
The frequency with which, during the year prior to interview, the school provided information to parents on creating a home learning environment	Some of the ways in which a school can support parenting are listed below. Please indicate whether in school year 2007-2008 your school has had: q20dSCINFPHE - provided parents with information on creating a home learning environment	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a semester 3- At least once a year 4- Not at all 89-don't know 99-refused	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a semester '3+4'- At least once a year or not at all 0,89+99'= NR

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1   The re-codification of these variables took into account the distribution of answers on each variable's categories of answers; when a category had a small number of cases, we have re-grouped it with a proximal category. In this manner, we have prevented the analysis' errors duet o the presence of a small number of cases in the association cells between variables.

The frequency with which in the year prior to interview the school organised training sessions meant to train parents in assisting children in doing their homework	q20aSHOPACH - organized sessions to help parents assist their children with homework	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a semester 3- At least once a year 4- Not at all 89-don't know 99-refused	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a semester '3+4'- At least once a year or not at all 0,89+99'= NR
The frequency with which in the year prior to interview the school provided counselling services to parents	q20eSCCSP - school provided counselling services to parents	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a semester 3- At least once a year 4- Not at all 89-don't know 99-refused	1- At least once a month 2- At least once a semester '3+4'- At least once a year or not at all 0,89+99'= NR
The presence of a communication strategy/ policy with parents	Does your school have a strategy/ policy on how to communicate with ALL parents? q12SCHCOMST		
The level to which the Parents' Council is entitled to initiated the adoption if new policies	Is, in the case of your school, are the members of the Parents' Council entitled to: q24dPCIANP - initiate the adoption of new policies?	1-Without restrictions 2- By invitation only 3- Under no circumstance 89-don't know 99-refused	1-Without restrictions 2- By invitation only 3- Under no circumstance 0,89+99'= NR

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School Bullying in the Primary School. Report of a Research in Hajdú-Bihar County (Hungary)

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Abstract

Bullying has long been researched in different communities and cultures and has proven to be a phenomenon that seriously endangers individuals and communities as well. Among its consequences are different psychosomatic symptoms, deteriorating study or work performance, depression, suicidal ideation, unhealthy social climate or acts of crime. The present study presents some of the findings of a research carried out in 24 schools of Hajdú-Bihar County in 2008. The 1006 large sample of 5th and 7th grade students (age 11 and 13) answered questions on their bullying-related experiences and attitudes. Data were collected in a questionnaire on types of bullying, prevalence, students' mood, feeling of well-being and their social environment. Findings show that similarly to results of earlier research a large number of students are involved in bullying. In the sample the most common types are name-calling and ostracism, whereas beating and threatening are less frequent. Correlations with age, gender and academic performance show that the younger age-group is more involved in beating and spreading gossip, girls in relational bullying, and academically weaker students are most often involved in bullying events. Variables of mood, feelings of well-being, social and study climate are analyzed with a focus on studying correlations between feelings and relations within the smaller communities. Victims appear to be in the worst position on all measures, including number of friends, stress, emotions towards school or social climate. However, they show a more positive attitude for studying than bullies or bully-victims.

Keywords: School Bullying, School Climate, Social Climate, Mood, Hungary, Primary School

Introduction

School bullying is defined as the event when a child unable to defend himself/herself is intentionally bullied repeatedly over time. Bullying is not only physical, it has verbal (e.g. name-calling), or relational forms (ostracizing) as well. Bullying has been widely researched in several countries of the world since the 1970s. Research in Sweden and in Norway by Dan Olweus (Olweus, 1978) soon started further investigations in Europe, the USA, then in other countries of the world. By now an enormous amount of research findings, publications, websites is available for those interested.[3] The reason why it is important to address this

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3 For the most important findings on bullying see Buda et al. 2008, Buda 2009.

topic is that bullying has serious consequences regarding all participants. Victims are prone to frequent psychosomatic and mental complaints, they are inclined to develop depression even in adulthood. Furthermore, bullying is harmful not only for victims. Bullies gain power in their community, and owing to this they do not need to acquire more efficient and sophisticated social strategies, which makes their adjustment more difficult later. In the group of bullies youth are more likely to break the law, or develop a deviant lifestyle later in their lives. Bullying is harmful for the whole community as well, since in an atmosphere of fear solidarity and personal responsibility get weakened. Making scapegoats of individuals and forming cliques largely damage the society of the school; it makes establishing meaningful relations difficult not only among peers but also between students and teachers. If schools do not recognize danger in time and cannot put an end to this process, bullying and aggression in general might get stronger and escalate, impeding efficient work.

Although bullying is present among schoolchildren of all countries researched, data of prevalence diverge highly. The proportion of bullies fluctuates between 5% and 35%, between 3% and 35% for victims. This wide span of data is rather confusing than informative. Larger samples tend to be more reliable. In Norway Dan Olweus found 8% bullies and 12% victims in his research of 130 000 students (Olweus 1993).

The research conducted by WHO - Health Behaviour in School-aged Children, HBSC – is especially important. In their questionnaire a few questions are aimed at bullying, which makes it possible to compare results of different countries in this area as well. In 2001/2002 in 25 countries –in a representative sample- 113 200 youth aged 11-15 took part in the research. Involvement in bullying is between 9-54 % (Nansel et al 2004, Craig and Harel 2004).

In 2006 41 countries took part in the same research. A minute sheet available online reporting the findings shows that the proportion of those bullied at least twice over the last month is between 4% and 32% in the participating countries. The average value is 15%. The proportion of 11 year-old bullies is 2-24%, 9% as the full sample average shows. (Currie et al., 2008.)

In Hungary a few articles and books have been published on this topic, and there have been some research (see Figula 2004, Mayer 2008, Sáska et al. 2009), but none of them have aimed at this issue in a way that would yield generalizable results. This way data about bullying in Hungary can mostly be obtained from the HBSC research.

In 2002[4] 79,6% of the children asked were never bullied by their peers, 15,2% of them were occasionally bullied, 5,2% of them more frequently. The proportion of those bullying frequently is 4,7%. 19,8% of the children sometimes bully others (Aszmann 2003).

In the 2006 study[5] 15% perpetrators, 12% victims and 10% bully-victims were registered. (Németh 2007).[6]

Our research, carried out in Hajdú-Bihar County (Eastern Hungary) was aimed at gaining generalizable data about adolescents' bullying-related experience and about its background. The enquiry focused primarily on school climate and its subjective aspect, the effect of children's and classes' feeling of well-being and that of their attitudes towards bullying, and its relationship with bullying events. Here the most important findings and the relationship between some data are presented.

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4   The proportion of bully-victims is not indicated in the article.

5   Those involved in the bullying events at least once were defined as bullies or victims, bully-victims in both roles.

6   Unfortunately these minute sheets do not describe how groups were made, so the results of the two studies cannot be compared to see if there have been changes.

Design

The questionnaire

When choosing a research method several points need to be considered. Since the topic of bullying is mostly unknown in Hungary, and schools in general tend not to think these kinds of information essential, the schools in our study were not wholeheartedly supportive in taking part of the research. The local governments did support our endeavours, but it was important to carry it out easily, fast, and without unnecessary complications.

Parental consent which - we believe - is determined by the relationship between parents and the school proved to be similar. There were schools where participation was no problem, but there were schools where 30-40% of the parents did not agree to their child taking part in the research. This way a method that was not anonymous could not be considered.

Considering all this a short, anonymous questionnaire, which could be filled in within one teaching hour was chosen. In our questionnaire children estimated the prevalence of aggressive acts in their class, and told us about how often they used aggression or were victimized by their peers.

The questionnaire consisted of 99 – mostly closed – questions, but at certain points it invited pupils to add their comments.

The questionnaire was organized around three major themes: children's experience of bullying, children's feelings of well-being at school and background questions.

a) Children's experiences of bullying

Children were asked about their everyday experiences relating to aggression ("How often do you see acts like this to happen?"), how often they bullied others, and how often they were victimized. The number of children victimized regularly by their peers in their class was also asked for.

In our questionnaire, similarly to research procedures, we asked for the prevalence of particular events.

b) Children's feeling of well-being at school

Similarly to most research procedures, school climate was not directly studied, but children's experiences and feelings were taken as indicators of school climate.

There are no standards to measure climate or the feeling of well-being, only few studies have been carried out in the area. Our research includes elements that are considered important and elements the relevance of which have been proved in studies - not necessarily aimed at climate or the feeling of well-being.

General mood and psychosomatic symptoms, attitudes towards school7 are clear indicators of children's general feelings of well-being.

Therefore the following thematic units were included in the questionnaire:
1. The child's mood at school (how often s/he feels happy, bored, etc., four items, five categories of frequency);
2. Occurrence of psychosomatic symptoms (headache, feeling tired; 3 items, five categories of frequency);
3. Attitudes towards school. Here 12 statements in connection with school, studying, school community, and teachers were given, with the response categories of "agree / disagree" (three times four items);[8]

These 22 items form a convergent scale (Cronbach-⊠=0,806), which is suitable to examine

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7   The relationship with teachers, school, studying, and peers is directly used to measure school climate, see Freiberg 1999.

8   These questions are partly the same as those used in the HBSC research, therefore these data are comparable with the results of the nationwide representative study (Aszmann 2003)

children's feeling of well-being. However, examining each variable separately is also worthy.

Attitudes towards bullying are not used as predictors of prevalence of bullying, as attitudes are indirectly related to behaviour, their relationship is not easy to detect, since people do not often behave consistently to their attitudes declared. (As shown later, our research proves that there are bullies with positive attitudes and children who are not bullies in spite of their strongly negative attitudes.) Negative attitudes are understood as indicators of missing solidarity and group cohesion, and they also show that group norm is permissive of aggression and overpowering behaviour. This, at the same time is a measure of how safe – both in literally and figuratively – life is in the given group. In this sense these attitudes can be considered as indicators of feelings of well-being.

1.   Children were asked how many friends they had.
2.   Attitudes towards bullying. In this part 12 statements about weak children, victims and bullying were given, the response categories were „agree / disagree".[9]

c) Background questions

As our research did not aim at exploring individual background, mostly because research literature has not found significant correlations in this field, the questionnaire had only few questions on participants' background (gender, academic achievement, the mothers' school attendance / qualifications). Schools were grouped according to the type of the settlement. "Villages" and "county seats" were clear categories. The 10 settlements out of these categories were grouped into two groups: the "city without city functions" category was introduced[10]. (The fourth one was "city") Every question was coded for higher values to refer to better, more positive conditions (less frequent headaches and bullying, frequent feelings of happiness, or a more positive attitude towards school). This made it easier to analyse and interpret data.

The sample

The research took place in Hajdú-Bihar County, Hungary. 25 fifth classes from the county schools were randomly chosen.

Since two schools decided to refuse participation in the last minute, altogether 1006 pupils from 23 schools made up the research population. The sample is proportional to gender, age and type of settlement; villages are somewhat overrepresented compared to population. (Table 1,2)

Table1: *Gender and grade in the sample*

		Gender		Total
		Boy	**Girl**	
Grade	**Fifth**	249	242	491
	Seventh	242	229	471
Missing				44
Total		491	471	962

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9   Work by Michael J. Boulton and his team (2002) was used in designing the questions.

10   Hajdú-Bihar County has a special settlement structure. Though there are several cities in the county with a large population, as a result of the county seat's suction effect and of different reasons of history these cities do not function as real cities. (See Süli-Zakar 1994 e.g.).

Table 2: *Gender and type of settlement in the sample*

		Gender		Total
		Boy	**Girl**	
Settlement type	**Village**	71	67	138
	City without city functions	117	115	232
	City	116	104	220
	County seat	187	186	373
Missing				43
Total		491	472	963

Procedure

Children completed -anonymously- the questionnaires in one teaching lesson at schools in April 2008, in the presence of a data collector and a school teacher. They showed no problem interpreting the questions, time was sufficient. Children were highly willing to respond.

RESULTS

Sample and background variables

As numerous research data have shown, mothers' school attendance / qualifications show a significant difference according to types of settlements: in county seats parents are more highly qualified. The qualification of mothers in cities without city functions is similar to those of in villages, - or even somewhat worse, as there are fewer graduates.

    As expected, children of highly qualified mothers have significantly better school results, as do those who live in county seats, those who are fifth graders and girls. As it has been pointed out in several studies aiming at school performance and socioeconomic status – Monitor studies, PISA, National Study of Competencies - in Hungary the mother's qualification is the most dominant indicator of SES (See Horn-Sinka 2006).

Bullying in the schools

Bullying as estimated by children

First prevalence data were asked for in general, among peers. As seen in Table 3, school bullying is a prevailing problem in the upper section of primary school (grades 5-8).

    In each class, there are at least 7 children who see their peers bully others, which is remarkable.

Table 3: *How many children are bullied in your class?*

	N	%
1 child	289	28,7
2-3 children	400	39,8
More than 3 children	133	13,2
None	97	9,6
Total	919	91,4
Missing answer	87	8,6
Total	1006	100,0

The questionnaire listed seven types of bullying, and children were asked to estimate how often these occurred. As shown in Table 4, the most common type is name calling and ostracising. Beating and threatening were relatively rare.

Table 4: *Average values of bullying events happening several times a week or more often (%)*

	Name calling	Ostracizing	Milder types of bullying	Spreading rumours	Damaging property	Beating	Threatening
Full sample	50,9	26,2	24,3	22,5	21,7	18,4	15

Research literature shows little, if any correlation between SES and bullying. However, effects of the neighbourhood can be traced, as being exposed to more frequent violence as well as aggressive models of conflict resolution all strongly affect children's behaviour.

Several data show that pupils in schools of cities lacking city functions experience bullying most frequently. Here the value of the experienced bullying index[11] is significantly worse. (Except for villages, where the difference is not significant.) It can be concluded that cities without real city functions are just oversize villages with similar difficulties (unemployment, poverty), but here – probably as a result of their size – the control and cohesive force of the community is less effective compared to villages with lower population.

Children in county seats experience the least physical bullying and spreading rumours. However, the total value (Experienced bullying) shows significant differences, which proves city schools to be the most peaceful ones.

Bullying behaviour

Of the above mentioned seven bullying types children were asked how often, over the previous month - they committed the seven types of bullying mentioned earlier. (Table 5.)

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11   To make comparison easier we formed „the experienced bullying index" by adding up the particular bullying types.

Table 5: *Frequency of violent behaviour as admitted by children*

	3-4 times	1-2 times	never
How many times did you call others names?	17,8	51,6	30,5
How many times did you threaten someone?	2,9	12	85,1
How many times did you ostracize someone?	8,4	35,6	56
How many times did you damage someone's property?	2,5	11,3	86,2
How many times did you spread rumours about someone?	2,9	22,4	74,7
How many times did you push someone?	5,7	26,2	68,1

Seventh graders called their peers names more often, fifth graders were more frequent in spreading rumours and in beating. Girls, as they indicated, did less bullying in all types of bullying acts altogether; the difference is strongly significant except for ostracising and spreading rumours. This supports earlier findings, which concluded relational bullying to be typically a girls' type of bullying.

According to the three groups of academic achievement we experienced that weak students –except for ostracising and spreading rumours – bullied others significantly more often. Good students consistently showed less aggression, though this difference is not significant as compared to the middle group.

In the groups set up according to the mothers' school attendance no general tendencies were found. This result falls in line with the finding that school bullying can hardly be associated with socio-economic status.

Location

Children also told us where bullying generally took place. Table 6. shows these results.

Table 6: *Places where bullying happens*

	%
classroom when the teacher is not there	45,1
classroom when the teacher is there	17,6
corridor	35,6
toilet	12,8
changing rooms	49,8
gym	16,8
schoolyard	18,8
Way to or from school	17,6
During class	30,3

Mariann Buda & Erika Szirmai

Our findings are different from those in the literature of other countries, which show that bullying events most frequently happen in places where children are out of adult surveillance. Answers in this study showed that pupils were most often bullied in places where they are together and should be under surveillance (in the changing rooms, in the classroom when the teacher is not there, or in the corridor). It is especially surprising to see that 30% of the pupils say that bullying events also happen during the lessons.

Wendy Craig and her research team underline that teachers and staff supervising children do not often show the right approach to bullying. When they leave children unattended and do not respond to bystanders' reports on bullying, they help bullying to spread. (Craig et al. 2000). Our data also show that teachers are not efficient in intervening these events and cannot stop them from happening.

Roles in bullying

Table 7: *Bullying roles by gender and age (%)*

		Bully	Victim	Bully-victim	Not involved	Total
Gender*	**Boy**	29,6	5,7	6,9	57,8	100,0
	Girl	11,7	8,7	4,4	75,2	100,0
Grade*	**Fifth**	16,0	8,7	7,5	67,8	100,0
	Seventh	25,7	6,2	4,5	63,6	100,0
Full sample		20,6	7,6	6,1	65,7	100,0

***p<0,001 (Chi-Square)

Who are the bullies?

In the present study bullies are children who indicated a frequency higher than one or two occasions over a period of about three months in at least one type of bullying behaviour[12]. (Types of bullying were not distinguished.)

Our results show that 26,7% of the children (269) bullied their peers in one way or another over the previous months. According to 2005-2006 HBSC results 20,3% of children bullied others once or twice over the previous months, 5,0% of them bullied others regularly. This frequency has not significantly changed between 2002 and 2006[13] (Várnai et al. 2009: p. 2).

Our result seems surprisingly high, but it most probably includes different roles as well. With our measures real, chronic bullies cannot be distinguished from impulsive bullies or reciprocal bullies. Therefore the number of bullies in this research is not considered a reliable indicator of school bullying[14].

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12   In spite of the large number of research there are no standards regarding when a child should be termed a bully. In our study the practice of Olweus' bullying questionnaire is used. (Similarly to this the statistics of the 2005-2006 HBSC minute report children bullied at least twice are termed as bullies (HBSC 2005: p. 164). In recent studies – though using different methods as well – attempt is made to differentiate between so-called „chronic bullies" from those who openly admit frequent misbehaviour. At the beginning of our study this practice cannot be followed yet.

13   15 and 17 year old youth were also tested in the HBSC study.

14   This would not be logical, as the violent atmosphere of a class is not defined by the number of bullies, rather by the frequency of bullying events.

It is interesting to consider what could explain the difference between data in the HBSC research and in the present study. Both questionnaires used self-administered completion, the time period covered was the previous few months, and in both studies bullies were defined as those committing an aggressive act more often than once or twice.

We suppose that the definition used in the HBSC questionnaire might have caused an interpretation difficulty for children. They might not have fully understood it, or the Hungarian word used there might have been interpreted as one referring to acts of rough nature15.

What can be said about bullies?

Table 8: *Bullies by grade and gender*

		Grade		Total
		Fifth	**Seventh**	
Gender	**Boy**	79	100	179
	Girl	37	39	76
Total		116	139	255
Missing				14
Total				269

There are somewhat more seventh grader bullies than fifth graders, and almost three times as many boys as girls. Bullies' academic achievement is significantly lower than those of non-bullies (p<0,001), but the average of their mothers' qualification is significantly higher than that of the 'non-bullies'16 (p<0,008). There is no difference according to settlement types. (Table 8.)

Amongst bullies there are fewer girls than boys classified as bullies for regular fights, pushing, threatening or damaging others' property. There is no gender difference between those who call others names, exclude them or spread rumours.

Who are the victims?

Respondents were also asked about how often they suffered from others' aggressive behaviour. Victims were defined as children bullied at least once or twice weekly in one way or another. 13,6% of the children (137) were victims, every other one of them reported having been bullied on almost a daily basis.

This result is worth comparing with the 2005/2006 HBSC findings17. The average of the 41 countries in that study shows 15% victims in the 11-year-old age- group, (13% girls and 16% boys), 14% in the 13-year-old age-group (13% and 15%). Hungarian data in the same study show 10% girl victims and 9% boys among 11 year-old children. Of the 13-year-old children there are 8% girl victims, 7% boys. Our data differ significantly from the above data again, although the difference is smaller than in the case of bullies.

There are as many boy victims as girls, but there are significantly more fifth graders than seventh graders (p<0,01). This result is confirmed by the 2006 HBSC research: Hungarian data show more girl than boy victims18. Two thirds of the girl victims are fifth graders. In the case of boys the difference is smaller. (Girls may be more successful in breaking out of the victim – role.) There are more fifth grader girl victims (than boys), and fewer seventh grader victims, but the difference is not significant. (Table 9.)

15 Though in a small sample children's understanding of „bántalmazás" (one of the Hungarian words used to refer to bullying) proved to mean physical violence only (Szirmai 2008).

16   Another piece of data showing that social status cannot be related to bullying behaviour.

17   In this case those bullied at least twice during the previous month were termed victims.

18 Apart from Hungary a similar situation in the two age groups was seen only in Greenland and the Ukraine in the HBSC study.

Table 9: *Victims by gender and grade*

		Grade		Total
		Fifth	**Seventh**	
Gender	**Boy**	36	26	62
	Girl	40	21	61
Total		76	47	123

Victims and non-victims do not differ significantly in the type of settlement, academic achievement or their mothers' qualification. Fewer than half of the victims are bullied in different ways almost on a daily basis. They reported being victims of spreading rumours (36,5%), threatening (35%), property damaged (34,3%), ostracising (30,6%), name-calling (26,2%), milder forms of bullying (24,1%), beating (23,4%) several times a week.

Who are the bully-victims?

Bully-victims are children who take part in bullying both as bullies and victims. They are the ones who are most at risk for both short-term and long-term effects, which is why this group deserves special attention.

Based on our data 61 children were classified as bully-victims. They represent 6% of the total sample. There are almost twice as many fifth graders as seventh graders, and about one and a half times as many boys as girls. This falls in line with international research findings. (Table 10.)

Table 10: *Bully-victims by gender and grade (%)*

		Grade		Total
		Fifth	**Seventh**	
Gender	**Boy**	21	13	34
	Girl	15	6	21
Total		36	19	55
Missing				6
Total				61

The bully-victims and the others do not differ significantly in the type of settlement or in academic achievement, but bully-victims' mothers' qualification average is significantly higher than those of the rest of the children.

Correlations of bullying and other variables

In this part we look at how roles in bullying affect views about bullying and variables of scales indicating mood. Comparisons are based on means of different variables in groups of bullying roles[19]. The groups of bullying roles do not overlap.

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19   Please note that higher values refer to more favourable situations. To examine the differnces between the group means Anova was used.

Variables showing mood

The mood of pupils was measured in four items.

Not surprisingly the mood variables of groups with varying bullying behaviours are different. (Table 11.) If the four variables are added up, the resulting mood index shows the difference between the groups even more markedly.

Table 11: *Mean values of the Mood variable and the items of the mood scale in groups of bullying behaviour*

	Bully	**Victim**	**Bully-victim**	**Not involved**	**Total sample**
I feel happy***	4,34	4,03	4,52	4,45	4,40
I am bored***	2,81	2,91	2,43	3,21	3,05
I feel fine**	4,31	4,04	4,26	4,40	4,35
I feel blue**	3,53	3,25	3,41	3,64	3,58
Mood index***	3,75	3,55	3,66	3,92	3,84

** p<0,005
***p<0,001 (Anova)

The average of the variables in question – with few exceptions - follows the same pattern. The best results are indicated in the averages of the "not involved" group, then in those of the bullies, then bully-victims, and finally those of the victims. This means that with regard to mood it is the victims who are in the worst situation.

The "mood index" shows significantly worse general mood in all groups involved in bullying as compared to those not involved. There is a marked difference between bullies and victims as well. This variable clearly shows the specific situation of bully-victims: they do not differ either from the bullies or from the victims significantly, they are somewhere in between.

The groups mostly differ in the variable of boredom: the difference is significant except for the difference between bullies and victims.

Variables showing stress

An important indicator of children's feeling of general well-being is if they have psychosomatic complaints, and if yes, how often they have them. Examining the group averages of three variables a similar pattern can be drawn as in the case of the mood variable values. (Table 12.) Those not involved show the best results, followed by the bullies.

Mariann Buda & Erika Szirmai

Table 12: *Mean values of the stress variable and the items of the stress-scale in groups of bullying behaviour*

	Bully	**Victim**	**Bully-victim**	**Not involved**	**Total sample**
Headache, stomach ache**	3,74	3,32	3,48	3,75	3,70
Feeling tired or exhausted***	2,25	2,23	2,23	2,78	2,60
Bad mood, anxiety***	3,10	2,75	2,67	3,56	3,35
Stress index ***	3,03	2,75	2,79	3,36	3,21

** $p<0,005$
***$p<0,001$ (Anova)

Between bullies and victims there is a significant difference in the mean values of each variable, with the exception of "feeling tired". This fact shows the load victims carry.

Victims and bully-victims share a similar situation. As research data show, bully-victims encounter the largest amount of stress. Our data do not show this difference between the victims and the bully-victims in this study.

The number of friends

Results of the present research are partly in line with results of literature in other countries. Amongst respondents in our research victims have significantly fewer friends than any other group has. (Table 13.). This is in line with the fact that social isolation and being victimized is closely connected (Salmivalli et al. 1997).[20]

Table 13: *Mean value of the variable of Number of friends[21] in groups of bulling behaviour*

	Bullies	**Victims**	**Bully-victims**	**Not involved**	**Total sample**
Friends	4,52	4,08	4,5	4,49	4,46
N	208	76	61	661	1006

Regarding the number of friends there is no outstanding difference between bullies, bully-victims, and those not involved. However, our research could not provide results on measures of popularity and refusal in the particular groups, the result on the number of friends can only show a rough estimate. This way it is impossible to determine if our sample agrees to results of data from other countries, i. e. that bully-victims are those most often refused in[22] peer communities. (Veenstra et al. 2005) However, the difference appearing in the case of victims does indicate the less favourable social status of this group.

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20   It is emphasized that our research did not include data on the reciprocity and quality of friendships.

21   Numbers refer to the means of coded values of answers (categories), not the real average of the number of friends, but comparison is not without importance.

22   Please note that the relationship between the number of friends and popularity among friends and being refused by friends is not directly associated.

Attitudes towards school

Several research findings have shown that children who feel attached to their school, who like being there, who perform well are less likely to show bullying or / and aggressive behaviour (Boulton & Smith 1994; Nansel et el. 2003).

The importance of teacher attitudes towards bullying has been emphasized already by Olweus (Olweus 1993). Dorothy Espelage and her team concluded that the role participants play in the bullying event is positively correlated with the relationship with peers and teachers. Bullies and bully-victims perceive their relationship with their teachers more negative, victims and bully-victims perceive their relationship with their peers significantly more negative (Espelage et al. 2001). A recent publication by Italian researchers shows the same result (Bacchini et al. 2009).

Wienke Totura and her team unveiled further links between factors examined in their multidimensional analysis. They claim that children's assessment about the degree of attention paid by school staff is in close connection with bullying behaviour (Wienke Totura et al. 2009).

In the present study attitudes towards school were examined by 12 statements, which were to measure attitudes towards schooling, studying, teachers, and peer relationships[23]. The statements were grouped into the three groups[24] of "Affective relations towards school"[25], "Study climate"[26], and "Social climate"[27]. Below the correlation between attitudes towards school and roles in bullying behaviours is discussed.

a) Variables showing the affective relationship towards school

Results of Hungary in the 2006 HBSC research show that the proportion of bullies is lowest among those who like their schools (very much or at least a little); it is the highest among those not involved, which is followed by victims and then bully-victims (Várnai et al. 2009: pp.3-4).

Our data show some difference. Liking school appears in the statement of "I like to be at school". As seen in Table 14, it is not the bullies but the victims who like school the least, though the difference between them is not significant. (It is interesting to note that victims and bully-victims differ significantly only on this item. It seems that in this sample bully-victims are not so antagonistic towards school, as shown in international research – see above.)

The affective relationship index obtained by adding up the items shows that victims show the weakest bonding and not bullies. (Table 17.) This is understandable when we consider that ordeals of school life make it difficult for them to develop affective relations. Most probably similar reasons stand behind the result that shows that the proportion of those who find school difficult is highest among victims. The last two statements (see later) show that this difficulty is not caused by their studies or rules, but rather by the less satisfactory nature of the time spent together with their peers. School work and rules are the hardest for bullies. Including this group bully-victims show the biggest proportion of indicating too large a workload at school.

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23 Questions of the HBSC research were used in designing the attitudes.

24   The appropriacy of the grouping of attitudes was controlled by factor analysis.

25 Four statements, e.g. „I find school difficult", I like being at school".

26 Four statements, e.g. „We learn interesting things at school", „If I need help, I can count on my teachers".

27 Four statements, e.g. „Children in my class accept me as I am", „Most of the children in my class are nice and helpful".

Table 14: *Mean values of the items of the Affective relationship scale index in groups of bullying behaviour*

	Bully	**Victim**	**Bully-victim**	**Not involved**	**Total sample**
I find school difficult.**	1,47	1,43	1,53	1,60	1,56
I have too many tasks at school.***	1,39	1,49	1,40	1,55	1,51
I like being at school.***	1,50	1,37	1,54	1,62	1,57
School rules are too strict.***	1,53	1,61	1,52	1,68	1,64

** p<0,005
***p<0,001 (Anova)

The affective relationship index is significantly better for those not involved, compared to the other three participant groups.

It is noticeable that there is no significant difference between the choices of bullies, victims and bully-victims – except for the data mentioned above, which show that bully-victims like school better than victims do. This in other words means that whichever roles children take in bullying, involvement is accompanied by a weaker affective relationship with the school.

b) Variables of the study climate

Studying the proportion of answers given to these questions it is noticeable that –beside the fact that those not involved gave the most favourable answers- victims' answers are significantly better than those of the other two groups (bullies and bully-victims). This result is consistent with what has already been claimed as the victims' attitudes towards studying and teachers being more positive than those of bullies'. It must be caused by the victims' endeavour to ally with adults and try to get compensation for their frustrating position in the group and for being bullied by their peers. The same result appears in the 2006 HBSC data (Várnai et al. 2009: p. 4).

Contrary to the above, here it was not the victims, but the bully-victims who gave the least positive answers, which allows us to think that the attitude towards studying and teachers is the least favourable in their case. It can be said that though from our data the pupils' refusal on them cannot be detected, but teachers' refusal can – it is not likely that this negative attitude should be one-sided.

The study climate index formed by adding up the four variables is best in the case of those not involved, then of victims, then of bullies and lastly of bully-victims (Table 16.). The differences between the groups are significant, except for bullies and bully-victims, and except for comparisons between the victims and those not involved. (Table 15.)

Table 15: *Mean values of the study scale items in groups of bullying behaviour*

	Bully	Victim	Bully-victim	Not involved	Total sample
We study interesting things at school.***	1,72	1,81	1,64	1,85	1,81
Our teachers treat us unfairly.***	1,60	1,77	1,59	1,85	1,77
Our teachers are interested in us as persons.	1,64	1,68	1,64	1,73	1,71
If I need help, I can count on my teachers.***	1,75	1,78	1,70	1,90	1,85

***p<0,001 (Anova)

c) Variables regarding social climate

On variables regarding social climate it can be seen that again those not involved gave positive answers in the largest proportion. (Table 16.) The basic pattern of the choices is similar: the largest number of positive answers was given by those not involved, and then follow bullies, bully-victims and finally victims. These results are also in full accordance with the results of the 2006 HBSC study (Várnai et al. 2009: p.4).

On a closer look at the items of the social climate it is remarkable that here bully-victims' answers are closer to victims' answers, – as opposed to variables of the study climate, where bully-victims' answers were closer to those of bullies. Their responses are more positive than those of the victims', but there is no significant difference between them on any of the items.

At the same time the proportion of bully-victims' answers – as a result of their middle position – is close to bullies' answers as well. With regard to the proportion of the answers significant difference is shown only in one item: in the case of "My peers accept me as I am". This item indicates the difference in status between bullies and victims. Victims feel accepted – almost as much as those in the not involved group -, whereas bully-victims and victims do not. Our sample also challenges the popular concept of bullies being frustrated and refused individuals.

As the index obtained from adding up the four variables (Table 17) shows, bully-victims do not differ significantly from bullies or victims, but the other three groups are markedly separate.

Table 16: *Mean values of items on the social climate scale in groups of bullying behaviour*

	Bully	Victim	Bully-victim	Not involved	Total sample
Most children in my class are nice and helpful.***	1,68	1,55	1,56	1,78	1,73
Children in my class like being together.*	1,84	1,74	1,80	1,87	1,85
Children in my class accept me as I am.***	1,85	1,61	1,64	1,90	1,85
When someone in my class feels sad, there's always someone to console him/her.**	1,74	1,80	1,80	1,85	1,82

* $p<0,05$
** $p<0,005$
***$p<0,001$ (Anova)

To sum up the results of the index variables we claim that the attitudes of those not involved in bullying events is more positive towards school, studying and peers as compared to attitudes of those involved. Except for the victims' study climate each group markedly differs form the not involved group. Among them the victims share the most difficult situation, their feeling of well-being is the weakest, whereas that of the bullies' is the least disadvantageous. On some markers bully-victims are closer to bullies, on others to victims, but they do not show a significant difference.

Table 17: *Mean values of Affective relations, Study climate and Social climate in groups of bullying behaviours*

	Bullies	Victims	Bully-victims	Not involved	Total sample
Affective relationship index*	5,61	5,53	5,78	6,28	6,06
Study climate index*	6,71	7,11	6,64	7,40	7,15
Social climate index*	7,09	6,67	6,80	7,40	7,25

*****p<0,001 (Anova)*

Attitudes towards bullying

Children's attitudes towards bullying were measured in 12 statements. Our analysis aimed at exploring what inner structure the answers to the statements showed and also if there were statements influencing the answers to the other questions. Factor analysis brought no results. Based on the cluster analysis children can be put into two groups. The values of cluster medians are presented in Table 18.

Table 18: *Values of cluster centres*

	Cluster	
	1 (N=289) „hawks"	2 (N=633) „pigeons"
It is right to ask a teacher to help someone being bullied.	1	2
Children must be punished for calling others names.	1	2
Weak children are as just good as strong ones.	1	2
I think it is OK to punish those who deserve it.	1	2
Children pick on some peers because those annoy them.	1	1
I don't like children who let themselves be pushed around.	1	1
I think children should help those bullied.	2	2
I think weak children are likeable.	2	2
Those bullied should take care of themselves.	1	1
I would not be a friend of a weak child.	2	2
It is never acceptable to bully a weaker person.	2	2
I think strong children should be stopped when they beat weaker children.	2	2

Out of all the statements the four statements given in the table differentiate the children distinctively, since in the rest of the statements agreement is too strong.

As data show, about one third of the children can be termed as" hawks", i. e. individuals having unfavourable attitudes about bullying and victims. Amongst them – as seen above – there are significantly more boys and seventh graders. The academic achievement of „pigeons" is significantly better, but –somewhat surprisingly- their parents' qualifications are significantly lower than those

of the hawks'. The type of the settlements does not correlate with the distribution of this variable.

In the following section means of attitudes towards bullying and their differences according to the groups of bullying behaviour are examined. To make comparison easier contracted variables are analysed: the variable of positive attitudes total (which shows how many of the 15 statements were judged positive), the dividing attitudes (which show how many of the 4 statements28 differentiating hawks from pigeons were judged positive); and the attitudes judged negative (which shows how many of the last three statements29 in list formed this way was judged positive). Group means are shown in Table 19.

If the order of the attitudes appearing in the four groups are compared, no significant differences can be seen, though some values are a bit higher up, some a bit lower.

Table 19: *Mean values of attitudes about bullying in groups of bullying behaviours*

	Bully	**Victim**	**Bully-victim**	**Not involved**	**Total sample**
Attitudes with negative judgement***	3,7	4,11	3,86	3,95	3,9
Dividing attitudes***	6,05	7,04	5,98	6,84	6,64
Positive attitudes total***	18,7	20,56	18,65	20,31	19,91

*****p<0,001 (Anova)*

The most positive are the attitudes of the victims and those of not involved, there is no significant difference between them in any of the variables. The victims' attitudes – not surprisingly – are more positive in all cases than those of the bullies. The difference is significant except for three statements only. There is no significant difference between the victims' and the bully-victims' group in the proportion of positive response to the statements.

The bullies and the victims are clearly divided by the variable of the Positive attitudes total and the variable of the dividing attitudes. The most positive attitudes are shown by the victims and by those not involved, followed by – showing a significant difference – the bullies. The most negative attitudes are shown by the bully-victims (although the difference between the last two groups is not significant.)

It is interesting to note that among the four groups there is no significant difference in how the last two attitudes[30] within the order of positive responses - based on the full sample responses- are judged. This can be interpreted as children sharing the same opinion about this, and their responses are not influenced by their own experiences about bullying. This seems to show a uniform view, which is too strong to call for an appeal for empathy towards the victim. A very strong, deeply rooted prejudice - i. e. to blame the victim for the bullying[31] - is shown here, which needs a very patient, consistent effort and special methods to counter.

The relationship between clusters based on attitudes towards bullying and bullying behaviour was analysed. (Table 20.)

The proportion of „hawks" is bigger among bullies, but surprisingly children with these attitudes can also be found among victims, although in a smaller proportion. This can be related

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28   See Table 15.

29   These are the following: „Children bully others because they annoy them", I don't like children who let themselves be pushed", „Those bullied should take care of themselves."

30   These are statements of „I don't like children who let themselves be pushed around" and „Those who are bullied should take better care of themselves".

31   A similarly deeply rooted prejudice appears in the case of women abused or raped, who are often blamed for their situation. Similarly to victims of bullying these women take and accept this prejudice, they feel guilt and blame themselves (as well). (See Judith Hermann: Trauma és gyógyulás. [Trauma and healing] Háttér–NANE, 2003.)

to the phenomenon of the victim's self-blame for being bullied.

It is a similarly interesting finding that there are „pigeons" among the bullies. This might conceal the lack of self-knowledge, or the pressure to meet requirements, but also individuals who are not chronic bullies being put into this group.

The fact that the proportion of „hawks" is highest in the bully-victim group is in line with the results that individuals in this group are characterized by reactive aggression, a weaker self-control, a lower level of self-confidence, weaker social skills and lower social status. (Roland & Idsøe, 2001.)

Table 20: *Proportions of clusters of attitudes towards bullying in groups of bullying behaviour (%)*

	Bully	**Victim**	**Bully-victim**	**Not involved**	**Full sample**
„hawks"	53,2	18,3	57,7	24,0	31,2
„pigeons"	46,8	81,7	42,3	76,0	68,7

Summary

Our study presented some results of research aimed at Hungarian adolescents.

It can be concluded that peer bullying is an everyday phenomenon in primary schools. Name-calling, the most frequent form of bullying, is experienced by almost 30% of the children.

Somewhat surprisingly most students indicated the classroom and the changing rooms as the place where aggressive events happen, which calls our attention to teachers' responsibility and to the importance of surveillance.

Our research found a larger prevalence as compared to findings in the HBSC report, our reference study. The present research shows that 26,7 % of the children are bullies. Among them – as in most studies - there are significantly more boys than girls, more fifth graders and more low achievers. 13,6 % of the children are victims, almost half of whom are exposed to some type of bullying on a daily basis. Among them there are significantly more fifth graders, but the number of boys and girls is equal. About 50 % of them also bully, i. e. they are bully-victims. In this group of participants there are more boys than girls.

The four groups – bullies, victims, bully-victims and those not involved – formed according to their participation in the bullying event markedly differ from each other in their general mood, psychosomatic symptoms, relations to school, to their peers, to their studies and to bullying.

Our research has proved that victims are in a difficult situation. They are the ones with the fewest friends, the worst mood, and they are worst off in psychosomatic symptoms. They dislike going to school most, although they are positively related to studying. Relation to studying is worst in the case of bully-victims; social climate is perceived worse by victims. Those not involved are in the most favourable position on all measures, bullies are in the worst.

From the attitudes about bullying it seems evident that one of the focal points in countering bullying must be this: it is necessary to change the general attitudes of blaming the victims and declaring the bully not guilty.

Unfortunately our questionnaire did not allow differentiating between those chronically bullied and those bullied occasionally. In accordance with trends in international research our further research will attempt to do this. Furthermore, a self-report questionnaire always posits problems of reliability. It would be important to supplement questionnaires with other qualitative measures (observations and interviews). This is hoped to be achieved in the future.

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Horizontal and Vertical Segregation in Education by Gender in the Hungarian-Romanian-Ukrainian Border Region (Partium)

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ABSTRACT

Although women have reached the state of equality in education, horizontal and vertical segregation still put them in a disadvantageous situation. According to horizontal segregation, women study at distinct areas which the labor market does not appreciate considerably, and according to vertical segregation, their presence on the highest levels of education (PhD training, university staff and researcher position) is lower, which is also the source of lower incomes. This study uses the data of the "Regional University" research in order to examine the various aspects of horizontal and vertical segregation present by gender in higher education. In addition, we will examine the social background of males and females at "feminine" and "masculine" faculties, and at university and college faculties.

The aim of this paper is to examine some aspects of horizontal and vertical segregation in education by gender in the Hungarian-Romanian-Ukrainian Border Region (Partium), relying on the database of "Regional University" research.

The phenomena of horizontal and vertical segregations can be traced on the labor market, as well (according to horizontal segregation, professions tend to become "feminine" and "masculine", and according to vertical segregation, women do not take/get leader positions), but the background to these may be the fact that segregation already appears in the phase of training. Specializing in a certain field is different at women and men, and even in education we can find typically feminine (e.g. teacher training) and masculine (engineer, informatics, physicist training) areas.

It is important to emphasize that segregation eventually affects the getting on in life for women in a negative way, as girls study at departments of lower prestige, and train to be employed in professions that are less recognized, and in these professions they can expect lower salaries. (Jacobs 1996)

The causes of segregation: theoretical background

The reasons for horizontal and vertical segregation may be found in the divergent socialization processes. Parents and teachers have different expectations from boys and girls and these

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predictions turn out to come true as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. Girls are expected to have better reading skills, whereas boys are expected to be better at mathematics. When a girl excels in mathematics, the teachers explain it with her diligence, but when this happens to a boy, they emphasize good abilities. This causes certain professions to become massively feminine later on. Boys accredit their success to their abilities, and failures to external causes, while girls see success as an unexpected result, and accredit failure to internal causes. It is due to their lower self-esteem as well, that girls do not take higher-prestige jobs. (Kovács 2007) Social psychologists found the reason for students' segregation by majors in personality congruence; sex-type socialization leads women and men to favor sex-appropriate majors. (Jacobs 1995)

Kohn (1963) emphasizes that parent-child relationships are a product of differences in parental values (depending on the social class of parents). Values form a bridge between social structure and behaviour. Based on this theory, there could be different parent values and parent-child relationships concerning different genders. The different socialization processes may come from different values of parent concerning boys and girls.

The divergent processes of training are not only created by the differences in socialization, but could be based on different cognitive abilities. Girls are characterized by stronger verbal skills, logical memory and certain kinds of creativity. Boys, however, tend to be better at analytical, arithmetic and mathematical skills, and they perform better in the branches of creativity that require analytic thinking. All these skills can be used for various purposes, but none of them are better than the others in intellectual accomplishments; only the direction of intellectual accomplishment is different. (H. Sas 1984)

Other researchers found the reason for segregation in the students' career awareness of girls (they are aware of horizontal segregation on the labor market by gender, and that is why they choose "female-appropriate" majors). (Jacobs 1996)

College itself can affect segregation. It is important to investigate the influence of college on the choice of major, because about the half of the students changes their major during the studies. In the 1960s and 1970s during college experience students' majors become less segregated by gender, but in the 1980s there was only minor change in segregation during the college years (Jacobs 1995). Concerning the sex role reinforcement hypothesis, the college will intensify sex-role attitudes and behaviors during the studies and that is why segregation tends to increase. But this hypothesis was not proved, according to Jacobs' (1986) finding. Concerning liberalization hypothesis, college will reduce sex-role stereotyping, and this predicts a decline in sex-segregation during the college years. Based on the data of Jacobs the direction of the change of segregation is consistent with this hypothesis, but the reduction in sex segregation is not the result of changes in attitudes. Finally concerning external trends hypothesis, the change in segregation is a response to social trends in the non-college environment, and colleges themselves are influenced by social trends. Jacobs shows that external influences affect most the changes in segregation during the years of studies. (Jacobs 1986)

Jacobs formulated - based on the previous results - the social control theory concerning the segregation in education by gender. There are lifelong influences; social pressures and constraints that both women and men face with (during the early socialization, during the college years and on the job) which reproduce sex segregation. Discrimination concerning hiring decisions is only an example of these constraints. Changes in social environment, social climate, social and economic incentives, social norms and sex role models can affect segregation. Rapid social changes or more stable periods can contribute to changes in segregation differently. The trends in large society, affects the trends of segregation by gender in school and in workplace. Sex segregation remains susceptible to social influences during the whole life. (Jacobs 1995)

Economists find that females prefer those fields of education, which prepare for professions with high rewards early in life, and a low earnings trajectory. The reason for this, that women want to maximize earnings during the period, they are most likely to work. But the data show, that female's initial earnings are lower, and they exhibit slower earnings growth than do males, so

this economic explanation is not supported. (Jacobs 1996)

Researchers (Bradley 2000, Charles, Bradley 2002) examined vertical and horizontal segregation simultaneously in higher education, in various countries. They created a segregation index for each country, and examined the effect of three macro features on the progress of segregation. The first one was the prevalence of the idea of gender equality by countries (and also, its opposite, i.e. the identification with traditional gender roles). The second factor was the character of the educational system (structural divergences among the countries: the prevalence of non-university tertiary level trainings, the prevalence of university training, the rate of women in these trainings). The third factor is the level of female employment by countries. According to their results, the idea of gender equality affected the rate of women in elite training positively. Also, where the non-university tertiary level trainings were more incident, the number of women in the non-elite sector was greater. They also demonstrated that by the prevalence of the norm of gender equality, women are in majority at certain departments of higher education (horizontal segregation is stronger). Besides these, where the non-university tertiary level trainings were more frequent, horizontal segregation was stronger, as well. Their last result was that vertical and horizontal segregation were in positive correlation by countries, even after the exclusion of other factors, yet, the prevalence of the ideas of gender equality affected vertical inequalities in a stronger manner compared to horizontal ones.

Jacobs (1999) examined the connections between vertical and horizontal segregation. He found that the rate of women in elite schools is lower than that of men, and this difference has not changed much in time (in the 1970s the difference decreased, but since the 1980s it has been stationary.)[2] According to the results, the background to this phenomenon is that there are fewer women preparing for engineering careers, and that the training institutions for these careers are elite schools, while there are more women present in the teacher training and part time education - whose training institutions are considered low-status schools. Using multi-variable methods in his analysis, the author demonstrated that after the inclusion of the two explanatory factors (engineer vs. teacher's degree and part-time vs. full-time training), the effect of gender on choosing an elite school is not significant any more.

It is an interesting phenomenon, that sex segregation in higher education declined by 40% between 1960 and 1990, while segregation on the labor market declined appr. by 20%. So the trends in the higher education do not necessary change the trends on the labor market. (Jacobs 1995)

The cause of occupational segregation by gender could be as well the personal preferences and/or sex-role socialization, but it can be also a result of the "tastes" of employers. Discrimination contributes to maintain sex segregation in paid work (Blau 1984). There are institutional barriers to sex integration in the labor market, as well. Women face with barriers to job training, barriers to entry-level positions and with structural barriers, and because of these barriers women will not choose sex-atypical jobs (Roos, Reskin 1984).

The other economic explanation of segregation on the labor market makes use of human capital model. Concerning this model, segregation in workplace is the cause of voluntary choices of women. Women choose jobs, where there is less conflict between work and domestic obligations. Familial roles influence women's occupational choices and outcomes. The model estimates that the investment of women work-related human capital is lower, which may cause wage differences and segregation on the labor market. The other prediction is that women's expected time out of the labor force (labor force withdrawals) can affect the career choices (women with discontinuous work careers will be more likely to choose "female" jobs). But these predictions were not supported by the data of Corcoran et al. (1984). Furthermore they found, that there is a considerable mobility between "male" and "female" job types, as well, which is also in contrary to the predictions of the above mentioned model. Taking everything into consideration they state

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2   The examination regarded those schools as elite institutions, where test results proved to be higher than the average, the entrance rates are lower and, ultimately, where the rate of graduates is lower, as well.

that human capital model is not able to explain job segregation. (Corcoran et al. 1984)

Both human capital theory and status attainment theory (formulated by Blau and Duncan in 1967) state that women's own behaviour is the cause of sex segregation on the labor market. The human capital model emphasizes the educational credentials and interrupted work histories of women, concerning status attainment theory the cause of segregation is women's own values, behaviour, aspiration, attitudes and sex-role expectation. But Strouber (1984) emphasizes that the cause of segregation is the labor market behaviour of men. The behaviour of men - both employers and workers - is governed by their desire to maintain their patriarchal privilege. Patriarchy is "a set of personal, social and economic relationships that enable men to have power over women and the services they provide" (Strober 1984, p. 147). Male employers set wages and working conditions, male employers allow male workers to decide which jobs will be theirs. Women will get what is left for them. But Mason (1984) shows that elements of this theory are empirically unsupported. Mason states, that more theories are needed and there is not only one general theory which can explain segregation on the labor market.

The further reason for segregation (in education and on the labor market, as well) could be sex-role socialization (in family, school and the mass media), which had been already mentioned. The source of segregation not only located to workplace, the effect of early socialization is important, as well. There are sex differences in occupational preferences, knowledge and skills, which can be in connection with the socialization process. (Marini, Brinton 1984) But Wolf (1984) emphasizes that there are differences in women's behaviour before they enter the labor market, and later, when they face the economic realities, so the different socialization is not the only reason for job segregation.

As we have seen, there are several explanations concerning segregation by gender in education, and on the labor market. In this paper we will not examine these effects just we explore what kind of segregation is present in higher education in the "Partium" region. Furthermore, we want to investigate only some aspects of horizontal and vertical segregation, relying on the database.

Horizontal segregation by genders in education

In developed countries, horizontal segregation in higher education is approximately constant in time, in spite of the fact that the number of women in higher education has gradually risen. This is in accordance with labor market trends. There, employment segregation hardly changes, in spite of the fact that, on the whole, the employment of women has risen. (Bradley 2000) Segregation in education decreased a bit between 1960 and 1980 but has stagnated since then. (Jacobs 1996). The rate of females is high in teacher training, medical expert training and at psychology departments, and the rate of males is high in engineering, physicist and informatics areas. (Freeman 2004, Bae et al. 2000)

In the USA, in the 1990s, the type of the higher education of males and females differed in appr. 30%. In the 1960s, women's rate was higher than 70% in the fields of education, fine arts, nursing, history and housekeeping, and in the 1990s their rate was above 50% even in science (mostly in the fields of chemistry and biology, but not in physics). But in engineer training, their rate was only 14% (Jacobs 1996).

Fewer women tend to prepare for becoming physicists, engineers and information specialists. However, according to Spelke, men used to be in majority in law schools and economics training, as well, yet today we can trace a dominant presence of women in these trainings, which indicates that the choice of majors can still change. There is no biological ground for the alternative choice of profession at girls (Spelke 2005). The background for women to be present in modest numbers in engineering and scientific professions can be the diverse career orientations, parental effects, psychological barriers, the lack of social support and the small number of positions in scientific professions (Jacobs 1996). We can also detect that horizontal segregation by gender is greater

among low-status students (Bourdieu, Passeron 1977).

It is an interesting question to ask, what effects parental models may have on the choice of majors that are not gender-typical. According to Dryler's results, in case the parents had gender-atypical education (profession), their children tend to choose such atypical programs in the final years of secondary education – but this is characteristic of boys mostly (we cannot trace such correlation at girls.) Furthermore, higher educational qualification brings about a greater acceptance of gender equality, and thus students coming from better social backgrounds will choose atypical educational processes in greater numbers. (Dryler 1998)

The career orientation of girls, however, remained traditional, both in developing and developed countries. The choice for traditionally feminine careers is present at a higher rate at girls even in the countries (Scandinavian countries, Holland) where the "gender-neutral" education modernizing efforts are predominant. In secondary education, girls tend to choose health care and professions which are related to housekeeping and family care at a higher rate, while boys choose industrial and agricultural professions. In higher education, the specializations that were previously dominated by women (teacher training, arts) become more feminine gradually. However, there is a majority of women in law schools, music and visual arts and medical majors today, as well. (Koncz 1996)

Horizontal segregation is detectable in the vocational training of skilled workers, as well. In the fields of office work, finance, accounting, health care and social work there is almost an exclusive female majority studying, but their rate is also above 60% in the field of trade. Their rate, however, is only 25% in the fields of industry, agriculture and transport. (Hrubos 1996) In secondary education providing GCSE certificate, we can trace the majority of girls in general high schools, and in the case of vocational high schools, we can see an unequal distribution among the trainings of the professions mentioned above. (Hrubos 1996)

In Hungary, women have caught up with men in education; moreover, they have surpassed them, but have specialized in different educational fields. On the tertiary level, men tend to have qualifications in science, engineering and agrarian fields, while women typically have qualifications in arts, social science and teacher training. Women have an overall majority in higher education, but they are less oriented towards science and mathematics in secondary schools, and therefore only few of them will acquire degrees in such fields. We can also point that, compared to men; fewer women pursue an academic career. (Keller - Mártonfi 2006, Oktatási körkép 2005)

In Hungary and on tertiary level, we can find fewer women at technical universities and colleges, foundational colleges, universities of physical education, military colleges, colleges of defense and police academies, but at the same time we can trace that girls are in majority even at university faculties of higher prestige (e.g. law, medical, economics), and that their presence rate is around 60% at universities of arts and science. Their majority in teacher- , primary school teacher- and kindergarten teacher training is still above 70%. In the field of engineering, however, we can still see a really low number of women. It is worth noting that in 2005, the rate of women in the field of mathematics and statistics reached 40% and that this rate will probably increase in the future. (Palasik 2006)

Since the mid-70s, the rate of female students has been increasing at the Budapest Technical University (not considering some slight fluctuations). However, even in 2004, this rate is merely 23,2% (Palasik 2006). At women choosing engineering, we can see that parents – especially mothers – had degrees in engineering. Therefore, family traditions have an important role in the choices of career in the case of female students that study further in such fields. The husbands of women having an engineering career usually have the same orientation in their professions. The number of female lecturers is continually increasing in technical university training, and we can find more women in higher positions, as well. (Rajkó 2002)

In Hungary, segregation by educational branches is present, but this was noticeable before, as well (Tornyi 2008, Hrubos 2001a, 2001c). Nevertheless, in the 1990s, the rate of women increased in the fields of engineering, science, law, agriculture and veterinary medicine, and

slightly decreased in teacher- , primary school teacher- and kindergarten teacher training and in Arts. Therefore, horizontal segregation decreased in time. (Hrubos 2001b)

Table 1: *The distribution of full-time university and college students by gender and by educational areas (%) 1990, 2004*

Educational areas	men		women	
	1990	2004	1990	2004
Engineering	84,3	76,7	15,7	23,3
Informatics	No data av.	86,6	No data av.	13,4
Agricultural	68,4	49,0	31,6	51,0
Medical	40,3	31,4	59,7	68,6
Economic	41,0	37,2	59,0	62,8
Law and social administrative	46,2	39,3	53,8	60,7
Arts	30,0	28,6	70,0	71,4
Science	58,6	49,0	41,4	51,0
Special needs education	8,6	2,5	91,4	97,5
Physical education	55,9	59,0	44,1	41,0
Primary school teacher and kindergarten teacher training	9	10,4	91,0	89,6
Music and visual arts	46,2	43,3	53,8	56,7
Social	No data av.	21,9	No data av.	78,1
Law enforcement	79,0	68,3	21,0	31,7
Military	100	82,8	0	17,2
Religious	79,4	52,1	20,6	47,9
Altogether	51,2	45,8	48,8	54,2

Source: Bukodi et al 2005 (edited)

The same can be seen in Table 1., but here we can compare 1990 and 2004 data concerning horizontal segregation (Hrubos (2001b) only examined the tendencies in 1990s). During this period, the horizontal segregation in higher education decreased to a slight extent, as well. The rate of women increased in technical, agricultural, law enforcement, military and religious specializations, therefore we can see the inflow of women into fields that were previously dominated by men. Parallel to this, their rate has decreased to a slight degree in primary school teacher training and kindergarten teacher training, but medical, economic, law and social administrative fields are continually being feminized. (In physical education the girls are in minority, and their rate deceased by 3% during the examined period, so concerning this data, the horizontal segregation increased a bit.)

Table 2: *The distribution of full-time university doctoral (PhD) trainees and master trainees (DLA) by gender and by the field of training. 2004 (%)*

Field of training	Men	Women
Teacher training, education	47,3	52,7
Music and visual arts	42,9	57,1
Arts	39,6	60,4
Social science	49,2	50,8
Economy and management	47,4	52,6
Law	56,7	43,3
Science	59,6	40,4
Informatics	90,9	9,1
Engineering	72,6	27,4
Agriculture and veterinary medicine	51,4	48,6
Medicine and social care	49,5	50,5
Services	37,4	62,6
Altogether	54,2	45,8

Source: Bukodi et al 2005 (edited)

As we can see it based on Table 2, there is horizontal segregation present in PhD and DLA trainings. According to our data, female trainees are in majority in the fields of arts, music and visual arts and services, but in minority in the fields of law, science, informatics and engineering (in these latter two their rate is only 9-27%).

According to the data of Hrubos, it is traceable that in the 1990s the rate of women increased in PhD training, in programs of arts, economics and agrarian studies. (Hrubos 2001c). This concludes that the "feminization" of arts and economist trainings has continued, yet as the rate of women has increased in agrarian training, this has decreased horizontal segregation.

Horizontal segregation is noticeable in higher education among staff members, as well; there are feminine and masculine branches of science. The smallest number of female lecturers at the Szegedi Tudomány Egyetem (University of Szeged) was at faculties of Law (27%) and Science (22%) in the millennium. It is noticeable, however, that women are present at a relatively high rate at the college faculties of Agriculture and Food Industry. Teacher training was the only field where the percentage of female lecturers was above 50% (51,4%). At the faculties of Medicine and Arts, their rate was 40%. (Kissné 2005)

Horizontal segregation is present among female researchers and developers, as well. Compared to the 43-45% found in medical and educational fields, their rate is only 20% in the engineering field. Among MTA doctors (doctors of Hungarian Academy of Science) and C.Sc.'s doctors (PhD's) women represent themselves in the lowest numbers in engineering, and are represented in greatest numbers in the fields of social sciences. Also, their rate is relatively high in the field of medical science. (Haraszthy, Hrubos 2002).

Vertical segregation by gender in education

The phenomenon of vertical segregation by gender is present in even three forms in education. Firstly, getting higher and higher at the educational levels, we can see the rate of women decreasing (although, nowadays appr. 50% of full-time PhD trainees are women in Hungary). Secondly, the rate of females in elite higher education institutions is lower, and their rate is higher in evening classes and part-time trainings that represent a lower prestige. Also, until the 1990s, Hungarian women studied at colleges at a higher rate than at universities. The third sign of vertical segregation

is that the rate of women decreases in higher education among staff members and researchers by leaping higher on the ladder of positions.

In developed countries, girls are in majority in higher education. In PhD training the gender rates are equal, but among tertiary level staff members, men are in majority, and by climbing up the ladder of positions, the rate of women gradually decreases. Besides these, elite schools have fewer girls, but evening classes and part-time training courses have more (Jacobs 1996, 1999).

On secondary level, we have man-majority in vocational schools in Hungary, while in vocational high schools the rate of boys and girls is somewhat the same. General high schools have girl-majority, but it is boys who have greater chance to enter high-prestige institutions. In the 1990s, vertical segregation by gender was still noticeable in the sense that, compared to the average, boys succeeded to enter state universities at a higher rate than girls, while state colleges and part-time trainings accepted girls at a higher rate. (Liskó 2003)

In the 1990s in Hungary, female and male students entered tertiary level institutions of various status at different rate, thus vertical segregation was present (Hrubos 2001a). Nevertheless, it was detectable that while the rate of women in higher education was continuously rising, their inflow into university level programs was stronger than into colleges, therefore, vertical segregation in time decreased (Hrubos 2001b).

The rate of women among teachers' decreases by getting higher and higher at the levels of education. Both in developing and developed countries, the "feminization" of the teaching career is typical. However, there are still fewer female university staff members, although their rate indicates an increasing trend. In the 1990s, their number was smaller especially among associate professors and professors. (Koncz 1996)

According to Tornyi's chart, the distribution of men and women on the academic ladder in the late 1990s in the EU states, and between 2001 and 2005 in Hungary typically shows a "gap" diagram (see Tornyi 2008, 2009). Among university students there were more women, among PhD students the gender rates were equal, among instructors and assistant professors the rate of women was smaller (30-40%), and finally, among associate professors and professors they were in significant minority. (Tornyi 2008, 2009) We can feature this phenomenon as a "female educational pyramid", as well. (Kissné 2002, 2005, Koncz 1985)

Table 3: *University and college teachers by position, 2007*

Position	Rate of women (%)
Professor	8,3
Associate professor	26,0
Assistant professor	28,1
Instructor	24,1

Source: Nők és férfiak Magyarországon 2007

According to data from 2007 (Table 3.), however, the rate of women is similar on the bottom three levels of the academic ladder (but still significantly lower than that of men), and their rate drops drastically only on the level of professors. It can also be regarded as an interesting phenomenon that the rate of women among assistant professors and instructors dropped under 30% compared to Tornyi's data from 2005, while their rate in PhD training shows increasing tendency. While in 2001 the rate of women in full-time PhD training in Hungary was 42,4%, according to data from 2007, their rate today is 50% already (Nők és férfiak Magyarországon 2007). At the University of Debrecen they are in even greater percentage, but it is due to the lack of engineering PhD training in the region. Within the PhD training of the University of Debrecen, Tornyi (2006) and Fináncz (2009) also dealt with the subject of the special situation of women. Nevertheless, the fact that the rate of women is already 26% among associate professors

predicts that presumably more women will get to the top of the academic ladder (professorship) in the following years.

It is most remarkable that in Hungary there are 70 rectors in the presidential seats of state and private institutions on tertiary level, yet only seven of them are women. It is also noteworthy that these women are leaders of lower-prestige universities. (*Női rektorok Európában* 2008)

Between the two world wars in Hungary, the "Magyar Tudóslexikon" (Lexicon of Hungarian Scientists) listed only 10 women, and it is interesting that these female scientists excelled mostly in "masculine sciences" (mathematician, architect, physicist, biophysicist, chemist, philosopher). The rate of women among tertiary level staff members was insignificant at that time. For instance, between 1921 and 1945 only 23 women worked on instructor level or higher. (Kissné 2002)

In the 1970s, 22% of researchers were women. This rate in 1980 was already 27%. Woman researchers were born to fathers with higher education at a greater rate than men, and the number of children is traditionally smaller at well educated women. In the 1990s the rate of women in the field of research and development was around 28% - within this rate, they were present in the fields of social sciences in 40%, 34% in medicine and 23% in engineering. The rate of women holding an academic degree was 18.3% in 1997. (Faragó 2000)

Table 4: *The rate of women among researchers and developers 1980-2007*

Year	The rate of women (%)
1980	27,0
1990	28,1
2000	34,2
2003	35,1
2007	33,5

Source: "Nők és férfiak Magyarországon 2007"

According to the data of Table 4, the number of female researchers in Hungary increased drastically in the 1990s, but since then it has stayed on the same level, and thus their overall rate is around one third. (This has been proved by other analyses as well; see e.g. Tornyi 2009, Haraszthy, Hrubos 2002). Nowadays, 34% of researchers are women; however, they have positions of lower prestige and lower salaries (Női rektorok Európában 2008).

Women lag behind in academic training and research, and by getting higher and higher at the academic ladder the number of women gradually declines and only few of the women of our time tend to choose an academic career. One of the reasons lies in the traditional division of labor and in the classical mother-wife role model represented by women (i.e. the task of women is bringing up children, doing housework, and that the woman submits herself to the professional advancement of the man). The further factor that hinders the advancement of women is the masculine character of power (men get leader positions, even though their female colleagues have the same qualifications and competence). Besides these, there are certain internal barriers, as well: women have lower self-esteem and tend to accept traditional gender roles. They submit career to family, and they are prone to avoid conflicts. At last, financial factors count, as well (the underdevelopment of the infrastructure helping household-family tasks). (Kissné 2002, 2005, Tornyi 2009)

The rate of women was between 8 and 15% (these rates fluctuate in time) in the 1990s among MTA (Hungarian Academy of Science) doctors. This rate was around 25-30% among C.Sc.'s (Haraszthy, Hrubos 2002). In 2005, only 3.5% of full-time or part-time MTA members were women (11 in figures). Later, their number rose up to 18 but their rate was still only 5.5%. (Női rektorok Európában 2008) Therefore, considering academic and scientific qualifications, women lag behind. There are also differences per certain scientific areas: while in arts and social

sciences the rate of women acquiring an academic degree is high, their rate in the fields of science and engineering is low (Bolyán 2001, Kissné 2002). By the end of the 1990s, only 20% of the qualified researchers were women (Haraszthy, Hrubos 2002).

Considering all, women face three forms of segregation in academic life: their significant presence can only be found in some areas, they are less likely to get higher positions at work, and ultimately that they work in less advantageous employment forms (contract job, short-term job contracts, part-time employment). For this reason, their salaries are lower, as well. (Haraszthy, Hrubos 2002)

The hypotheses and results of the empirical examinations

In the empirical part of the study we will examine the manifestations of horizontal and vertical segregation by gender in higher education. We will estimate the prestige of the "feminine" and "masculine" faculties, and examine the rate of females studying at university and college faculties. In addition, we will examine the social background of male and female students at "masculine" and "feminine" and at university and college faculties.

Concerning our first hypothesis – which applies to horizontal segregation, and is based on the data related to the whole of Hungary and other developed countries, see above – male students will be in majority in trainings such as science and engineering in the "Partium" region, as well, while at other faculties (especially at departments (faculties) of humanities, teacher and primary teacher training) females will be in majority. However, during the period between the two world wars (Bíró, Nagy 2007), 46,3% of humanities majors, and 46,4% of science majors were women at the faculties of Arts (where the science departments were represented as well). This means that there was no clear-cut dividing line between scientific areas by gender – therefore, our data can also provide us with surprising results. It was notable that, before the Second World War, the number of men studying at the departments of Greek, Physics and Latin was above the average, there was barely any difference between the rates of genders at the departments of Hungarian, General Science, History, Geography and Mathematics, and that the rate of women was above average at the departments of French, German, English, Chemistry and Italian at faculties of Arts. (Bíró, Nagy 2007)

Concerning our second hypothesis we suppose that the prestige of "masculine and feminine" faculties will be different, the girls will study at less prestigious faculties. We do not have the data on the prestige of faculties, so we have to estimate it. We will take former examinations dealing with the population's judgment of intellectual professions as a basis to be able to determine the prestige of "masculine" and "feminine" faculties and the professions related to them (Szabó 1997, Marián 1997). We are aware of the fact, that the prestige of professions is culturally and nationally determined, as well. The following results could be true only for Hungarian part of the "Partium" region. (We do not have data for the other parts of the region, concerning the prestige of professions.) The social recognition of the professions and the appreciation of them in Hungary showed significant divergences. While appreciation of teaching career and "helping" professions is high within the population, according to the social recognition and income top list, it is the law, information specialist, managerial and politician careers that are on the top. According to the opinion of the population, lawyers, doctors, economists and mechanical engineers earn the most, and it is hard to make a living by being a teacher, kindergarten teacher or a librarian. Professions like lawyers, clergymen, journalists, economists and mechanical engineers are considered to be overpaid jobs (based on the gap between social and financial recognition), while teachers and kindergarten teachers are considered underpaid.

In another study (Fónai 2009), the students participating in the University of Debrecen

Talent Care Program evaluated the prestige of the faculties of University of Debrecen.[3] According to the opinion of the students, the faculties of Medicine, Law, Economics and Engineering topped the prestige list. In the case of well established university faculties (Arts and Science), however, we can detect loss of prestige. The students did not put agricultural training in the first part of the list, and the faculty of Health was placed at the end of the list, as well.

Considering vertical segregation, according to our hypothesis (based on the data concerning the whole of Hungary), females will study at lower-prestige college faculties at higher rates than at universities in the "Partium" region and fewer females will plan PhD studies compared to male students.

Concerning our previous results (Fényes, Pusztai 2006, Fényes 2009), in the "Partium" region at universities and colleges the social background of boys was better than that of girls, so we can state that social mobility in education was lower in the case of boys. (Here the so called "male disadvantage hypothesis" was supported.) The boys only attempt to study further if they have more advantageous cultural and financial background. In this paper we will examine the presence of this hypothesis depending on the type of faculty (we will examine the social background of students at "feminine" or "masculine" faculties, and at college or university faculties respectively). According to our present hypothesis, as the prestige of "feminine" and college faculties is somewhat lower, males coming from more disadvantageous backgrounds are also enrolled. Yet, at the "masculine" and university faculties, it is clear that only males with better social backgrounds are represented.[4]

In the analysis, we used two databases of the "Regional University" research (supervisor: Kozma Tamás): the first one is the sample of first-year college and university students (N=1587, in the following to be marked as ISCED51), and the second is the sample of fourth-year college and university students (N=940, in the following to be marked as ISCED54). Both samples are regional; the students of the higher education institutions of Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, and students from two higher education institutions in the "Partium" region beyond the Eastern Hungarian border are represented in it. The data collection took place between 2003 and 2005. The sample is representative concerning the faculties of examined universities and colleges, and the students have been chosen randomly at each faculty. We are aware of the fact that our results cannot necessarily be generalized for the whole of Hungary, although the sampling procedures and the sample sizes meet the methodological requirements. (We will discuss the effect of the regional feature of the sample later, in the summary.)

Firstly, we will examine horizontal segregation among first-year university and college students. For this, we created a "woman rate index" (WRI)[5]. WRI is calculated in the following way: the rate of women by faculty was divided by their average rate at all faculties (67,44%). WRI takes the value of one in the case of the average of female enrollment, it is greater than one if the rate of girls is above their average value, and it is smaller than one, if the rate is under this average.

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3 The students determined the prestige of majors based on their demand, incidence, hardness and the future wages by answering the open question, "Why do you list it here?"

4 Within the faculties of Arts during the period between the two world wars, there was but very little difference between feminine, masculine and unisex majors regarding the social background of students and the settlement type of their place of birth, but it was demonstrable that jew students were overrepresented at feminine departments (mostly because of the high rate of jew girls, although jew boys were also overrepresented at these departments). It was also clear that the educational background of the parents of female students was higher in the case of feminine majors, which is in conflict with the assumption that graduating at masculine departments requires of women greater effort and a better family background. (Bíró Nagy 2007)

5 The index is similar to the representative value of Bíró and Nagy (2007), but we examine gender rates by faculties and not by majors within the faculty of Arts. The reason for this lies in the fact that although we obtain data by majors, as well, the sample was not representative in this respect, and the small sample sizes would have caused problems during the analysis of the results.

Table 5: *The rate of men and women by faculties in a regional sample (ISCED51) DE: University of Debrecen*

Faculty		Men	Women	Woman rate index (WRI)
DE Faculty of Agricultural Science	N	36	65	
	%	35,64	64,36	**0,95**
DE Faculty of Arts	N	29	175	
	%	14,22	85.78	**1,27**
DE Faculty of Science	N	55	55	
	%	50,00	50,00	**0,74**
DE Faculty of Economics	N	36	54	
	%	40,00	60,00	**0,89**
DE Faculty of Medicine	N	16	34	
	%	32,00	68,00	**1,01**
DE Faculty of Engineering	N	108	37	
	%	74,48	25,52	**0,38**
DE Faculty of Child and Adult Education	N	2	95	
(in Hajdúböszörmény)	%	2,06	97,94	**1,45**
Faculty of Health (at Nyíregyháza College)	N	13	41	
	%	24,07	75,93	**1,13**
DE Faculty of Law	N	36	86	
	%	29,51	70,49	1,05
Partiumi Keresztény Egyetem (PKE)	N	60	112	
(Partium Christian University)	%	34,88	65,12	**0,96**
II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola	N	53	68	
(Sub-Carpathian Hungarian College)	%	43,80	56,20	0,83
Nyíregyházi Tanárképző Főiskola	N	23	88	
(Teacher Training College in Nyiregyháza)	%	20,72	79,28	**1,18**
Kölcsey Ferenc Református Tanítóképző Főiskola	N	13	84	
(KFRTF) (Reformed Teacher Training College)	%	13,40	86,60	1,28
ALTOGETHER	N	480	994	
	%	32,56	67,44	

In this present table, the Chi-square statistics are significant on the p<0,001 level.

It is traceable that, in accordance with our hypothesis, men are only in majority at the DE (University of Debrecen) College Faculty of Engineering, and in addition, their rate corresponds with the rate of women at the DE Faculty of Science. At the other faculties (institutions), women are in majority and if we consider the two colleges/universities beyond the border (Partiumi Keresztény Egyetem, II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola), the rates are similar there to those in Hungary. We can also note that women are in majority not only at lower-prestige college faculties but at some high-prestige university faculties, as well.

Based on the woman rate index (WRI), we will continue to distinguish "masculine" departments (where the rate of women is under the average) from "feminine" (where the

rate of women is above the average) and "unisex" ones (where the rate of women is around average.)

Table 6: *"Feminine", "Masculine" and Unisex faculties. Cumulative table based on the woman rate index (WRI). (ISCED51)*

"Feminine" faculties (WRI: above 1,05)	"Masculine" faculties (WRI: under 0,95)	Unisex faculties (WRI: 0,95-1,05)
DE Faculty of Child and Adult Education in Hajdúböszörmény (1,45)	**DE-Engineering (0,38)**	DE-Agricultural Sciences
KFRTF (1,28)	**DE-Faculty of Science (0,74)**	PKE
DE-Faculty of Arts (1,27)	Sub-Carpathian College (0,83)	DE-Law
Nyíregyháza, teacher training (1,18)	DE-Economics (0,89)	DE-Medical
Nyíregyháza, health (1,13)		

The rate of women in the institutions in bold letters is 50% or lower.

As it can be seen, with the exception of DE Faculty of Arts, the "feminine" faculties are college faculties (which are lower prestige than university faculties), and generally they provide training for "helping" professions (kindergarten teacher, social pedagogy jobs, career in healthcare) whose social and financial recognition is low in Hungary (see before). What may also lie in the background of the feminization of the teaching career is that compared to other professions, the rate of fixed work time is lower (the number of teaching days is smaller), and protected office-holder status is typically granted, and thus girls are attracted to teaching career despite the lower salary.

Among unisex faculties we can already find trainings (law, medicine) that prepare for high-prestige careers (relying on public poll and on students' opinion results in Hungary, see before), although considering the starting salaries, these two professions are not among the most recognized professions, either (later the salaries rise remarkably). Here, we can find the Partium Christian University (PKE), as well. This university has a mixed profile – it has faculties of arts, economics and music and visual arts, and students can study tourism, philosophy, fine arts, religion, social work, sociology, English, Romanian, advertising and management. Female students prepare for the higher-prestige economic career under their average rate. Besides this, among "masculine" faculties we can find the Sub-Carpathian College, and as we expected, the DE Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Engineering College, where the rate of girls is indeed 50% or lower.

Let us now see the differences of cultural and financial background at women and men studying at "feminine", "masculine" and "unisex" faculties. Our research question is whether the *male-disadvantage hypothesis* (i.e. that the social mobility of male students in higher education is smaller) is present at these three groups of faculties. According to our hypothesis, as the prestige of "feminine" faculties is lower, the *male-disadvantage hypothesis* will not be present, and therefore males with less advantageous backgrounds can get enrolled. At the "masculine" and "unisex" faculties, however, males are only present if they have a better cultural and financial background than girls do.

The following tables (7 and 9) are summarizing tables based on the cross tabulation runs and "compare means" runs of the SPSS program (the detailed data are not presented here, there were 78 runs, 14 significant relations, and 65 not significant relations). We made cross tabulations for example at "feminine" faculties concerning the education of father by

gender (the result was not significant, so the education of father did not differ by gender at "feminine" faculties). The further variables examined by gender at different faculties can be seen in the table 7. In the case of the number of siblings, number of people living in the same household and possession of durable consumer goods, we made "compare means" runs for example when we compared the average number of sibling by gender (the difference was not significant at "feminine" faculties, and at other faculties, as well).

Table 7: *The social background of students at "feminine", "masculine" and unisex faculties – by gender (ISCED51)*

Background variables	"Feminine" faculties N=615	"Masculine" faculties N=506	"Unisex" faculties N=466
Cultural capital of parents			
Education of the father	NS	NS	NS
Education of the mother	NS	NS	NS
Whether the father reads regularly	NS	NS	NS
Whether the mother reads regularly	The mothers of males read more	NS	NS
Whether the father reads belles-lettres	NS	NS	NS
Whether the mother reads belles-lettres	NS	NS	NS
Economic capital			
Number of siblings	NS	NS	NS
Number of people living in the same household	NS	NS	NS
Possession of durable consumer goods	NS	Better for male students	Better for male students
Whether they live better than 10 years before	NS	NS	NS
Any financial problems	NS	NS	NS
Type of settlement of the place of residence	NS	Better for male students	NS

The table is based on the cross tabulation runs and "compare means" runs of the SPSS program. NS marks non-significant relations by gender according to the Chi-square test or ANOVA test (the tests were significant, if p<0,05).

It is clear that, contrary to our hypothesis, the male-disadvantage hypothesis (the lower social mobility of male students) is present regardless the gender distribution of the faculties, and the background of females is not more auspicious at any of the indexes, than that of males'. (It is also clear that, as a consequence of the smaller sizes caused by the broken data, there are but few significantly divergent indexes by gender.)

At "feminine" faculties, the cultural background of males is more advantageous, and at "masculine" and "unisex" faculties their financial background is better. At "feminine" faculties, the mothers of male students read more compared to the mothers of female students, but there is no difference regarding financial background by gender. This means that, the male students who are in significant minority at "feminine" faculties, were presumably encouraged to choose such "girlish", "feminine" majors and faculties by mothers who read regularly.

At "masculine" and "unisex" faculties, however, male students have better financial background (considering the possession of durable consumer goods), and at "masculine" faculties the type of settlement of the place of residence of male students is more advantageous, as well. Nevertheless, there is no difference between the cultural background of males and females. Male students (who are not in majority in all cases, but are represented in their

average rate or above) studying at "unisex" and "masculine" faculties attempt to study further only with a better financial background and more auspicious type of settlement. Meanwhile, female students – who represent themselves at a relatively low rate at these faculties – study here despite their less auspicious financial background.

Therefore, it seems that the prestige of the faculties and their "feminine or masculine" feature do not influence considerably the difference between the social background of males and female. The *male-disadvantage hypothesis*, thus, (i.e. males having lower social mobility) is demonstrable at all three faculty types, and the only difference is that either their cultural or their financial background is more auspicious.

Let us now see one form of *vertical segregation*, i.e. what the rate of males and females is at university and college faculties.

Table 8: *The rate of males and females at university and college faculties (%) (ISCED51)*

	University faculties	**College faculties**
Male	31,6%	33,9%
Female	68,4%	66,1%
N	849 (100%)	625 (100%)

The Chi-square statistic is not significant.

It is notable that, contrary to our hypothesis, males and females study at university and college faculties at somewhat the same rate in the region.[6] Nevertheless, we need to note that vertical segregation is present in the training after all – in the sense that males have PhD plans at greater rates than girls do (see Fényes 2009).

Although we have shown that the rate of male and female students tends to be similar at college and university faculties, we are now able to examine what the difference of the social backgrounds of male and female students is like in lower prestige college training and in higher prestige university training. According to our hypothesis, the *male-disadvantage hypothesis* will not be present in college training (the social mobility of female students will not be more advantageous here), and males coming from a disadvantageous social background will rather appear in college training than in university training.

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6 The rate of girls is even a bit higher at university faculties than at college faculties, although the difference is not significant. It may be due to the fact that there was no Technical University in Debrecen, only an engineering college faculty, and thus there are more male students at colleges than there would really be if there was a Technical University.

Table 9: *The differences between the social background of male and female students at university and college faculties*

Background variables	ISCED51 University students	ISCED51 College students	ISCED54 University students	ISCED54 College students
Cultural capital of parents				
Education of the father	Better for male students	Better for male students	NS	NS
Education of the mother	NS	Better for male students	NS	NS
Whether the father reads regularly	NS	The fathers of males read more	NS	NS
Whether the mother reads regularly	NS	NS	NS	NS
Whether the father reads belles-lettres	NS	NS	No data av.	No data av.
Whether the mother reads belles-lettres	NS	NS	No data av.	No data av.
Economic capital				
Number of siblings	NS	NS	NS	NS
Number of people living in the same household	NS	NS	No data av.	No data av.
Possession of durable consumer goods	Better for male students	NS	NS	Better for male students
Whether they live better than 10 years before	NS	NS	Male students more likely do	Male students more likely do
Any financial problems	NS	NS	NS	Less likely for male students
Type of settlement of the place of residence	Better for male students	NS	NS	NS

The table is based on the cross tabulation runs and "compare means" runs of the SPSS program. NS marks non-significant relations by gender according to the Chi-square test or ANOVA test (the tests were significant, if $p<0,05$).

According to the merged data of the university and college faculties, the *male-disadvantage hypothesis* was overall present in our ISCED51 database (see Fényes, Pusztai 2006). Both the cultural and financial background of male students was better, but according to the broken data, among college students it is the cultural background of males that is better (the parents with higher qualifications and regular reading habits encouraged their sons to apply to college training), and among university students, the education of father, the financial background (possession of durable consumer goods) and the type of settlement of the place of residence of males that is more auspicious.

The *male-disadvantage hypothesis* was only verified in relation to the financial background at the merged data in the ISCED54 database (see Fényes 2006). According to the broken data by institution type, however, the financial background of male students at universities is not any better – only in one index (whether they live better than 10 years before) – while the financial background of male students at colleges is better than that of females, according to various indexes (possession of durable consumer goods, whether they live better than 10 years before, any financial problems). With respect to the cultural background and the settlement, there is no significant difference between male and female students according to the results (in accordance with the former, merged results). Thus, as opposed to our hypothesis, the financial aspects counted more at

the further studies of males on college level than at the further studies of males on university level.

Altogether, as opposed to our hypothesis (in both databases), *male-disadvantage hypothesis* is present among college students, as well. Therefore, beside the case of male students at university, the social background of college male students is also a bit more advantageous – males here were also less mobile than girls.

Summary

The phenomenon of horizontal and vertical segregation by gender has not disappeared in education, in spite of the fact that nowadays there is woman-majority in higher education, and that they are in advantageous situation in several aspects on other levels of education, as well. The further "feminization" of certain faculties (departments) continues, while the rate of women is also gradually rising in certain training fields that are typically dominated by men. Although horizontal segregation slightly declines in training, it still puts female students into a disadvantageous situation; the choosing of "feminine" professions sets back their getting on on the labor market later on, and the recognition of professions dominated by women remains considerably low compared to fields dominated by men.

According to vertical segregation, the rate of women declines on the higher levels of education (mostly in PhD training and among tertiary level staff members). Besides these, it appears to be characteristic that women are represented at a higher rate in the field of education and research in lower positions and in low-prestige jobs, and therefore, their salary is also less.

The causes of segregation in education – based on the literature - could be the different occupational preferences, knowledge and skills (girls' better verbal skills, boys' mathematical skills), the divergent socialization processes by gender (in family, school and mass media), the career awareness of girls (they are aware of horizontal segregation on the labor market by gender), lifelong social constrains that both women and men face with (social control theory), the theory of patriarchal systems: male employers and workers have choice to decide which job to take, and women get what is left for them, and finally the predictions of the human capital model: women want to choose jobs, which are not in conflict with their domestic obligations.

In our empirical research, we examined some aspects of horizontal and vertical segregation in a regional sample, and we do not examine the reasons for segregation. We distinguished between "feminine" and "masculine" faculties (where the rate of women was above or under the average), and we pointed out that, in the examined region the prestige of feminized faculties is lower than where the rate of men is average or above the average (based on our estimation concerning the whole of Hungary). Nevertheless, by examining vertical segregation, and contrary to our hypothesis, the presumption that women represent themselves at college faculties of lower prestige at a higher rate than at university faculties was not demonstrable. What we may find in the background of this result is that the examined region (Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County in Hungary, and parts of Transylvania and Sub-Carpathia) does not have a Technical University, only an engineering college faculty, and thus more males study at colleges than they would if there were a Technical University. However, according to the literature (Hrubos 2001b) it is also detectable that there was a massive inflow of women into university training (rather than into college training) in the 1990s; therefore it can occur that it is not even typical in general for women to be present at universities at a lower rate than at college faculties.[7]

By examining the social background of students, we can state that whether we take the "feminine" and "masculine" faculties, or university and college training, the male-disadvantage

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7   We note that during the time of sampling (on which we relied on in our empirical examination), the new type of training (bologna) was not yet introduced on a grand scale in Hungary. Thus, the examination of the rate of female and male students in the bachelor training and in the master's training may be the subject to further examinations.

hypothesis[8] was present in the region, i.e. the social mobility of males in higher education is lower than that of females, regardless of the type of the faculties. Contrary to our hypothesis, males at "feminine" faculties of low-prestige and in college training attempted to study further, only if they had a more auspicious social background.

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8   The lower social mobility of male students in higher education was demonstrated by international and other Hungarian examinations, as well (for details see Fényes 2009, Fényes Pusztai 2006).

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Optimism and Migration in Romanian Academia

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Abstract

The paper deals with the relationship between opinions on migration and optimism at Romanian academics. The Romanian higher education sector was an important source for brain drain during the 1990s, a phenomenon that largely preceded the wave of Romanian labor migration to European countries. Romanian brain drain emerged in the framework of a highly positive valuation of emigration in the academic sector and a mostly pessimistic view on the expected development of research and higher education in the country. We present results from an opinion poll among academics, conducted in the year 2000, that showcases the image on emigration that the Romanian higher education system transmitted through its hidden curriculum. We will discuss the interrelation between optimism regarding one's own future and the future of society, and the opinions on emigration especially focusing on a projective advice to emigrate that the academic would give to its own children.

Keywords: Migration, Emigration Ideology, Motility, Brain Drain, Optimism, Higher Education

The present paper has mostly an explorative character and relies on a sample survey conducted as part of a research project supported by the fellowship program of the New Europe College in Bucharest. The project was entitled "Opinions and strategies of Romanian academics related to emigration" and concentrated on the ideologies regarding emigration that the academic sector transmits in its hidden curriculum as well as those strategies that academics employ for the advancement of their careers that relate to migration, be it temporary, as in the case of academic mobility programs or permanent as is the case of emigration (Reisz, 2000).

I will concentrate in the present paper on a single concept, optimism, and the way it is related to migration. I will deal primarily with the relationship between optimism and emigration ideology.

Let me introduce the terms as were used in the research design, then follow with their operationalization and some general results. Finally I will present the relationship between optimism and emigration ideology in the acceptance of terms of the present research design.

Motility is the individual ability to engage in acts of mobility. The term can be used for social mobility as well as for geographical mobility. In the present case motility is used as synonymous with the propensity to migrate. While the term itself originates from biology and medicine and is generally related to the ability of cells to move it has been sporadically used in sociology before, most prominently by Baumann (Baumann 2000). (see also: Flamm/Kaufmann 2006)

Ideologies are generally systems of beliefs or belief substitutes (preconceived ideas, etc.) used explicitly to orient human action at individual or social level. Social level ideologies are since the last century coagulated along the lines of: conservatism, liberalism and socialism (Wallerstein, 1995). On the individual level there exist ideologies that fundament the individual strategies, family structure, relation to community, state, etc. According to Romanian sociologist Dumitru

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Sandu (1999) opinions about emigration in particular and migration in general are part of ideological constructs. Emigration ideologies seem to have a direct impact upon action being independent from the resources or information the actors are holding (De Jong, Sandu, 1998).

The **sample** is representative for the population of Romanian academics as persons employed full time in public higher education institutions on teaching positions. The relatively small sample (210 persons) was constructed by a multi-stadial method, selecting according to university location, discipline and academic position. There have been considered 5 locations (Bucharest, Iasi, Cluj, Timisoara and Sibiu). The distribution upon disciplines has considered a grouping of the disciplines in six categories: Humanities and social sciences, Economical sciences and law, Human and veterinarian medicine, Natural sciences and mathematics, Engineering, Arts and sports. The selection of subjects was random. The sampling error is 6,8%. The sample survey was conducted in April – May, 2000 using self-administered questionnaires that have been distributed and collected by operators. While the size of the sample does allow for the estimation of proportions or means only in a limited fashion, it is well useable for the testing of hypotheses and mathematical models.

Operationalizations and general results

To operationalize **motility**, in the present research, I have used a composite variable named coefficient of motility that has been computed from a series of five questions regarding the propensity to emigrate. The questions were constructed as a Guttman scale. They related on the intention to emigrate if certain conditions were fulfilled. The questions were:

1.   Would you emigrate if you had secured accommodation and employment?
2.   Would you emigrate if you had secured employment but no accommodation?
3.   Would you emigrate if you had secured accommodation but no employment?
4.   Would you emigrate if you had no secured accommodation or employment?
5.   Would you emigrate in absolutely any conditions?

According to these computations, the highest possible rank, persons that would emigrate in any conditions, was obtained for only 3 persons, while 16% are in the upper half of the scale (values 3 to 5, on a scale from 0 to 5). Nevertheless other questions found that 10% of the sample declared their intention to emigrate in the year to come and even more (14%) had started some administrative action towards emigration. The percent of those that have informed themselves on the conditions to emigrate was much higher, reaching almost half of the sample. Most academics have also had direct information on emigration, as good as 90% having emigrants among their friends and relatives and most of these (90%) having incidental or regular contacts with them. Another question that asked on the potential country of destination in the case of emigration found that only 30% consider it in fact completely impossible to emigrate.

Emigration ideology as the configuration of opinions towards emigration was described in a series of questions inquiring mostly on the relationship that academics see between emigration and professional success.[2] This option was made as the importance of the subject relies not so much in the relationship between these opinions and the propensity of academics to emigrate, than in the overall image that academia offered on emigration. This general image was a positive one. 54.5% of the sample considered that the best graduates are emigrating, while only 6 persons thought that the best graduates stay in Romania. This might or might not have be the case, but the positive selection that emigration seemed to represent increased its valuation in the academic sector.

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2 The main questions were 1. Where do you think that a young person starting his career would better live?. 2. Do the best higher education graduates emigrate or not?. 3. Where do you consider that a young researcher can do more good?. 4. Those that have emigrated have: succeeded in life, partially succeeded, did not integrate, etc). 23. Would you advice your son or daughter to emigrate?.

On the other hand, more then half of those questioned considered that a young researcher could do more good in another country than in Romania. This question was intended to be ambiguous, the meaning of "good" not being explained in more detail. The intention was to get an indication, along with other following questions on the value system of the responding academic. So, the question partly intended to find out what academics consider a more important "good". According to the distribution of results, the greater value is granted in academia to the scientific relevance of work, it is here that the possibilities of the mentioned "young researcher" would be better abroad. Only 10% of those questioned have considered that more "good" can be done outside the higher education sector then inside. This is also a clear indicator of the mistrust academia had for the real economy, and extra-university research

Therefore, the best graduates emigrated and should have done so because that is were they could do more "good". However, did they succeed in their career? Romanian academics said that most did. The maximal choice in the success question ("succeeded in life and gained recognition of their adoptive country") was selected by almost 40% of those answering, while only 7 persons considered that those emigrating from Romania did not integrate in their host societies.

The overall image of the ideology on emigration in Romanian higher education should be completed with two more results. One quarter of the interviewed academics were regretting not to have emigrated. Maybe the strongest result is that 17% of the sample declares positively that it would advice its child to emigrate, while 47% more consider it possible.

Optimism was operationalized by two questions regarding ones personal future and the future of the Romanian society as a whole. The questions related to one's own prosepects in five years and the perceived "direction of development" of Romanian society. Questions were kept simple with only three response forms. The resulting scales can generally be considered ordinal, but for many computations I have decided on including the undecided category and treating the variable as nominal.

An important result in the context of the argumentation to follow results is the fact that academics are much more optimistic in what regards their personal future as well as the future of the country. Only one third of the academics consider that the direction of development of Romania is wrong, compared to over 60% in the total Romanian population during approximately the same period (Sandu, 1999). Only 12% consider that their situation will get worse in the future year, while almost 40% consider that it will improve. On the other hand only 23% of the total population of the country is was optimistic in that period (Metro Media Transilvania, 2000).

The research results have found only few direct relevant correlations between motility and other factors. As such, it is important to mention that one of the variables correlated significantly with a high motility is a low level of optimism towards personal as well as social conditions. The correlation between optimism and motility was found to be significant at 0,004 and 0,003 levels. The coefficients are nevertheless not high, the correlation between the motility coefficient and individual optimism is -0,202 while the correlation between the motility coefficient and social optimism is -0,212. The multiple correlation coefficient is -0,355. A categorial regression analysis finds that the impact of personal optimism on motility is lower than that of social optimism (Beta values are -0,076 compared to -0,315).

Of course low optimism cannot immediately be considered as a predictor for high motility as the determination might also be the other way around. A person with a high propensity to migrate could evaluate its chances at the place of origin less optimistically then others.

Optimism and emigration ideology.

As we have already mentioned, motility seems to be more strongly related with social pessimism than with individual pessimism. In the case of the opinions on emigration, this result is mostly reconfirmed.

I have first tested the five opinion variables mentioned in footnote 1. in relationship with individual and social optimism. For a first estimation of relationships I have considered nominal by nominal contingency coefficients. Significant results were obtained for the relationships between social optimism on the one hand and the best residence for a person to start its career (sig = 0,008).

Table 1: *The relationship between social optimism and the best residence for person to start its career.*

		Romania's direction of development is			Total
		Positive	Negative	I do not know/N.A.	
Where do you think, it is better for a young person starting its career to live?	in this place	42	28	22	92
	in another place	6	3	3	12
	in another country	11	33	22	66
	I do not know/N.A.	16	7	16	37
Total		75	71	61	209

Nominal by Nominal Contingency Coefficient = 0,318 (Sig = 0,003)

The contingency coefficient is even better for the relationship between social optimism and the place where a young researcher can do more good (sig = 0,000), and the advice to emigrate to its own children (sig = 0,000).

Table 2: *The relationship between social optimism and the place where a young research can do more good.*

		Romania's direction of development is			Total
		Positive	Negative	I do not know/N.A.	
Where do you think, can a young researcher do more good?	In a university in Romania	31	18	13	62
	in Romania, but not in a university	16	4	4	24
	in another country	26	45	32	103
	I do not know/N.A.	2	4	14	19
Total		75	71	61	209

Nominal by Nominal Contingency Coefficient = 0,388 (Sig = 0,000)

Table 3: *The relationship betweem social optimism and the advice to emigrate given to its own children.*

		Romania's direction of development is			Total
		Positive	Negative	I do not know/N.A.	
Would you advice your child to emigrate?	Definitely not	5	5	2	12
	Probably not	17	7	6	30
	Maybe	35	34	27	96
	Definitely	10	17	8	35
	I do not know/N.A.	8	8	19	34
Total		75	71	61	209

Nominal by Nominal Contingency Coefficient = 0,310 (Sig = 0,014)

Personal optimism relates significantly only with the last of these variables. Here, nevertheless, the highest contingency coefficient is to be encountered 0,538 (sig = 0,000).

Table 4: *The relationship between personal optimism and the advice to emigrate given to its own children.*

		In 5 years my standard of living will be				Total
		Better	Worse	Similar	I do not know/N.A.	
Would you advice your child to emigrate?	Definitely not	6	2	2	2	12
	Probably not	17	2	10	1	30
	Maybe	40	11	37	8	96
	Definitely	9	9	13	4	35
	I do not know/N.A.	10	2	13	10	34
Total		82	26	75	24	209

Nominal by Nominal Contingency Coefficient = 0,384 (Sig = 0,002)

Let us take a closer look on the configuration of opinions, from the perspective of this essential variable. The advice to emigrate given to your own child is an important projective scenario that implies in itself a projection of the future and thus naturally relates to optimism. I have separated the value "certain advice" of the variable and constructed a binary variable that could be aptly included as target in a logistic regression. The intention was to find what relates to the decision of advising your child to emigrate. The binary logistic regression equation (with categorical variables) indicates that motility is the factor most significantly connected to emigration advice (sig = 0,001). Of the opinion questions, the only significant input comes from the evaluation of the situation of those that have emigrated (sig = 0,028). As we have seen this opinion question was less related to optimism than the others. Optimism seems in this model to have no significant effect on the event of giving emigration advice. Still as we have found previously it was strongly contingent with the advice variable in its multi-value form.

How can this be explained? Let us take a look at the multinomial logistic regression that relates

the emigration advice with optimism, motility and the other emigration opinion variables[3]. We find that it is not necessarily optimism as a whole that has a significant relationship to emigration advice but certain response groups to the optimism question find themselves significantly related to categories of the emigration advice group. Let us go through these results one by one[4].

A certain positive advice for emigration is most significantly related to a negative perception of the direction of development of Romanian society overall (sig = 0,042), but possible positive advice does not necessarily relate to pessimism. While none of the categories of individual optimism lead to statistically significant results, both socially pessimistic and optimistic individuals are almost equally inclined to be in this category and the results are statistically significant (sig = 0,039 for optimism and 0,044 for pessimism). The response "more likely not" to advice for emigration is significantly predicted by both social and personal optimism (sig = 0,031 and 0,056), much more than the "certainly not" response. This latter category shows a decided and somewhat significant relation to personal pessimism (sig = 0,098). Those that decidedly will not advice their children to emigrate do not necessarily hold optimistic views of their future. It seems that it is not their consideration of better prospects for their children that are determinant for their decision. Trying to characterize this subgroup we find that they are significantly older than the other groups, have higher academic rank and are predominantly male. These characteristics are probably not independent, as there is a much higher percentage of males among older, higher ranking academics. As the group has a small size I could not further analyze significant characteristics. We can presume that the decision not to advice ones children to emigrate is influenced by patriotism. Nevertheless, I find it interesting that this patriotism does not seem to influence optimism significantly.

An oversimplified model of the "optimism" – "emigration advice" nexus would look as follows.

Certain emigration advice – Social pessimism
Possible emigration advice – Balanced social optimism and pessimism
Not likely emigration advice – Social and personal optimism
Certainly no emigration advice – Personal pessimism

The overall relationship between optimism and emigration advice is far from being simple. Not only do social and personal optimism have different significant effects according to the present model, but the presumed ordinal scheme of emigration advice does not fit upon the ordinal construction of any of the two optimism variables.

Conclusions

As already mentioned the available data do not allow for more than an exploratory analysis of the relationship between optimism and emigration ideology. Nevertheless the few results presented above attract attention on the almost certain lack of a simple relationship and the existence of complex contingency structures that have significant statistical character even in the small sample that we had.

Next to more immediate results, as the higher importance of social optimism than personal optimism for emigration ideology and the significant negative influence of optimism on motility, the relationship between "emigration advice" and optimism has attracted our attention.

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3   The multiple logistic regression that relates emigration advice with optimism questions only, leads to no significant results, probably because the results are blurred by the exclusion of variables that have a predictive character to the target variable, especially motility.

4   The overall Cox-Snell R-squared is 0,225. We analyse in the text only the significance values of relationships. In multiple logistic regression B-values are comparable. An analysis of these can also be made and leads to similar results.

What is then the hypothesis that could be further investigated? The scheme of the "optimism" – "emigration advice" nexus shows a relatively predictable image for the first three categories: certain emigration advice relates to pessimism, not likely emigration advice to optimism, and the intermediary value is balanced in its optimism/pessimism connection. Only the "certainly no emigration advice" falls off the scheme. It is as if the whole "emigration advice" scala was shifted towards the positive values. I consider that this shift can be explained by the overall positive image that emigration had in our sample of academics. The shift of the scale leaves the "certainly no emigration advice" in a singular position. The natural correlate would have been even more optimism than related to the "not likely emigration advice". This is not the case; those that are certain not to give their children the advice to emigrate do it from different reasons.

The hypothesis that emerges from these considerations is that the "optimism" – "emigration ideology" relationship cannot be correctly analyzed without considering further variables of the value system. One such variable might be patriotism. Patriotism could act as an inhibitor of motility and of a positive emigration ideology even in the context of social pessimism.

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Reinforcing Quality Assurance in Romanian Higher Education

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Abstract:

Since 1993, the quality assurance system in Romania has gained considerable experience. This experience was recently recognized in 2008 by the ENQA: European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education through the admission of ARACIS as a full member of EQAR: the European Quality Assurance Register. The Board of ENQA agreed to grant ARACIS's full membership of ENQA for five years from 2 June 2009. This article explores the benefits of membership for the Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education – ARACIS, comparing to other regional and global quality assurance agencies networks. The common features and differences between ARACIS and other European agencies are questioned through the frameworks of ENQA and INQAAHE as a case study.

Keywords: Bologna Process, Quality Assurance Agencies, Accreditation, Learning Outcomes, Recognition of Qualifications

Introduction

Within the Bologna Process, the European cooperation for quality assurance and recognition was one of the main objectives of the higher education architecture until 2010. Both the higher education institutions and quality assurance agencies at the national level are involved in the unifying endeavors at the European level through the ENQA: the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education the former European Network for Quality Assurance and the EQAR: the European Quality Assurance Register.

Of course, there is also a competition level among some regional quality assurance agencies established in different parts of Europe with the purpose of getting legitimacy at European level beyond and even over ENQA. However, regional interests have always existed and national interests were even more obvious, but the consensus of the 46 countries expressed through the Bologna Process is hard to be accomplished by few or some regional agencies. For this reason, the purposes of this article remain connected at the ENQA level of reference considered as the most legitimated European agency.

The research questions leading the discourse of this article have reference to:
1. How were the proceedings followed by ARACIS in order to become a full member of EQAR and ENQA?

2. Which are the common points and differences between ARACIS and other quality assurance agencies from Europe or from other parts of the globe?
3. What are the advantages (for Romania) gathered after the consideration of ARACIS as a full member of the International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education INQAAHE and the European Network for Quality Assurance ENQA?
4. Is there a legal initiative for a private quality assurance agency and what is the utility of the occurrence of a private quality assurance agency in Romania?

Case studies are the preferred research strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control on the events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (R. Yin, 2003). For this reason, this article can be seen as the case study of ARACIS organizational evolution into an ENQA member. The case study research strategy is preferred in examining contemporary events, but when the relevant behaviors cannot be manipulated (R.K. Yin, 2003). ARACIS is the unique unit of analysis in this case study based on secondary data analysis of the available documents and reports made public through this agency website.

New trends in European quality assurance direct attention towards the need to comply with more democratic procedures and more emphasis on the valorization of learning outcomes. Evaluation of competences of higher education graduates according to the European Framework of Qualifications EQF and employability are the new challenges for quality assurance indicators.

Nevertheless, the competition among the quality assurance agencies for legitimacy is a common issue in USA, where a diversity of public and private quality assurance agencies are present, but in Europe so far, since the initiation of the Bologna process, a hidden competition and an open cooperation is present only among public national and regional agencies for quality assurance in higher education.

At the 3rd European Quality Assurance Forum organized in 2009 by the European Universities Association, this direction was underlined: "Perhaps a democratic quality assurance is one that starts with the key stakeholders and asks what they want and explores whether their expectations are fulfilled." (L. Harvey 2009:7)

With a view to the democratization of quality assurance procedures, ARACIS has involved in the quality process all relevant stakeholders, capable to provide innovative information for the future: students and their families, professional associations, public and private universities represented by their management teams, international organizations and teaching and research staff from research and development units.

Proceedings for ARACIS to become a full member of ENQA

Becoming a full member agency of the European Network for Quality Assurance ENQA is not an easy way for the candidate quality agencies all over Europe. More precisely, the candidate agencies have to go through an in-depth auditing exercise in order to prove the accomplishment of the European quality standards required for membership.

The European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education was established in 2000 to promote European co-operation in the field of quality assurance. In November 2004 the General Assembly transformed the Network into the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA).

ENQA has full members agencies from 21 countries and candidate members from 6 countries. Membership of the association is open to quality assurance agencies in the signatory states of the Bologna Declaration. A total of 47 quality assurance agencies and associations of higher education have so far joined the association.

ENQA forms together with EUA, EURASHE, ESU, and with the European Commission as an observer member, the so-called E4 Group. The four organizations organize jointly a Quality

Assurance Forum (QAF) on a yearly basis.

ENQA had the important task of preparing, in co-operation and consultation with the other E4 members, a report on Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area which was adopted by the European Ministers of Education in the Bergen Summit of May 2005. A further report on EQAR was submitted by the E4 Group to the London ministerial meeting of May 2007.

Over the academic year 2007/2008, the European University Association (EUA) was invited to conduct an audit of ARACIS – The Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education.

Having examined the evidence in conjunction with each of the European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area (ESG), EUA has recommended that ARACIS should be admitted as a full member to the European Quality Assurance Register EQAR, which is an important moment in the process of becoming a full member of ENQA.

On the basis of its scrutiny of the final review report on ARACIS, the ENQA Board and its Review Committee agreed that ARACIS met the necessary requirements for being granted ENQA Full Membership for five years from 2 June 2009.

ARACIS is the successor agency to the National Council on Academic Evaluation and Accreditation (CNEAA), the previous quality assurance and accreditation body established by Law 88/1993 on accreditation of higher education institutions and recognition of diplomas. CNEAA ceased its activities in 2005, after adoption of the Government Emergency Ordinance (GEO) no. 75/2005 regarding Quality Assurance in Education. In April 2006 the ordinance was adopted and became a law.

The main difference between ARACIS and CNEAA is the fact that CNEAA was functioning under the coordination of the Romanian Parliament, while ARACIS is an autonomous public institution, of national interest, a legal entity with its own income and expenditure budget (Law nr. 75/2005, article 16) with the status of an independent agency.

According to the 2006 legislation, the new ARACIS Methodology and Guidelines for the accreditation of study programmes and institutions were in the pilot phase in 11 universities over the academic year 2006-2007. Based on this exercise resulted an evaluation report that served for the modification of the accreditation methodology.

ARACIS is a candidate member of the European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education ENQA since May 2007. Since this date, ARACIS followed the necessary procedures in order to become a full member of the ENQA.

EUA appointed a panel of three members, more precisely three European senior higher education leaders and a secretary, in order to undertake the audit of ARACIS.

The EUA audit was organized in 2008 around three distinct strands:

> Strand 1: Review of performance, organization and structures of the secretariat and board of ARACIS;
> Strand 2: Review of the accreditation methodology and procedures;
> Strand 3: Compliance with European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area.

These distinct strands were evaluated in four main stages. These stages included:

5. The self-evaluation report: ARACIS was responsible for writing a self-evaluation report based on ENAQ Guidelines for National Reviews. These included an independent evaluation report on the pilot phase of ARACIS external evaluation activity, published in 2007; the relevant legislation, ARACIS policy, methodology and user guides, data regarding previous accreditation activity in Romania; the code of professional ethics, and further information about the Romanian higher education system.

6. The site visits: the EUA panel made a first visit to ARACIS from 6-8 February 2008 and a second visit from 13 to 16 May 2008, in order to explore the main issues identified during the first visit.

7. External report and quality improvement plan: the EUA panel was responsible for delivering this evaluation report following the end of the site visits. ARACIS will consider the panel's report, and develop a quality improvement plan to implement the recommendations in the report. The panel's report and the quality improvement plan will be published both.

8. Basis for evidence gathered: the review panel collected information by: using the self evaluation report, the independent evaluation report of the pilot ARACIS phase of activity and two site visits at ARACIS. During the site visits, meetings and interviews were held with: ARACIS executive board and council members and management staff; ARACIS technical staff. ARACIS expert commission members active in the pilot phase, Representatives of universities involved in the pilot stage, Representatives of students, Representatives of Parliament Education Committees, Representatives of the National Council of Rectors, Representatives of Employers; the Minister of Education and experts working at the funding authority of the Ministry of Education.

This comprehensive audit took into consideration the context and constraints of the quality assurance for the Romanian higher education system and recommended the consistent use of precise and well-understood terminology, expanding on present legal definitions: "in order for ARACIS to achieve success in overcoming these challenges, it will need to ensure that there is improved clarity in the communication of concepts regarding quality assurance and quality improvement matters." (EUA, 2008:7)

The overall recommendation of EUA for ARACIS was favorable for becoming a full member of the ENQA.

A question still remains: why it took so long - 16 years, for CNEAA and ARACIS to become full members of ENQA (as both were candidate members)? What were the reasons for such a long institutional evaluation process?

It seems that some issues in the legislation are the answer. Compliance with ESG: European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education was one of the main conditions in order to become a full member of the ENQA. Although the accreditation experience of ARACIS could be considered since 1993 when the CNEAA was created, in the requirements for becoming a full member of ENQA, this experience was not entirely valued due to the fact that the relevant Romanian legislation was finalized in 2006, after the adoption of: European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance - ESG that were taken as a key reference in the law. Actually, the ESG principles and standards had been adopted in 2005 by European ministers at their Bologna process conference in Bergen, therefore it was difficult for ARACIS to become a full member before 2005. ARACIS is not the only agency that had this objective. In the next section are addressed the similarities and differences between ARACIS and other QA agencies in Europe.

ARACIS and Other Quality Assurance Agencies in Central and Eastern Europe

In Romania, in 2006/2007 were registered 785.506 students out of which 520.263 students in the public sector and 265.243 students in the private sector. The number of students increased in the next academic year 2007/2008 to 896.258 students mainly as a result of the increase of the number of students in the private sector, respectively 379.608 students in the private sector (Report MECT, 2008:57). Consistent efforts at institutional and system levels were made in order to maintain quality and increase the number of students at the same time.

Romania was one of the first countries in the Central and Eastern Europe that established a quality assurance agency named the National Council on Academic Evaluation and Accreditation CNEAA in 1993. Regulated by Law 88/1993, this quality assurance agency occurred mainly

due to the mushrooming of the private universities. Comparing to the neighborhood countries, the development of private higher education institutions in Romania was astonishing rapid. Although Bulgaria, Russia and the Republic of Moldova registered rapid growing numbers in the private sector, only Poland reached almost 30% of the total number of students in the private sector, having a similar development to the Romanian private higher education sector between 1998 – 2002.

The task of CNEAA was very difficult: during the period 1993 – 2004 were received 223 requests from private higher education providers for provisional authorization, out of which 87 request files were approved. From 2005, ARACIS replaced CNEAA and has inherited from CNEAA an input-based methodology and understanding of quality assurance. The EUA audit noticed that this approach based on input factors, was in fact the traditional measure of quality assurance in the most countries of Europe for the past decade. The Bologna process stimulated the focus on student learning outcomes and acquired competencies.

According to ARACIS, from 2008 there are 56 public universities accredited and 27 accredited private universities in Romania. Additionally, a number of 26 private higher education institutions are still provisionally authorized to provide higher education for a period of three years from the date of authorization.

CNEAA and ARACIS made the evaluation of study programmes and institutional evaluation, meanwhile the evaluation of student learning outcomes translated into academic qualifications was transferred to another agency, National Agency for Qualifications in Higher Education and Partnership with the Social and Economic Environment (ACPART).

According to the Romanian Government Decision no. 1375/2005, the National Agency for Qualifications in Higher Education and Partnership with the Social and Economic Environment (ACPART) is the national authority for the establishment of the national qualifications framework in higher education and its regular updating.

Defined by the European Qualifications Framework - EQF, a qualification is the formal acknowledgement of the value of the individual learning outcomes for the labour market by means of a study document (diploma, certificate) awarding a legal right to practice a profession. Learning outcomes are a set of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values or/and competences a person has acquired or is able to demonstrate after the completion of a learning process. Based on the European Qualifications Framework, the National Qualifications Framework in Romania was designed at ACPART as a sole instrument to determine the qualifications structure and ensure national recognition as well as international comparability and compatibility of qualifications acquired through the higher education system.

ARACIS should administrate the National Register of Higher Education Programmes and ACPART should administrate the National Register of Higher Education Qualifications. In practice, so far none of the two registers were finalized so far as functional interactive data bases.

Although located in the same building, ARACIS and ACPART do not have common projects or directions of action, functioning separately as two autonomous agencies with different mission and status, different staff and different resources. As evaluation of competences of higher education graduates according to the European Framework of Qualifications EQF and employability are the new challenges for quality assurance indicators one should expect a closer cooperation between the two agencies for the future.

In terms of organizational structure and staff competencies, ARACIS has many common features with other quality assurance agencies in the region, members in the CEE Network. The Network of Central and Eastern European Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education CEEN was founded on October 13, 2001 in Cracow, Poland, and was formally established on October 19, 2002 in Vienna. The CEE Network is a non-governmental and non-profit organization and represents quality assurance agencies from 16 countries in the region.

The conclusions of Hoffmann's study from 2006 on the CEE Network, were that accreditation is the predominant QA approach in the region, and the great majority of the CEEN agencies assesses

the quality of the study programmes and accredits these. The accreditation councils in most cases are appointed by the Government (strong governmental legitimacy); minority appointed by the stakeholders and their size varies from 8 to 30 members appointed for a term of two to six years. These councils are always composed by academics, sometimes by labour market representatives, QA experts and scientific/ professional associations, containing students in only two cases.

Hoffman noticed that there is a great number of similarities in the organization procedures and a number of differences. The similarities are shaped by the ENQA membership criteria as a benchmark for CEEN in setting European standards, while the differences comes from the national context of higher education institutional and historic diversity.

About differences it is interesting to mention the example of Norway. In terms of evaluation criteria and structure, the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT), created in 2003 is the main authority of the country. Norwegian higher education institutions must have a well established academic network both nationally and internationally in order to be accredited. This aspect relates to the structure of NOKUT that has a special section that deals with recognition of internationally obtained education and credits (B. Stensaker, 2004: 352, 360). For Romania, this type of section is included in the structure of the Ministry of Education and Research, not in the structure of ARACIS.

INQAAHE and ENQA Membership Advantages for ARACIS

ENQA is relevant and representative at the European level through the Bologna Process, but at the global level, ENQA is also a member of the INQAAHE, the International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education. If in the Bologna process are involved 46 countries, in INQAAHE are present almost 100 countries.

ARACIS is a full member of INQAAHE and a full member of ENQA. Both European and Global networks represent the Quality Assurance community with shared interests and a common professional language for those looking for a reliable ground in the Quality Assurance profession.

In order to provide a clear picture of the global INQAAHE landscape, one should mention that this global network was established in 1991 with few members and it has grown to 180 members in nearly 100 countries, proving the fact that QA practitioners link with other professionals all over the world.

M.J. Le Maitre noticed that regional or special interest networks are a new development, which has really come to age only in the last five or six years. Many regional networks, sometimes are overlapping in INQAAHE:

9. North and South America: RIACES: Red Iberoamericana Para la Acreditación De La Calidad De La Educación Superior, CANQATE: Caraibbean Area Network for Quality Assurance in Tertiary Education, ASPA: Association of Specialized & Professional Accreditors;
10. Europe: ENQA European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education, CEEN The Network of Central and Eastern European Quality, NOQA: Nordic Quality Assurance Network in Higher Education;
11. Africa: AfriQAn: African Quality Assurance Network;
12. Middle Est: ANQAHE: Arab Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education;
13. Asia Pacific: APQN: Asia-Pacific Quality Network.

In a schematic representation, based on four layers, the place of ARACIS in the regional and global system is presented in Figure 1.
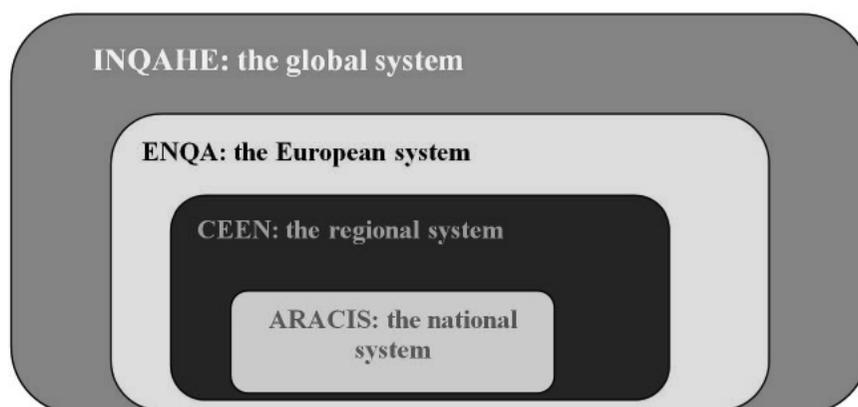
Figure 1: *ARACIS within the Quality Assurance Networks systems*

The regional networks occurred as a geo-political response to the common interests such as: mobility, recognition of qualifications, credit transfer, the impact of trans-national education.

INQAAHE encourage double membership, in order to allow both for regional and global exchange. As noticed, ARACIS has taken seriously this recommendation being member of ENQA and INQAAHE. Also, INQAAHE coordinate the activities of the regional networks, encourage and facilitate communications between the regional networks and grants formal recognition of regional networks in the different activities organized by INQAAHE.

Some advantages gathered from the INQAAHE and ENQA membership for ARACIS comes from addressing the shared priorities of capacity building (exchange and development of technical staff, training for self assessment and external reviews) both of existing and new agencies, showing the effectiveness and impact of QA processes; promotion and advocacy of QA, dealing with diversity of higher education institutions, students and social demands, analysis of standards and procedures of programs with a stronger international approach, studies and research on specific issues and new types of QA mechanisms.

Public and Private Quality Assurance Agencies in Romania

Under the present legislation, ARACIS is the only body in Romania certified to propose the authorization and accreditation of a higher education provider and its academic programmes.

For external evaluations of quality assurance, Romanian higher education institutions may also apply to other institutions. Article 23 (1) of the Law states that accredited Romanian universities may seek external periodic quality assessment either from ARACIS or from any other QA agency, national or international (located either within or outside Romania), included in the European Register. Moreover, Article 33 (3) states that "the accredited education provider shall be externally assessed every 5 years by ARACIS, or by any other national or international agency, according to the agreements concluded."

Some private providers of higher education in Romania (Nicolescu L., 2003) consider the accreditation received from ARACIS as a legal requirement they have to fulfill, but in practice, they think that it is more important for their graduates to prove that their institution was authorized by the professional association relevant in their national and international field of practice, or to prove the fact that they provide the same type of courses using the same academic content as the most prestigious universities in their field.

For example, CODECS is trying to convince their candidates and graduates that their courses are the same with the courses thought in the universities from the Great Britain and United States. CODECS offers the MBA Programme of the Open University Business School, which is a post-graduate qualification for managers, attesting the fact that the respective graduates have the necessary competencies for leading an organization or assuming a leadership position within an organization. CODECS managed to get recognition on the work market for their graduates, although they don't have an accreditation from ARACIS, stating that the international recognition of the OUBS MBA Programme is given by its validation by all 3 international accreditation institutions for management education in United Kingdom: Association of Masters of Business Administration; European Foundation for Management Development and beginning with September 2004 by the American association The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business –AACSB. However, the exception of CODECS seems to be unique in the Romanian higher education context.

A study concerning success on the work market of public and private higher education graduates undertaken by Luminița Nicolescu in 2003 underlined the fact that there are some differences between the two categories of graduates in terms of professional skills development with a clear advantage for public graduates in terms of better theoretical training and higher prestige of public higher education institutions in employers evaluations.

Conclusions

In Romania, in 2009/2009 were registered 891.098 students out of which 480.239 students in the public sector and 410.859 students in the private sector (Report MERI, 2009:30). For these increasing numbers of students especially in the private sector, the quality assurance of the educational processes, recognition of learning outcomes on the labor market, financing and diploma recognition are crucial.

It is evident that ARACIS is just a part of a greater mechanism in the quality assurance regional and global system. However, becoming a full member of the global level of the quality assurance agencies represented by the INQAAHE, before becoming a full member of the European level of ENQA was quite a performance for ARACIS. Nonetheless, ARACIS is a full member of the intermediate level of the Central and Eastern Europe regional network of QA agencies: CEEN and the advancement through the European level of ENQA was just a matter of 16 years time, hard work and legislative adjustment to the ESG: European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area.

Certainly, there are common features and differences between ARACIS and other quality assurance agencies in the European region. The common purpose of becoming full members of ENQA brought a similar profile in mission, organizational structure, accreditation methodology and procedures for the majority of the European agencies.

Professional accreditation granted by national or international organizations for certain fields of specialization like business administration, economics, medicine or law remain important, although the legal requirements for accreditation indicate ARACIS as the national unique authority in the field of accreditation.

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Evaluation of an Initiative to Reduce Youth Alcohol Abuse in the "Bourbon Country" of Kentucky

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Abstract

This paper describes the program evaluation results of the "STARS for Families" alcohol abuse prevention program implemented in the three school districts of Nelson County, Kentucky, an area known as the location for bourbon whiskey production in Kentucky and in the United States. All 9th grade students in these three school districts were invited to participate in the program. The baseline survey included questions related to their alcohol use, to the alcohol use in their family, and that of their peers. Follow-up surveys were conducted at 6-month, 18-month and respectively 30-month from the pretest. The survey data is compared to the county figures available from a statewide annual survey conducted by the Kentucky Incentives for Prevention Project (KIP). "STARS for Families" program uses a validated curriculum and was applied by many school districts across the United States. Overall, its implementation in Nelson County was successful, even though there were significant differences across the three school districts. The rate of increase in the number of students who used or planned to use alcohol in the near future was significantly reduced between pretest and the last follow-up. Our findings confirm that alcohol use behavior occurs in stages, and that the alcohol use habits of family and friends are strong correlates with alcohol drinking in youth.

Keywords: Youth Alcohol Abuse, Binge Drinking, Multi-Component Stages (McMOS) Model, STARS for Families, Program Evaluation, Panel Study

Introduction

Youth alcohol use was long proved to be a determinant of behavioral and mental health problems (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2000; Werch et al., 2003). When children are around other people who drink alcohol they are more likely to start drinking early in life; moreover, the behaviors that are highly correlated with alcohol use, such as domestic violence

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and crime, are compounding the effect that alcohol use has on children, effect that is long lasting and has dire consequences on their adult life (Werch et al., 2000, 2003).

National statistics support the need for enhancing alcohol and drug prevention programs among youth, especially in regions known to have a high number of alcohol producers. The target population of this study is made up of students attending the secondary schools in Nelson County, Kentucky. They include the Bardstown Independent District High School, Nelson County High School, and the Bethlehem High School. Statistics also support the need for enhancing alcohol and drug prevention programs among youth. The National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA, 1995) data show that the first use of alcohol typically begins around the age of 13 and the use of marijuana around 14. NIDA also reports about 9,5 million Americans between ages 12-20 had at least one drink per month. Out of these, 4,4 million were "binge" drinkers (consuming 5 or more drinks in a rowan a single occasion), including 1,9 million heavy drinkers (consuming 5 or more drinks on the same occasion on at least five different days). The Office of Inspector General has stated that the junior, middle and senior high school students drink 35% of all wine coolers sold in the United States and also consume 1,1 billion cans of beer. In a 1991 Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report, the use of alcohol and other drugs is associated with the leading causes of death and injury among teenagers and young adults.

Target Population

The target population for this longitudinal study consists of all 9th grade students attending the secondary schools in Nelson County, Kentucky. These schools include the Bardstown Independent District High School, Nelson County High School, and Bethlehem High School. Bardstown and Nelson are public school districts while Bethlehem is a private Catholic school. Bardstown and Bethlehem are located in the urban area of the county.

Nelson County is located in central Kentucky is rural with a population of 37.477 (2000 U.S. Census) with a per capita income of $20,201 and includes the city of Bardstown has a population of approximately 10.000. The county has seen tremendous growth with a 26,1% increase from 1990 to 2000, and we expect even more growth to be seen in the 2010 Census. The three top racial categories are Caucasians who make up 92,8% of the population, African Americans (5,5%) and Asian 0,5%). Nearly all African American children attend Bardstown Independent School District, and thus schools in rural Nelson County include very few minorities. Households with persons under the age of 18 account for 40,8% and children below poverty account for 16,7%. Production of bourbon is among the primary sources of income in the county; many residents have some connection to a distillery: they either own one or are employed by one. Nelson County also ranks in the top 20% in production of tobacco and in the top 10% of KY counties in growing marijuana.

The culture of Nelson County is one that indulges frequently in high-risk underage substance abuse behaviors. These behaviors are driven partly from the presence of tobacco farming and distillery operations in the area. Although Nelson County is located amongst several "dry" counties where selling alcohol in stores is prohibited, an informal survey with community leaders indicates that the prevailing attitudes within the county support a high tolerance for youth alcohol consumption. Many residents said that it is normal to drink, it is normal for teens to drink and it is normal to get drunk.

Years of substance abuse, which can plant its roots in the teenage years, can also result in increasing the risk of disease. In 1995, cirrhosis of the liver was the eighth highest cause of death in Nelson County according to the 1995 Kentucky Annual Vital Statistics Report. Thus, substance abuse not only presents a serious community issue, but also leads to serious medical consequences. During the summer of 1997, a telephone survey was conducted on behalf of Flaget Memorial Hospital. The 400 local respondents ranked alcohol/drug abuse education at only 17 out of 20 other possible health education programs of consumer interest. Respondents aged 18-

34 with a high school or less education, tended to be more interested in such programs but the overall ranking indicates a level of denial by residents regarding the need for alcohol/drug education needs which can be attributed to the cultural acceptance of use of alcohol and tobacco products in the county.

In February 1998, the Bardstown Healthier Community Stakeholder Committee conducted a Healthy Community Survey to assess the perceptions of Nelson County residents regarding which health-related issues should receive priority attention in the community. Of the 10.000 surveys that were distributed, 3.000 respondents indicated that drugs and underage drinking and juvenile delinquency ranked in the top five issues that should receive top priority attention in Nelson County. Respondents who were less than 19 years of age believed drugs should receive top priority. The results showed that residents recognize that youth substance abuse, juvenile delinquency and other negative youth related concerns are community issues that require immediate attention.

The Nelson County Juvenile Coalition has anonymous case examples and testimonials of contact with juveniles and their families that support the concern that more and more youth have access to drugs and alcohol with some involved in "wanna be" gang behavior. Substance use patterns among Nelson County teenagers were also measured via school surveys and using data on school disciplinary actions. According to a 1994 Nelson County school system survey, 44% of high school seniors had used alcohol in the last month. Freshmen reported that 70% used alcohol, 13% had used in the last week, and 19% had used in the last month. During the 1997-1998 school year Bardstown City Schools reported the following disciplinary actions in grades 8-12: 2 alcohol violations, 3 drug violations, 56 smoking violations and tobacco violations.

The importance of this topic is not only due to its later medical or health consequences in the adult life, but also due to the relationship between alcohol and other substance abuse and juvenile delinquency and other problematic youth behavior.

STARS for Families Program Description

The Youth Alcohol Initiative program was conducted by the City of Bardstown's Center for Prevention, and was active in Nelson County during school years 2002 and 2006. The curriculum used for this program was the STARS for Families (Start Taking Alcohol Risks Seriously) and targeted primarily the 9th grade students, although a booster training was provided to the 10th and 11th grades too. This alcohol prevention program curriculum was developed by the Center for Drug Prevention Research at the University of North Florida and it has been shows to be very effective in reducing alcohol use in youth (Werch et al., 2003). STARS program consists of three main activities a) one-on-one annual 15-20 minute health education sessions conducted by a nurse or other health care provider; b) ten key facts postcards mailed to parents in sets of one or two per week for 5 to 10 weeks; and c) family take-home lessons in four weekly take-home prevention activities that parents can complete with their children.

The purpose of the program's activities is to encourage youth to postpone alcohol use until adulthood and to provide parents with tools to enable them to manage their children's drinking. The health consultation session is about how to avoid alcohol use; local health providers were contracted to provide health education sessions at Bardstown, Nelson and Bethlehem High Schools. The cards tell parents what they can say to their children to help them avoid alcohol. They provide feedback information about their interaction with their children and its usefulness using a prepaid postcard. The lessons include an alcohol avoidance contract for the child to sign and a feedback sheet to collect satisfaction and usage data from parents.

The theoretical framework at the basis of this curriculum is the Multi-Component Motivational Stages (McMOS) model developed by Werch and DiClemente in 1994, which suggests that the youth alcohol health behavior is evolving in a multi-stage process (Weinstein et al., 1998;

Armitage and Conner, 2000; Werch et al., 2003), and that the stage is status is determined by the number of risk and protective factors. To successfully reduce alcohol use in youth, one has to design an intervention that is prepared to address the stage specific risk factors while increasing the number of protective factors for a healthier balance.

STARS was selected by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Administration (SAMHA) as a model program for its effectiveness in reducing underage alcohol abuse, as shown by a meta-analysis of youth substance abuse interventions across the world (Riemsma et al., 2002). The program was designed to delay the onset of alcohol use among youth, reduce quantity and frequency of alcohol use, reduce the number of youth in advanced stages of initiating alcohol use, reduce intentions to drink in the future, increase motivation to avoid alcohol use, reduce alcohol use risk factors, reduce pro-alcohol use beliefs, and increase protective factors and resistance skills. STARS model is supported by control studies that tested the effects of its health promotion strategies for preventing alcohol (Werch et al., 2000, 2003). It is a program that encourages the communication between parents and children about alcohol use prevention, and opens the opportunity for children to speak with a health care provider about substance abuse. The program aims to reduce the alcohol consumption as measured by the *past 30 day*, *past year* and *binge alcohol use* among high school students, and to reduce the number of students who intend to use alcohol in the near future (measured for next 30-days and within next 6-month).

Because family structure is an indicator of family stability and social support and was found to be associated with children's educational outcomes and school behavior, the program emphasized parental involvement. Teenagers with a single parent are more likely to smoke, use drugs, and consume alcohol, even after controlling for factors such as age, sex, race, and parent education. The STARS program coordinator sent parents a set of 10 postcards over a period of several weeks. Each postcard contained a key fact about alcohol. They were asked to discuss about the information from each postcard with their child in a 10-minute "user friendly" conversation. In addition, a set of four weekly "Family Take Home" lessons with prevention activities to use by parents and guardians with their children were provided; the lessons included an alcohol avoidance contract for the youth to sign.

Finally, STARS includes a one-on-one interactive conversation between youth and a health care provider. The health care provider delivered a 20-minute annual health consultation about how to avoid alcohol use. The intervention was designed to reach youth at specific stages of alcohol initiation and readiness for change and provides a range of prevention messages.

STARS data is compared with the Kentucky Incentives for Prevention Project (KIP) survey data from 1999 and 2002, which was collected from all counties across the state. The KIP survey was first administered in 1999, and continues to be conducted every fall semester. The KIP student survey is anonymous, voluntary, and it is open to all Kentucky school districts who want to participate. These data is critical for our study not only because it allows us to compare the schools in Nelson County with the state data, but also because it includes information on students' use of alcohol, tobacco and other drugs, on family factors related to substance abuse, and students' perception of risk and peer pressure, allowing us to test relationships between alcohol use and other factors that were not measured by STARS (ex, other substances use, peer pressure, and perception of risk).

Data and Methods

The focus of this study was to identify if the STARS for Families program has made any difference in the alcohol use behavior of the students at three school districts in Nelson County. Further, to identify differences between the trend in alcohol use of the students participating in the program as compared to the trends in the county as measured by the KIP survey. Finally, to identify whether the differences between the trends in the STARS and KIP datasets could be similar to the trends identified in the YRBSS data.

A quasi-experimental design, specifically a panel study with four waves of data, was used for this program: there were a pretest and three follow-up measurements for each school. While there was no comparison group in this study, the multiple measurements over two years reduce significantly the threats to the internal validity (Cook & Campbell, 1979). Also, this was meant to be a population study, therefore no sampling is involved. All students in the 9th grade were invited to participate. In Bardstown and Bethlehem schools students were asked to fill out the pretest in January 2003 at the beginning of the spring semester; the 9th graders in the Nelson County schools were invited to fill out the pretest in September 2003 and in January 2004 (no duplication of records was present). The first posttest was conducted six months after the pretest while the intervention was ongoing; the second posttest was applied at one-year anniversary of the first follow-up (1,5 years from pretest); and, the third posttest was applied at the two-year anniversary (2,5 years from posttest). Table 1 shows the number of students who completed the questionnaires at each point in time. The overall retention rate for the study was 79%.

Overall, of the 256 students who completed the pretest, 96,5% completed the first posttest, 86% completed the second posttest, and 79% completed the third posttest. The attrition rate was greater for Bardstown Independent school district. The highest retention rate was in Nelson County (83%) followed closely by Bethlehem (82%).

Table 1: *Students Participating in STARS Panel Study*

	Pretest (9th grade)		Posttest 1 (9th grade)		Posttest 2 (10th grade)		Posttest 3 (11th grade)	
	2002-2003		2003-2004		2004-2005		2005-2006	
School	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bardstown	99	38,7	92	37,2	76	34,5	72	35,6
Bethlehem	56	21,9	58	23,5	50	22,7	46	22,8
Nelson Co.	101	39,5	97	39,3	94	42,7	84	41,6
Total	256	100,0	247	100,0	220	100,0	202	100,0

Percentages over time show that the group of students living with both biological parents had the lowest attrition rates, followed closely by the students who live only with their mother or father. Students who lived in "other" type of situation were more likely to drop out of the study.

Students who returned the parents' signed informed consent and their assent form were asked to complete a confidential questionnaire at pretest. A new consent and assent form were not collected for each follow-up, although parents and students were provided with the procedures at each point in time.

The outcome data was collected using a questionnaire that was provided with the STARS for Families curriculum package. The questionnaires included the same validated measures for the outcomes of interest (the onset of alcohol use among youth, quantity & frequency of alcohol use, intention to drink in the future, alcohol use risk factors, motivation to avoid alcohol use, pro-alcohol use beliefs, protective factors and resistance skills, and parent-child communication about alcohol use prevention) at each point in time, and also recorded traditional socioeconomic and demographic characteristics.

Data was analyzed with SPSS 16.0 and we used traditional univariate and bivariate descriptive techniques, such as frequency distributions, central tendency and dispersion measures, along with cross-tabulations and parametric and non-parametric correlations. Data was structured for analyses in two different formats: a person-period dataset where each measurement for each child represented one row in the database, and a person-level dataset where each person has a single row in the data and the measurements for the same outcome are recorded in separate columns at each

point in time. The software used for data restructuring was SAS.

The differences in means were tested with independent t-tests when comparing two groups, dependent t-tests when comparing numeric data at two points in time. Analyses of variance were also conducted using One-Way ANOVA when comparing three or more groups, and Repeated Measures ANOVA when comparing the data collected at multiple points in time.

Findings

Data results include descriptive information on the students' demographic and their parents' socioeconomic characteristics, on the risk and protective factors for youth alcohol use, and on the students' drinking behavior over time. To determine the impact of the program we tested differences between pretest and the posttest in students' drinking behavior over time, and as it relates to their perception about their parents' attitude toward alcohol use, to the peer pressure, and to their identified needs using the STARS constructs. Comparisons of schools on these outcomes will also be provided.

Age, Race, Gender. The variation in age was very limited due to the nature of the program. STARS is a health promotion program for preventing alcohol use among at-risk 11 to 15 years old children. The pretest was applied to 9th graders and 98% of students were ages 14 or 15; the first posttest was applied at the end of the same semester, thus the ages of students were very close to the pretest time. The diversity in the sample is mostly due to the Bardstown schools where 80-83% are Caucasian students, about 8-10% are African-Americans, and 10-11% are students of other race; Catholic and Nelson County schools included very few minority students. Overall, the sample included 46% males and 54% females. Due to attrition, the proportion of males and females ranged between 46% and 50% for males and between 50% and 54% for females over time.

Family Structure and Family Functioning. While the direct relationship between the structure of the family (single parent, two-parent families) and substance abuse in children might be questioned, it has been shown that there is a relationship between the quality of family life and substance abuse in children. Single parent families are more likely to be prone to instability, to have more disruptions in the family life than children in two-parent families.

Overall, the proportion of students who live with both biological parents was 67% at the pretest, 70% at the second posttest and 68% at the third posttest. The proportion of students in Bardstown and Nelson county schools who lived with both biological parents was around 60%, a significantly lower figure than that found in the Bethlehem school (89%). The proportion of students with the mother the head of household was 27% in Bardstown, 30% in Nelson County, and 11% in Bethlehem. Overall, at pretest, the proportion of students who lived only with their biological father or had another type of family situation was about 5% and respectively 4%, split almost evenly between Bardstown and Nelson County schools.

Parents' Level of Education. A widely accepted proxy for the socioeconomic status of the family is father's and mother's level of education. Teenage students with parents who have below high school education are more likely to have school behavior problems than those whose parents have at least high school education. Their educational outcomes are also more likely to be below the outcomes of students whose parents graduated from high school or college.

About 5% of students in Bardstown and Nelson County schools have parents with below high school level education, while parents of all students from Bethlehem have at least a high school education, and more than half (56% to 75%) of them have parents with a college degree, graduate or professional degree. Fathers are more likely than mothers to have a higher level of education in every school. The mothers of Bethlehem high school students are twice as likely to be college educated than mothers of students in Nelson County, and 1.5 times more likely than mothers of students in Bardstown. The differences between fathers' education levels were not as large, but the pattern was the same, majority of fathers of students at Bethlehem (64%) and at Bardstown

(58%) schools had a college education, while fathers of students in Nelson County were less likely to have a college education (45%). The differences in parental education across schools was statistically significant ($9.95 < X^2 < 14.38$, DF=4, $0.006 < p < 0.04$), at each point in time.

Free Lunch. Lower levels of income account for some of the differences in the educational outcomes between children living with their biological parents and those in other type of family structures. Since parents' income level has not been collected, the proxy measure for income used in this study was the utilization of the free lunch benefit. One limitation of this assumption is that it is possible that not all eligible students enroll in the program. At pretest, 29% of the students in the schools in Nelson County, 19% in Bardstown, and 5% in Bethlehem high school received free lunches.

Risk Factors. Parents, siblings, and friends can pose an everyday risk factor for youth alcohol use, risk that is hard to overcome. The STARS questionnaire attempted to measure these influences by included items related to the incidence of substance use by parents and/or siblings, and friends. The proportion of students who stated that their father drinks alcohol a few times a month, a few times a week, or everyday was consistently about 10-15 percentage points higher than the proportion of students who indicate that their mother exhibits the same drinking behavior, overall and within each school. The most surprising finding was that a significantly higher proportion of parents of students at Bethlehem regularly consume alcohol than parents of students in the other two districts. Both fathers and mothers of Bethlehem students consume alcohol in significantly larger proportions (although they are significantly more educated) than the other parents. There were no significant differences in parent use of alcohol between Bardstown and Nelson county schools.

The overall proportion of students with siblings who are drinking alcohol ranged between about 41% at the pretest and 50% at the third posttest. The lowest proportion of siblings consuming alcohol was recorded at pretest in Bardstown schools (37%) and the highest proportion of siblings drinking alcohol was recorded in Bethlehem at the last posttest (64%).

About a quarter of the students of Bardstown and Nelson County schools admitted that their drinking behavior is influenced by their peers. The increase in the proportion of students who said they drank due to peer pressure was about 2-4% over time for Bardstown and Nelson County schools. Bethlehem students were significantly more likely to drink as a result of friends' influence; their proportions ranged between 31% at pretest and 50% at the last posttest. The same pattern was observed in the influence of someone *other* than parents, siblings and peers would have on their alcohol drinking decision. Again, students at Bethlehem seem to be more likely to be easily influenced in their drinking behavior than students from the other two school systems. Finally, only about 10-15% of the students said that advertising material has an impact on their drinking behavior; the difference between pretest and last posttest was not significant, although students in rural Nelson County seem to be more influenced by magazines and advertising material than students of the other two -urban- school systems.

Drinking Behavior. The overall proportion of students who drank during the previous year, planned to drink within the next 30 days, or planned to drink within the next 6-month increased over time (Table 2).

The greatest increase between pretest (12%) and last posttest (36%) was in the proportion of students who planned to drink within the 30 days following the interview. In addition, the proportion of students who stated that they intend to drink alcohol within the 6-month period after the interview doubled, from 24% to 48%. Bethlehem school had the highest proportion of students (ranging from 64% to 78%) who drank alcohol during the prior year, followed by Bardstown (54% to 65%) and by Nelson County schools (47% to 58%). The same pattern was noted on the intention to drink alcohol within 30 days and respectively within the following 6-months. As expected, due to maturing process, the proportion of students who did not drink decreased over time. Overall, at pretest 60% said that they do not drink, while at the last posttest only 44% were non-drinkers. Bardstown had a steeper decrease of non-drinkers (52% to 31%), than Nelson County (68% to 50%) and Bethlehem (57% to 44%).

Ramona Stone & Sarah Hendrix

Table 2: *Drinking Behavior: Outcome Measures (%) by Time/Grade and by School District*

Outcome	Year	Grade	Bardstown	Bethlehem	Nelson Co.	Total
During the last year, did you drink any alcohol?	2002-2003	9th	54,1	64,3	46,5	53,3
	2003-2004	9th	53,3	67,2	45,4	53,5
	2004-2005	10th	57,9	74,0	51,1	58,6
	2005-2006	11th	65,3	78,3	58,3	65,3
Do you plan to drink alcohol in the next 30 days?	2002-2003	9th	13,3	14,8	8,9	11,9
	2003-2004	9th	23,6	31,0	16,5	22,5
	2004-2005	10th	27,6	42,0	22,6	28,8
	2005-2006	11th	36,6	54,3	25,0	35,8
Do you plan to drink alcohol in the next 6 months?	2002-2003	9th	23,5	32,1	20,8	24,3
	2003-2004	9th	33,3	39,7	26,8	32,2
	2004-2005	10th	43,4	52,0	33,3	41,1
	2005-2006	11th	48,6	60,9	40,5	48,0
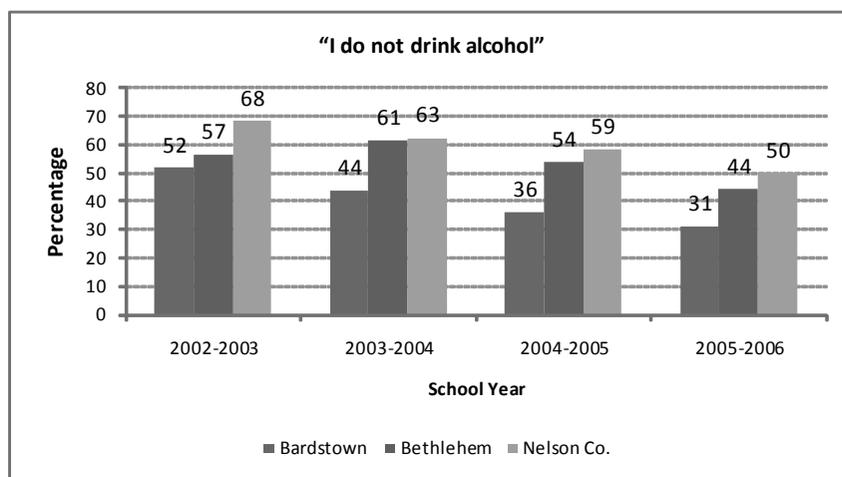
Figure 1: *Proportion of Students Who Do Not Drink*

In Figure 1, each of the columns represents the proportion of students who did not drink by point in time in each school. At pretest, over 68% of the students in Nelson County, 60% of the students in Bethlehem, and 52% of the students within Bardstown Independent schools stated they do not drink. The comparison across schools indicate that non-drinkers in Nelson County represent about 38% of the non-drinkers from all schools and this proportion changes very little over time (+2%); the non-drinkers at Bethlehem school represent about 33% (+2% change),

while the non-drinkers in Bardstown represent 29% of the entire pretest population in study and dropped to 25% by the last posttest.

Use of Other Substances. The use of other substances, such as smoking cigarettes or marijuana, and the use of smokeless tobacco or cocaine appears to be less problematic than expected. Marijuana use, which seems be the most problematic behavior of the three, has decreased significantly from 6,3% at pretest to 3,5% at the last posttest. The proportion of students who used marijuana decreased at Bethlehem from 9% to 4% and in Nelson County from 4% to 0%, while in Bardstown increased during the first year reaching a peak at 13%, and decreased at the original level (7%) by the end of the third year. The latest data also show that the proportion of Bethlehem students who smoke or use smokeless tobacco increased from 0% to 6,5%, and of those who use cocaine from 0% to 4,3%. Marijuana use is significantly more prevalent in Bardstown schools than in the other two school systems.

Protective Factors. During the one-on-one 15-20 minute health education sessions which were conducted in the form of health interviews, the nurses identified a series of student needs. We display the proportion of respondents who scored positively for needs on specific dimensions (Table 3) that needed to be addressed during the health interview and during the family take-home lessons; and, the Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients (Table 4) for each of these measures.

The proportion of students identified to have needs on these dimensions ranges between 50-99%. With the exception of the "perceived benefits from avoiding alcohol" where about 50% of the students were identified the need for coaching, on all other dimensions the proportion of students in need of education was above 70%. The increase across time in the proportion of students with an identified need on the "environment/influenceability" dimension (from 84% to 94%) is indicative of the peer pressure that increases with the students' age. However, the decrease across time in the proportion of students with an identified need on the "self-efficacy/behavioral capability" shows that these students are more equipped to resist peer pressure than they were at pretest. The measure of the *situation* at the last posttest appear to be the least reliable (α=0,535) while the measure of perceived *benefits from avoiding alcohol* is most reliable (α=0,858).

Table 3: *Proportion of Students with Specific Identified Needs*

STARS Risk/Protective Factors	Pretest	Posttest 1	Posttest 2	Posttest 3
The Environment and Influenceability	83,6	88,3	90,5	94,1
Expectancies	73,8	72,1	77,3	82,7
Self-Efficacy and Behavioral Capability	84,8	71,7	73,2	65,3
Situation, Perceived Prevalence	91,4	90,7	91,4	97,5
Expectations	92,2	89,1	92,3	95,0
Motivation and Intentions	99,2	98,4	99,1	99,5
Perceived Susceptibility, Severity of Alcohol Problems	85,2	73,7	77,7	81,7
Perceived Benefits from Avoiding Alcohol	55,1	44,9	49,5	56,9
Self Evaluation, Self Monitoring, Self Reinforcement	97,7	96,8	94,5	96,5

Table 4: *Cronbach's α Reliability Coefficients for the STARS Constructs by Time*

STARS Risk/Protective Factors	Pretest	Posttest 1	Posttest 2	Posttest 3
The Environment and Influenceability	0,760	0,729	0,767	0,725
Expectancies	0,709	0,734	0,782	0,769
Self-Efficacy and Behavioral Capability	0,698	0,615	0,621	0,659
Situation (Perceived Prevalence)	0,600	0,555	0,734	0,535
Expectations	0,725	0,737	0,773	0,775
Motivation and Intentions	0,613	0,671	0,688	0,667
Perceived Susceptibility Severity of Alcohol Problems	0,652	0,813	0,834	0,787
Perceived Benefits from Avoiding Alcohol	0,684	0,742	0,867	0,858
Self Evaluation, Monitoring, and Reinforcement	0,700	0,828	0,857	0,856

Program Performance Measures. Using the person-period dataset we conducted One-Way ANOVAs to compare the pretest scores with the posttests for several questions that dealt with the parents', siblings' and peers' attitude toward their drinking behavior.

We found no significant differences between the three points in time ($F_{(3,912)}$ =0,878, p=0,452) in the students' perception of what their parents' think when learning about their alcohol drinking choices ("How would your parents feel if they found out you drank alcohol?"). Over 90% of the students, in each wave of data, stated that their parents would not approve alcohol use if they knew about it. When this analysis of variance was conducted by school, we found no difference across time within Nelson Co. ($F_{(3,370)}$=1,325, p=0,266), Bethlehem ($F_{(3,205)}$= 0,914, p=0,435), or Bardstown Independent ($F_{(2, 329)}$=1,056, p=0,368) school districts.

There were highly significant differences ($F_{(3,917)}$=4,759, p=0,003) between pretest and all posttests, and from one posttest to another, when students were asked whether their parents condone drinking behavior ("My parents think it's okay for me to drink alcohol"). Again, over 90% of the students said that their parents would "disagree" or "disagree a lot" with that statement. The analysis by school showed that there were no differences within Bardstown subsample ($F_{(3,332)}$=1,477, p=0,221), and there were significant differences between the students within the Bethlehem ($F_{(3,209)}$=2,890, p=0,037) and marginally significant within Nelson County ($F_{(3,370)}$=2,568, p=0,054). This means that the overall difference in the sample is primarily due to the differences between school districts. The student body in the two public school districts is relatively homogeneous in terms of students' perception on these two items, while at Bethlehem students do not think alike.

STARS data showed highly significant improvements ($F_{(3,915)}$=9,955, p<0,000) in students' ability to refuse alcohol when offered by friends or especially when offered by someone else (Figure 2). The improvement was significant in all school districts.

We found less encouraging results with regards to the students' intent to use alcohol within the following six months ($F_{(3,917)}$=10,946, p<0,000). All schools have significantly higher number of students who think of or plan to drink in the near future, and their proportions grew significantly from one point in time to another. These results suggest the need for continuous, sustainable health behavior modification interventions that address the variety of needs of the high school students in this area, needs that manifest themselves in problematic behavior such as alcohol drinking, and lead to even more complex social and health problems as children enter adulthood.
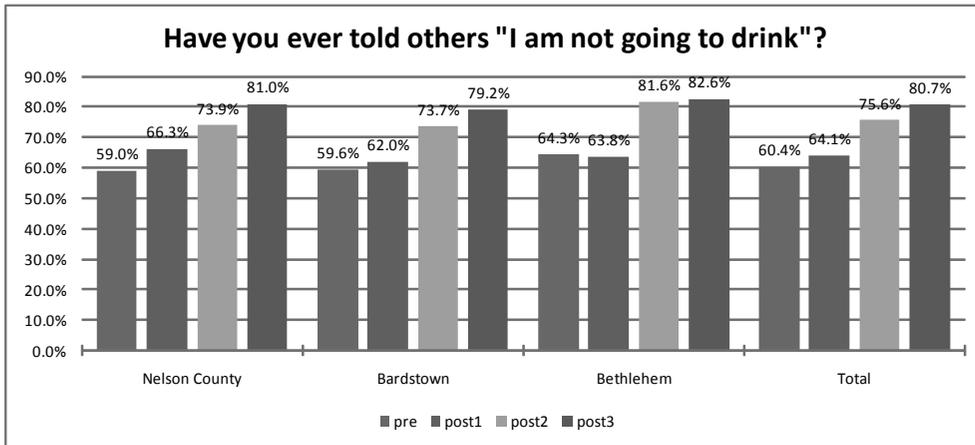
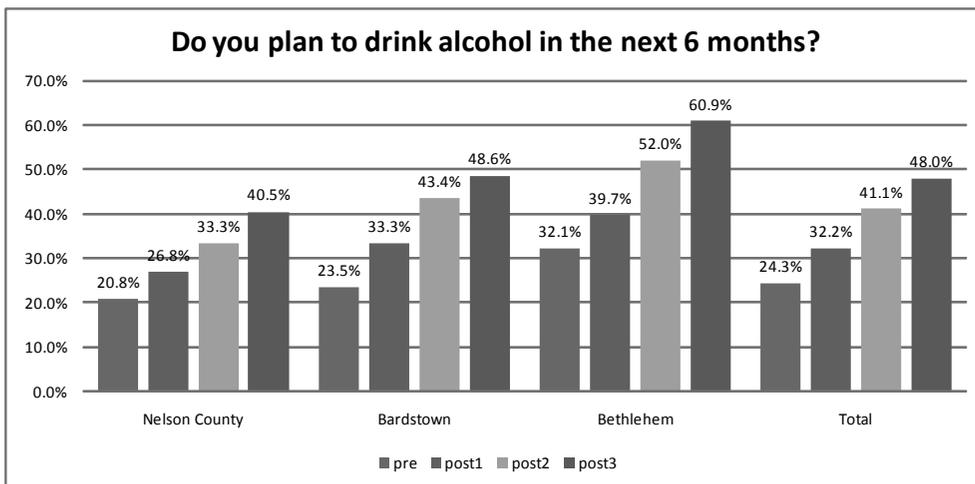**Figure 2:** *Proportion with Ability to Refuse Alcohol*

Figure 3: *Proportion with Intent to Consume Alcohol*

STARS versus KIP. Due to the fact that alcohol use increases with age, the comparison of STARS data with the KIP data for Nelson County is critical. This allows us to compare the rates of alcohol use in the STARS participant group to the overall figures for the county. The intent of to drink alcohol was not measured in the KIP data, but we were able to compare a) the proportion of students who used alcohol during the past 30 day, b) proportion of students who used alcohol during the past year, and c) proportion of students who engage in binge drinking. Note that binge drinking is defined as "5 or more drinks in a row". Table 5 displays the proportion of students who have consumed alcohol during the past 30 days, during the past 12 months, and ho engaged in binge drinking during the past two weeks.

Table 5: *Outcome Measures by Frequency of Behavior*

Question/ Outcome	Count	Pretest (2003)	Post 1 (2004)	Post 2 (2005)	Post 3 (2006)	KIP 2006	
		9th	9th	10th	11th	10th	12th
During the past 30 days, on how many days have you had at least one drink of alcohol?	0	72,3	74,1	63,2	58,9	59,3	48,8
	1-2	19,5	15,4	18,2	18,3	20,0	19,6
	3-5	3,5	5,3	11,4	13,4	8,7	15,2
	6+	4,7	5,3	7,3	8,9	12,0	16,5
During the last year, did you drink any alcohol?	No	46,7	46,5	41,4	34,7	33,3	24,5
During the past 30 days how many times have you had 5+ drinks in a row?	0	86,2	81,7	69,0	83,3	73,7	65,0
	1-2	9,1	11,2	20,2	9,5	18,1	19,7
	3 +	4,7	7,1	10,8	7,1	8,2	15,4

At pretest 72,3% of the 9th grade students indicated that they did not drink *during the past 30 days*. About 1,5 years later, at the second follow-up, 63,2% of the STARS students had no drinks in the past month as compared to the county's average of 59,3%. Another year later the proportion of students with zero drinks in the past month dropped to 58,9% in the STARS group as compared to the county average of only 48,8%. Of all three school districts, Bethlehem (40%) was the worse off at the last posttest, their outcomes being below county's average proportion (48,8%) of students who did not drink during the past 30 days, while Nelson County school district had the best mark (73,8%).

The consumption of alcohol *during the past year* indicates a similar pattern as the one identified above. Although the proportion of students who drank alcohol during the past year increased steadily over time, STARS participants still have higher proportion of students who did not drink in the 10th grade (44,8%) and then in 11th grade (34,7%) as compared to KIP averages for both 10th (33,3%) and 12th (24,5%) grades. Again, at the last posttest, a significantly lower proportion of Bethlehem students (21,7%) than Bardstown (34,7%) and Nelson County (41,7%) school districts abstained from consuming alcohol during the past year.

Binge drinking data shows that at pretest about 86% of all students claimed that they did not binge during the past two weeks. This proportion dropped to 74% by the second year, and to 71% by the last posttest. As all other drinking behavior, binge drinking is the least problematic in Nelson County district schools (15-17%) and most problematic in Bethlehem Catholic School, where the proportion of students who engage in binge drinking increased from about 16% at pretest to 40% after 1,5 years and to 49% after 2,5 years from the pretest. Furthermore, at Bethlehem not only the proportion of students who engage in binge drinking is higher, but the frequency in which they engage in this behavior is significantly worse than in the other two school districts (F(2,198)=5,273, p=0,006) at the last follow-up.

These figures show that the culture of alcohol and substance use varies greatly from one school to another. Spearman correlations further showed that if one parent drinks the other most likely does too (Rho=0,413, p<0,000); parents' drinking behavior increased the likelihood that children consumed alcohol within the past 30 days (Rho=0,178, p<0,000), within the past year (Rho=0,246, p<0,000), and that they are more likely to engage in binge drinking (Rho=0,123, p<0,000).

Discussion

Nelson and its surrounding counties are known for high rates of alcohol and other substances use, and as in other school districts, the proportion of children in the school who engaged in drinking, smoking and use of other substances, increases with their age.

Students who participated in the STARS program demonstrated a reduction in risk factors for alcohol consumption. Between pre and the last posttest, individual student needs for information on specific areas appear to have declined, suggesting that students have assimilated education provided by the Health Educator. This information is also consistent with the stated goals of this project and appears to have had an impact in the measures of alcohol use. Although, a reduction in the acceptance of alcohol use in teenagers is evident, reported use continues to increase with age. A greater than expected proportion of students reported no use of alcohol during the past year and during the past 30 days, and the rate of binge drinking increased as well. However, when data is compared with the county average, which includes the students how did not participate in the program, the picture changes significantly. The data confirms that the STARS for Families program made a significant difference in the proportion of youth who delay and reduce alcohol consumption. The data also shows that the three school districts located within the Nelson County, Kentucky, have very different student populations in terms of family socioeconomic status, parents' drinking habits, and student drinking habits. Bardstown Independent and Nelson County school districts experienced statistically significant reduction in all three outcomes, while Bethlehem High school scored significantly worse than the other two districts, dragging down the county's average.

KIP 2006 data show that there has been a steady decrease over the years in the proportion of students who drink alcohol in Nelson County, but the decrease was even greater in the group of students who participated in the STAR program. Thus, we conclude that STARS for Families program was successful in Nelson County, Kentucky because it reduced the rate of increase. We recommend that school officials and health educators are considering another curriculum for the Bethlehem school district that may prove more successful with this population.

The study included relatively small sample sizes that limited the type of data analyses that could be conducted; the lack of a true (randomized or at least matched) comparison group limited our ability to establish more complex relationships, while self-selection in the STARS program also made it difficult to generalize the results to similar populations. The lack of access to the entire state KIP dataset limited the type of comparisons that could be made and, the lack of access to the program costs did not allow us to explore how cost-effective this program is. However, with all these limitations that could and should be addressed in the future, we can still conclude that the program has been successfully implemented in at least two of the three school districts.

Conclusions

The objective of this article was to describe the impact made by a four-year alcohol prevention program, implemented in schools with students of ages 10 to 17, on students' alcohol drinking behavior and on their intent to drink in the near future. The study was conducted by the Center for Prevention of Bardstown, Kentucky, who later commissioned the data analyses for the evaluation with Drs. Stone and Hendrix. We used a panel study design with four waves, a pretest and three follow-ups; the survey instrument was designed for the STARS for Families curriculum by Dr. Chudley Werch of the University of North Florida. Data was collected at pretest from 256 students of which 202 have still been part of the study at the third follow-up.

Data analyses included correlations, contingency analyses, comparisons of means and analyses of variances; the results show that the program succeeded to slow down the rate of increase in alcohol drinking that occurs with age for the youth in the public schools in both urban and rural

areas; but, that it did not have the significant impact was hoped for in the Bethlehem catholic school. This finding is interesting because Bethlehem students have highly educated parents, but with worse alcohol drinking habits than the less educated parents of the students in the other two school districts. Thus, we conclude that parents' drinking habits mitigate the positive effects that their higher education could have on the alcohol use of their children. It is apparent that drinking is more accepted in the catholic community of this area and thus, it will be quite challenging for a school program to make a difference without a stronger parental involvement.

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Les dispositifs de confiance utilisés par les petites entreprises du bâtiment en France

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Abstract

Small construction companies mobilize different kinds of confidence for capturing and reassure their customers. Beyond the interpersonal networks, the most common device, they create devices such as professional qualifications and certifications, and adhere to organizational instruments such as mediation systems run by supermarkets or assistance companies. The article shows how the use of these devices varies according to the conventions of quality and strategic positioning of companies.

Keywords : Market Sociology, Quality, Construction Industry, Qualification

Trouver des clients est l'une des principales tâches des artisans et chefs de petites entreprises du bâtiment. Pour y parvenir, différents dispositifs de captation s'offrent à eux (Karpik, 1996). Ceux-ci se sont multipliés et diversifiés au cours des dernières décennies. Alors que les réseaux interpersonnels demeurent le dispositif le plus courant, les entreprises utilisent de plus en plus de dispositifs impersonnels (qualifications, labels, etc.). La diversité des dispositifs mobilisés reflète la pluralité des modes d'attachements au marché (Mallard, 2007).

L'approche consiste à expliquer la prédilection des entrepreneurs pour tel ou tel dispositif de captation à partir de leurs conventions de qualité (Eymard-Duvernay, 1989) et de leurs stratégies commerciales (White, 1981). J'étudie les variations du recours aux différents types de dispositif selon les corps de métier, dont les conventions de qualité diffèrent sensiblement, puis selon les stratégies commerciales des entreprises – stratégies de qualité, de volume ou de proximité. Ces analyses reposent principalement sur deux enquêtes par questionnaires auprès de respectivement 300 et 160 entrepreneurs.

La première partie de l'article détaille les objectifs et la méthodologie de la recherche. La seconde décrit le principal marché des artisans et petites entreprises du bâtiment, celui de l'entretien-amélioration de logements. Les troisième et quatrième parties traitent de l'impact respectivement des conventions de qualité et des positionnements stratégiques sur le type de dispositifs de captation sélectionnés.

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Expliquer le choix des dispositifs de captation

Les dispositifs de captation

Suite aux travaux précurseurs de Lucien Karpik sur les dispositifs de confiance (1989), cette question a fait l'objet d'un intérêt croissant en sociologie (Cochoy, 2004 ; Dubuisson-Quellier, 2003). Ce type de recherche permet d'éclairer le fonctionnement de marchés concrets, loin de correspondre au mythe néo-classique d'une rencontre offre-demande simplement orchestrée par les prix. Au contraire, les dispositifs équipant les marchés concrets s'avèrent jouer un rôle crucial pour créer de la confiance et aiguiller les clients (Trompette, 2005). Cette confiance peut d'ailleurs se retourner contre l'acheteur. Les dispositifs favorisent « l'attachement » pour le meilleur et pour le pire.

L. Karpik limite sa théorie à l'« économie des singularités » (2007), qui se caractérise par une concurrence sur la qualité plutôt que sur les prix ainsi que par l'aspect incommensurable des biens et des services échangés. Dans ce cadre, Karpik s'intéresse à une certaine forme d'incertitude : l'incertitude sur la qualité. Cependant les dispositifs de confiance visent aussi d'autres formes d'incertitudes.

G. Akerlof a montré comment non seulement l'incertitude sur la qualité mai aussi l'asymétrie d'information entre vendeurs et clients peuvent perturber le fonctionnement d'un marché en donnant lieu à un phénomène de sélection adverse (1970). Au-delà de l'incertitude sur la qualité, un autre type d'incertitude est dans ce cas en jeu : l'asymétrie d'information qui favorise le risque d'opportunisme. O. Williamson qualifie ce risque d'« incertitude stratégique » (1985). Dans un contexte d'asymétrie d'information et de méfiance, les dispositifs comme les garanties, les marques, les chaînes et les certifications sont à même de produire la confiance nécessaire au bon déroulement des échanges. Quand le risque d'opportunisme est élevé, P. DiMaggio et H. Louch montrent que les consommateurs sélectionnent de préférence les prestataires à l'intérieur de leur réseau de connaissances (1998). Ainsi, quel que soit le type d'incertitudes en jeu, les dispositifs d'intermédiation visent à produire de la confiance quand celle-ci fait défaut.

La typologie des dispositifs de confiance proposée par L. Karpik repose sur le type d'information produite par les dispositifs (2007). Les dispositifs personnels véhiculent une information singulière, rendant compte des idiosyncrasies des biens et des services ainsi que des consommateurs. Les dispositifs impersonnels proposent en revanche une information générale et homogène. Cependant, la distinction « personnel / impersonnel » n'a de sens que du point de vue des consommateurs. Ceux-ci ignorent généralement les relations personnelles qui peuvent s'établir entre prescripteurs et entrepreneurs ; elles compromettraient la crédibilité de ces dispositifs. Me plaçant ici du point de vue des producteurs, je propose un autre principe de distinction, différenciant dispositifs personnels (les réseaux interpersonnels), dispositifs professionnels (les qualifications, les certifications) et dispositifs organisationnels (les systèmes de franchise et d'agrément).

Cadre théorique

En se restreignant aux biens et services « incommensurables », Lucien Karpik se dédouane de définir ce qu'est la qualité (Dubuisson-Quellier et al., 2003). Au final, on ne sait pas ce qu'est la qualité des « bons » produits, « bons » professionnels… Les processus d'appariement entre entreprises et clients comme leurs choix forment une sorte de boîte noire. Alors qu'il explore en détail les différents critères de jugement (palmarès, guides…), il élude les critères de qualité : la qualité des biens et services singuliers est multidimensionnelle et incommensurable. Une articulation de sa théorie avec la théorie des conventions permettrait de lever cette ambiguïté. Or Lucien Karpik rejette un tel rapprochement, en dépit des affinités entre ces deux théories de la coordination marchande. Il estime que l'économie des conventions relève d'une théorie

générale, alors que l'économie des singularités découle d'une approche compréhensive (2007, p. 154-156). Cependant, une approche compréhensive doit s'intéresser aux principes qui guident la construction de la qualité et des jugements sur la qualité. Il existe d'ailleurs un lien direct entre conventions et dispositifs d'intermédiation d'après les conventionnalistes. F. Eymard-Duvernay identifie trois principales conventions de qualité (1989) : la convention industrielle à laquelle sont associés les standards et les normes, la convention domestique à laquelle sont associées les marques et appellations d'origine et la convention marchande à laquelle sont associés les prix.

Harrison White a élaboré une théorie alternative des marchés de production (1981, 2002). D'après celle-ci, les producteurs cherchent avant tout à se distinguer les uns des autres en créant des niches commerciales. Il représente ces niches dans un espace à deux dimensions, l'une intégrant la sensibilité à la qualité, l'autre la sensibilité à la quantité. Dans cet espace, les producteurs ont le choix entre trois zones de marché viables. La première, le marché paradoxal, correspond à l'économie de la singularité de L. Karpik : la qualité prime sur la quantité. La seconde est le marché explosif qui repose sur les économies d'échelle. Enfin, le troisième, le marché ordinaire, est le plus peuplé. L'un des reproches que l'on puisse formuler à l'égard de cette théorie est qu'elle ne tient justement pas compte des dispositifs d'intermédiation qui autorisent la rencontre offre-demande, ni des structures relationnelles qui sous-tendent ces positionnements stratégiques. Il me semble intéressant d'articuler cette théorie à celle des dispositifs de captation. O. Favereau et al. montrent qu'il existe une parfaite correspondance entre ces zones de marché et les conventions citées précédemment (2002). A la zone paradoxale, correspond la convention domestique. A la zone explosive correspond la convention industrielle. Et à la zone ordinaire correspond la convention marchande. En dépit de présupposés théoriques divergents quant au rôle des incertitudes et de la concurrence (voir à ce sujet Callon, 2002), il me semble en conséquence fondé de chercher un lien entre créneaux commerciaux et dispositifs de captation.

Méthodologie

La recherche porte sur des entreprises du bâtiment de moins de 20 salariés. Il s'agit d'analyser comment le recours aux dispositifs de confiance varie en fonction de leurs conventions de qualité et de leur positionnement stratégique. Les données ont été collectées au moyen de deux enquêtes par questionnaire menées en 2002 : l'enquête Professions et l'enquête Stratégies.

L'enquête Professions se base sur un échantillon de 300 entreprises couvrant les principaux corps de métier du bâtiment. Le questionnaire porte sur le recours aux dispositifs professionnels et organisationnels. L'enquête a été réalisée au cours des congrès annuels, organisés par famille de métiers, de la Confédération des artisans et petites entreprises du bâtiment (Capeb). Les participants à ces congrès sont des représentants professionnels venant de toutes les antennes locales de l'organisation professionnelle. Ce mode de collecte des données constitue un biais. L'échantillon est constitué d'entreprises de plus grande taille que la moyenne. Ces entrepreneurs sont de plus mieux informés que les autres et sont plus souvent affiliés à des dispositifs professionnels et organisationnels. La structure de l'échantillon est par ailleurs à peu près fidèle à la répartition par corps de métier de l'ensemble des petites entreprises. Le Tableau I détaille cette répartition. On note que les entreprises de maçonnerie, de métallerie serrurerie et d'équipement électrique ont un chiffre d'affaires et un effectif moyens nettement supérieurs à la moyenne de l'échantillon et que les entreprises de peinture ont en revanche un chiffre d'affaire et un effectif moyens bien inférieurs. Pour schématiser, on peut distinguer deux principales conventions de qualité parmi les professions du bâtiment : la convention technique et la convention esthétique. Ces conventions apparaissent, selon les métiers, plus ou moins prépondérantes et plus ou moins combinées entre elles. La convention technique prédomine principalement dans les métiers de la maçonnerie, de la charpente, de la menuiserie, de la métallerie et surtout de l'équipement électrique. La qualité y est associée à la maîtrise de savoir-faire et à la connaissance de matériaux et d'équipements spécifiques. La convention technique est,

d'une manière générale, très présente dans les activités soumises à des normes de construction et de sécurité. La convention esthétique est fréquente dans les métiers de la finition et très importante dans les métiers d'art. Elle repose sur une définition de la qualité fondée sur le goût et le style. Certains peintres mettent ainsi en avant leur maîtrise des couleurs et leur capacité à créer des ambiances.

L'enquête Stratégies repose sur un questionnaire administré en face-à-face auprès d'environ 160 entrepreneurs du bâtiment. Celui-ci porte sur le parcours et la formation de l'entrepreneur interrogé, sur l'organisation et la stratégie de son entreprise ainsi que sur son réseau personnel d'informateurs, de prescripteurs et d'apporteurs d'affaires et sur le recours à d'autres dispositifs de confiance (qualification, certification, label, systèmes d'intermédiation gérés par des grandes surfaces, des industriels…). Une classification ascendante hiérarchique a été réalisée à partir des variables actives Chiffre d'affaires, Niveau de qualité, Niveau de prix et Périmètre. Il en résulte trois classes d'entreprises aux positionnements stratégiques différenciés (voir Tableau II). La première classe d'entreprises (44 entreprises) se caractérise par une part relativement élevée d'entreprises ayant un niveau de qualité supérieur à la moyenne. La deuxième classe est la plus restreinte (13 entreprises). Elle se caractérise par un chiffre d'affaires moyen près de quatre fois supérieur au chiffre d'affaires moyen et un périmètre d'intervention dépassant généralement les frontières du département. La troisième classe est la plus importante (80 entreprises). Elle se caractérise par un chiffre d'affaires moyen relativement faible, des prix peu élevés et un périmètre d'intervention essentiellement local. Les stratégies de ces trois classes d'entreprises sont respectivement qualifiées de « stratégie de qualité », « stratégie de volume » et « stratégie de proximité ».

Le marché de l'entretien-amélioration de logements en France

L'asymétrie entreprise-client

Les observateurs du marché de l'entretien-rénovation de logements qualifient habituellement ce marché de « marché de l'offre » pour traduire le fait que les entreprises sont généralement en position de force vis-à-vis de leurs clients. Il est souvent difficile de trouver une entreprise disponible pour réaliser des travaux. Ce volume élevé d'activité confère parfois aux artisans un certain flegmatisme. Cette tension entre offre et demande de travaux au bénéfice des entreprises est entretenue par une pénurie de main d'œuvre qualifiée : la majorité des petites entreprises du bâtiment rencontrent des difficultés à recruter. Notons que la plupart des entreprises avaient des carnets de commande bien remplis au moment de l'enquête.

Il s'agit d'un marché extrêmement atomisé : les entreprises de moins de 20 salariés réalisent 80% du chiffre d'affaires. L'offre de services est opaque et l'information peu accessible. Au-delà de la difficulté à trouver une entreprise (disponible), les clients sont confrontés à différents types d'incertitudes. D'une part, une incertitude sur l'aspect technique de la prestation. Les travaux d'entretien-rénovation correspondent souvent à des prestations dont il est difficile d'estimer la qualité avant leur achèvement[2]. L'incertitude sur la qualité est d'autant plus grande quand il s'agit de prestations spécifiques aux goûts et attentes des clients et réalisées sur mesure en fonction du bâti.

Cependant, la plupart des prestations soulèvent moins d'incertitudes sur la qualité. Les clients attendent bien entendu d'un artisan qu'il se conforme aux règles de l'art - d'autant plus que les travaux concernent un actif particulièrement sensible, le « foyer » (Bourdieu, 2000), qui constitue souvent l'essentiel de leur patrimoine. Mais les clients attendent aussi d'un artisan qu'il respecte les délais annoncés (et le devis!). Or les chantiers accusent couramment des retards.

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2   De plus, les travaux de rénovation impliquent généralement l'intervention de plusieurs entreprises spécialisées, ce qui accroît encore les incertitudes. Dans ce cas, la qualité du résultat ne dépend pas d'une seule entreprise mais de tous les intervenants du chantier et de leur coordination (voir à ce sujet Comet, 2006).

Une des spécificités de l'activité du bâtiment tient à la variabilité de l'activité. Il en résulte des stratégies complexes de gestion du carnet de commande de la part des artisans, consistant à modifier les ordres de priorité des chantiers selon une logique souvent obscure pour le client, mais indispensable pour lisser l'activité et maintenir un taux d'occupation élevé des ouvriers. Il s'agit là plutôt d'incertitudes stratégiques au sens où elles sont liées à l'asymétrie d'information et au risque d'« opportunisme » des artisans.

Les différents types de dispositifs de confiance

Les dispositifs personnels

Le réseau personnel constitue de loin le principal dispositif mobilisé par les clients pour trouver des professionnels : plus de la moitié des ménages demandent conseil à des artisans qu'ils connaissent déjà et une part similaire à leur entourage, un tiers consultent l'annuaire et moins de 10% interrogent des prescripteurs comme les grandes surfaces de bricolage, les fabricants, les négociants spécialisés ou les artisans d'un autre corps de métier[3]. Symétriquement, le principal dispositif mobilisé par les artisans et petites entreprises pour trouver des clients est également leur réseau personnel. Le fait qu'un client se recommande d'une relation commune rassure les artisans, souvent méfiants à l'égard des clients inconnus. Les relations communes leur permettent de contrôler sa solvabilité. L'artisan A déclare qu'« il y en a certains [clients] dont il faut se méfier ». L'artisan B « met des barrières » suite à des problèmes d'impayés. Les réseaux personnels permettent de filtrer les « bons » clients. Les artisans préfèrent les prises de contact sur recommandation d'un tiers aux encarts dans les pages jaunes, dans la presse quotidienne régionale ou dans les gratuits, car elles se transforment plus fréquemment en commande effective de travaux[4].

Alors que leur réseau d'apport d'affaires joue un rôle décisif dans la profitabilité des petites entreprises du bâtiment (Comet, 2007), sa taille est relativement limitée : les entrepreneurs interviewés citent 6,3 relations en moyenne. Le Tableau I présente la composition des réseaux d'information, de recommandation et d'apport d'affaires direct. Les collègues artisans, concurrents ou non, occupent une place prépondérante dans ces réseaux : ils représentent 36% de l'ensemble des contacts cités et près de la moitié des relations d'information. Dans sa théorie des marchés de production, Harrison White souligne l'importance des interactions entre producteurs vis-à-vis des identités de marché (2002). Les relations entre pairs contribuent aussi à la stabilité des marchés du bâtiment de par leur poids dans l'allocation des travaux. Une grande partie des chantiers font l'objet d'échanges de travaux au niveau local, en particulier sous la forme de sous-traitance ou de « co-traitance »[5]. Les relations intra- et surtout interprofessionnelles représentent à cet égard d'importants dispositifs de captation de clients pour les artisans.

Les dispositifs professionnels

Les dispositifs professionnels sont des signaux de qualité mis en place par les organisations professionnelles en vue de distinguer, à l'origine, les « vrais » professionnels des « faux ». Ils reposent

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3 Source : Rénoscope, Ipsos/Club de l'Amélioration de l'Habitat, 2006.

4 Après avoir longtemps acheté un encart dans les pages jaunes, l'artisan H y a renoncé, car les prises de contact se limitaient trop souvent à des demandes de devis. Il estime que seule une prise de contact liée à un encart sur cinq débouchait sur des travaux contre une sur deux pour les recommandations par un tiers.

5 Les artisans parlent de « co-traitance » pour désigner le fait de faire travailler une autre entreprise sur un chantier sans relation de subordination

sur des critères et des modes de contrôle variables (cf. Tableau II). Les systèmes d'identification sont des documents auto-déclaratifs sur les spécialités et les références de l'entreprise. Les appellations sont délivrées à des entreprises en fonction de leur capacité technique dans un domaine précis, comme l'installation de chauffe-eau solaires (Qualisol) ou de canalisations d'eau potable (Quali'Eau). Les qualifications valident des capacités techniques et sont délivrées après l'étude d'un dossier remis par les entreprises à des organismes de qualification tels que Qualibat (ou Qualifélec pour les entreprises d'équipement électrique). Seules les certifications impliquent un réel contrôle de la conformité d'une entreprise – en l'occurrence de son organisation - aux exigences d'une norme (la norme ISO 9001 par exemple) ou d'un référentiel par un organisme indépendant.

Les dispositifs organisationnels

Les dispositifs organisationnels font référence aux systèmes d'intermédiation créés par des industriels, des fournisseurs d'énergie ou d'eau, des grandes surfaces de bricolage (GSB) et des sociétés d'assistance. Les dispositifs les plus importants en nombre d'entreprises affiliées sont ceux des GSB et des sociétés d'assistance. Contrairement aux dispositifs professionnels qui opèrent seulement comme un signal visant à atténuer les incertitudes techniques et commerciales, les dispositifs organisationnels introduisent une médiation dans la relation clients-artisans : les gestionnaires de ces dispositifs interviennent de manière active en canalisant des clients vers des entreprises. A ce titre, ils prélèvent parfois un pourcentage de la transaction en plus des frais d'adhésion supportés par les entreprises. Ils sélectionnent, à chaque prestation, les entreprises en fonction de critères obscurs, même si le critère de proximité est généralement invoqué. Ils bénéficient ainsi d'un pouvoir de contrôle bien plus important que dans le cas des dispositifs professionnels. Formellement, les entreprises ne sont soumises qu'à un cahier des charges (respect des délais et des devis) et à un barème de prix dans ces dispositifs. Cependant, au-delà d'une certaine part de chiffre d'affaires apportée par l'opérateur, leur indépendance n'est plus que théorique.

L'évolution des principaux corps de métier

D'une manière générale, les petites entreprises ont depuis la crise des années 70 bénéficié du développement du marché de l'entretien-rénovation par rapport à celui de la construction neuve, que les PME et grandes entreprises dominent. Mais la situation des petites entreprises est contrastée selon les métiers. L'une des spécificités de la filière tient au déséquilibre entre l'atomicité des entreprises du bâtiment et la concentration en amont des industriels et des distributeurs. Depuis les années 90, les distributeurs – en particulier les grandes surfaces - ont favorisé le bricolage au détriment des entreprises. Face aux limites de cette politique, certaines grandes surfaces de bricolage mettent en place des réseaux de prestataires. Les industriels ont, quant à eux, tendance à intégrer de plus en plus de valeur ajoutée dans leurs produits. Ils contribuent ainsi à remettre en question les qualifications des artisans, dont la part d'activité en fabrication s'amenuise au profit de la mise en œuvre de produits préfabriqués. Les corps de métier sont plus ou moins touchés par ces évolutions.

Les entreprises de maçonnerie réalisent la majorité de leur activité en construction neuve. Elles travaillent essentiellement en sous-traitance sur le marché de la maison individuelle. Peu de petites entreprises ont les capacités financières d'établir un contrat de construction de maison individuelle (CCMI), obligatoire au-delà de 170 m² et assorti de garanties de livraison.

Les petites entreprises de charpente, de menuiserie et de métallerie sont particulièrement touchées par le développement des produits « prêts-à-poser », car leur identité professionnelle

reposait avant tout sur la maîtrise de la fabrication. Leur activité de fabrication est de plus parfois menacée par l'obligation de certification des produits. Les entreprises de charpente et de menuiserie subissent de plus la concurrence d'autres matériaux. Elles tentent de s'organiser avec d'autres acteurs de la filière bois pour défendre les qualités de ce matériau.

Les entreprises d'équipement électrique sont dans une position de dépendance vis-à-vis d'EDF, étant donnée la concentration du marché électrique. A l'époque de l'enquête, le risque était qu'EDF s'intéresse aux activités d'installation et de maintenance avec l'ouverture du marché à la concurrence. Elles découvrent que l'ouverture du marché représente aussi une opportunité de vendre des contrats de fourniture d'électricité. Le développement des courants faibles (câbles, alarmes) représente une autre opportunité de diversification. Les entreprises de plomberie-chauffage bénéficient d'une plus grande indépendance, car elles traitent plusieurs énergies. Elles font face à une forte technicisation des produits avec notamment l'introduction de plus en plus d'électronique dans les appareils de chauffage, mais bénéficient également de nouvelles opportunités liées aux marchés des énergies renouvelables.

Les métiers de la finition sont peut-être ceux dont les savoir-faire sont les plus menacés. Ces entreprises sont les plus confrontées à la concurrence du bricolage. Certains métiers se sont profondément transformés, comme les métiers du plâtre avec le remplacement du plâtre traditionnel par des éléments préfabriqués. Face au risque de déqualification, la principale stratégie des entreprises de finition est de mettre en avant son rôle en matière de conseil, en amont des projets de rénovation.

L'impact des conventions de qualité

Dispositifs de confiance et conventions de qualité

Je suppose dans cette partie que le recours aux dispositifs de confiance varie selon les conventions de qualité et donc selon les corps de métier. Les dispositifs professionnels visent essentiellement à évaluer les capacités techniques d'une entreprise. Je suppose qu'ils sont donc surtout choisis par les entrepreneurs dont le corps de métier valorise la convention technique. Dans les professions où prédomine la convention esthétique, les standards et référentiels se prêtent mal à l'évaluation des prestations. Je suppose donc que les dispositifs professionnels sont moins utilisés dans ces corps de métier. Les dispositifs personnels apparaissent les mieux adaptés à l'évaluation des entreprises et à leur mise en relation avec des clients potentiels. Je suppose que ce sont les corps de métier où ils ont le poids le plus important.

Les dispositifs de confiance sont l'objet de controverses entre les représentants des principaux corps de métier. Leurs prises de position[6] offrent une opportunité de saisir leurs différences en matière de conventions de qualité. Aujourd'hui, les artisans sont relativement favorables à l'égard des systèmes de qualification. Seuls les professionnels de la peinture considèrent qu'ils ne permettent pas de rendre compte de leurs spécificités. Mais les professionnels de la maçonnerie considèrent, à travers leurs représentants, qu'ils leur assurent une meilleure maîtrise de leurs marchés (en particulier en construction neuve) et un accès aux marchés publics. Les professionnels de la plomberie et du chauffage pensent que ces dispositifs permettent de valoriser leurs prestations, à l'instar de ceux de l'équipement électrique qui y voient le moyen de renforcer leur statut de spécialiste. Les serruriers métalliers voient ces dispositifs d'un œil favorable dans un contexte où la réglementation est de plus en plus contraignante. Ceux des métiers du plâtre se demandent

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6   Ces prises de position ont été recueillies lors d'un observation participante au sein de la Capeb entre 2000 et 2003 et à partir d'une analyse documentaire des articles consacrés aux politiques professionnelles dans le *Bâtiment artisanal*, revue mensuelle publiée par ce même syndicat.

toutefois si ces dispositifs ne sont pas arrivés trop tard vis-à-vis de la crise de leur profession. D'une manière générale, ce sont les professions les plus soumises aux normes de sécurité, comme les métiers du gaz et de l'électricité, qui sont le plus favorables à ces dispositifs de confiance.

Les prises de position vis-à-vis des dispositifs organisationnels varient également en fonction des corps de métier. Les menuisiers, les serruriers-métalliers et les charpentiers sont plus particulièrement sollicités par les réseaux de poseurs agréés mis en place par des distributeurs et des industriels, qu'ils considèrent comme une source de déqualification pour leurs professions. Cependant, de nouveaux métiers ont également vu le jour dans ces réseaux comme le métier d'Aluminier Technal. Ces professionnels ont donc une attitude ambivalente vis-à-vis des dispositifs organisationnels. Les peintres sont surtout recherchés par les sociétés d'assistance. Ils apprécient les garanties de paiement et les opportunités d'affaires qu'elles leur offrent, en particulier en période de ralentissement de leurs prises de commande. Pour les électriciens, les dispositifs organisationnels évoquent surtout ceux d'EDF. Etant donné le poids d'EDF sur le marché de l'électricité, ils se méfient de son intérêt pour leur propre marché, mais adhèrent massivement à ces systèmes. Les plombiers-chauffagistes se montrent plus favorables et y voient le moyen d'améliorer leur image de marque ainsi que leurs marges. Les maçons associent ces dispositifs à une forme déguisée de sous-traitance et y sont donc défavorables, tout en étant relativement peu concernés car leur activité concerne surtout les gros travaux de rénovation, qui échappent encore largement à ces dispositifs.

Les différences par corps de métier

Le Tableau V présente l'importance des dispositifs personnels, professionnels et organisationnels par corps de métier. Il a été construit à partir des deux enquêtes Professions et Stratégies, dont les entreprises enquêtées diffèrent. Il permet d'identifier des différences par corps de métier, relativement conformes aux prédictions quant au rôle des conventions de qualité dans le choix des dispositifs.

A partir de l'enquête Professions, il apparaît que la qualification Qualibat (ou Qualifélec) est la plus fréquente parmi les entreprises de maçonnerie (39%) et d'équipement électrique (49%). Ce sont deux corps de métier pour lesquels la convention technique semble prépondérante et deux corps de métier fortement soumis aux normes de construction et de sécurité. Il faut néanmoins nuancer ce résultat en soulignant que la fréquence de cette qualification peut également s'expliquer par l'importance de la construction neuve et des marchés publics dans l'activité des entreprises. Or ces marchés sont plus contraignants en matière de qualification que l'entretien-rénovation et le marché des particuliers. Par ailleurs, l'hypothèse ne se vérifie pas dans le cas des entreprises de charpente et de menuiserie (27% d'entreprises Qualibat, soit l'équivalent du taux moyen dans l'échantillon). La baisse de la part de fabrication, par rapport à celle de la simple mise en œuvre, dans leur activité conduit peut-être à un rééquilibrage des conventions de qualité au détriment de la convention technique et expliquerait ainsi la plus faible fréquence des dispositifs professionnels que prévue.

L'hypothèse concernant l'impact de la convention esthétique se révèle également vérifiée dans la mesure où le poids des dispositifs personnels est le plus élevé dans le cas des entreprises de peinture. Il y aurait donc une convergence entre prépondérance de la convention esthétique et poids des dispositifs personnels. Notons toutefois que le poids des dispositifs personnels est également très important pour les entreprises de maçonnerie et, dans une moindre mesure, d'équipement électrique. L'importance des dispositifs organisationnels pour les entreprises de peinture tend de plus à relativiser l'impact de la convention esthétique pour ces entreprises. Il est néanmoins difficile d'en tirer des conclusions. Les dispositifs organisationnels sont pour la plupart relativement récents, et leur diffusion au sein des professions dépend du rôle de leur initiateur sur les marchés du bâtiment. Ces dispositifs sont, d'après l'enquête Professions, les plus fréquents pour les entreprises d'équipement électrique et de peinture. Les premières adhèrent essentiellement à des dispositifs gérés par EDF. Les secondes sont très recherchées par les sociétés d'assistance, qui gèrent la réparation de sinistres.

L'impact des stratégies commerciales

Dispositifs de confiance et stratégies commerciales

Les observations non participantes et entretiens semi-directifs menés en amont de l'enquête Stratégies auprès d'une dizaine d'entrepreneurs suggèrent qu'il existe un lien entre positionnement stratégique et dispositifs de confiance. Si la plupart des entrepreneurs concernés comptent avant tout sur leur réputation et le bouche-à-oreille pour acquérir de nouveaux clients, ils mobilisent parfois d'autres dispositifs. L'entrepreneur A possède une entreprise de plomberie-couverture dans le Nord ayant une stratégie de qualité, lui permettant d'appliquer des prix « raisonnablement élevés ». Il développe en particulier une activité de rénovation de salles-de-bain haut-de-gamme en partenariat avec un décorateur. Il a entrepris une démarche-qualité débouchant sur une certification et fait parti du « club VIP » d'un fabricant de chaudières. L'entrepreneur C est à la tête d'une entreprise d'électricité dans le Languedoc-Roussillon. Sa stratégie est plutôt une stratégie de volume. Il fait notamment partie d'une association d'électriciens affiliée à EDF, qui lui apporte de nombreux clients. L'entrepreneur E gère une entreprise de Charpente-Menuiserie en zone rurale dans les Pays de la Loire. Privilégiant une stratégie de proximité, il s'est notamment spécialisé dans la construction de hangars agricoles. Ses efforts commerciaux se concentrent sur la fidélisation d'une clientèle locale et l'entretien de relations personnelles.

Il semble ainsi que plus une entreprise adopte une stratégie de proximité, plus elle se limite aux dispositifs personnels. En revanche, plus une entreprise adopte une stratégie de qualité, plus elle cherche à se distinguer au moyen de dispositifs professionnels. Enfin, plus une entreprise adopte une stratégie de volume, plus elle multiplie les adhésions aux dispositifs organisationnels.

Les différences par classe d'entreprises

Le Tableau VI présente l'importance du recours aux dispositifs personnels, professionnels et organisationnels par classe d'entreprises à partir de l'enquête Stratégies. Les hypothèses semblent à première vue confirmées par ces résultats, mais doivent être nuancées. Les entreprises adoptant une stratégie de proximité privilégient en effet les dispositifs personnels. Les relations interpersonnelles ne semblent cependant pas représenter une part d'apport d'affaires plus important pour elles que pour les autres entreprises. Les entreprises ayant une stratégie de qualité sont plus fréquemment dotées d'un dispositif professionnel, mais dans une proportion équivalente aux entreprises caractérisées par une stratégie de volume. Enfin, ces dernières adhèrent effectivement plus fréquemment à un dispositif organisationnel. Ces derniers résultats sont toutefois à considérer avec prudence, à cause du faible nombre de données. La classe « stratégie de volume » est en particulier très limitée. De plus, une faible part d'entreprises adhère à des dispositifs organisationnels. En dépit de ces limites, ces résultats sont cohérents avec les hypothèses avancées. Le principal apport est d'éclairer l'ambivalence des dispositifs de confiance, en particulier des dispositifs professionnels. Ce sont à la fois des systèmes d'évaluation des entreprises et des systèmes de captation de clients. On trouve ainsi des taux de recours à ces dispositifs comparables parmi les entreprises ayant des stratégies de qualité et de volume, voire supérieurs pour les entreprises ayant des stratégies de volume si on comptabilise tous les dispositifs professionnels.

Conclusion

Ces analyses montrent quels types de dispositifs personnels, professionnels et organisationnels les entreprises du bâtiment tendent à mobiliser en fonction de leurs conventions de qualité et de leur

positionnement stratégique. Les entreprises recourent massivement aux réseaux interpersonnels pour capter des clients. Cependant ces analyses permettent de mieux comprendre dans quel contexte certaines entreprises se dotent aussi d'autres types dispositifs de captation.

D'une part, les analyses par corps de métier confirment le lien entre conventions de qualité et dispositifs de confiance. Ce lien est surtout clair pour les métiers revendiquant des conventions de qualité techniques : ils adoptent plus fréquemment des dispositifs professionnels que les autres. Par ailleurs, ce sont les entreprises de finition affichant des conventions plutôt esthétiques, outre les entreprises d'équipement électrique, qui s'affilient le plus aux dispositifs organisationnels. Comment l'expliquer ? Il s'agit des entreprises les plus fragilisées par la déqualification et les plus soumises à la concurrence du bricolage. Dans ce contexte difficile, ces dispositifs se présentent donc comme une opportunité de diversifier les débouchés.

D'autre part, on observe également un lien entre stratégies commerciales et dispositifs de confiance. A l'intérieur de chaque corps de métier, les entreprises ont des positionnements stratégiques différents. Or ces positionnements influent aussi sur le mode d'attachement au marché. Les stratégies de proximité conduisent les entreprises à privilégier les dispositifs personnels. Les stratégies de qualité conduisent les entreprises à s'affilier aux dispositifs professionnels pour faire reconnaître leur positionnement et capter des clients (recherchant des prestations peut-être plus haut de gamme). Les stratégies de volume engagent les entreprises à multiplier et à diversifier les dispositifs de captation. A chaque positionnement correspond un mode d'attachement au marché plus ou moins ténu, plus ou moins diversifié. Ce résultat tend à montrer qu'à positionnement commercial équivalent les entreprises sont encastrées de manière analogue dans les réseaux sociotechniques servant d'interface entre entreprises et clients. Il serait intéressant de tester cette idée dans d'autres secteurs pour en mesurer le degré de généralité[7].

Evidemment, il aurait été intéressant pour affiner les résultats de croiser ces deux dimension, conventions de qualité et stratégies commerciales, mais nos données ne le permettent pas. En outre, les mécanismes collectifs de diffusion et d'adoption des dispositifs professionnels et organisationnels ne sont pas analysés dans cet article.

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7   Une étude portant sur la restauration montre ainsi qu'il existe un lien entre niches commerciales telles que les définit par Harrison White et niches sociales telles que les définit Emmanuel Lazega (Eloire, 2009).

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Catherine Comet

Annexe

Tableau I: *Composition de l'échantillon de l'Enquête Professions par corps de métier*

	N	Chiffre d'affaires moyen en million d'€(écart-type)	Effectif salarié moyen (écart-type)
Maçonnerie	41	0,49 (0,37)	6,4 (4,7)
Charpente Menuiserie	48	0,43 (0,30)	4,7 (3,7)
Métallerie Serrurerie	16	0,64 (1,02)	6,5 (11,3)
Equipement Electrique	41	0,53 (0,53)	5,6 (7,2)
Plomberie Couverture	97	0,37 (0,23)	4,3 (3,9)
Métiers du plâtre	12	0,35 (0,21)	4,4 (3,1)
Peinture	42	0,18 (0,18)	3,6 (3,8)
Ensemble de l'échantillon	297	0,41 (0,40)	4,9 (5,1)

Tableau II: *Composition de l'échantillon de l'Enquête Stratégies par positionnement stratégique - résultat de la classification hiérarchique à partir des variables actives Chiffre d'affaires, Niveau de qualité, Niveau de prix et Périmètre*

	N	Chiffre d'affaires moyen en million d'€ (écart-type)	Part d'entreprises ayant un niveau de qualité supérieur (1)	Part d'entreprises ayant des prix élevés (2)	Part d'entreprises travaillant dans un périmètre local (commune ou département)
Classe 1 (Qualité)	44	0,48 (0,14)	36%	30%	73%
Classe 2 (Volume)	13	1,28 (0,49)	15%	31%	38%
Classe 3 (Proximité)	80	0,14 (0,07)	26%	15%	66%
Non réponse	16	0,43 (0,19)	38%	6%	69%
Ensemble de l'échantillon	153	0,36 (0,37)	29%	20%	66%

1. *Ce ratio est calculé à partir de la question suivante : « Par rapport à vos collègues, pensez-vous travailler mieux/aussi bien/ou moins bien ? »*
2. *Ce ratio est calculé à partir de la question suivante : « Pensez-vous que vos prix sont très compétitifs/ dans la moyenne / plus élevés ? »*

Tableau III: *Composition des réseaux personnels des artisans*

	Informateurs	Prescripteurs	Apporteurs d'affaires directs	Ensemble
Artisans d'autres corps de métier	26%	16%	20%	21%
Artisans du même corps de métier	22%	10%	6%	15%
Clients particuliers	9%	27%	1%	14%
Maîtres d'œuvre, architectes	10%	8%	38%	13%
Fournisseurs	8%	11%	5%	8%
Proches (famille, amis, voisins…)	7%	9%	2%	7%
Autres relations	20%	19%	29%	21%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N*	473	330	133	936

L'unité est le nombre de relations citées.
Lecture : Chaque colonne correspond à la répartition des contacts cités pour une ressource donnée : l'information, la recommandation et l'apport d'affaires direct. Ainsi 26% des contacts cités comme importants en matière d'information sur les marchés sont des artisans d'autres corps de métier.
Source : Enquête Stratégies

Tableau IV: *Typologie des dispositifs professionnels et organisationnels*

Type de dispositifs*		Mode de contrôle	Exemples
INCERTITUDE TECHNIQUE			
Dispositifs Profession-nels	Certificat	Aucun : simple déclaration des spécialités techniques de l'entreprise	CIP (Certificat d'Identité Professionnelle), CIB (Carte d'Identification du Bâtiment)
	Appellation	Contrôle des capacités techniques de l'entreprise par une OP dans un domaine de spécialité (formation et/ou enquête de satisfaction et/ou audit d'installations par un organisme indépendant)	Qualisol (chauffe-eau solaires, systèmes solaires combinés), Quali'Eau (sécurité sanitaire des canalisations), PG (Professionnels du Gaz)
	Qualification	Contrôle sur dossier des capacités techniques de l'entreprise par un organisme indépendant (retrait de la qualification en cas de réclamations de la part de clients)	Qualibat (Qualification des entreprises du bâtiment), Qualifelec (Qualification des entreprises d'équipement électrique)
INCERTITUDE COMMERCIALE			
Dispositifs Profession-nels	Label	Aucun : sensibilisation à la qualité du service rendu au client (dossier et formation) et engagement de l'artisan à respecter une charte	AB5 (Artisans du Bâtiment : 5 engagements)
	Certification	Contrôle de la conformité d'une organisation à un référentiel ou une norme par un organisme indépendant (dossier et audit en général)	Certifications Qualibat et Qualifélec, certification de services OCMS, certifications ISO
Dispositifs Organisa-tionnels	Agrément	Contrôle par une société du respect d'un cahier des charges (dossier et formation en général et/ou enquête de satisfaction), retrait en cas de réclamations	Aluminiers Technal, Toituriers de France (*industriels*) ; Leroy Merlin, Service Installation Lapeyre (*grandes surfaces de bricolage*); Texeurop, Inter Mutuelles Assistance (*sociétés d'assistance*) ; Alliance Electrique, Système Bien Etre (*EDF*)

* Ne sont présentés dans ce tableau que les dispositifs qualifiant les entreprises. Sont notamment omis les dispositifs qualifiant les produits comme par exemple le dispositif HQE (Haute Qualité Environnementale).

Tableau V: Importance du recours aux dispositifs personnels, professionnels ou organisationnels par corps de métier

	Dispositifs personnels	Dispositifs professionnels	Dispositifs organisationnels
	Part d'entreprises réalisant plus de la moitié de leur chiffre d'affaires grâce au bouche-à-oreille (1)	Part des entreprises qualifiées Qualibat (ou Qualifélec) (2)	Part des entreprises adhérant à au moins un dispositif organisationnel (2)
Maçonnerie	80%	39%	2%
Charpente, menuiserie	n.d.	27%	8%
Electricité	80%	49%	44%
Plomberie, couverture	61%	27%	14%
Peinture, revêtement	83%	21%	29%
Ensemble de l'échantillon	77%	30%	19%

1. Source : Enquête Stratégies
2. Source : Enquête Professions. Les corps de métier pour lesquels les effectifs sont inférieurs à 40 ne sont pas présentés dans le tableau, mais sont intégrés dans le calcul pour l'ensemble de l'échantillon.

Tableau VI: *Importance du recours aux dispositifs personnels, professionnels ou organisationnels selon le positionnement stratégique des entreprises*

	Dispositifs personnels	Dispositifs professionnels	Dispositifs organisationnels
	Part d'entreprises réalisant plus de la moitié de leur CA grâce au bouche-à-oreille	Part d'entreprises ayant au moins un dispositif professionnel*	Part d'entreprises adhérant à au moins un dispositif organisationnel
Classe 1 (Qualité)	73%	61%	9%
Classe 2 (Volume)	77%	62%	15%
Classe 3 (Proximité)	76%	45%	5%
Ensemble de l'échantillon	74%	50%	7%

*La dépendance est significative : $chi^2=6,01$; ddl=3 ; 1-p=89%.
Source : Enquête Stratégies

Death Penalty and Happiness in States. Was Jeremy Bentham right?

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Abstract

Jeremy Bentham is best known as the founding father of utilitarianism, a moral philosophy that values 'happiness' more than all other goals in life. According to this creed, policies should be directed at 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number'. Besides formulating this general principle, Bentham wrote about several specific topics including the death penalty, which he passionately opposed. He did so, however, without applying his own utilitarian method.

In this article the relationship between death penalty and happiness is studied empirically. Average happiness of citizens is compared in states with and without death penalty. Comparisons are made across 127 nation states in the early 2000s and among 47 federal states within the US over the years 1970-2000. The results show that Bentham, from the perspective of his own ethical philosophy, was too negative about the death penalty. It hardly undermines the happiness of nation states and it does not undermine the happiness of American states at all. If one opposes the death penalty, it should be done for non-utilititarian reasons.

Keywords: Happiness, Utilitarianism, Bentham, Death Penalty, Crime, Punishment

Introduction

In the United States, the death penalty is current practice in several states. Member states of the European Union, however, are not allowed to include the death penalty in their penal systems, although surveys show that many citizens would support such a policy. The debate between European voters differs from the consensus among European politicians. The death penalty is considered to be unacceptable by most European policy-makers. Such a consensus did not yet exist in the days of philosopher Jeremy Bentham, a passionate opponent of the death penalty and also known as the founding father of utilitarianism. According to this ethical school, governments should strive for 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number' (Bentham, 1789).

Penal law discriminates between different functions of punishment that can broadly be categorized under either absolute or relative theories of punishment (Cliteur, 2005). Retaliation is a good example of a function that fits an absolute theory of punishment. Punishing crimes is 'intrinsically' good in such a framework that is advocated by Kant, Hegel and others. Even if the world were to cease to exist the next day, punishing criminals still ought to continue. People from this school of thought oppose relative theories of punishment. In those theories punishment is not a goal in itself, but related to achieving certain goals. The utilitarian philosophy of Jeremy Bentham fits such penal relativism. Punishment inflicts pain to the criminal and can therefore only be justified by claims of greater happiness of the

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innocent civilians. To simply argue that punishment is necessary for justice or retaliation is unsatisfactory for utilitarians.

The fact that the harm of criminals is valued negatively by utilitarians does not necessarily mean that utilitarianism opposes a penal system. When, for example, a certain penal policy contributes to lower crime rates, the benefits of such a policy might outweigh the harm that such a policy inflicts on the criminals. When we go back to the subject of death penalty, however, Bentham believed that capital punishment brings more harm than good. But what are the relevant argument, according to him?

In his book 'Rationale of Punishment' (1775), Bentham mentions four arguments in favor of the death penalty[2]. First, there is the argument of analogy, the idea that a punishment should be related to the committed crime. Under this assumption, capital punishment can be justified when it comes to dealing with murderers. Secondly, Bentham points out that the death penalty is popular. Bentham does not value this argument highly, as he believed that the popularity of capital punishment would decline once civilians were better informed. The third and most relevant argument (according to Bentham) in favor of the death penalty is that it serves as an example and an effective deterrent. People are made aware that good behavior pays off and that criminal behavior is responded to in the cruelest fashion. Society gets safer as a result and decent civilians benefit from that. The last argument for the death penalty is its effectiveness. A criminal that dies by the hands of a hangman, will never be able again to kill, rape or steal.

Bentham believed that the arguments against the death penalty were superior. Once a criminal is killed, he is no longer capable of repaying society for the damage that he caused. It would make more sense, according to Bentham, to force the criminal to benefit society. It should be noticed, however, that prisons in the eighteenth century were rather cheap and that Bentham had enlightened ideas about reforming prisons into efficient factories. Benthams second problem with capital punishment is related to his first argument. Nobody benefits from the death of a criminal whereas other types of punishment actually have positive outcomes. When for example a rich criminal is fined, lots of (poor) civilians can get happier with his money (especially since the marginal utility of money is much greater for the poor than for the rich). Similar benefits do not apply to killing such a criminal. A third disadvantage of the death penalty is its identical impact on every single criminal. This type of punishment therefore denies judges the possibility of differentiating between criminals with different backgrounds, personalities, motives and acts. It only gives them a one-fits-all instrument. Finally, the death penalty is irreversible, which is especially relevant as no correctional system is without error.

One might say that Bentham's argumentation is imperfect. Bedau (1983) makes some relevant remarks relating Bentham's view on capital punishment. Instead of repeating Bedau or offering some additional viewpoints, I will restrict myself in this paper to criticism that fits Bentham's own utilitarian philosophy. Utilitarianism is a consequentional philosophy. It is aimed to measure all effects (both positive and negative) of a specific policy and to assess its total, combined impact. The question then is whether or not Bentham was right when he claimed that the disadvantages of the death penalty outweigh the advantages. As Bedau already (rightly) pointed out, Bentham did not make an effort to apply his own philosophy or its empirical core to the issue of death penalty. Although Bentham produced a second essay on the topic (1831) that was more empirical[3], this second essay could hardly live up to utilitarian standards either. A first problem, not addressed by Bentham in his essays on the death penalty, is the impossibility of generating a complete list of pros and cons. Bentham mentioned four advantages and four disadvantages of capital punishment, but it would not be difficult to come up with more[4]. Secondly, it is unclear how different arguments

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2   Not necessarily utilitarian arguments.

3   He stated for example that crime rates did not decrease, but rather increased after Napoleons reintroduction of the death penalty.

4   A nice overview is given in 'The Death Penalty: opposing viewpoints' (2006). The book summarizes the viewpoints of both ancient (e.g. John Stuart Mill, Cesare Beccaria) and current authors (e.g. Pat Buchanan, Peter Berger). Additional arguments, not mentioned by

should be weighed and why these weights were chosen. Bentham was more attracted by the downsides of the death penalty. Even within groups of arguments (pro or con) he distinguished between important and less important points. Although he explained his preferences eloquently, his choices lack real mathematical or 'objective' quality. He cannot 'prove' that one argument is more important than the next one, let alone quantify how much more important it is. This means that the objective nature of utilitarianism, one of its appealing aspects, was not satisfactory incorporated in his two essays. Utilitarianism is a plea for having citizens' happiness in mind when making new policies, but in Bentham's death-penalty writings it becomes clear that putting this idea into practice was complicated in his days.

Fortunately, progress has been made since the eighteenth century and the social sciences have developed. Several contemporary scientists are committed to conceptualizing, measuring and studying human happiness. In this field, the standard method is to have respondents indicate their own subjective level of well-being. This self-report method generates reliable and valid results (see Veenhoven (2002) for an elaborate discussion). By measuring happiness using representative samples in different states, we can not only learn how states differ in (average) happiness, but also use statistical tools to determine the causes of (national) happiness.

In this article, I compare happiness in present day states with and without death penalty. First I compare across 127 nation states around the world and secondly I compare 47 federal states within the USA.

Method

Strategy: comparing across states

In this article the relationship between the death penalty and happiness in both nation states (study 1) and American federal states (study 2) is studied. In both studies, the level of analysis is in accordance with the level of government that is dealing with criminal policy-making.

The analysis is cross-sectional. States are compared at one point in time. A disadvantage of this method is that possible differences in happiness between 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states' might be caused by other factors than death penalty policy, e.g. by higher economic development of the latter. This problem can be overcome by 'adjusting' for such 'other factors'.

An alternative approach would seem to compare the same states over time, that is, before and after abolishing the death penalty. Yet third factors may also distort the picture in that approach, e.g. when abolishment goes hand in hand with rising wealth. Moreover, we lack data, since most states abolished the death penalty long before happiness surveys started. Besides, the formal abolishment of the death penalty is often preceded by some years in which the death penalty is no longer (frequently) executed. This makes it hard to establish any possible effect.

Bentham, in favor of the death penalty are that the it affirms the sanctity of life (rather than violating it), that it delivers retribution and closure to society and the (family of the) victim, that it is more humane than longlife imprisonment, that it is a relatively cheap form of punishment and that modern technology can minimalize the chances of wrongful excecutions. Additional arguments against the death penalty are that the death penalty is state-sanctioned murder, that the state should not lower itself to the moral standards of criminals and that by enforcing the death penalty states lose the moral highground that is necessary to impose law and order. Moreover, the death penalty might lead to a hard and violent society. People have also argued that death penalty is a too easy way out for the most brutal criminals and that higher conviction rates and/or longlife imprisonment are stronger deterrents than the death penalty.

Variables

Dependent variable: happiness

'Happiness' is conceptualized as 'subjective appreciation of life as a whole' in this article[5]. This definition assumes that people have an idea about how much they like the life they live. In this definition, happiness is something that people have in mind and consequently it can be measured by asking them. 'Objective' measurements are less appropriate in this case, as outsiders have at best a limited view on what is on the mind of another person.

One could think of many objections against the definition of happiness as 'subjective wellbeing' and against using self-reports to measure it. One could argue for example that people are not aware of their own happiness; that they are not willing to admit their unhappiness to the interviewer; that they are influenced by the weather or other events with short-term impact; that happiness cannot be defined in a universal way; that languages are not comparable as a result of which we cannot be sure that the word 'happy' has the exact same meaning as the French 'heureux' or the German 'glücklich'. Despite of these arguments, there is a growing literature showing strong and meaningful statistical relationships between happiness and numerous different explanatory variables, both between states and within states. Apparently, the impact of the methodological objections should not be overestimated. For a more elaborate discussion on the problems of happiness-research and why this research is valuable nevertheless, see Veenhoven (2002). For the precise questions that were used in these studies to measure happiness, see section 3 and 4.

Independent variable: death penalty policy

When it comes to capital punishment, states can be categorized in one of the four following groups (source: Amnesty International):
1. States with no use of death penalty.
2. States that only use the death penalty in very exceptional cases (e.g. war criminals)
3. States that still have the death penalty in their penal laws, but have not actually sentenced people to death for at least ten years.
4. States that still use the death penalty.

To increase the number of states in each category a recoding was conducted. Categories 1, 2 and 3 were merged into a new category, 'no actual use of death penalty '. Category 4 remains to exist as 'actual use of death penalty'. The dummy variable 'death penalty policy' can have the values 0 (no death penalty) and 1 (death penalty).

Intervening variables

Happiness in states does not only depend on death penalty, but is obviously influenced by many other factors as well. The effect of death penalty policy on happiness should be separated from other factors that influence happiness. When calculating Adjusted Means (as in done in study 1) it is important to 'control' variables that are relevant, that do not overlap completely with death penalty policy itself and that have been measured in a sufficiently large number of states. Two variables were selected for that purpose[6]:

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5   This is not only the dominant approach within the field of happiness research, but also (equally important in the context of this article) very much in line with Jeremy Benthams definition of happiness as "the sum of pleasures and pains".

6   No murder rate variable was included in this study. Although this is arguably an important variable, great doubts exist when it comes to

Purchasing power (in dollars) per capita (adjusted for price levels). The data are from the World Bank World Development Indicators 2007 and relate to the year 2005. Purchasing power was selected as an intervening variable because of its strong (positive) relationship to happiness (World Database of Happiness, 2010) and possible relationship to death penalty policy. When, for example, rich states are less likely to have the death penalty in their legal systems, greater happiness scores might be erroneously attributed to rejecting death policy rather than their wealth.

Rule of Law. This index is from World Bank and addresses the year 2006. The Rule of Law Index includes several indicators which measure the extent to which agents have confidence in, and abide by the rules of society, perceptions of the incidence of both violent and non-violent crime, the effectiveness and predictability of the judiciary and the enforceability of contracts (Kaufman, Kraay en Mastruzzi, 2006). The index-scores are transformed to Z-scores that vary between -2,00 (Afghanistan) and +2,03 (Iceland). The Rule of Law was selected as an intervening variable because it explains additional happiness-variance on top of the variance that was already explained by purchasing power. Without including the Rule of Law in the analyses, the results could be distorted. The fact that the Rule of Law and death penalty policy might be statistically related, does not mean that they are causally related. Therefore, their (possible) effects on happiness should be separated.

World Database of Happiness

The data used in this article for study 1 are all from the 'World Database of Happiness' (Veenhoven, 2010). This database aims to collect all empirical happiness studies, happiness being defined as 'the subjective appreciation of life as a whole'. Part of the World Database of Happiness is 'States of Nations', a data file that contains national happiness scores of all nations that have been studied in the field. Except for information on happiness, 'States of Nations' contains much more data on national characteristics. This enables studying the national causes for happiness[7].

Statistical analyses

Comparing (unweighted) mean happiness-scores

In study 1, the unadjusted mean happiness scores are calculated for 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states'. This is the simplest method available. In the analysis, all states (nations) have identical weights. Although some researchers weigh states according to their population size, we need to realize that a certain *mechanism* is being studied. The fact that some states are bigger and more important than others does not necessarily make them more relevant in terms of the possible mechanism between death penalty and human happiness.

the comparability of criminal statistics between nations. Although 'States of Nations' contains a medical registration variable of the number of murders per 100.000 deceased people, this variable does not correlate with national happiness. The validity of this variable must therefore be doubted. Moreover, this statistic is absent in many of the 'death penalty nations'. Using such a variable, would seriously decrease the number of death penalty nations, with all methodological downsides. Moreover, controlling for too great a number of intervening variables would come down to using statistical techniques that were never meant for small sample sizes (or in this case: a small number of nations).

7   States of Nations is available on request for those who take an interest in the field or want to check the results themselves.

Adjusted Means

Obviously, the method of calculating unadjusted means has its limitations. States differ on numerous dimensions, some economic, others social, cultural, demographic and so on.

Possible differences in happiness between 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states' should therefore not necessarily be attributed to this difference in judicial practice. For this reason, a covariance method is used and adjusted mean scores are calculated. The influence of possible differences in 'purchasing power' and 'the rule of law' between the two sets of states is adjusted for. Also second order Adjusted Means (adjusting for both 'purchasing power' and 'the rule of law') are calculated.

Many researchers in this type of research choose multiple regression analysis over a covariance method (calculating adjusted means). Because of the relative complexity of multiple regression analysis, it is often overlooked that this method also has serious methodological limitations and is less sophisticated than is sometimes assumed. A big problem is the dependency between the different predictors, also known as 'multicollinearity'. When multiple regression analysis is used for predictive ends (e.g. predicting work performance from IQ score, school performance and age), multicollenearity is not necessarily a serious a problem. When multivariate regression analysis is used, however, to model reality, to estimate regression coefficients and to draw theoretical conclusions from them, even limited levels of multicollinearity can undermine the value of the results. This is too often overlooked by many researchers. It is true that *all* non-experimental methods (regression analysis, simple and partial correlations *and also the covariance method that is chosen in the current study*) have the same problem (substantial correlations between an infinite number of potential explanatory variables). To calculate adjusted means, it is even required that a regression equation is calculated first. Still, the covariance method that is chosen in this article is relatively easy to interpret and can be graphically illustrated. This enables the interpretation of the results in the context of our knowledge on individual states, rather than having one equation in which much information gets lost.

Separate analysis for American States

Because the United States are the only example of the death penalty in the Western world, it deserves its own analysis (study 2). The fact that each individual federal state has its own death penalty policy makes this possible.

We can calculate average happiness scores for each individual state and simply compare 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states'. As was mentioned before, doing a t-test and testing for significance makes little methodological sense. The selected 'states' are not a random sample. However, we have random samples within each individual state. For that reason it is possible to calculate an interval of confidence for each state. Using these intervals, we can calculate 'mean intervals of confidence' for both the 'death penalty states' and the 'no death penalty states'. If these intervals do not overlap, we know that the difference in happiness cannot be attributed to the standard errors of the means of the individual states.

Because there are fewer American federal states (and even fewer 'no death penalty states') than there are nation states in the world, adjusting for other variables is not methodologically feasible[8]. This is no problem, however, as the different American states are quite homogeneous (in terms of culture, wealth, political climate, etc.) compared with different nation states. In 'between nation states analyses', a lot of the happiness-variance between nations that is unrelated to capital punishment disappears in the error-term. This is not the case for a 'between American states analysis'.

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8 Calculating adjusted means requires that the regression lines for 'no death penalty states' and 'death penalty states' are more or less parallel. As opposed to study 1, this is not the case for study 2 (due to the limited numer of 'no death penalty (American) states'.

Thurstone Rescaling Method

In study 2 (American federal states), numerical scales are used to measure happiness. A possible disadvantage of numerical scales is the (implicit) assumption of unidistance between different response options. The response option "very happy" is assigned a score of 1, "pretty happy" a score of 2 and "not too happy" a score of 3. However, these numbers are quite arbitrary. It might well be the case, for example, that respondents experience only subtle differences between the connotation of "pretty happy" and "very happy". If the numerical scores do not reflect the intuitive meanings that respondents assign to verbal labels, this might weaken statistical relationships between the variables that are being studied.

For this reason[9], the Erasmus University Rotterdam, has revived a method first proposed by Thurstone (Veenhoven, 2009)[10]. The idea is to have many different raters assigning numerical numbers on a scale from 0 to 10 to verbal labels. For each verbal label, a mean score is calculated. Using the rescaling scores rather than the 'unidistance scores' might produce better results.

No test of significance, no confidence interval

It should be noted that no test of significance can be conducted and that p-values make no sense in this context. The p-value represents the chance of a so-called Type I error (the chance of a statistical effect in the sample, despite the fact that this difference does not exist in the total population). When this chance is small enough (a maximum of 5% is accepted by most researchers), it is assumed that the difference between the studied groups cannot be attributed to an inadequate sample, but exists in the population as well. In other words: using another sample would very unlikely produce different outcomes. However, in this context the states that are under investigation cannot be treated as a random sample. All states with data on happiness and other relevant variables have been included in the study. Since in this situation it is virtually impossible to make a Type I error, there is no reason for protection against it. So any statement on statistical significance is completely meaningless. For the same reason, calculating confidence intervals based on 'between states variation' is also meaningless[11].

Study 1
Death penalty policy and happiness in 127 nation states in 2006

Cases

Information exists about the death penalty policy (yes or no) of every single nation state in the world. Comparable information about the happiness in nation states is limited, however. The recent Gallup World Survey has assessed happiness in 123 states, using an identical question. Additionally we can use data from the World values Survey in four more states. Together this yields 127 cases. Of these states 38 have death penalty and 89 have no death penalty.

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9   There are other advantages of Thurstone Rescaling that are less relevant in the context of this article. A big advantage of Rescaling is the possibility to compare responses of different happiness-questions. This can be relevant, for example, when a greater sample size or a greater number of nations is required and no surveys using the same question in all nations exist. Even when the exact same question is used in different nations, there are still possible linguistic problems. As we cannot be completely sure that, for example, 'happy' in English has the exact same meaning as 'heureux' in French, rescaling can be a solution.

10   http://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/scalestudy/scale_fp.htm

11   It would be possible to calculate confidence intervals based upon 'within state variation', but this requires access to the data of individual respondents. As these data are not yet released, this was not possible. This approach is used, however, in study 2. In this study happiness data from another survey are used.

Death penalty states are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Belarus, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, China, Cuba, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South-Korea, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad & Tobago, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United States, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Zimbabwe.

No death penalty states are: Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Great Britain, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Moldavia, Montenegro, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Nepal, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Senegal, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South-Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Togo, Turkey, Ukraine, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia.

Measure of happiness

The Gallup World Poll 2007 survey uses the so-called 'Cantril Ladder' to measure happiness:

Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. If the top step is 10 and the bottom step is 0, on which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?"

As noted above, this question has been posed in 123 states. To increase the number of states, I added information on four more states, of which we know the score on the life-satisfaction item in the World Values Survey. Scores on that 1 to 10 scale were transformed to the 0-10 ladder using a regression equation. This technique is described in detail in the introductory text of the 'Happiness in nations' part of the World Database of Happiness (section 7/3.2)[12]. In this way the following states were added: Algeria, Iceland, Luxembourg and Malta.

Results

Raw means

The mean happiness scores for 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states' are in Table 1. States without capital punishment are, on average, somewhat happier than states that include the death penalty in their legal systems. As both sets of states are not 'samples' of the total amount of 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states', it does not make any sense to test the significance of the difference or to calculate confidence intervals around both mean scores.

Table 1: *Happiness in states with and without death penalty*

Type of state	Number of states	Mean happiness
No death penalty	89	5,58
Death penalty	38	5,05

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12   http://worlddatabaseofhappiness.eur.nl/hap_nat/introtexts/intronat7.pdf

Adjusted means

In order to calculate adjusted mean scores, we first need regression equations that include one or more 'control' variables. Equation 1 explains happiness (H) in terms of 'death penalty policy' (D) and purchasing power (P). These two independent variables explain 81.1% of the variance of happiness[13].

$$H = 4.48 - 0,15\ D + 0,000085\ P^{14} \tag{1}$$

We can see from equation 1 that when the purchasing power per capita increases by 10.000 dollar, this results in an increase of 0,85 point in happiness on a 0-10 scale. More important, however, is the negative regression coefficient of 'death penalty policy'. When a state uses capital punishment, this undermines happiness with 0,15 point on average.

Equation 2 explains happiness (H) in terms of 'death penalty policy' (D) and the rule of law (R). Now, the explained variance is only 67.7%. A more established rule of law contributes positively to societal happiness. Again we see that the death penalty undermines happiness.

$$H = 5.44 - 0,14\ D + 0,76\ R \tag{2}$$

Although, the rule of law seems to be a less relevant factor in explaining happiness than purchasing power, the combination of both factors might explain happiness better than purchasing power alone. In equation 3, both factors are included in the model as independent variables (besides death penalty policy).

$$H = 4.42 - 0,15\ D + 0,000090\ P - 0,09\ R \tag{3}$$

Again, we see that capital punishment has a negative impact on happiness, whereas purchasing power and a well-established rule of law contribute positively to happiness. The explained variance is 80,4%, which does not exceed the 81.1% of the model with purchasing power and death penalty policy as the only independent variables. Moreover, the regression coefficient of 'Rule of Law' in equation 3 is (slightly) negative as opposed to equation 2. This suggests that the impact of 'Rule of Law' on happiness is also covered by 'Purchasing Power'. The 'Rule of Law-variable' is therefore excluded from all further analyses. The Adjusted Means below are therefore calculated from equation 1.

If we want to calculate Adjusted Means and to filter out the effect of purchasing power, we first have to check that purchasing power has the same effect on happiness in 'no death penalty states' as in 'death penalty states'. This can only be studied graphically, by looking at the relationship between happiness and purchasing power in both 'no death penalty states' (equation 4) and 'death penalty states' (equation 5).

'No death penalty states': $H = 4.42 + 0,000090\ P$ (4)

'Death penalty states: $H = 4.47 + 0,000069\ P$ (5)

If purchasing power has comparable effects on happiness in 'no death penalty states' and 'death

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13   Some researchers use the log of purchasing power rather than purchasing power itself (because of claims of diminishing returns of increasing purchasing power). As this hardly increases the explained variance, all following analyses are done with the (normal) purchasing power.

14   Because the US is one of the few happy and developed states that allows the death penalty (and could therefore be seen as an outlier), a separate regression was calculated without including the US. This hardly influenced the results. The regression was: $H = 4.46 - 0,12\ D + 0,000087\ P$

penalty states', the regression lines should be, more or less, parallel. Figure 1 shows that this is the case (although not perfectly so).
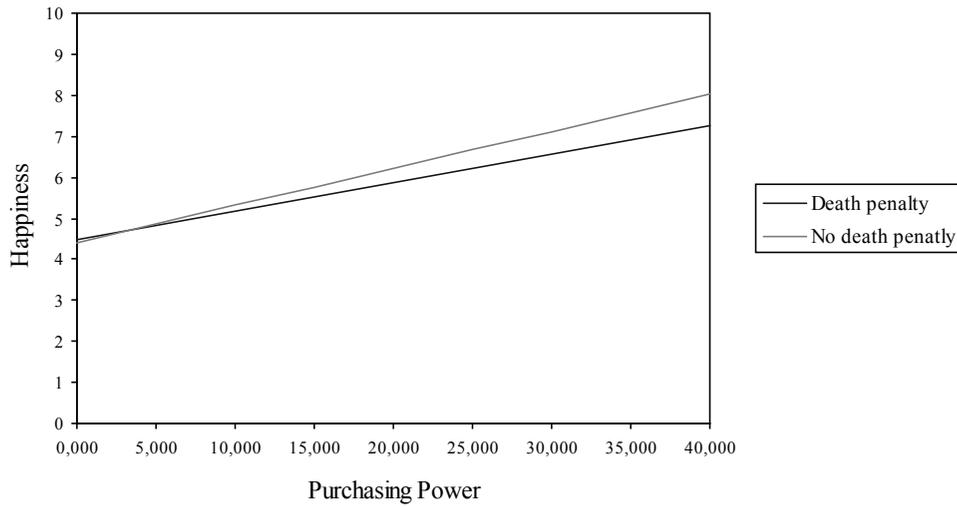

Figure 1: *The relationship between purchasing power and happiness in states with and without death penalty*

The average purchasing power of all states in study 1 is 11.014,96 dollars per capita (adjusted for prices). Using equation 1, we can now calculate Adjusted Means. These are reported in Table 2.

Table 2: *Mean happiness scores (adjusted for purchasing power) in states with and without death penalty*

Type of state	Mean happiness (adjusted)
No death penalty	5,42
Death penalty	5,27

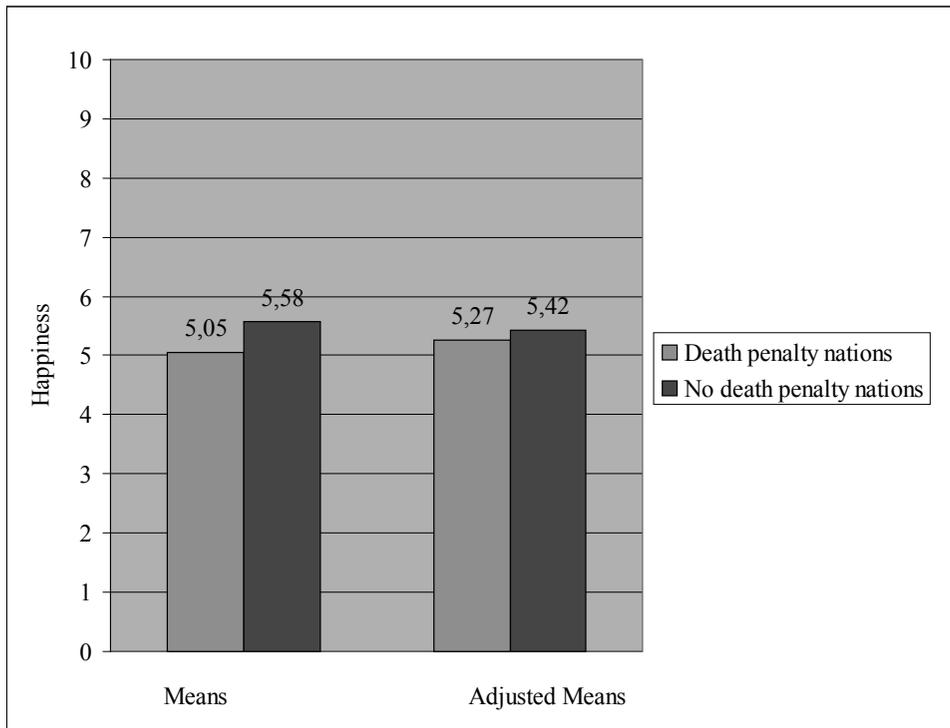Both Unadjusted and Adjusted Means are illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: *Mean and adjusted mean happiness scores for 'death penalty states'*
and 'no death penalty states'

Figure 2 shows that adjusting for purchasing power makes the gap in happiness between 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states' smaller. Apparently, capital punishment is more common in poorer states. Therefore, part of the difference in happiness between 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states' should be attributed to wealth rather than 'death penalty policy' itself.

We can conclude that the adjusted difference in happiness between 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states' is 0,15 point on a 0-10 scale (1,5%). Abolishing the death penalty is equivalent, in terms of happiness, to an increase in national purchasing power of 1.769 dollar per capita a year (0,15/0,000085)[15].

Moreover, we can say that with Togo being the unhappiest state in this study (3,2) and Denmark being the happiest (8,0), the *actual range of happiness* in this study is 4,8 points (compared to the *total range of happiness* of 10,0 points). In other words: only 3% of the actual range of happiness in this study (0,15/4,8) can be ascribed to 'death penalty policy'.

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15   One must keep in mind though, that the effects of purchasing power are generally overestimated. An increase of 1.769 dollar per capita a year seems quite attractive, but has only a modest effect (just like abolishing capital punishment) on happiness. Moreover, one should realise that a relatively simple model was (deliberately) chosen for this article and that more variables influence happiness scores than were used in the model. Therefore, the 1.769 dollars should be interpreted as a rough indication.

Study 2
Death penalty policy and happiness in 46 American federal states (2000-2006)

As was mentioned before, comparing American states has certain benefits over comparing nation states. As American states are relatively homogenous in terms of wealth, cultural climate and political system, possible differences in happiness between 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states' can more easily be attributed to death penalty policy. The data on the happiness of the American federal states come from the General Social Survey (GSS) rather than the Gallup World Poll 2006 that was used in study 1. The data on purchasing power come from the Bureau of Census.

Cases

No happiness data were available from Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Utah. The District of Columbia, however, was added to the 45 remaining states, resulting in 46 units of analysis. There are 32 states with the death penalty and 14 states without the death penalty in study 2.

Death penalty states are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, North-Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South-Carolina, South-Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, Wyoming.

No death penalty states are: Alaska, Hawaii, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North-Dakota, Vermont, West-Virginia, Wisconsin, District of Colombia.

Measure of happiness

In study 2, happiness is conceptualized in the same way as in study 1 ('the subjective appreciation of life as a whole'). In this General Social Survey, happiness is measured with a verbal scale instead of a numerical scale:

Taken all together, how would you say things are these days – would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy or not too happy?

• *Very happy*
• *Pretty happy*
• *Not too happy*

Based on the scores of individual respondents, an average happiness score was calculated for every federal state[16]. To increase the number of respondents per American state, different waves (2000, 2002, 2004 en 2006) were pooled and treated as one single wave. Because of the stability of American happiness within this short time span, because of the identical measurement of happiness in all four GSS-waves and because of the invariable 'death penalty policy' in all included states, this can easily be done.

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16   It should be noted that although the total GSS-sample is representative for the United States as a whole, the respondents per state are not necessarily representative for their respective federal states.

Results

The mean happiness scores of the 'no death penalty states' and the 'death penalty states' of America are in Table 3. It should be noted that the *lower* the score, the *greater* the happiness.

Table 3: *Mean happiness scores in 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states'*

Type of state	Number of states (N)	Mean happiness score (M)
No death penalty	14	1,77
Death penalty	32	1,81

When we look at the happiest 'state' (District of Columbia, scoring 1,50) and the unhappiest state (Maryland, scoring 1,96) it is easy to calculate that the actual range of happiness is 0,46. This means that no more than 20% of the actual range of happiness in this study can be ascribed to 'death penalty policy' (0,09/0,46).

As was discussed in the method-section, it makes no sense to test the 'difference in mean' between the two sets of states for significance or to calculate confidence intervals based on the variation between the different states. The states are not a random sample of the total number of states. However, within each state we have a random sample of respondents.

For the construction of a 95% confidence interval for the true but unknown happiness effect of the availability of death penalty in a state, one has to bear in mind that any uncertainty in it is completely caused by random errors. In our case, its only source is the within-state variability[17] in each of the 46 states, which is expressed in the relevant standard deviation. Therefore, the standard error of the mean happiness difference between states with and without death penalty (1,81 - 1,77 = 0,04 on a three-point scale) can be calculated on that basis and has been found to be 0,023. Hence a 95% confidence interval for the true, but unknown happiness difference between states with and those without death penalty is [-0,01 , +0,09]. This means that we cannot say whether death penalty increases or decreases the mean happiness in a state as long as a confidence of at least 95% is requested. However, if states without death penalty would be happier on an average, the difference does not exceed 0,09 units on a [1, 3] scale. This is 4,5% of the total range.

The GSS happiness-question has been used in Thurstone Rescaling studies by the Erasmus University Rotterdam. This resulted in the following scores on a 0-10 scale[18] :

- *Very happy:*   8,69
- *Pretty happy:*   5,07
- *Not too happy:*   1,38

Using the Thurstone transformation-scores, we find the means (on a 0-10 scale) of Table 4. Besides the advantages of Thurstone transformation that were mentioned in the method-section, these transformed scores enable a comparison with study 1.

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17   This variability was unknown in study 1, as the complete happiness-distributions from the Gallup World Poll 2007 have not yet been released. In this study, however, micro-data of individual respondents are available.

18   Thurstone Rescaling of the GSS-data leads to a rather pessimistic image of American happiness. The transformed happiness scores of the states vary from 5.15 (Maryland) to 6.86 (District of Colombia). According to the Gallup World Poll 2007, American happiness is 7,2 on a 0-10 scale. In other words: the happiness of the nation state as a whole is substantially greater, using the Gallup World Poll data, than the happiest individual federal state, using the Thurstone transformation of the GSS-data.

Table 4: *Mean happiness scores in 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states' after Thurstone transformation of the data*

Type of state	Number of states	Mean happiness score
No death penalty	14	5,87
Death penalty	32	5,72

The mean happiness difference between 'no death penalty states' and 'death penalty states' amounts to 0,14 on a [0, 10] scale (1,4%). When we look at the 'actual range', we calculate the difference between the unhappiest state (Maryland scoring 5,15) and the happiest state (District of Columbia scoring 6,86). This difference of 1,71 corresponds to 8,2% of the actual range. This is a greater percentage than we saw in study 1.

For the construction of a 95% confidence interval for the true but unknown happiness effect of the availability of death penalty in a state, one has to bear in mind that any uncertainty in it is completely caused by random errors. In our case, its only source is the within-state variability in each of the 46 states, which is expressed in the relevant standard deviation.

Therefore, the standard error of the mean happiness difference between 'no death penalty states' and 'death penalty states' (0,14) can be calculated on that basis and has been found to be 0,096. Hence a 95% confidence interval for the true, but unknown happiness difference between US-states without and those states with the death penalty is [-0,04 , +0,34]. This means that we cannot say whether death penalty increases or decreases the mean happiness in a US state as long as a confidence of at least 95% is requested. However, if US-states without death penalty would be happier on an average, the difference does not exceed 0,34 units on a [0, 10] scale.

Discussion

This study aimed to investigate the effects of abolishing death penalty on the happiness of citizens. The data suggest that capital punishment hardly undermines happiness. Although 'no death penalty states' are about half a point (on an eleven point scale) happier than 'death penalty states', this difference is mostly spurious. When adjusting for 'purchasing power', the difference appears to be modest[19]. When comparing American states, the absence of a substantial difference is also apparent. The confidence interval of the difference in happiness between 'death penalty states' and 'no death penalty states' contains both positive and negative values.

This perhaps surprising finding might, according to potential critics, be attributed to methodological flaws. On a fundamental level, one could question the value of happiness research as a whole. Although this is not the time or place to elaborate on the pros and cons of happiness research, it should be noted that the research output of similar studies and designs is increasing rapidly and that the validity and reliability of measuring happiness have been convincingly shown (e.g. Veenhoven, 2002; Layard, 2005 for elaborate discussions).

When criticizing this particular study, one could point out that not all nation states and not all American federal states were included in their according analyses. One could argue that

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19   One might argue that happiness research generally shows that GDP lowers the contribution of other indicators to average happiness and that we could therefore not have expected a great impact of death penalty policy. The point however is that Bentham did oppose the death penalty passionately and that this cannot be justified from his own utilitarian perspective.

other controls could have been conducted. Possible future research might take a longitudinal approach rather than a cross-sectional. Although such follow-ups should be cherished, it does not seem likely that the results will be spectacular. The absence of hardly any effect at all in the current study is too striking to expect drastic changes in the near future. If effects of the death penalty on happiness (positive or negative) could be shown at all some day, these effects are likely marginal compared to the well established effects of national characteristics such as income, democracy, gender equality and the rule of law (Veenhoven, 2002).

One might wonder why the death penalty has so little impact on happiness. One plausible explanation is that the death penalty policy of a state only effects severe criminals, their victims and their respective circles of close ones. For the vast majority of people the death penalty policy is an academic matter rather than actually relevant for their own lives. One might disagree with this explanation by arguing that the death penalty is indicative of certain ethical values that effect society as a whole. One might predict, for example, that although few people actually know death penalty verdicts themselves, they are negatively affected by knowing that executions take place within the borders of their own state. Although this might be the case for some people, other people might consider 'imprisonment for life' to be inhumane. A third category of people might actually get a sense of justice (and happiness) from having certain types of criminals being executed. Although it cannot be concluded from this study that the death penalty does not undermine a single persons happiness, it can be concluded that it has no (positive or negative) effect on society as a whole.

One might argue that in order to evaluate the death penalty policy from an utilitarian perspective, one should focus on the happiness of victims (and their close ones) rather than the happiness of society as a whole. It is far from impossible that such a study would lead to different (and/or more pronounced) results. One might also argue, however, that such an approach contradicts the core of utilitarian philosophy. If policy should be about the "greatest happiness for the greatest number" the happiness of victims is not more relevant than the happiness of others. To study the happiness of victims also leads to practical problems. Capital punishment will often involve murder, which only enables to measure the happiness of family and loved-ones (indirect victims) rather than the happiness of the direct victims themselves. Moreover, the number of available respondents is negatively affected by restricting the study to (indirect) victims.

That Bentham overestimated the effects of the death penalty on happiness is not that remarkable. People are not always good at estimating the effects of certain policies, life decisions, events and so on (e.g. Gilbert, 2006). For example, people are generally not aware of the fact that parenthood does not increase happiness or that more money hardly contributes to happiness in flourishing societies. Bentham should not me blamed for making a similar misjudgement. He should not be blamed either for the absence of empirical happiness-research in his days. One can wonder, however, if he actually misjudged the effects of the death penalty on happiness (assuming that they were marginal in his days as well). Another way to look at it is that Bentham was in retrospect not a philosophical 'monist' who focussed on happiness alone, but that he was actually a pluralist who stressed the importance of happiness, but (consciously or unconsciously) took into account other factors as well. Although such a pluralist view might seem reasonable and especially attractive in case of the death penalty debate, it makes his utilitarian philosophy substantially sloppier.

Conclusion

From a strict utilitarian perspective, one should not advocate the death penalty. To passionately oppose it, however, seems to contradict the results of this study as well. Nation states and American federal states with the death penalty are hardly unhappier than nation states and American federal states without the death penalty. Utilitarian monists should therefore not consider the death penalty to be a very important political topic. This seems to contradict Bentham's pronounced views on the matter. However, one might also argue that utilitarianism does not solve this specific puzzle, and that even utilitarian philosophers are allowed to introduce other criteria (such as perhaps the 'holiness of life') in 'undecided cases'. Perhaps Bentham had such a pluralist view in mind when he opposed the death penalty.

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Welfare Services in Flemish Municipalities: Measuring and Explaining Local Governance Regimes

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Abstract

In many countries, as in Belgium, welfare services are provided by either local governmental, private nonprofit, or private commercial organizations. Next to that, welfare service delivery is often embedded in local communities. In this article, we measure the prevalence of these three types of organizations at the local level, for the policy areas of child care and elderly care. Through the theoretical lenses of demand-side, supply-side and social origins theories, we also try to find an explanation for this relative prevalence. The results we present can be helpful in defining the limits local governments face in coordinating the heterogeneous field of welfare service deliverers in their local community, a role they have to play since the new Flemish Decree on Local Social Policy.

Keywords: Local Social Policy in Flanders, Public, Nonprofit and Commercial Organizations, Child Care and Elderly Care

Equality of opportunities in education – theoretical foundations

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Introduction

Traditionally, welfare services in Flanders are provided by either local government, by private nonprofit organisations (often embeddded in religious or ideological networks), or by private for-profit organisations. The service delivery organisations operate on the local level, as close as possible to the clients. Over time, this has resulted in a dense network of service providers from different sectors (public and private), although the prevalence of sectors varies a lot between municipalities. Studying these sectoral prevalences seems promising for theorising about the circumstances in which one or another sector prevails, especially in the case where local governments are expected to play a large role in coordinating and directing public service delivery governance regimes. This coordinating role has recently (2004) been confirmed by the Decree on Local Social Policy of the Flemish government. As we believe that local policies should be based on a thorough insight in (the reasons behind) the (possible) sectoral prevalences in welfare provision at the local governmental level, our exploration could support strategic choices of local governmments. This article wants to add to discussion by presenting an empirical investigation into the relative prevalence of three sectors (public, private nonprofit and private forprofit) in service delivery in two policy areas (residential elderly care and child care for children aged between 0 and 3 years) in Flemish municipalities. The article consists of three sections. Firstly, we sketch the service delivery landscape in both policy areas and compare and discuss the prevalence patterns in both areas. Secondly, we try to discuss the descriptive findings. We will address the question why a certain sectoral pattern can be observed in a certain municipality. Hypothetical explanations for the sectoral prevalences can be derived from a large literature that has been eloquently described by Anheier (2006, see also Gronbjerg & Paarlberg 2001, and Corbin 1999). In the conclusion, we will discuss our findings, both from a theoretical point of view, and in relation to the policy-relevant issue of local government's role in coordinating complex policy areas.

Elderly Care and Child Care in Flemish Municipalities: The Complexity Disentangled

Flanders is a Dutch-speaking region in the federal state of Belgium. Belgian regions have their own parliament and government with extensive autonomous regional competences in (amongst other) the policy area of welfare services. This means that Flanders has law-making competences in the welfare area, although some (parts of) competences are still regulated and subsidised by the federal state. The local governmental level, which consists of 308 municipalities in Flanders, governed by their own elected local government, has some additional competences with regard to welfare policy-making, and is also responsible for the coordination of social policy at the local level. Its main role however consists of the delivery of welfare services, either directed and subsidised by the federal or Flemish government, or delivered on their own initiative, financed by their own means. Analysing the Flemish welfare landscape, child care and elderly care turned out to be the best areas to study local governance regimes, because in both policy areas, organizations of all three sectors deliver services. As we will explain in detail further, we observe commercial, private non-profit and public resthouses for the elderly, as well as commercial, private non-profit and public child care facilities. Finally, both policy areas are relevant, as increasing demographical (e.g. ageing population) and societal trends (e.g. higher labour participation of women), press government to expand service supply in both areas.

Residential elderly care in Flanders

Professional residential elderly care is about people moving permanently out of their house. People can go to a residential home for elderly care (a so-called resthouse), or a serviceflat. A serviceflat offers less specialistic care than a residential home does, and is designed for people that are still able to live autonomously and independent. People with special needs of a medical or nursery nature can go to a residential home were these care facilities are offered, besides common household facilities such as meals and leisure. There are approximately 76.000 places in residential homes and service flats. Most places (83%) are situated in residential homes. Relatively spoken, there are 5,85 places in residential homes per 100 people older than 65 years, and 22 places per 100 people older then 80 years. Because residential homes are the dominant care service in elderly care, because the target groups of both elderly care services differ a lot, and because the demand for service flats is of a different degree compared to the demand for residential care, we decided to focus only on the supply of elderly care in residential homes. The Flemish government regulates the residential elderly care sector, and has an oversight on whether the quality norms are reached by care providers. If the norms about e.g. admission-policy, respect for ideological and religious belief of the resident, quality of services delivered, hygiene, etc. are reached, then Flemish government can recognize and concede the residential home, which is a necessary condition for establishing and managing an elderly care facility. Elderly care facilities that have received the Flemish governmental recognition, are subsidised both by the federal government and the Flemish government.

Child care in Flanders

The Flemish child care is supervised by the public agency Kind en Gezin. Kind en Gezin does not deliver any care service itself, it only regulates, controls and subsidizes pre-school (for children between 0-3 years) and out-of-school care (for children between 3-12 years). In the child care area there exists a difference between recognised and subsidised organisations on the one hand, and supervised but not (or hardly) subsidised organisations on the other hand. Supervised organisations are less heavily regulated with regard to personnel and infrastructural requirements, and can determine their own fees and admission criteria. Recognised and subsidised care providers are regulated intensely on quality and accessibility, and are obliged to ask parents a fee that depends on the taxable income and the familiar situation. The recognised and subsidised organisations have a public or nonprofit character, but this does not mean that all organisations with a certificate of supervision are for-profit organisations.[3] Both the subsidised (public or private nonprofit) and the private forprofit sector consist of two types of child care: group care or familiar type care (in the house of the care provider). In 2007 there were 69.433 places in Flemish preschool child care, implying a relative number of 35 places per 100 children from 0-3 year. Approximately two-third (64%) of the places are subsidised. 54% of the places are of familiar care type, 46% are group care like. Data from Kind en Gezin show that early 2007, 83.600 children attended pre-school child care. Comparing this number of users with the roughest demand indicator (number of children between 0-3 years), shows that approximately 43% of Flemish young children make use of formal child care services.

Sectoral prevalences in both policy areas

After having sketched the demand and supply side in both policy areas, we will now compare the sectoral prevalences in both areas. We explore the prevalences in terms of places, and not in terms

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3   As the recognition of a provider is coupled to subsidies, and as the budget for enlargement of the sector is scarce, a lot of public and non-profit organisations that want to be recognised or could be recognised, set up their own care organisations, without Flemish subsidies.

of residences or organisations, as the minimal size of care providers differs a lot between the two policy areas. Table 1 contains comparative data on the sectoral prevalences in both policy areas.

Supply capacity (in places)	ELDERLY CARE		CHILD CARE					
	Residential home	%	Subsidised group care	Subsidised family care	Non-Subsidised group care	Non-subsidised family care	Total	%
Public	23.923	38%	8.958	8.913	1.153	-	14.547	21%
Non-profit	34.423	54%	4.481	21.766	3.913	-	34.637	50%
For-Profit (Commercial)	7.036	11%	-	-	13.390	6.859	20.249	29%
Total	63.382		13.439	30.679	18.456	6.859	69.433	

Table 1: *Sectoral prevalences in both policy areas*

This table confirms the assumption that all three sectors are important actors in delivering care facilities in both elderly care and child care. In the area of elderly care, there is one sector that is rather small, as the forprofit sector represents only 11% of the total amount of places. In child care all three sectors represent more than 20% of the total capacity. In both policy areas, the non-profit sector has the largest share in total capacity. The Flemish welfare policy, and more specific elderly care and child care, is thus a typical example of co-management (Brandsen & Pestoff 2008) of service delivery between different sectors (nonprofit, public, and to a lesser extent commercial). Table 1 also shows that most of the non-profit capacity in child care is subsidised[4], implying that the Flemish welfare area is a typical example of a governmentally subsidized policy area, in which the non-profit sector is mainly a government-dominant funded sector (Anheier 2006, Salamon & Anheier 1998). As the amount of places in both policy areas is large enough for statistical analysis and as all sectors take an important share of the total capacity in both fields, we are able to make a reliable analysis of sectoral prevalences at the local level.

In Flanders, there are 308 municipalities, which are the units of analysis in this article. [5]Table 2 describes the existing variation between these municipalities with regard to the number of places in each sector. The total number of places in residential homes for elderly care varies from 0 to 5251. On average, in Flemish municipalities, there are 199 places in residential homes. In child care, the maximum number of places is 4494, but on average there are 225 places in a municipality.

Table 2: *Supply of elderly and child care in Flemish municipalities (N=308)*

ELDERLY CARE				CHILD CARE			
	Mean	Min	Max		Mean	Min	Max
Total places residences 2005	199	0	5.251	Total places 2007	225	0	4.494
Places in public sector	77,65	0	2.806	Places in public sector	47,19	0	1.535
Places in nonprofit sector	98,46	0	1.988	Places in nonprofit sector	112,46	0	2.065
Places in commercial sector	23,34	0	706	Places in commercial sector	65,79	0	1.137

4 In child care only 11% of the non-profit places are not subsidized. In the public sector only 8% of the places are not subsidized.

5 For a good understanding of this paragraph it is useful to keep in mind that there exist huge differences between these units of analysis as big cities as Antwerp or Ghent are compared to smaller cities or very small villages.

Table 2 also suggests that there is a large variation between the 308 Flemish municipalities in terms of supply of welfare services, and in terms of types of supplying organizations. There are, in other words, as many types of local welfare policy governance regimes as there are municipalities in Flanders. This observation brings us to the next part, in which we will try to explain this variation.

Explaining Differences in Sectorial Prevalences

Theoretical explanations

Three sets of hypothetical explanations for the extent to which public and private organizations (non-profit, for-profit) are engaged in welfare service delivery can be derived from a large literature on theorising, that has been eloquently described by Anheier (2006, see also Anheier and Ben-Ner 2003, Grönbjerg & Paarlberg 2001). These hypothetical explanations can be linked to (a) demand-side factors, (b) supply-side factors and (c) 'social origins' of the municipality.

a) *Demand-side explanations*

The first theoretical direction looks at the demand for welfare provision, or the needs for elderly and child care in municipalities. According to this line of reasoning, supply of elderly and child care will be organized in those municipalities where there is a demand that is large enough. However, this assumption cannot explain which sector (public, nonprofit, forprofit) will supply the services in case of large demand. Therefore, we need other demand-side factors in a theoretical model. The concept of demand heterogeneity may be a valuable starting point (Weisbrod 1988, Anheier 2006). Public goods theory assumes that the public goods and services provided by the public sector will always have the quality and quantity as demanded/desired by the largest segment in the population (the so-called "median-voter"), because serving this largest segment of the population is electorally spoken most valuable for public officials. The marginal (electoral) gains of delivering services to minority groups outside the median-voter segment are too small for public officials. This means that some segments of the population are left unserved or insufficiently served by public supply, because these groups demand other levels of quality and/or quantity than the services provided by the public authority. In societies that are characterized by a large demand heterogeneity, these unserved demands will be large. Hence, in a heterogenous society, private supply will be larger, compared to public supply (private sector fills large gaps that are left by public sector supply). Whether private sector supply will be nonprofit or forprofit, will depend on the nature of the demander. We could for example hypothesize that private for profit initiatives will prevail in municipalities with elderly people or young families that are relatively spoken better off (financially). On the other hand, nonprofit providers can be assumed to fill the gaps at the other end of the societal spectrum, by addressing demands of people that are left unserved by private forprofit suppliers (market failure) and by public sector suppliers. If this assumption is correct, we will observe more private nonprofit initiatives in municipalities with a population that is relatively spoken more distressed or less well-off. Based on the demand-side arguments, we can formulate two hypotheses. *Firstly*, in municipalities with a heterogenous population, heterogenous demand will be addressed predominantly by private sector suppliers (*governmental failure argument*). In municipalities with a homogenous population, homogenous demand will be addressed by public sector supply (*median-voter argument*). *Secondly*, in municipalities with a population that is relatively spoken well-off in financial terms, we will observe a large for-profit

sector. In municipalities with a population that is characterized by higher levels of social distress, we will observe a larger private nonprofit sector (*market-failure argument*).

b) *Supply-side explanations*

The second theoretical direction looks at the supply of welfare services. A lot of literature has been published already on the social entrepreneur, explaining why people start nonprofit initiatives. Corbin (1999), Booth et al (1989) and Ben-Ner & Van Hoomissen (1991) all found that in municipalities that are relatively wealthy, there is a large private non-profit (and in some cases also profit) sector. Also the existence of human resources in a municipality (e.g. socio-economic status, education-levels, or age) may contribute positively to the size of the nonprofit sector (Galper 1999, Lincoln 1977, Guterbock & Fries 1997). These features point at a potential existence of entrepreneurs, which may be a prerequisite for a strong private sector (James 1987, Rose-Ackerman 1996, Young 1983). We can argue that in a municipality that is characterized by an averagely wealthy, well-educated and middle-aged population, there will be a large private welfare sector, because conditions for entrepreneurship are good. Based on the supply-side arguments, we can hypothesize that in municipalities with a population that is wealthy, well-educated and has a large segment of middle-aged people, there will be fertile conditions for entrepreneurship, from which a large private sector can emerge (*entrepreneurship argument*).

c) '*Social origins' of the municipality*

Social origins theory (Salamon & Anheier 1998, Anheier 2006) explains the prevalence of different sectors in public service delivery as the result of economic, social and political factors. Although the theory was initially developed by Salamon and Anheier for explaining size and composition of the nonprofit sector cross-nationally, some of the social origins arguments on sectoral prevalence could also be tested on the local governmental level. As Flanders is a prototype of a pillarized society in which ideological organisations were/are strongly tied to specific political parties, electoral success of political parties at the local level in particular may be an important factor for explaining sectoral prevalences. Ideologically, we could link the non-profit sector to the christian-democrat party (historically supporting private initiatives by religious congregations), the public sector can be linked to the socialist party (supporting public collectivistic service delivery), while the commercial sector is tied to the liberal party (supporting market solutions and private initiative for welfare service delivery). Hence, according to a social origins explanation, we may assume that the strength of a certain sector (public, nonprofit, commercial) in a municipality may depend on the dominant political ideology in that municipality. Moreover, and related to that, we can look at local governmental spending for social and welfare purposes. In the case where there is a lot of local governmental welfare funding, we might expect a larger public sector in providing welfare services, compared to the private sector. *Hence*, we can hypothesize that the prevalence of different sectors in welfare service delivery depends on the dominant political ideology in a municipality (*dominant ideology argument*). In municipalities in which the christian-democrat party has a relative large share of seats in the municipality council, the non-profit sector will be larger. In municipalities with a strong social-democrat party, the public sector will be dominant. In municipalities with a strong liberal party, the commercial sector will be stronger. *Secondly*, we can hypothesize that in municipalities with a lot of local governmental welfare and social spending, there will be a larger public sector in elderly and child care provision, compared to the private sector (*local governmental spending argument*).

Method and measurement

For testing the hypotheses formulated above, we perform linear regression analysis. The relative number of places in residential elderly care and child care facilities per municipality are the dependent variables. This is the number of places in (a) public, (b) private nonprofit and (c) private commercial residential homes or child care initiatives, divided by the total number of places in residential homes or child care initiatives in the municipality. Each municipality thus receives scores for the relative prevalence of places in elderly and child care facilities for three sectors (public/nonprofit/commercial). This score ranges from 0 to 1, with intermediate positions. For example, a municipality receiving score '0,5' for commercial elderly care supply, means that half of the supply in elderly is delivered by private commercial organizations in that municipality. As to the independent variables, the *demand heterogeneity* is measured by looking at the span of income. This is a measure of income heterogeneity and represents the difference (in euros) between the third and the first quartile (interquartile difference). A large interquartile difference suggest a large span of income, hence large income heterogeneity. A second demand variable is the number of *distressed people*. This variable is operationalised differently in both policy areas. In elderly care, it can be measured by looking at the number of elderly people that receives the minimal guaranteed income[6] per 1000 people of 65+. In child care, it can be measured by looking at the number of births in underprivileged families[7] related to the total number of births. As to supply-side variables, we look at some measures that give an indication of the *potential entrepreneurship* in the municipality. First, the mean income that was declared to the fiscal authorities in a municipality. Second, the percentage of people in the age category of 40-59 years. Third, the number of low educated people that are unemployed (per 1.000 inhabitants). These measures are used, as previous research has shown that (social) entrepreneurship is more likely to be observed with middle-aged people that are relatively well-off (financially) or have had a higher education (e.g. Galper 1999). For measuring the social origins variables, we first use the *dominant political ideology* of a municipality as an independent variable. Therefore we use the electoral success of three political parties (christian-democrat CD&V, social-democrat SP.a, and liberal VLD) in the elections for the local council in 1976 and 2000. We have constructed an index that reflects the mean electoral score of these parties for both election-years. By using an index that covers electoral scores over 25 years, we hope to be able to capture some aspects of dominant and persistent political ideologies in municipalities, rather than election-results (that are no more than a snapshot at one moment in time). As a second social origins feature, we look at *local governmental spending* for social and welfare funding, by measuring the number of euros the local government spends per capita to the public centre of social welfare (the public local institution for welfare).

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6   This is the lowest income possible not to be officially in poverty.

7   This figure depends on subjective interpretations of family situations by nurses working for Kind en Gezin, the Flemish agency that regulates, subsidizes and controls the child care organisations. Every family is being judged on 6 criteria (income, educational level of parents, working situation, living conditions, health care and level of educational stimulation). When a family gets a negative score on three of these criteria, the child is being considered as underprivileged.

Bram Verschuere & Diederik Vancoppenolle

Table 3: *Operationalisation and measurement of dependent and independent variables*

	Independent variables	N	Mean	Min	Max	Std. Dev.
DEMAND-MODEL	Span of income (2004)	308	21.068	12.880	33.049	3436
	Distressed +65/total number of +65 (2006)	308	0,05	0,01	0,12	0,02
	N births in underprivileged families/total N births (2007)	308	0,06	0,00	0,21	0,03
SUPPLY-MODEL	Mean income (2003)	308	25.725	19.509	37.602	3.122
	Percent age 40-59 (2005)	308	28,80	23,68	38,37	1,67
	Low educated unemployed/1000 inh. (2006)	308	14,77	4,11	39,24	6,04
SOCIAL ORIGINS	SP.a (social-democrat)	196	0,17	0,00	0,53	0,12
	CD&V (Christian-democrat)	236	0,45	0,18	0,85	0,13
	VLD (liberal)	119	0,22	0,02	0,62	0,11
	Local govt. welfare spending per 1 inh. (2005)	308	83,87	0,000	218,76	36,92
	Dependent variables					
	Places child care non-profit sector (relative)	290	0,34	0,00	1,00	0,36
	Places child care public sector (relative)	290	0,18	0,00	1,00	0,28
	Places child care commercial (relative)	290	0,48	0,00	1,00	0,36
	Places elderly care nonprofit (relative)	288	0,50	0,00	1,00	0,42
	Places elderly care public (relative)	288	0,36	0,00	1,00	0,39
	Places elderly care commercial (relative)	288	0,14	0,00	1,00	0,29

The data we rely on for measuring the dependent and independent variables are taken from various databases[8]. The descriptive statistics for these variables are outlined in table 3 above. For all analyses, cases (municipalities) in which elderly care residences or child care providers are absent, are ommitted. These cases are ommitted, because we want to test the relative prevalence of the three sectors in welfare service delivery, rather than the absolute prevalence. This results in an N of 288 municipalities (elderly care) and 290 municipalities (in child care).

Empirical results

The correlation and regression analysis result in two interesting findings. The correlation-matrix (see annex) shows at first that there exists no significant correlation between child care shares and elderly care shares. This means for example that a municipality with a large relative nonprofit supply in elderly care, not necessarily also has a strong nonprofit supply in child care. This suggests that governance regimes in both elderly and child care are not necessarily the same in Flemish municipalities. The lack of correlations between sectoral prevalences in different policy areas thus questions the value of our theoretical hypotheses as we would expect that -for instance- the presence of potential entrepreneurs would lead to a larger share of the non-profit sector in both areas. However, the differences between both policy areas may also point at the importance of area and/or sector specific features. Secondly, we observe significant negative correlations between sectoral supply in elderly care and in child care. This means that within both policy

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8 We collected relevant data from several existing databases like (1) local statistics provided by the Research Department of the Flemish government (Studiedienst Vlaamse regering), (2) statistics provided by the Flemish Child Care Agency (Kind en Gezin), (3) statistics provided by the Department of Welfare of the Flemish government, and (4) the Agency for Internal Policy (Agentschap voor Binnenlands Bestuur). The data on local elections were received from colleagues of the Free University Brussels (VUB).

areas, there seems to be a kind of push aside effect between sectors. In other words, in municipalities where one sector is dominant, the other two sectors are less involved in the service delivery in that municipality.[9]

Table 4: *Summary of the linear regression analysis, standardized Beta-coefficients*
(Sig.: *** .01/** .05/* .10)

Independents	Prediction[7]	Public Supply (relative)		Nonprofit supply (relative)		Commercial supply (relative)	
		Elderly care N=288	Child care N=290	Elderly care N=288	Child care N=290	Elderly care N=288	Child care N=290
DEMAND							
Span of income	- (public) + (private)	-0,12**	0,05	0,06	-0,01	0,08	-0,3
Distressed +65/1000 people of +65	+ (nonprofit) - (profit)	0,01	■	0,09	■	-0,14**	■
Distressed children	+ (nonprofit) - (profit)	■	0,04	■	0,21***	■	-0,24***
Adjusted R²		0,01	0,00	0,00	0,04	0,03	0,05
F		2,28	0,35	1,17	6,92	4,72	8,19
Sig.		0,10	0,70	0,31	0,00	0,01	0,00
SUPPLY							
Mean income	+ (private)	0,09	0,13	-0,17**	0,00	0,12	-0,10
Percent age 40-59	+ (private)	-0,14**	0,08	0,06	0,07	0,10	-0,13**
Low educated unemployed/1000 inh.	- (private)	0,23***	0,16**	-0,23***	0,25***	0,03	-0,37***
Adjusted R²		0,04	0,02	0,02	0,05	0,02	0,10
F		5,44	2,60	3,3	6,02	3,02	11,64
Sig.		0,00	0,05	0,02	0,00	0,03	0,00
SOCIAL ORIGINS							
SP	+ (public)	0,14	-0,05	-0,0,9	0,09	-0,06	-0,06
CVP	+ (nonprofit)	0,14	-0,14	-0,09	0,11	-0,07	0,02
VLD	+ (commercial)	-0,05	-0,08	0,10	-0,21	-0,08	0,35***
Local govt. welfare spending/inh.	+ (public) - (private)	0,40***	0,14	-0,22**	-0,08	-0,22*	-0,05
Adjusted R²		0,15	0,00	0,04	0,03	0,00	0,10
F		4,8	0,85	1,79	1,66	1,01	3,22
Sig.		0,00	0,50	0,14	0,17	0,41	0,02

Three theoretical models for explaining the sectoral prevalence in elderly care and child care are tested. In table 3 the results of the linear regressions are presented. The **demand-side** model seems to be a weak explanation for the sectoral differences in supplying welfare services. For the dependent variables (supply in child and elderly care) the adjusted R^2 is low, ranging from 0,00 to 0,05. However, some variables do have some explanatory power. We found for example that the span of income in a municipality is negatively related to the public sector welfare service provision in elderly care. This is in line with our hypothesis that in municipalities with a homogeneous demand, the public service delivery will prevail over private sector service delivery. The level

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9 Predicted impact of variable on public, private nonprofit and/or private commercial supply. '+' is positive impact (variable positively related to supply), '-' is negative impact.

of social distress is also a strong explanatory variable. In line with our hypotheses, we found that commercial service delivery in elderly care and child care will be stronger in municipalities that are less distressed. This is an important observation of policy relevance. We could question, with caution, whether in a marketized welfare sector that is dominated by commercial forprofit suppliers, all demands – and especially the demands of distressed socio-economic groups in society – would be addressed sufficiently. In municipalities with a population that is relatively more distressed, nonprofit supply will prevail, as we observed for child care. A possible explanation for this observation is that the number of distressed children is one parameter for distributing central governmental subsidies in child care. It could thus be the case that nonprofit providers in municipalities with a lot of distressed children have better chances to receive governmental subsidies (and that explains their larger prevalence in those municipalities).

The **supply-side** model offers a slightly better, but still rather poor explanation for the sectoral differences in supplying welfare services. 10% of the variation in commercial child care supply can be explained by the supply-side variables. But for the other dependent variables, the adjusted R^2 is rather low. The variables of *entrepreneurship* also yield some results however. The higher the average income in the municipality, the lower nonprofit elderly care supply. This finding is contrary to what we expected, this is a larger share of private initiatives because of favorable local conditions for (social or economical) entrepreneurship. We also observe that he higher the percentage of low educated unemployed people, the less private initiatives in child care (commercial) and elderly care (nonprofit), which is in line with our hypotheses. Thirdly, the higher the percentage of low educated unemployed people, the more public initiatives (in both elderly and child care). The latter observation can also be explained with the demand-side theoretical arguments, rather than with the supply-side theoretical arguments. A variable like the number of low educated unemployed people may tell us more about the demand for services, than about the supply of services. According to this line of reasoning, we could argue that public sector welfare provision is targeted at distressed people that are not sufficiently reached by private supply. This could also help to explain why we observed, fourtly, that nonprofit child care supply is stronger in municipalities with a lot of low educated unemployed people. In such municipalities, the demand for income-related child care (the amount of the fee for care depends on one's income) may be higher, hence the observed positive relationship between the level of unemployment and nonprofit child (and public) care supply.

Thirdly, in the **'social origins'** model, one important variable for explaining sectoral prevalence is the extent to which the local government spends for welfare service delivery. This variable is positively related to public supply, and negatively related to private supply, but only in elderly care. This may be one explanation for the already observed push aside effect. The more the local government spends for delivering public welfare services, the less room for other (private) initiatives to deliver services in that municipality, because a large part of the demand for welfare services is already addressed by the local government. This push aside effect may even be strenghtened by central governmental policies. In elderly care for example, there exist programmation-norms issued by central government. According to these norms, in a municipality only a certain number of places in residences are subsidised by the central government (1 place per 100 people between 60-74, 4 places per 100 people between 75-79, 12 places per 100 people 80-84, etc.). This policy results in a situation that only in those municipalities where current elderly care supply not meets the norm, there is still room for new initiatives. Potential (public or private) suppliers are thus dependent on the local situation for their chances to be able to invest in supplying services or not.[10] A second kind of policy is that central governmental issues very strict quality norms (care, kitchen, safety, …). This means that the starting-up costs for new residences in elderly care (but

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10   In child care there does not exist a formal kind of programmation norm, but the fact that scarce Flemish child care subsidies are allocated based on rankings of communities within every province, it is clear that communities beneath the ranking hardly make any chance to get subsidies.

also for child care initiatives) are very high because of necessary investments to meet these norms. To a certain extent, these policies by central government lead to a more or less stable public-private distribution: new initiatives are only possible in municipalities where the norm is not reached yet, and it is easier to adapt existing infrastructure to the (ever increasing) quality norms, than to invest in new and very expensive infrastructure.

CONCLUSION

We observed large differences between municipalities in sectoral prevalences in both policy-areas. This suggests that there are many different governance regimes in delivering welfare services at the level of Flemish municipalities. In search for an explanation of these differences in sectoral prevalence, we developed hypotheses that are linked to three different theoretical models (demand, supply and municipality features). Statistical analysis shows that these models at best can only be partially supported. Still, some variables have some significant explanatory power. The findings, however, urge for a better contextualization of explanations. The explanatory value of the variables that turned out to be our strongest predictors - 'social distress', 'unemployment', and 'local government spending' – can only be fully understood when contextualizing them in the context of Flemish governmental policies in both policy areas of child care and elderly care. This is especially the case in countries like Flanders, that are characterized by a large private sector besides a large public sector, and where nonprofits are heavily subsidized and regulated by central (Flemish) government. In Flanders, both public sector and private sector serve the same target group with the same (governmental) means. This is a different situation compared to countries where the private (nonprofit) sector has less direct links with government, and is mainly funded by fees and donations (Anheier 2006).

   As we observed no correlation between the sectoral prevalences in both policy areas, our analysis suggested that area specific features may determine to a large extent the relative prevalence of each sector. The fact that the size of child care organisations is often smaller, compared to the size of residential homes for elderly care, makes it more plausible that two or more sectors are present in child care in a given municipality. Also the use of explicit or implict programmation norms determines if a sector will be active in a municipality and to what extent. The existence of a governmental programmation norm for residential homes leads for instance to a stronger[11] push aside effect in elderly care than in child care. The fact that the Flemish government uses the number of distressed children as one of its criteria to allocate scarce resources to public and/or non-profit organisations in municipoalities explains the larger share of the non-profit sector in municipalities with a lot of disstressed children.

   From a policy point of view, this article also implies important issues for discussion and further research. We can conclude, in general terms, that local governments only have little room for manoeuvre in coordinating and steering local social policy. They are, however, expected to do so according to the Decree on Local Social Policy (2004). As our case studies of elderly care and child case shows, the prevalence of private suppliers (and hence the extent to which the service delivery governance regime is complex) is strongly determined by factors that are beyond the direct influence of local governments. Socio-economic factors like the level of distress in the municipality, or the number of low educated unemployed (in itself a measure of distress) seem to determine the extent to which private supply in elderly and child care is present at the local level. Moreover, the supply of child care and elderly care is also determined, directly or indirectly, by central governmental policy in the policy area concerned. This is important, as the steering authority of local governments towards private suppliers operating at its territory is

11   Further analysis showed that in 162 of the 308 municipalities only one sector was delivering elderly care. Such a hegemonic situation was less frequent (only in 90 municipalities) in child care.

virtually inexisting, because private suppliers are regulated (subsidised, controlled, …) by central government (Verschuere & De Rynck 2009). So the more private supply, the harder to direct the service delivery field, it seems. The only influence local government has at its disposal, is the possibility to organize elderly care or child care via own local governmental initiatives. We observe a push aside effect, in the sense that in local governments with a large own supply there is fewer private supply. In this scenario, directing the service delivery field seems easier, as local governments can hierarchically steer their own service supplying organizations. But, knowing that a lot of local governments in Flanders operate at a very small scale (57% of Flemish local governments have less that 15.000 inhabitants), it will depend on the (financial) capacities of local governments whether they can provide a lot of own service delivery.

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Annex

Table 5: *Correlation-analysis (Pearson) between the dependent variables (Sig: ** 0,01 level)*

	Nonprofit supply child care (relative)	Public supply child care (relative)	For profit supply child care (relative)	Nonprofit supply elderly care (relative)	Public supply elderly care (relative)	For profit supply elderly care (relative)
Nonprofit supply child care (relative)	1	*-0,333(**)*	*-0,592(**)*	**-0,028**	**0,091**	**-0,083**
Public supply child care (relative)		1	*-0,311(**)*	**-0,064**	**0,015**	**0,073**
Commercial supply child care (relative)			1	**0,087**	**-0,028**	**-0,089**
Nonprofit supply elderly care (relative)				1	*-0,753(**)*	*-0,436(**)*
Public supply elderly care (relative)					1	*-0,264(**)*
For profit supply elderly care (relative)						1

Reasons and Premises for the Shrinkage in Timișoara

Research Note

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Abstract:

Timisoara is nowadays the second city of Romania, an important economical, social and cultural urban centre. Until 1990, the city had a relatively continuous growing, natural at the beginning of the 19th century, but artificially accelerated during the communist period. After the political change, the city has started a natural process of reconfiguration, similar with the national and euro-regional trends. In this context, the relation centre-periphery into the urban space involves a renegotiation for its new equilibrium.

This article is based on the partial result of the project FP7 no.225193 ShrinkSmart – The Governance of the Shrinkage into the European Context, financed by European Commission. West University of Timisoara is partner into the consortium of this project (http://www.shrinksmart.ufz.de/).

Keywords: Shrinkage, Urbanisation, Industrialisation, Migration

Introduction

Timișoara is nowadays the second city of Romania, an important economical, social and cultural urban centre. Until 1990, the city had a relatively continuous growing, natural at the beginning of the 19th century, but artificially accelerated during the communist period. After the political change, the city has started a natural process of reconfiguration, similar with the national and euro-regional trends. In this context, the relation centre-periphery into the urban space involves a renegotiation for its new equilibrium.

This presentation is based on the partial result of the project FP7 no. 225193 *ShrinkSmart – The Governance of the Shrinkage into the European Context*, financed by European Commission. West University of Timișoara is partner into the consortium of this project (http://www.shrinksmart.ufz.de/).

Reasons and premises

Over the time, Timișoara has known a constant urban development, acquiring quickly and easily all Central European trends and standards (before the communist regime Timișoara was named "Little

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Vienna"). Following the NUTS 2 standard, Timişoara belongs to the region RO42 Vest and it is the seat of Timis County[2]. From the point of view of its administrative organization, the Timis County has two cities (Timişoara and Lugoj), eight towns, 85 communes, and 313 villages. Structurally, according to the Population Census of March 18, 2002, 60,72% of the total population of the Timis County lives in an urban environment whereas the rest of 39,7% resides in the countryside. The average density of the population in Timis County (76 inhabitant/sq.km in 2002), as well as in the Western Region of Romania, has registered a slight decline in relation to the national average.

To talk about the shrinkage in Timişoara of 2009 is quite difficult, because the general previews have positive and optimist trends. The entire region RO42 has a well-developed profile and Timişoara is the growing centre of this area. The public administration working to the strategy for the metropolitan area of Timişoara and the idea of *shrinking* are completely missing from the public discourse. Despite this, the statistical fact is eloquent: ***during the last two decades Timişoara has lost 14% of its population***.

Demographics (population development and migration)

Under the positive demographical policy imposed by the communist regime, the population of Timişoara has reached a peak in 1990 with 351.293 persons. The starting point of the population's growing (at the national level) can be considerate the Decree No. 770/1966 through which Nicolae Ceausescu has forbidden the aborts. It was estimated that around 2 millions of children were "helped" to be born at the national level, in only 2 years[3]. Due to the implementation of this law, the population of Timişoara has known the highest rate of growing, as is represented. This abusive act together with other measures (various economical advantages for the families with 3 or more children) has improved the birth rate during the 70ies and 80ies. The political pressure to increase the population volume was so high that in 1989 the official discourses celebrated the number of 23 millions of Romanian (even this level was contested by some demographers).

By other hand, after the Second World War the Timişoara's native population (with a large German community) has suffered much political oppressions, such as forced deportations in working camps from USSR, in the Baragan champ (in South-East part of Romania) or in o ther forced working camps from Romania (such "The Danube-Black See Channel"). In the effort to eradicate the occidental mentality of the city, there were generated massive waves of migration towards Timişoara, from rural areas and from other parts of Romania (especially from Moldova). It is estimated that, today, here are less than 1/3 families with more than 3 generations born in Timişoara.

Complementary, the external migration was strictly controlled and generally prohibited. It was more and more difficult to cross Romania's boundaries, even as tourists. The entire country has become a ghetto, with deep, fundamental, structural and harmful insertions of the state in the private life, with fewer options and alternatives to cross the pattern.

And at last, but not at least, a massive action plans regarding the control of population growing, configuration and structure was implemented in Romania. In the last years of communism, one of the main targets, in order to develop a full operational planned agriculture, was to demolish the villages (and to force the movement of rural population in the urban space). This process has represented a second stage of urbanization, after the period of the 70ies when the entire urban space was forced to artificially grow. Thus, in 1956 in Romania it was 84,4% rural population and in 1977 only 53,9% (practically, in 20 years, almost 30,5% of Romanian population was

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2 By NUTS, Romania has 4 macro-regions, 8 development regions and 41+1 counties

3 „Vieţi la comanda" [Lifes at command], article available at http://www.civicnet.info/Procesulcomunismului.asp?ID=120, accesed on 19 March 2010

forced to move from rural to urban areas)[4]. Various studies emphasise that the urbanization process in Romania was mainly generated by the industrialization and by the cooperativization of the agriculture from the period 1949-1962. Thus, a longitudinal research about the migration of the working force from agriculture (Sandu, 1977:110) shows the following evolution:

Table 1: *The report between industrial and agricultural jobs*

the weight of the ***industrial workers*** within the total working force	+12,6%	1956 – 1966	–14,0%	the weight of the ***peasants*** within the total working force
	+17,9%	1966 – 1977	–21,1%	

   Thus, the collapse of the totalitarian regime and the rediscovery of freedom have generated a massive wave of changes in the population structure and profile. After all, the restrictions and prohibitions, the Romanian society tries to recovery from a long series of gaps. Parts of them (such birth control or in/out-migration) were quickly solved, but others (such as the rural mentality from the urban space) remain a present problem. During the first decade of democracy, Timişoara has kept the general trend recorded at the national level of demographical decreasing generated, especially, by the liberalization of the aborts, the possibility of family planning, and the possibility of the out-migration.

Economic development

At the end of the 19th century Timişoara became a developed industrial city with more than 60 fabrics (on various domains) and 1200 stores[5] that reflects a quick commercial and industrial progress. During the interwar period Timişoara restarted the growing trend after the difficulties from the beginning of the 20th century. A natural, consistent and sustainable economical development assured a valuable progress for the entire life of the city. This very favourable situation was cancelled by the instauration of the communist regime that has started by the nationalization of the any private property (fabrics, houses, buildings, land etc.), by the inhibition of the any local civic responses. During the period between the 60ies and the 70ies, Romania has known a massive process of industrialization and urbanization. Without any scientific or strategic approach, the political goals were to achieve, through an empirical manner, with any costs and sacrifices, a "multi-lateral developed socialist society". The Romanian society was deep affected into its structures and functions. Timişoara has passed the similar period of artificial changes with its industrialization process, without a full connection with its cultural background, tradition or specific. Thus, here were built large industrial facilities, dedicated to the income working forces.

   Into the 80ies, Timişoara has become a "grey" city, integrated in the centralized planned economy forced by the communist political system. The traditional famous enterprises – such "Timişoreana" (1716, beer), Elba (former "Dura", electrical corps from 1921), Guban (1937, chemistry) etc. (all of them under the state control) were interfered with new industrial platforms more or less adequate to the profile and specific of the city. All these industrial areas were built around the residential space, without any strategically estimation of the urban development.

   After the political changes, many of industrialization establishments were shutdown and lots of jobs were lost. But, contrary to other many cases from Romania, the old economical structures were quickly replaced by other new concerns. Many international corporations have considerate Timişoara an attractive city and now here there are many new companies and business. All these

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4   in accordance with Demographic Annual of R.S.R. 1974 and Census 1977

5   *** *Timisoara* electronic article available at http://www.timisoreni.ro/info/generalitati/Timisoara.html, last accessed 8 February 2010

have kept in Timişoara the lower rate of unemployment from Romania (less than 2% in 2006 and 2007). The multicultural and multiethnic profiles of Timişoara's population have represented very good reasons for foreign investors. Several multinational corporations have deployed a local subsidiary in or around Timişoara, such: Alcatel Lucent, Coca-Cola, Continental, Draxlmaier, Linde Gas, Nestle, Procter&Gamble, Siemens, etc. Thus, right now in Timişoara is living the larger Italian businessmen community, and also, a large community of investors from the Arabian space, and from Turkey.

Settlement system

In the second half of 19th century many technological innovations have improved the urban life of Timişoara: the telegraphy in 1853; in 1857 Timişoara became the first city from Romania with public illumination with gas; in 1857 Timişoara was connected to the European railroad system; in 1867 the trams with horses; in 1881 there were installed modern phone networks; in 1884 Timişoara became the first city from Europe with electrical illumination on streets; in 1895 the streets were asphalted; in 1899 the electrical trams; between 1912-1914 there were upgraded the sewer systems.

Nowadays, the public transportation is assured by a network of trams (145,8km), buses (183,2km) and trolleybuses (70.46km). The streets network inside Timişoara has 574 km with a surface of 603 ha[6].

During 1965-1990, the urban area of the city of Timişoara is extended with residential neighbourhoods and with industrial platforms. Thus, in the 60ies, blocks of bricks have been built inside the central area. At the end of the 60ies, industrial facilities for concrete preparation have been developed, and it was begun the construction of the residential areas for workers, with a radial emplacement, around the old city fortress. Between 1970 and 1990 was reached the peak of the house's building from the entire history of the city. The industrial areas of the city were concentrically developed (Burgess, 1925): industrial buildings surrounded by residential places with urban infrastructure, public institutions and utilities, commercial spaces etc. A large part of this urban development was based on demolishing entire neighbourhoods of houses on built on ground. All the affected owners have received (by judicial decisions) money for the land and a block-flat apartment for the house.

The prices of the houses and the rent costs in the period 1968-1990 was relative stable, but without correspondence with the real price of the building (during this period we cannot speak about a functional real estate market). The stock house and the volume of the house constructions did not relate to the demand came from the market, but to the political projections related to the industrial development and to the changing of the rural population in the working class of the urban "new man". In 1985, the urban population of Romania achieves and exceeds the level of 50%; nowadays the urbanization grade is above 55%.

Other factors

Another main characteristic of Timişoara is its geographical position close by the borders with Hungary and with Serbia (former Yugoslavia). Thus, Timişoara was always in contact with other foreign models and its specific multicultural profile has assured a very good assimilation of all these contents (from economical local interchanges to cultural representations, from fashion to TV programs and so on). This label of "the most occidental city of Romania" has had a consistent contribution in attracting people from all around the country. By other hand, the accessibility of two foreign countries (Serbia and Hungary) has represented a facilitation of the perspective of

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6   Data presented by the INSEE (National Statistics Institute) and available on the Timisoara City Hall web page, at http://www.primari-atm.ro/timisoara/index.php, last accessed 15 January 2010

international (out-) migration. From Timişoara it was quite easy to go in Europe, especially when the political condition has allowed that.

There are not less important the metropolitan strategies developed and implemented by the municipality. In the next several years this territory will become a metropolitan area and this new administrative status will have a major impact on the city. For around five years all the villages close to city have been very attractive residential neighbourhoods. Thus, we can already talk about a process of suburbanization that will have very soon an administrative and financial support from the municipal budget; even this trend will affect directly the city core.

Dynamics

Timişoara, as a very important Romanian city, close to Central Europe, with a consistent student population (mostly temporary) has known a high level of dynamics in its demographical structure, profile and configuration. With high levels of incoming and outgoing inhabitants, the city of Timişoara has represented for a long period an occidental gate towards the Central and Western Europe, USA and Canada.

The decreasing of the population because of the low fertility rate has generated other demographical phenomenon, such ageing.

If in 1990, the peak of the trend line is around 20-24 years, in 2009 this level is increasing with 10 years (to 30-34). The differences between the two periods (1990 and 2009) are significant especially for younger ages: 0-4 ages 46,5%, 5-9 ages 58,3% and 51,8% (the decreasing in 2009 from 1990).

In around 20 years, the average age of the population has grown with 5.9 years in 2008, and after that it has decreased with 0.4 years. With this trend, the average age of Timişoara's population has a real risk to cross the limit of fertility (49 years) with all massive negative consequences for its further development. With other words, the year 2009 has a different profile or manifestation comparatively with the previous period. A direct explanation can be found in the evolution of the natural change of population. Thus, from 1991 the natural spore has become negative, and the number of births was in a continuous decreasing until 2002. From 3.302 newborn babies in 1990 it was a decrease till 2201 in 2002 and after that the number increased till 3.175 in 2008. From 1992 to 2007 the number of deaths was constantly higher than the number of births. *The negative spore during this period has cumulated a decreasing of population with 7,718 inhabitants (2,19%).*

Another aspect, that is very relevant for this analysis, is represented by the evolution of the emigrants and immigrants from Timişoara. Due to a not so elaborated evidence regarding the migration of the population, it is still quite difficult to use some general indicators, such as: "establishing in the locality" or "leaving the locality". The current procedure does not record the national destinations of the persons that are moving out/in the city. So, the only available statistics with the regional migration is the census. Other relevant data that can be used is represented by the evolution of emigrants and immigrants. Thus, from 1994 until 2007 the number of persons that are moving from Timişoara in a foreign country was constantly higher than the number of newcomers. During this period, 11.684 of Timişoara's inhabitants have moved away and 2.763 of foreign people moved in the city. These statistics cover especially the ethnic groups (firstly the German population from Timişoara that have permanently established in Germany during the 90's). *By the migration negative balance, from 1994 to 2007 Timişoara has lost 8,921 inhabitants (2,53%).*

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Tamás Kozma - Magdolna Rébay (ed.): A bolognai folyamat Közép–Európában (The Bologna Process in Middle Europe), Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, 2008, 368 p.

Book Review

The book edited by Tamás Kozma and Magdolna Rébay, published at the end of 2008, deals with one major international topic of today's tertiary education: the Bologna process. This reform process is investigated along regional correlations, which is usually rarely applied in the Hungarian methodology.

Two arguments are pointed out by the editors along which the regional aspect and different regions may gain importance during the study of the Bologna process. The first one is connected to the common history of the countries in Eastern Europe: the publication introduces Eastern European countries from the point of view of the realization of the Bologna process; except for Austria, all of these countries have experienced and are experiencing the change of regimes, and the reformation of tertiary education systems is seen as integral part of this process. On the other hand the viewpoint focusing on Eastern Europe is justified by the fact that the Humboldtian university model widespread in the region presents different results during the study of the above mentioned process than in other tertiary educational models (English, French, Scandinavian).

In the first section of the book (*Approaches*) authors outline the questions along which the investigations are to be conducted and methodological commitments are stated. The papers of Tamás Kozma Ruth Keeling express the necessity of the viewpoints of scholars and researchers of sociology studies to be able to formulate valid questions concerning the investigation of the process. The problem of the researcher is caused by his or her own place in the tertiary education as teacher or researcher, he or she is directly concerned by the Bologna process, thus the establishing of the necessary distance is problematic. On the other hand the subject of research is difficult to frame: by interpreting the Bologna process as a series of political actions it is apparent that it is not unified, its priorities are constantly changing, and numerous groups of professionals, documents and analyses gather around the process.

According to Tamás Kozma the core question within the approach of the sociology researcher is the investigation of buffer organizations, that is, such inter-institutions and organizations that through their administrative and bureaucratic actions substantially influence the reformation of tertiary education. Thus at the same time the author offers a new viewpoint in the research of the Bologna process: the study of the system of tertiary educational, the administration and bureaucracy of tertiary education which may be called in a metaphorical manner "the side view" of the process. A possible practical method of the new research policy is introduced by Ruth Keeling. According to her opinion investigation of the Bologna process is hardly possible using quantitative empirical (statistical) methods. The author stands for the ethnographic method from among the qualitative methods applied in policy- and narrative-analyses. Among the advantages of the method the author emphasized the fact that with local case studies (concerning countries or related to organizations or institutions) the infiltration of the supranational political control into the everyday lives of the countries and institutions/organizations can be traced, and in certain

cases answers could be found to what causes the stoppage or slowing down of the process?

Based on the above mentioned basic concepts in the next section titled *Countries* ten studies can be read of eight Middle-European countries. The countries and the studies follow each other in the following order: Hungary, Republic of Croatia, Republic of Serbia, Republic of Slovenia, Romania, Ukraine, Republic of Slovakia and Republic of Austria. Hungary and Romania are both represented by two studies in the publication. It may be of particular interest that all of the authors are either having Hungarian identities or excellent Hungarian language knowledge who are well informed about the circumstances of the introduction of the Bologna process in their home countries. Thus the Hungarian language serves as a so-called common mother tongue for the researchers in the descriptions. The country-studies are also showing similar internal structures: the historical approach is applied; the historical-sociological context of the Bologna process in the given country, the sub-elements (legal background, teachers and students in the process, mobility) of the process are indicated, and the position and circumstances of minority education are emphasized within the context of the reformed tertiary education.

Within the framework of this introduction I would like to point out some statements in connection with Hungary. The study written by Gabriella Pusztai and Csaba Szabó Péter (*A bolognai folyamat recepciója Magyarországon – The Reception of the Bologna Process in Hungary*) offers an insight into the debates and articles concerned with the Bologna process published in the Hungarian written media between 2005 and 2007. Structured interviews with professionals, experts and decision makers complete the picture. According to the authors' observation most of the interviewed experts see the circumstances as a crisis situation, most of them emphasized the declining quality of education and the loss of values of former tertiary educational periods, all of which are in close connection with the following fact: in Hungary the transition of the tertiary education into mass tertiary education and the reformation according to the Bologna process are parallel occurrences. On the basis of the media and the interviews the failure of communication with those taking part in the tertiary education remains a recurring problem. According to the views of Károly Barakonyi (*Bologna Hungaricum – Bologna Hungaricum*) the problems were further increased in Hungary by the fact that the following of the Bologna process continued at the same time with the quantitative expansion of the institutions during the middle of the 2000s, thus a certain competition appeared among the colleges and universities within the two-period education: universities try to supplant colleges from the MSc/MA education, and similarly, colleges try to supplant universities from BSc/BA education. This tendency was connected to the fact that the content of the training is not fit into the philosophy of creating the European Region of Tertiary Education, thus, according to Károly Barakonyi it is also possible that Hungary may not be a successful member of the European Region of Tertiary Education.

Studies concerned in experiences in the different countries are followed by two summarizing studies in the *Middle-European Tendencies* section. With these studies the publication achieves its initial aim stated in the Introduction, which is, being a publication introducing the Middle-European situation in general. The paper of Voldemar Tomusk titled *From the Enlightenment to the Bologna process* shows us the correlations of "East" and "West" and the historical dynamics thereof as being part of the "project called enlightenment"; according to the author, the Bologna process is deemed to be a part of this dynamics. The study is different from the other papers of the book because it is partly essayistic in its way of thinking, and partly a professional analysis; thus adding to the multi-layered character of the publication. In Tomusk's opinion the Bologna process is not an independent phenomenon, that is, not simply a reform process concerning tertiary education, but shall be placed into the context of the historical past and present of the Eastern European region. Tomusk states that after the fall of the former Soviet Union the Eastern European countries were provided with the possibility of controlling their own history, though these possibilities had been neglected, and another route has been chosen, namely, they have joined and are joining a new block (the "European United States"). The author expresses his concerns in connection with this new phenomenon: "Instead of the new brotherhood of European nations the reformation of

the tertiary education leads towards a knowledge-store in English language." In this situation the peripheral countries (for example the former Socialist states) are condemned to be of secondary importance, and they, accepting this state, rather imitate the countries in the Centre and thus are not able to improve the common European set of values with their own additions.

The paper of Tamás Kozma titled *Political Change of Regimes and Tertiary Educational Reform* closes the investigation of this publication. In this summarizing study the author applies the method of narrative analysis for the interpretation of the reformation in progress in the tertiary education sector. Two narratives are presented in connection with the countries in Middle-Europe; both have been formulated by the actors concerned in the reformation of tertiary education, most often to represent and obscure their own benefits, although these benefits are rarely expressed publicly. One of the narratives is the joining the European Region of Tertiary Education. In this context the following of the Bologna process would help the countries of the region facing serious challenges after the change of regimes to join a unified system of tertiary education. The Serbian, Croatian and Ukrainian tertiary education frequently uses this set of arguments. In this respect the reformation of tertiary education is a cover-name for the integration of the given country. According to the other narrative the European reform of tertiary education is essential, for the unified and flexible tertiary education system is forced by globalization and economical competition tendencies. The author states that this is an argument often referred to in Hungary and Austria.

At the end of the paper the author presents us contradictions that prove the Bologna process to be rather a series of political actions than a reformation process in tertiary education. 1. There are two existing Bologna statements, of which the one issued in 1999 controls the present form of the process, 2. Contrary to the popular beliefs, the documents of the Bologna process articulate only suggestions and these transform into sources of law by the references made by the national educational control bodies signing the documents, 3. The documents of the Bologna process are prepared by common organizations; the members of the European Committee may be present only as observers.

Besides applying a new methodology for the investigation of the Bologna process, the importance of the publication is indicated by the 40-pages *Documents* section, where opportunities are provided for the readers to study further the documents of "the tertiary education reform called Bologna process". With the new translations of the original documentation it becomes possible to follow how the originally articulated aims and statements transformed into documents defining present day political decisions through complex filter systems, translations, operation of the buffer organizations and the "forgetting" of certain declarations (for example Magna Charta Universitatum, 1988). Authors have published the electronic versions of the original documentation as found on the internet. Criticism may be addressed to this section of the book that apart from a short introductory passage no analyses are included about the continuous changes appearing in the documents, though the introduction is indicative of a number of opportunities in connection with the investigation of these documents: it undertakes to introduce the linguistic tools for the creation of politics – although without any actual examples.

The papers in the publication are written in Hungarian language; however, they can be of interest for those researchers too who do not speak Hungarian: on the last 9 pages of the publication the papers are summarized in English. The book was issued in printed form; its electronic version can be found on the following address: http://dragon.unideb.hu/~nevtud/Oktdolg/Kozma_Tamas/doc/izelito/bologna.pdf.

Attila Gál

Karen Evans (et al.): Improving Workplace Learning. London, 2006, Routledge, 210 p.

Book Review

Workplace learning is a relatively new area of research in Hungary; yet, it has been known and researched by the Western world since the 1960's and the 1970's. Therefore, we try to draw attention to the relevance and significance of this field of research by reviewing the following book on workplace learning.

"Improving Workplace Learning" was published by Routledge in London in 2006. The authors and contributors of "Improving Workplace Learning" are: Karen Evans, Phil Hodkinson, Helen Rainbird, and Lorna Unwin. The book is part of the Teaching Learning Research Programme (coordinated by the Institute of Education, University of London).

The foreword underlines the goals of the book: "Improving Workplace Learning investigates the variety of workplace contexts and significantly advances knowledge about workplace learning by providing evidence from a variety of organisations to show how workplace learning can be improved."

"Improving Workplace Learning" is based on some of the research, carried out by the Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) Teaching and Learning Research Programme's "research networks". The Networks carried out five projects with the intention to promoting a better understanding of workplace learning and its significance in the 21th century.

The five empirical projects were:
1. The Regulatory Framework of the Employment Relationship.
2. Recognition of Tacit Skills and Knowledge in Work Re-entry.
3. The Workplace as a site for Learning: Opportunities and Barriers in Small and Medium Sized Enterprises.
4. An Exploration of the Nature of Apprenticeship as a Site for Learning in an Advanced Economy.
5. The School as a Site for Workplace Learning.

"Improving Workplace Learning" is divided into three parts. The first part (The Issues) is a theoretical framework as well as an introductory chapter, whereas the second part (The Findings) contains six chapters, which are the results of the empirical work on workplace learning; and the third part (The Conclusion) gives a summary - or to be more precise - an integrated approach to workplace learning.

The first part introduces the perspectives and challenges of conceptualising and researching workplace learning. The goal of it is to consider the potential and limits of workplace learning, as well as the contemporary theories that can shed light on the practices of learning in, for and through the workplace. The first chapter introduces "perspectives that contribute to improving workplace learning in crucial ways. The first approach conceptualises workplace learning as learning in, for, and through the workplace. The second perspective makes connections between the types of programmes that incorporate an element of workplace learning and the non-formal aspects of learning that run through everyday workplace practices, between the workplace and wider life-work relationships and the careers of workers and between theoretical frameworks that can contribute to a better understanding of the social nature of the workplace. The third one explores the relationship between theory and practice by using theoretical concepts for analysing

the constitution of practice as well as the problems that arise for the people in their places of work and for conceiving of practice as a resource to rethink theory and received knowledge."

As I indicated above the second part of "Improving Workplace Learning" presents the results of the empirical research.

The primary goal of any companies or enterprises is to produce goods and services, however, it is also essential for them to offer learning and teaching opportunities for their employees to become and remain competitive. Therefore, the whole concept and practice of workplace learning can be regarded as a way of developing human resource. There are significant differences between sectors and organizational contexts and this finding is confirmed by result of the second chapter entitled "*Expansive and Restrictive Learning Environment*".

This chapter is a case study, which is based on the theory of expansive-restrictive continuum, and which was examined in four companies to show the employees' different ways of learning. The case studies used a range of research methods such as interviews, observations and learning logs to discover the opportunities for, and barriers to learning that exist for employees in the scrutinised four enterprises. Thus, by exploring the opportunities and barriers of workplace learning it contributes to develop a new conceptual framework for workplace learning. And, according to the summary of this chapter: the value of the expansive – restrictive continuum is that it can be used by organisations to analyse the extent to which they might be able to improve the quality of the learning environment for the whole workplace."

The third chapter (*Applying the Expansive-Restrictive Framework*) also deals with the expansive – restrictive framework and extends the analysis by indicating how the concept facilitates the understanding of the employees' learning experiences in a variety of sectors, workplace learning sites, and to individuals at various stages in their learning and working careers.

The next chapter (*Learner biographies, workplace practices and learning)* focuses on the individual in the work context and aims to "show how aspects of employees' individual biographies as well as their prior experiences play an important part in facilitating the "interrelationships" between employees and their workplace environments."

The fifth chapter (*How individuals influence workplace practices and how work can change worker dispositions and identities*) considers the development of worker identities as well as workplace cultures. The results of the research highlight that workplace learning depends on the relationship between individual workers, workplace cultures, and wider structural and regulatory concerns. The authors of the fifth chapter summarise the four main points of individual workers' contribution to influencing workplace learning:

1. "Workers/learners bring prior knowledge, understanding, and skills with them, which can contribute to their future work and learning."
2. "The dispositions of workers, toward work, career, and learning influence the ways in which they construct and take advantage of opportunities for learning at work."
3. "The values and dispositions of individual workers contribute to the coproduction and reproduction of the communities of practice and workplace cultures where they work."
4. "Working and belonging to a workplace community contributes to the developing identity of the workers themselves."

This proves that it is important to focus on both the individual as well as the workplace culture at the same in order to understand workplace learning.

The sixth chapter entitled *Workplace learning: The direct and indirect impact of policy interventions* examines the different governmental policies in the UK which influence workplace learning. The following chapter deals with the direct and indirect effects of governmental policies by presenting three case studies. The chapter is divided into three major sections. "The first considers the direct intervention in the UK social care sector through the development and application of occupational standards in domiciliary care." The second section gives information on the direct and indirect effects of policy interventions. And, finally, the third one "considers the impact of subcontracting on learning opportunities and the nature of the learning environment in cleaning departments in

the National Health Service."

The third part of "Improving Workplace Learning" can be regarded as an attempt to summarise the main points and results of research on workplace learning. One of the outcomes of the research is the need to take a holistic as well as an integrated approach to understand the phenomenon of workplace learning. Finally, the authors outline five ways in which managers, trainers, trade unionists, and other practitioners can contribute to improving the workplace as a learning environment.

All in all, we can confirm that "Improving Workplace Learning" helps us to understand the phenomenon of workplace learning and its effects on employees. The authors/researchers used a variety of research methods to understand workplace learning which enhances the value of the studies. From our standpoint, however, it would have been better, if - apart from the appendix, where research methods are presented – there had been the interviewers' questions, the research surveys and other samples of the research. Apart from this minor shortcoming "Improving Workplace Learning" is a valuable result of an empirical-based research, which can be offered to researchers, university instructors, and to anyone who is carrying out research in the field of adult education.

Zoltán Tőzsér

Adriana Băban (ed.), Consiliere educațională. Ghid metodologic pentru orele de dirigenție și consiliere (Educational counseling. Guidelines for pupils` guidance class), 1ˢᵗ edition, Imprimeria "Ardealul", Cluj-Napoca, 2001, 287 p.

Book Review

Given the fact that students spend much of their time at school, it would be important to provide a safe environment for optimal learning and development. In this context, the teacher's activity has a significant impact on the pupils. Studies on educational effectiveness show that only a few things are important. Among these is the experience of the teacher, which represents the result of ongoing shaping of the teacher. In the professional training of evey teacher pedagogy must have an important place because one of the main factors of learning in school is motivation, where in addition to inherent motivation, extrinsical motivational vectors appear under the relationship of pupils with their teacher in the classroom. In this context, knowing the student, accompanying him or her in the process of formation and personal development requires a good training of the teacher in terms of educational counseling abillities.

Supporting this idea, the book *Educational counseling. Guidelines for pupils` guidance classs,* coordinated by Adriana Băban, is an instrument that approaches comprehensively all important issues of the discipline *Counseling and Guidance*. The book was published for the first time in 2001 and printed again in 2009 and it represents a starting point for knowing pupils, for relating positively with them. The information contained in the book can be used by teachers during the classes or by young school psychologists during counseling.

The book is divided into 16 chapters and it`s focused on the idea of prevention and development of students' personality. It contains many topics of interest for teachers, like: knowing pupils – elements of developmental psychology, child and adolescent personality, self-knowledge and personal development; communication with students in classroom – communication and conflict, solving the problems; the classroom management, the career guidance, strategies of learning, the stress and the stress control, stimulating creativity and creative behavior etc. The examples of activities and worksheets given in the book can be useful in structuring interpersonal relationships within the group of pupils and in the structuring of some programs to optimize these relationships. The structuring of the group of pupils and the studying of the processes occurring at this level make an important aspect in the prevention of school maladjustment an in the optimization of scholar performances obtained by the pupils.

Claudia Oșvat