

Jarosław Domalewski

Rural Youth versus Challenges of the Present Day

The system transformation which has been taking place in Poland since the beginning of the nineties has provided a new social proposal — success. 'Be enterprising, cope on your own' are the basic challenges of this proposal which can only be undertaken by those few people who have 'the right' educational, cultural and material resources. It seems that the Polish countryside does not, in fact, possess any of the resources allowing for the implementation of this transformational proposal. There is a lack of material resources which is not exclusive to the Polish countryside, yet of Polish society as a whole. It is difficult to speak of any cultural resources (here understood as a specific type of attitude, features destined to functioning in a free market context). Is this a question of education? Definitely not. The rural population have the lowest level of education in the entire society. Does this mean that the Polish countryside has *ex definitione* been placed on the periphery of the changes taking place?

The majority of sociological theories perceive youth as the fundamental factor in social change. This inseparable characteristic of the young generation is a result of its openness towards anything 'new' as well as its potential for coping in a fast changing world (M. Mead, K. Mannheim, E. H. Erikson). If this is the case, then the young rural generation should have a very positive attitude towards the transformational social proposal. Moreover, the positive reactions of young rural inhabitants towards changes taking place in Poland, together with new ideologies and new directions in rural development, could contribute towards changes in the entire rural environment. When shaping such views, the specificity of the Polish countryside, which is marked by the presence of the peasantry, should not be forgotten. In the context of the socialist economy, individual farms could, in fact, function regardless of the financial results they achieved. The free market economy changed this state of affairs and, according to the estimates of economists, only 700 thousand out of 2.5 million smallholdings

have a chance of surviving (Fedyszak–Radziejowska, 1995: 181). This can be explained by the strong resistance of the countryside towards changes and directions in state agricultural policy. The fact that the countryside absorbed a large portion of the unemployed, hitherto mainly peasants — workers, generally first to be dismissed, is a significant fact during the first years of the transformation. The political elites, whose attention was concentrated on the transformation of the political and economic system, however excluding the agricultural sector, placed rural society on the periphery of the changes taking place. Only recent years, as a result of the implementation of processes of integration with the European economy and the growth of protest movements in the countryside, have led to the government's greater interest in this milieu.

This article recounts the results of research carried out in September 1998 in twenty villages in the commune of Bielsk near Płock. This was further research in a series of surveys making up an environmental panel, built up over thirty years. It was started by Włodzimierz Winławski's research, which dealt with changes in the rural education milieu during the period of the great modernization. The research which was for years linked with the Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development at the Polish Academy of Science, is now continued by Włodzimierz Winławski's colleagues at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. The subject of this research and main objective of systematic comparisons is the issue of quality of life. This text refers to the section of this research dealing with the aspirations and trends of two generations of rural inhabitants: adults and young people in education. The following questions were asked: are values which are very highly treasured by the young rural generation secured in the new socio-economic reality of Poland? Bearing in mind the changes, what are the chances of turning those values into an important social resource? What are the basic socializing milieus — the family and the village school — geared towards? Does the cultural equipage which they provide for the young person strengthen the aspirations and ambitions which young people give priority to?

The Research Methodology

The research involved two groups. The first, 90% of the fourteen-year-old pupils attending rural schools in the commune being surveyed (i.e. 100 people). The second group consisted of adults living in that same commune, aged 18–35 (449 people). The research of the school youth was carried out by means of the auditory method and questionnaires. The dictionary test of J. Konopnicki and M. Ziemia was also used — a test involving silent reading and understanding as well as J. C. Raven's test. In the adult research interview questionnaires which have been practised for years, were

used. The resulting material allowed for carrying out intergenerational comparisons both at the diachronic and synchronic levels. The results presented further on are both the effect of simple and more complicated statistical analyses, which are in fact typological analyses, referring to the entire empirical material.

Rural Youth on the Threshold of Adulthood

The majority of the youth in this survey come from working class families (49%); peasant families (38%); 5% come from the intelligentsia and 2% from white-collar families. 4% of the parents run their own business. A third of those surveyed live in the communal village, Bielsk, the remainder live in nearby villages, and one in ten of those surveyed in the vicinity of the town of Płock. During the past decade this fact considerably differentiated both objectively and subjectively the dimensions of social life of the inhabitants of the surveyed commune.

After finishing primary education, the majority of the children in the survey (66%) intend continuing their education at secondary schools (mainly comprehensive schools); one in three intends going to a vocational school. Barely 2% intend limiting their education to training for a trade. These are very clear plans and unprecedented in the rural context. These and other pointers seem to indicate that education, or at least further education is a significant issue for rural youth. Such a level of rural children's interest in secondary schools which is much higher than in the previous decade (cf. Borowicz, Szambelańczyk, 1986) can without doubt be treated as a quick, spontaneous reaction to the changes taking place in Poland since 1989. Nonetheless, social differentiation still has a strong influence. Children from intelligentsia and white-collar families intend continuing their education at general secondary schools. Peasant children are more often interested in vocational schools. Another significant differentiating factor is still the place where the youth live. Educational aspirations grow along with the urbanization of the environment and vice versa.

Bielsk fourteen-year-old pupils seem to have quite an ability of relating their most immediate school plans to their intellectual and educational competences. Among those wishing to attend comprehensive schools, 73% obtained a 'good' result in the Raven test, 27% got an 'average' result.¹ Among those wishing to attend vocational secondary schools (comprehen-

¹ Getting a 'good' result in the Raven test amounts to correctly solving at least 75% of the exercises and means an above average ability to reaching conclusions. The 'average' result was obtained by people who correctly solved no more than 75% of the exercises and no less than 25%. The 'poor' result refers to that section of those who were surveyed who have a poor or very poor ability to reach conclusions (less than 25% of correctly solved exercises).

sive schools and vocational colleges) the proportions between 'good' and 'average' results are 55% and 45% respectively. The basic vocational school generally lies within the field of interest of intellectually average people (64% of these young people obtained an 'average' result, 22% — 'good' and 10% — 'poor').

The situation as regards school marks is similar; the better the marks the higher the aspirations. The comprehensive school, which is the quickest and most effective way of acquiring secondary education is the subject of the most immediate educational plans of 35% of fourteen-year-old pupils who have had 'very good' or 'good' results at school. Whereas the number of pupils intending to attend vocational education is as follows: 19% of pupils with top marks, 25% with good marks and 65% with fair marks.

In the light of our research, a significant increase in educational aspirations among rural fourteen-year-old pupils took place in comparison with the previous decade. Whereas in the eighties getting a diploma from an institute of further education was the goal of one in ten rural children (Borowicz, Szambelańczyk, 1986: 80), it is now the case of one in three. Finishing secondary school (or college) is the goal of 42% of the surveyed young people. In the eighties this could be said about 25% of rural fourteen-year-olds (in that place). Powerful differences and status restrictions remain unchanged.

Rural youth mainly associate their future working lives with working class occupations not requiring high qualifications (42.3%), to a lesser extent with intellectual (21.6%) and clerical services as well as services requiring highly qualified skills (15.5%). Only one in twenty fourteen-year-olds would like to run a business of his/her own. As few as 1% of the surveyed young people would like to work on their own smallholdings in the future. This speaks volumes for the attractiveness of the agricultural profession in Poland.

When deciding on their future careers, a definite majority of the rural youth are aware of the necessary educational requirements. Only 1/4 of the rural youth mentioned a 'high' standard of educational and 'low' professional aspirations; perhaps in the former they expressed their own dreams whereas in the latter — sobre practical realism and awareness of their possibilities.

Whether the young rural generation will be motivated to get involved in the trend of the oncoming changes and their introduction into their own milieu largely depends on the directions they now decide to take. Four types of options among the young people were distinguished from the collected research material: *professional career, material success, personal and family success, life according to moral values*. The *professional career* option is closely linked with the value of professional success, good education and a good financial position. On the other hand, the emphasis on *material success* is closely connected with the value of life in luxury and

a consumer lifestyle. The third of these chosen types of lifestyles of the rural youth is *personal and family happiness*, the basis of which is a quiet, stable life within a close circle of friends with a definite emphasis on the values of education. The last option of the rural youth is *life according to moral values*. It is distinguished by a need to live in accordance with one's conscience, principles of faith and the desire to help others.

53% of the young people in this survey, regardless of background, opt for *personal and family happiness*. Fourteen-year-old pupils wishing to reach that option in life generally aspire to acquiring a trade and related services requiring low qualifications (55%). 34% of this group would like to run their own business, 28% would like to work for a state institution and 22% for a private one.

A *professional career* is a rare option. One in three rural fourteen-year-olds (32%) has the goal of acquiring the best possible education, becoming well-off and having a good professional position. This kind of goal can clearly be observed among fourteen-year-olds from the intelligentsia, 'clerical' families and, to a lesser extent, working class families. It appears most rarely among peasant children. This group can be characterized by the highest professional aspirations — 31% associate their future with 'intelligentsia' professions, 19% with 'clerical' and highly qualified services and 19% with private business. Those who opt for achieving a professional career have an optimistic view of the future and believe in the success of their plans. 52% of the young people in this group wish to run their own business, 16% want to work for a private institution and 13% for a state one.

Life according to moral values is the option of 13% of the fourteen-year-old pupils in Bielsk who mainly come from working class and peasant families. The rural youth opting for these particular values, which probably have their roots in the traditional peasant ethos, can be characterized by a slightly higher standard of educational aspirations in comparison with the youth opting for *personal and family happiness*. 23% of this group opt for 'intelligentsia' jobs and 31% for those which are part of the highly qualified jobs sector. The rest (38%) see their future in 'working class' occupations. For them (46%) the most sought after job is one in a state institution, which is probably a result of the fact that the majority of representatives of this group come from working class and peasant families.

A small section of the representatives of the rural youth (2%) have the goal of achieving a high standard of living (*financial success* option). Fourteen-year-olds, whose main goal is achieving financial success come from both working class and peasant families. After primary school, half of them intend continuing their education at vocational school, the rest want to stop at learning a trade, the majority therefore planning manual jobs and they wish to either work for a state institution or run a business of their own.

When observing the educational situation in the rural family, from materials gathered from rural fourteen-year-olds, three types of socializing procedures were distinguished: *participative*, *semi-participative* and *traditional*. Participative socialization is one which clearly welcomes the system transformation. Values which are particularly esteemed are a child's ambitions, education, diligence and endurance. The second distinct type of family socialization is the semi-participative socialization, i.e. where particular importance is given to independence, the ability to cope on one's own in life, where doing well at school is emphasized. Yet in families achieving this kind of socialization (as distinct from participative socialization) education is not considered an important value in terms of the child's future. *Traditional* socialization places particular emphasis on religion, health, cleanliness and thrift, respect for parental and other elderly people's authority. Practised in rural families nowadays it reminds one of the socialization in the peasant family of long ago.

In the light of our analysis almost every second representative of the rural youth underwent the *traditional* socialization, one in three the *participative*, one in five the *semi-participative*. The emphasis on education and ambitions is relatively most frequent in intelligentsia families and rarest in peasant and working class families.

To what extent does the second socializing institution in the countryside — the school, prepare rural fourteen-year-olds to following the new system proposal? What effects can it prove in its didactic work? On the basis of the results of the test carried out in Bielsk schools it can be stated that barely 20% of rural youth know the language which is typical in the context of school knowledge 'well', 69% have an 'average' knowledge and 11% can be described as being functionally illiterate.² Those who achieved 'good' results are mainly good or very good pupils.

As far as other important competences are concerned, only one in ten rural fourteen-year-old pupils describes his/her own knowledge of a foreign language as being 'good'. One in three Bielsk fourteen-year-olds is computer-literate but only one in seven of these makes other use of this than games (editing, learning, etc.).

All of the mentioned indicators of school competences of rural youth are clearly differentiated by social background. A definite majority of rural fourteen-year-olds has an intellectual predisposition (described on the basis of the capacity of conclusions measured by J. C. Raven's non-verbal test)

² A person who obtained a 'poor' result in the dictionary test has a 5% knowledge of all the concepts which are characteristic of the school knowledge acquired during eight years of education. This part of those analysed can be described as being functionally illiterate. An 'average' result means the knowledge of 5–20% of the concepts which are characteristic of school knowledge, a 'good' result is above 20%.

which is not far different from the overall social norm. Above half (51%) have a 'high' capacity of reaching conclusions, a slightly lower number (45%) — 'average', and only 3% — 'low'.

The problem seems to be connected with the fact that the school — when looking at the effects of its work measured by school marks achieved by rural pupils, the results in the dictionary test and other competences (computer literacy, knowledge of a foreign language) — still does not level cultural differences, instead it successfully reinforces and deepens them.

We also made an attempt at describing the extent to which the life options of rural young people have an influence on their educational plans. As an indicator we considered the standard of education to which rural fourteen-year-olds aspire.

It transpires that values particularly esteemed by rural youth have a significant influence on their attitudes. The majority of fourteen-year-olds opting for a *professional career* consider colleges of further education as the educational goals they aspire to. The tendency of getting further education is relatively low among those young people who opt for *personal and family happiness*; a similar level of educational aspirations can be observed among those young people opting for *life according to values*, for whom education as it seems has little significance. Those young rural inhabitants who consider living in luxury as being their basic value (the *financial success* option) do not aspire to any further education. They are an interesting case. They do not seem to be fully aware of the requirements which go with that kind of career preference, since a good education being the basic means of reaching a good financial position does not arouse much interest in them.

We established that social background has a significant influence on the 'educational assets' (measured by school marks) of rural youth. We notice a similar kind of differentiation as far as the life options of rural youth are concerned.

It so happened that the type of family socializing milieu, that which importance is given to when bringing a child up, in most cases significantly influences the life goals chosen by the young. Of all the rural fourteen-year-olds aiming at achieving a *professional career*, a definite majority was brought up according to 'a participative logic,' geared towards preparing the child to entering the new system of possibilities in the most efficient manner. Only one in three was submitted to the kind of socialization where there is no room for values such as education, ambitions or diligence although these values are clearly esteemed by those young people. This would testify to the power of the new system proposal, tempting even for that part of the rural youth whose family background did not react to the approaching changes. A group of young people also appeared, who despite the advantageous (from the system point of view) socialization (participative), are

aiming at personal and family happiness as well as life according to values, in other words appreciating these above a professional career, education and material success.

We established that one in three rural fourteen-year-olds aims at the values of success (a good education, a high professional and financial position). Simultaneously, a marked majority of the generation of rural youth appear determined to acquire a good education and good professional position. The question remains: can those young people become the social basis for changes in the countryside?

If that were to be the case, they would have to plan to remain in the country. And indeed, the majority of the fourteen-year-olds in the survey would like to continue living in the same place (72%). Only 22% would prefer to live in a large town and 6% in another country. All the same, it is a fact that those fourteen-year-olds aiming at achieving a professional career envisage their futures away from the countryside. Those for whom reaching a peaceful, stable life amongst family and friends and in accordance with their own conscience and principles of faith is of foremost importance intend to remain where they have lived to date. That means that the countryside is an attractive (or at least acceptable) career opportunity for those whose cultural and educational assets (or rather their lack) prevent them from taking on the kind of challenges offered by the town.

Adults in Relation to the Transformational Change

Adults living in the countryside witnessed and participated in the system changes taking place in Poland — they were the second group living in the commune of Bielsk to be surveyed. In contrast to the young generation for whom 'real capitalism' is the only personally experienced reality, the oldest among the surveyed generation of adults had the chance of experiencing 'real socialism'. They also carry the heaviest burden of changes taking place in Poland. Moreover, in contrast to the generation of young people in education, whose career choices have not yet been foretold and who can make adjustments, the generation of rural 18–35 year-olds have already to a large extent reached stability in life, connected with taking on professional or family roles. In spite of that, can we find in their actions and options traces of interest and motivation in getting involved with the trend of transformational changes? How do they feel in the new 'capitalist' reality?

When evaluating (on a scale 1–5) the level of satisfaction with one's own life, average marks dominate — 'three' (40%) or 'four' (35%). Extremely positive or extremely negative marks appear very rarely (appropriate indicators are 16% and 19%). Rural businessmen and the intelligentsia are most satisfied with their own lives; labourers, the unemployed and farm workers are least satisfied. Referring to the results of research carried out earlier

(1980–1981, 1986–1987) a drop in the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the Polish countryside can be observed, along with a simultaneous rise in ambivalent attitudes (i.e. noticing both the good and bad aspects of one's own life). At the same time, without change from the beginning of the eighties, extreme pessimism is the characteristic of one in ten representatives of the adult generation (Kaleta, 1985; the same, 1989). What pleases and what worries the generation of adult rural inhabitants and where are the sources of such moods?

As far as adults are concerned their basic source of satisfaction in life is the family (25%). Not quite 10% confirm that what has succeeded most in their lives is work, however the feeling of satisfaction derives more from the very fact of being employed, rarely from the type of work. The material standard of living is just as frequent a source of satisfaction for adult rural inhabitants. For very few among those surveyed (6%) the feeling of satisfaction derives from their level of education and these are, as is to be expected, the best educated people in the surveyed population.

The darker side of life, concerned with failures experienced by the older generation, is also closely connected with the standard of living (23.2%). However, what should be pointed out here is that the point of reference is not so much a 'high' yet a 'decent' standard. The feeling of failure in life is rarely prejudged by work or rather its lack (10%). Only 5% of those surveyed complain about an unsuccessful family life; the worst problem is not having a family of one's own or a lifelong partner. It is worth noting that hardly 2.2% of the adults see their level of education in terms of a failure in life. Moreover, these people are relatively the best educated among those surveyed (continuing their education and white-collar workers).

Hence, the family, work (having it) and a 'decent' standard of living are the basic, unchanged aspects of life of the adult rural inhabitants, the lack of which or a minimal 'excess' has a decisive meaning for the feeling of satisfaction (cf. Kaleta, 1985; the same, 1989). Escaping towards small communities which can here be observed and was described in the eighties as a lack of opportunities of achieving ambitious and untypical life goals (Lewenstein, Melchior, 1988; Sułek, 1989). It seems that the system transformation not only did not change anything in this field, it in fact aggravated the situation considerably.

Almost half of the adults (47.5%) stated that their financial and living conditions are the factor in their lives which should change. However, according to this section of the inhabitants it is not 'prosperity' they had in mind (as in the case of the young generation) but rather financial and life stability. Adult rural inhabitants give a similar status to work which they consider as being a basic factor which may provide greater satisfaction in life (37%). This is however not a question of wanting to reach some spectacular success, yet simply one of employment stability.

A significant change when comparing with the eighties is the appearance of education among important values for the adult rural inhabitants (12%) which is nevertheless rarely addressed by those surveyed to themselves. It generally concerns their children. Adults consider family life as being equally important to education (the desire to devote more time to their family or bringing their children up to be 'good people'). So it seems that the generation of rural adults places their present and future lives in the circle of essential matters — the family, work, financial and living conditions. This unchanging personal-family life attitude is most probably the result of experiences including setbacks in carrying out planned goals.

The new reality has not created an attractive proposal for rural inhabitants, it has clearly deepened their marginal position in society. This is proved by the way adults perceive reality surrounding them. A significant majority of those surveyed (65.5%) do not see people in their circle who they could describe as having achieved success in life. Those 'successful people' come from outside the rural context. Adult rural inhabitants rarely perceived 'successful people' within their own circle. If this did occur it was generally understood as either a successful family life or a prosperous (yet not 'luxurious') life. It is hard to say whether this is a fair basis for stating that according to adults the countryside is not a place where one can be happy. Only 2.4% of those surveyed wish to move from where they live and their reasons are generally personal (health problems, wanting to live closer to family etc.).

According to the adults, day-to-day social reality is widely unfriendly and difficult. Over half the adults (53%) stated that their lives are harder if compared with the days when their parents were young. One third of those surveyed consider their lives as being better. According to the adult rural inhabitants the easier life of their parents stems from 'better times,' better meaning that they were spent under the protectorate of the socialist state. Nowadays, the lack of job security, low profitability and lack of a guaranteed market for agricultural produce, as well as the lack of financial stability are the main factors determining whether one's own life is worse than one's parents' life in the past. However, those who said that comparing with their parents' situation when they were young, now have a better life and a significantly higher standard of living, singled out not so much the conditions of the political system, yet the help they received from their parents when entering adulthood, which is significantly different from the far harder entry their parents' generation had into adulthood.

While recognized values, life goals and attitude towards reality surrounding them testified to their negative evaluation of the results of the transformation, the expectations which this generation has with its own children in mind are diametrically different. It seems, that as far as this is concerned, the transformational proposal has had a positive adult reaction,

e.g. a significant majority of 18–35 year-olds (67.5%) stated that they would consider their children's success in life in terms of getting a 'good' education. Good education was understood here both as completing further education as well as having a specific profession. It is interesting to note that their children acquiring a 'good' education would be considered as a success in life particularly by those adults who were relatively least educated (the unemployed, workers and peasants).

For one third of the adults their children's success in life would be getting a good job, i.e. one which would guarantee stability and a secure existence. Young farmers mainly associate their children's success in life with a good job away from the farm, less with acquiring a good financial position and least with happiness and career satisfaction. They can be described as being realistic, they are totally aware of the challenges of modern life and convinced that they cannot be solved independently. Hence the projection of their attitude and goals onto their own children.

The results of the majority of sociological analyses prove that the eighties were a decade when a significant part of Polish society were in favour of introducing a free market and democratic principles in Poland. Yet the acceptance of a free market economy and political pluralism only took place at a superficial level of consciousness in society. The Poles wanted the democratization of political life and a liberal economy, yet simultaneously respected the values and manifested attitudes which were typical of socialism (Reykowski, 1993). Consequently, the first experiences of the system transformation brought about a withdrawal of support for the introduced reforms, a rise in attitudes contesting the new socio-political order as well as nostalgia for the status quo prior to 1989. Later years of the system transformation awoke processes differentiating Polish society. Those social groups which are pushed aside, relatively least well prepared (educationally and culturally) to assume the challenges of 'the new times,' including rural inhabitants are opposed to 'real capitalism.'

The basic trait of the new transformational proposal is success, defined as good education, a good professional and financial position, considerable consumer potential. This offer is also very demanding and can only be met by the very few who are equipped with the right cultural and educational resources. Undertaking this proposal is synonymous with being in the stream of those changes which are underway in the role of actor. Rejecting it, either out of choice or necessity, puts the individual on the margins of the transformational processes, while placing a considerable burden of the changes on that individual.

Two generations of rural inhabitants were surveyed — adults and young people. Each responded to the challenges of modern times in a different manner. A considerable majority of the young generation dreams of attending a good school and at least completing secondary education. Simultane-

ously, a third of the young rural inhabitants are geared towards values representing the essence of the transformational proposal (good education, good professional and financial position). This is a positive testimony of the changes in the countryside; however, facing the poor cultural competence and school knowledge of rural fourteen-year-olds, it carries several dangers. It seems that few of them are suitably prepared to undertake the roles which appear in the transformational proposal. The problem appears of those who will not be able to achieve those plans which are now clearly defined all the more so since most of those who aim at achieving a *professional career* envisage their future away from the countryside.

It is highly likely that the adversities of the young rural population will contribute to a growing dissatisfaction and attitudes contesting the principles of the changes taking place in Poland. What position will the countryside find itself in? The adult generation is not a political problem as it seems to have come to terms with its own situation in life. It does not see possibilities of taking on the challenges of the new times as it is conscious of its incompetence as regards keeping pace with them. The adults only react to the transformational proposal as far as they can. They are particularly concerned with their children's future — their good education, professional and financial stability, away from the countryside. Only a few of the rural families had a positive reaction to the transformational proposal (mainly the intelligentsia). Judging by the expectations which adults have for their own children, it can be assumed that more and more rural families will put the *participative* socializing procedure into practice. This can cause a growth in life ambitions of the young generation which, due to the condition of the rural school and relatively lower standard of education of rural parents, will not be able to cope with the growing demands imposed by the education and employment markets. The number of those who will not succeed in achieving their chosen life goals will gradually grow. Faced with an almost 40% share of rural inhabitants in Polish society such a situation must raise justifiable concern.

Therefore, is a change of the rural situation possible? If a rural policy exists, it should perhaps emerge from the peasant tradition and open out towards building rural diversity. The school should play a significant role in this process — an institution which seems to have the possibility of arousing an awareness among the most culturally and educationally open-minded young rural inhabitants that their environment may be an attractive career proposal. It is essential that rural education be enriched by aspects of traditional peasant culture (respect for the natural environment which stems from the assumption that man is part of it). The school should also involve the parents of rural children in their education which could contribute to both the greater significance of education in the countryside and a better preparation of the young generation to undertake the system proposal.

However, carrying out the above exercises will only be possible if and when carried out together with activities aiming at the revitalization of rural areas, whose shape is connected with new ideologies (ecological agriculture, agrotourism). Only then will the activities of the rural school become credible and thus have the possibility of being carried out.

Literature

- Borowicz, R., Szambelańczyk, J. (1986), *Dążenia edukacyjne i zawodowe młodzieży kończącej szkołę podstawową* (The educational and professional goals of pupils finishing primary school), *Education — Studies, Research, Innovations*, No. 2 (14), pp. 47–58.
- Fedyszak-Radziejowska, B. (1995), *Spoleczności wiejskie — grabarz czy moderator państwa liberalnego?* (Rural societies — gravedigger or moderator in a liberal state?), [in:] *Ludzie i instytucje. Stawanie się ładu społecznego. Pamiętnik IX Ogólnopolskiego Zjazdu Socjologicznego* (People and institutions. The growth of the social order. Diary of the IX Polish Sociological Reunion), Lublin (27–30 VI 1994), Vol. II, pp. 177–186.
- Kaleta, A. (1985), *Jakość życia mieszkańców wsi rejonu uprzemysłowionego* (The quality of life of rural inhabitants in an industrial region), Wyd. UMK, Toruń.
- Kaleta, A. (1989), *Orientacje życiowe młodzieży wiejskiej* (Career directions of rural youth), [in:] the same, *Młodzież wiejska wobec zmian społecznych i zagrożeń cywilizacyjnych* (Rural youth versus the social changes and threats to civilization), Wyd. UMK, Toruń.
- Lewenstein, B., Melchior, M. (1988), *Anomia, wspólnota, autonomia — wokół badań nad ruchem oazowym* (Anomie, community, autonomy — regarding research on the oasis movement), *Culture and Society*, No. 3, pp. 155–166.
- Reykowski, J. (1993), *Zmiany systemowe a mentalność polskiego społeczeństwa* (System changes versus the mentality of Polish society), [in:] the same, *Wartości i postawy Polaków a przemiany systemowe. Szkice z psychologii politycznej* (Values and attitudes of the Poles versus the system changes. Sketches from political psychology), IP PAN, Warsaw.
- Sulek, A. (1989), *Wartości życiowe dwóch pokoleń* (The values of two generations), [in:] S. Nowak (ed.), *Ciągłość i zmiana tradycji kulturowej* (Continuity and change in cultural tradition), Warsaw.