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The „Imprint" of the Cumulatively Disadvantaged Adolescents' Social Attitudes – Values and Future-oriented Goals Depending on Different Socialization Conditions

Theses of PhD Dissertation

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The problem-orientation of our investigation was fueled by the observation that the social integration and the positive social mobility of former inmates of children's homes is a rather cumbersome process. In the research on young people, receiving professional childcare, most of the individual psychological characteristics, the pedagogical aspects and the exploration of the operation of the child- protection system itself have come to view, the results show that it is a group of disadvantaged young people. The difficulties (e. g. negative self-esteem) of those in care, are further exacerbated by social stigma (Varga, 2008), thus, when they are out of the system, their integration into society and the process of self-initiation are constrained by a number of obstacles (Rácz, 2012; Rákó, 2008). The (cumulatively) disadvantaged situation is linked to the concept of social inequality, exclusion and poverty, which are considered a long-lasting issue worldwide, and their relevant characteristic feature is, that they are passed on to generations. The young people, living in care, often pass on their state of being taken care of their off-springs (Hanák, 1983), the disadvantageous situation is reproduced. According to the Resolution of the American Psychological Society (2000), the responsibility of the psychology is to understand this, as well as resource-based prevention and intervention, provided by it, is dominant.

The main variables of the research, values, future goals are such motivating factors, the development of which is continuous during socialization, but they are especially accentuated in adolescence, during transition to adulthood. The individual socialization experiences of those being taken care of, leave traces on these cognitive structures. The feeling of deprivation and (life) insecurity suggest the preference of values and goals, which make it difficult to satisfy the basic internal psychological needs, thus the adaptive operation, that is, they decrease

the level of subjective well-being, satisfaction with life, so they have significant practical consequences (Martos at al., 2006).

The research is basically descriptive, problem-exploratory, fits to socio-psychological and positive psychological framework. Its aim is to provide a comprehensive picture of the cognitive structures (e. g. value-and vision, sense of responsibility) of young children, raised in the children's homes and about some personal dispositions (e. g. resilience), motivations, which are the identity-related psychic resources, as well as factors, relevant to social integration and subjective well being. It seeks to find out, whether, in comparison with the opinion of contemporaries, raised in families, due to the differences in the socialization circumstances, is it possible to register differences along some cognitive contents, such as social attitudes, values, visions or certain personal resources? The exploration of the constructs, needs and resources of the target group, discussed here, can help to further develop the related programs, highlight new aspects.

Research Questions

Our research questions are organized around two main aspects, as there are several strategies for analyzing the research data.

I. One of the options is that the variables are comparable, depending on the socialization medium, in this case, we compare the group (those, living in children's home, being taken care of there), and the control group, (raised in their own families), regarding the examined variables, highlighting their distinctive features. Based on the socialization theories, it is imaginable, that there is a difference between the groups, regarding the above variables.

II. Another way of analyzing is to explore the relationship of this personal variable, building on the notion of resilience, that is, based on the values of the examined variables, using cluster-analysis, we create a group, which

can be characterized by resilience- indicators, and a vulnerable group, then we examine their demographic, socialization characteristics, composition and also the value structure and vision of the two groups (in this case, broken down along the target and control group).

The course of the research: presentation of samples and methods

The data collection took place between January and November, 2016.The control group was formed by students of the 11th and 12th grades of three metropolitan vocational schools and secondary vocational schools (N=95), who filled in anonymous questionnaires during one-one lesson. 51.7% of these young people live in full families, and 34.7% of them are entitled to regular child protection benefit i. e., entitled to separate in kind or cash benefits due to their social situation.

The target group was comprised by 16 children, aged 15 – 19, living in children's homes, situated in Budapest and Fejér county (N=76), who had been living for at least a year in the circumstances of being provided special child protection service, (the average time, spent in circumstances, where care was provided to them is 8.82 years (SD=5,38)), and are of neither special, nor particular need. The members of the target group filled in the questionnaires in anonymous form, in the presence of the researcher, then we asked the questions to be discussed verbally in a two-person position, their answers were literally recorded. The interview situation made it possible to the initially less motivated respondents, to open up and respond more honestly in creating a trustful atmosphere.

The two studied groups matches each other regarding age (M=16.6 years) and gender distribution (50-50%), but differs, regarding the comparison of educational indicators (Chi-Square=44,19; p≤0,001), which is due to the high proportion of primary school pupils in the target group, (26.8%). The last semester

grade average of young people is ($M_{control}$=3,33; $SD_{control}$=0,67; M_{target}=2,91, SD_{target}=0,88; F_{153}=3,09; p≤ 0,01), which also shows a significant difference between the two groups. Based on these indicators, early school leaving can already be identified among those, being provided care in children's homes.

The variables of the research, as well as the questionnaires and question groups, used for their measurement are given in the table below:

	The variables, examined	Applied measuring instruments
1.	Value preferences	Schwartz's PVQ-40 value questionnaire (Schwartz, 2012, Lányi, 2008)
2.	Aspirations, goals for life	Shortened Aspiration Index (Martos, Szabó, Rózsa, 2006)
3.	Vision, future plans	Future-orientation questionnaire (Nurmi et al., 1992, Jámbori, 2007)
4.	Faith in a fair world	A scale, measuring faith in a fair world (Dalbert, 1999)
5.	Sense of responsibility	Sense of responsibility measuring scale (Szabó, Kékesi, 2016)
6.	Resilience	Resilience questionnaire(Neill, Dias, 2001; Járai, 2008)
7.	The emotional aspects of some target variables	The SST method (Szabó et al., 2013)
8.	Resilience (personal protective factors)	Personal situation, religiousness, the importance of sports, judgment of detected control (question groups)
9.	Resilience (social protective factors)	Multidimensional Detected Social Support Scale (Zimet et al., 1988)

Table 1. : The variables of the research, and the applied measuring instruments

Results and discussion

During the comparison of the characteristics of those, educated in different socialization environments along the examined variables, we hypothesized, that the values and the life goals of those, given care in children's homes, differ from the preferences of those contemporary people, living in families.

Value Preferences – The Results of Schwartz's PVQ-40 questionnaire

There was no connection between the socialization environment as a relevant value mediating structure type and the resulting order of values. The value preference of young people, being provided care in children's homes and those, living in families, did not differ. The most important value, found in the case of adolescents, was self-directing, the least preferred value was power. According to Schwartz (1992, 2012, p. 14.), the ten values, measured by the PVQ-40 questionnaire, are structured into a „pan-cultural hierarchy" and into such a culture, which, irrespectively of culture and social status, is relatively universal, and reflects the adaptive, social- maintenance function of values. The relationship among the value scales, their spatial location (see Figure 1) shows that the results of adolescent samples match the Schwartz universal value structure model for the value ranges, found on four fields (see Váriné, 2003).
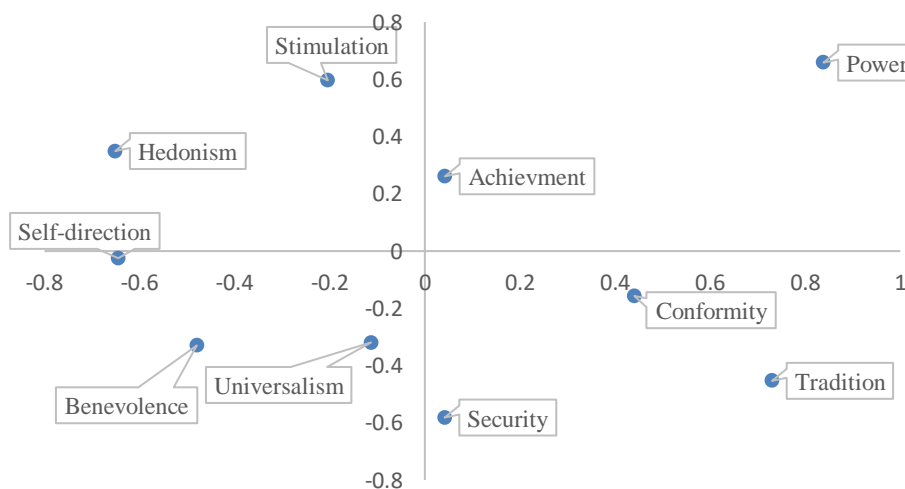

Figure 1: Location of values in two-dimensional space, based on the results of multidimensional scaling (S-stress=0,033)

Our results showed that, in comparison to socialization circumstances, age was more closely related to characteristic value patterns, the values of openness and self-realization were more accentuated among adolescents and the conservation values were more accentuated in the case of adults. The similarity between the two groups can be explained by the process of value socialization

(Lepper, 1982, Váriné, 1987). At the level of primer value consciousness, young people know „how they should behave", but in their behavior, the values, that their current social medium mediates towards them, do not necessarily appear, because the behavior, according to the informal field rules, (the hidden norms of the children's homes, former values, derived from the biological families) takes place (Vidra Szabó, 2001). Value-driven behavior requires such value consciousness, which in addition to knowledge of values, includes their conscious choice and integration into identity, and interiorization (Lepper, 1982; Váriné, 1987). However, damage to value mediation, in the case of incongruity among the principles, represented by the socialization media, the normative, behavior-determining power of values decreases (Szakács, Szakács, 1988; Damon, 2004; Kende, Illés, 2011; Rákó, 2010). To this, Vidra Szabó (2001) refers as „double value consciousness", while Kálmánchey (2008) refers as „the identity problem".

Aspirations, life goals

We have also found similarities between the examined groups, in the field of goals for life, i. e., the aspirations and their sub-scales did not show difference. In both groups the intrinsic aspirations, development and social relationships, as well as health, proved to be the most important aspirations.

Similarly to the values, there was also observed a rather age-related pattern for aspirations, which differs from the adult results, but there was no difference along the social medium among the adolescents. Extrinsic goals in the case of adolescents were much more accentuated, than in the case of adults. That is, the relative advantage of expected intrinsic goals, based on the results of Martos (2010), decreased in both adolescent groups, in relation with the adult sample, which can be explained by the fact, that at least a third of the control group is clearly from disadvantaged families, that is, the special situation is related to a similar social situation (HH and HHH), (Jost, 2003). According to the theory of Self-determination (Deci, Ryan, 1991) and the Ingerhart's (1997) Value theory,

the lack of the material security can also explain the emphasis of material value and the related extrinsic orientation, which also strengthens the role of external references in behavior management. In addition, the intensification of external and internal uncertainty, surrounding the adolescents, self-fulfillment, self-realization processes can also enhance the „materialistic" goals, preference of external references.

Future orientation

We have also found many similarities between the groups regarding goals for the future. The listed plans and desires were classified into content categories (Jámbori, 2007), and then the frequency and the order of the appearance of the four most common categories (1. Plans, related to education, further education, 2. Plans, related to work, career, 3. Plans, related to future family, 4. Plans, related to possessed objects, materials assets) were analyzed.

The most common desires, mentioned in the *first place*, were related to education and school in both groups (see Figure 2). The distribution of responses between the categories did not differ between the groups ($N_{control}$=81, N_{target}=58; Chi Square=2,63; df=3; p=0,453).
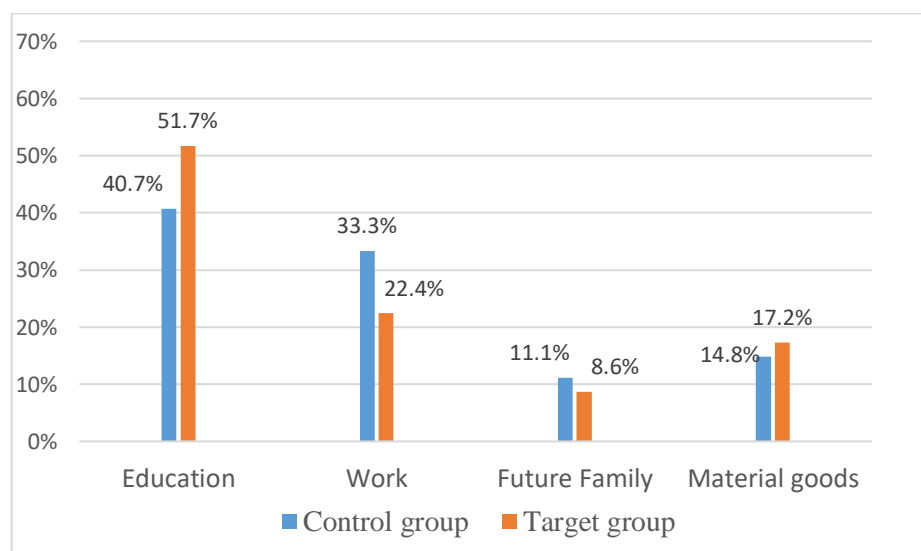

Figure 2: Percent distribution of the most common content categories, mentioned in the first place within the groups

If the answers of the groups were examined according to the numbers of places, where a given content category was mentioned, the results, shown in Table 2 were obtained. In the first place, uniformly, the education was. However, other categories of desire were preferred by groups and gender in different ways.

Content categories	Control group			Target group		
	boys (N=49)	girls (N=46)	all in all (N=95)	boys (N=36)	girls (N=40)	all in all (N=76)
Education	1,45	1,2	1,3	1,44	1,6	1,53
Work and career	2,33	1,68**	2,01	2,22	2,65**	2,46
Possessed objects, material assets	2,35	3	2,68	2,88	2,26	2,54
Courtship, marriage, children (future family)	3,03	2,6	2,83	3,38	3	3,18

Table 2: Average number of main content categories among groups in gender breakdown

The adolescents' education-related plans have confirmed the statements, related to the non-integrated and unrealistic visions, previously found among the opinion of those, being provided care in children's homes (Rácz, 2006). While 90% of the young people, living in families, want high school diplomas or would like to have higher educational level, this percentage in the case of those, who are being provided care in children's homes is 65%. A third of them would like to have a profession, which is a realistic expectation, taking into consideration the school averages ($M_{target}=2,91$) and the number of repetitions of academic years ($M_{target}=1,00$). However, the plan for getting higher education, which characterized the target group by 31%, compared to the averages of marks and the repetitions of academic years, is rather a concept that reflects the lack of reality.

In the target and control group, plans, related to the *future family,* appeared in the same ratio among relatively distant goals.

We have identified different emphasis regarding the plan of *finding a job, career* between the groups, which is resulted from a marked difference among the girls' opinion on the basis of gender breakdown (see the values of Table 2, marked

by asterisk). Among the adolescent girls, being provided care in children's homes, this type of desire was more likely to be rated at a later phase, while the girls in the control group, rated their such plans as the ones appearing all the others'. The education, work, family, material goods desire order, the „cultural prototype", the „imprint", mediated by society (Jámbori, 2007), in fact, was only detected in their circle.

Based on the average numbers (Table 2), it can be stated that the desires, related to materials goods, are strongly present in both groups (in the case of boys in the control group, they are almost in the same place as the work and it is the second most important thing! in the case of girls, being provided care in children's homes, ahead of family-related plans. All this is worrisome in the case of girls, being provided care in children's homes, because, related to the desire to possess, did not appear as a „history" the work, as a „route". We evaluate this, as a result, that illuminates an important intervention point in the work, carried out regarding those, being provided care. Namely, the success of integration aspirations depends not only on education, but also on successful employment (Rácz, 2016), however, in the case of girls, being provided care in children's homes, it appeared as a very low percentage, indicating their long-range goal.

Another important difference has been found, regarding *time extension* of future goals. The results of our target group have confirmed „the moment of perspective", as it was mentioned by (2008, p.159.) or the „here and now, as a strategy", as it was mentioned by Kozma (2003), and Hanák (1983). The extension of their plans for the future was on average, one and a half year shorter, compared to the ones of those, living in families ($M_{control}=6,57$; $M_{target}=5,03$; $t_{104}=2,10$, $p<0,05$). In the plans for the future, we can explain the strong emphasis on education and the lack of work plans by the phenomenon, as if the young people „would not see" the world beyond school and without proper models, they have no realistic ideas regarding future plans.

Between our groups we have not found differences regarding *faith in fair world and sense of responsibility.* Based on the results, the target and control group members likewise thought about justice and the status of micro-, meso-, and macro level responsibility.

Resilience

The test groups did not differ regarding general resilience index ($M_{control}$=5,43; $SD_{control}$=0,88; M_{target}=5,25; SD_{target}=0,98; F_{162}=1,55; p=0,201). As Masten (2001) states, „ordinary magic" is flexible adaptability, characteristic of everyone. We have also seen during the formation of the resilient and vulnerable group, that this feature was not associated with the socialization environment. Taking into account the fact, that resilience can be improved, we can say that it can be an important point of intervention for the support of those, being provided care, especially among girls, where the ratio of vulnerable people is expressly high. In practice, this means the development of certain personal competencies and factors, as protective factors (Zolkosi, Bullock, 2012). In addition to the general resilience indicator, we have found such individual and social risk and protective factors, in which the examined groups differed.

The groups considered themselves to the same degree as *religious*, however, *sport* was a bit more important to the target group (Average rank $_{control}$=64,25; Average rank $_{target}$=75,87; Z=-1,94; p=0,05).

Those, being provided care, considered their present and future situation and also themselves in a more negative way, they considered to have fewer opportunities and more obstacles than those, being in the control group. The low self-assessment and situation assessment are specifically linked to risk factors. Hanák (1983) highlighted the objective and subjective disadvantages, regarding reproduction of the disadvantageous situation. Having considered the results, we can say that those, being provided care in children's homes „objectively" experience the shift of obstacles and opportunities, compared to their

contemporaries. At the same time, the target group made a significant positive shift and, in our interpretation, expressed the desire for positive social mobility, which is also a belief, which needs „protection and support", while it has a place in reality ($M_{control}$=1,52; $SD_{control}$=1,59; M_{target}=2,36; SD_{target}=2,24; Z=-2,83; p=0,005).

There was no difference between the groups in the detected control, which can also be positively evaluated, however, the importance of the role of luck among the groups is not favorable (on a scale of 5 degrees M=3,53). Fatalist attributions, believes, often involve loss of control, disillusionment, dissatisfaction (Kuruvilla, Jacob, 2007), coupled with this, the „denial of obstacles in the case of boys, being provided care in children's homes, can be considered as a less positive indicator for physical and mental health.

The number of supporter persons was equally judged by the groups, as well as from friends and other important people, have bee reported similar scale of support. However, the target group perceives lower scale support from their educators / families, which is unfortunately understandable in their situation, and can be paralleled with the results, presented by the detected control, that is, in addition to support, the control is also of lower rate in socialization environment, different from the family one (Zsubrits, 2012).

Compared the two groups along the components of resilience, it can be seen, that they do not differ in many areas, and we consider it as a positive result. Sport, a defensive factor, and the desire for positive mobility in the case of the target group, as well as providing positive social relationships among adolescents generally (still) areas, requiring attention.

Comparison of the resilient and vulnerable groups

Given, that there were no significant differences between our target group and control group along a number of variables, we considered a grouping from another point of view to be justified, along which we could compare the variables. For

this, we have chosen general flexible adaptability, resilience, as a complex variability. The selection of each resilience component was based on previous research and the interconnection of the present results. Based on the selected five resilience correlates, fragile and resilient groups were created, i. e. the target and control groups were represented in the grouping similarly. In these groups different socialization conditions were identified in the same ratio, which reaffirms the nature of flexible adaptability, independent of general conditions of socialization. However, gender differences are noteworthy, based on which the target group's girls are characterized by more vulnerable factors, so the intervention is even more important in their case (Gender ratio in the target group: Boys: 75%-25%, Girls: 51%-49%; Chi-Square=0,024; df=1; p=0,528), in the control group: Boys:68%-32%, Girls: 70%-30%; Chi-Square=0,024;df=1; p=0,528). The variables of the investigation were also compared in the groups, formed in that way.

In terms of values, the resilient group preferred the value dimensions of self-actualization and openness, the vulnerable group, on the other hand, preferred the values of universality and security, situated on the „opposite" end, the resilience indicator was accordingly adjusted to a factor with the individual values (see Table 3.)

Value scales	Factors	
	1	2
Self-sufficiency	,777	
Hedonism	,763	
Achievement	,754	
Stimulation	,659	
Power	,547	
Conformism		,803
Universalism		,760
Security		,751
Tradition		,743
Charity	,519	,530
Resilience Scale Average	,538	,331

Table 3: Rotated Factor Weight Matrices of the Resilience Index and the PVQ-40

This is in line with the results of Sagiv and Schwartz (2000), according to which the achievement, self-reliance and stimulation are positively linked to subjective well-being indicators, and negatively to anxiety. Schwartz (2012) highlighted among the principles, governing the value structures, that anxiety also affects the value structure as certain values (e. g. Conformity, tradition, safety) make it possible to cope with anxiety, the values of hedonism and self-reliance are rather growth-enhancing, „anxiety-free" values.

We can say about life goals, that, intrinsic aspirations are more correlated with resilience, then extrinsic aspirations, but in the case of the vulnerable group, there was not found such relationship with aspirations.

Regarding the future desires of the resilient and vulnerable group, education and work-related desires were ranked first. As for the relevant differencies between the groups, they were seen, regarding the emphasis on the plans about material goods in the case of the vulnerable group. It is known that the materialistic value orientations are negatively related to psychical health (Kasser, Ahuvia, 2002), in addition to it, at the behavior level, to money management issues as well (Dittmar, 2007). The emphasis of material goals was accentuated in the case of those vulnerable people, being provided care in children's homes, that is, in the case of the target group, this represents a difference between the resilient and the vulnerable group. Similarly to extrinsic aspirations, material goals are also associated with psychological well-being, so it is important to focus attention on it, regardless of socialization medium.

Based on the comparison of social constructs, regarding the resilient and vulnerable groups, we can say, that we found more marked differences in the control group, especially in terms of values and aspirations. The vulnerable and resilient members of the target group showed only deviation regarding materialistic future goal preferences, that is, they resembled each other more along these variables. We bring it to the question, that during a pre - pubic socialization, an individual „pattern", which is closely related to the grounding resilience and to

its components to its individual and social defense factors in this stage of life, it explains (better than the socialization environment), the structure of values, aspirations and visions.

Characteristics of the target group

The target group of our survey can be characterized by value preferences, aspirations and visions, similar to those ones, of their peers, living in their family circles, based on the results of the certain variables and social structures. Independence stimulation and hedonism are important values for these adolescents, the extrinsic aspirations are highlighted in their life goals and the finances related desires. At the same time, their primary aim is to successfully complete the school, to acquire a vocational training or to continue their studies. In their circle, the persons, about whom can be said that they are resilient, appear in the same proportion, as in the control group, at the same time, the gender breakdown draws attention to the high vulnerability of those girls, being provided care in children's homes. Among the discrepancies found, in particular with regard to vision, it is eye-catcher, that plans, related to work are fading into the background, also, mainly among the girls, being provided care in children's homes, the irreal plans, related to education, and the time span, which is shorter than the one of the control group, which are important factors, regarding the success of social integration (Rácz, 2016). In addition, their position is less appreciated positively by them, then in the case of those, living in their family circles, but they consider the possibility of upward mobility.

Summary

Based on the results, we could only identify minor differences in the socialization conditions for each cognitive construct. The two examined adolescent groups showed a characteristic age pattern, regarding values, aspirations and future plans, which was different rather from the adult samples,

not from each other. We have found education-related goals relevant, in addition, the value-and future vision of the young people were characterized by the autonomy, stimulation, hedonism and the preference of material goods and external references. All this is in line with the results of some representation and attribution related researches, which explained the differences between children's and adults' views with the role of cognitive development, at the „expense" of social influences (Galli, Fasanelli, 1994; Chafel, Neitzel 2005). In addition it justifies the factors, collected by Hankiss (1977), which influence the enforcement of values, and makes it difficult to measure them. Desires, related to work and future families are mainly marginalized among the girls, being provided care in children's homes. In addition to age characteristics, similar social situations could contribute to the results of the groups. A third of the members of the control group live in disadvantageous families, moreover, only in half of these families there are present of both parents. That is, according to Jost's (2003) theory, the cumulative-disadvantaged group likewise resembled along the researched cognitive and motivation factors, the low social status control group, the members of which are of disadvantageous situation in a high percentage. In addition, we raised the question, regarding value-socialization process behind the different „output", which can be detected despite the similar values and goals of life (Lepper, 1982, Váriné, 1987), which attempts to capture the relationship between values and behavior. At the level of primary value consciousness, the views and values were the same between the groups, but differences of behavior are likely to appear, due to the alleged injury of the value mediation in the case of the young people, being provided care in children's homes. The groups did not differ from each other either along the resilience indicator and the most individual and social protective factors. However, regarding the cognitive content, the groups, formed along the resilience components, showed more marked differences. The resilient factors showed a connection with the values of self-fulfillment and openness, the intrinsic aspirations, while material goals rather worked together with vulnerability. The

resilience correlates were identified, independently of the socialization medium, which reflects the characteristics of resilience as „ordinary magic", that is, the characteristics of adaptability, which characterizes every-body, that can be formed and improved (Masten, 1994, 2001).

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