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WARSAW RESEARCH ON YOUTH STYLES OF LIFE

"DRUGS IN URBAN YOUTH CULTURE"

Outline and results of the research

Warsaw, May 2008

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PART I

Chapter I Research background

1.1 Introductory information on the project and acknowledgments

The Report contains the outcome of the research prepared in scope of the project „Warsaw Research on Youth Styles of Life. Drugs in Urban Youth Culture”¹ and conducted since October 2007 to May 2008 under commission of the Warsaw City Office². The report is available on the web page of the Warsaw City Office and can be downloaded from, Available in two language versions, Polish and English

The authors would like to thank the Warsaw authorities for the cooperation, especially Włodzimierz Paszyński, who initiated the project, officials in the Social Policy Bureau, who maintained the laborious realization of the project (due to short terms), project conductors – Scientific Research Institute of The Polish Sociological Society (ZBN PTS), especially invaluable Mrs. Stanisława Walkowska, who not only has done our statistical computations for many years but also is a scrupulous and acute critic of our ideas, editorial offices of the newspapers who made their archives available to our research and our Students who helped us conduct the pilot research (special expressions of gratitude to Mrs. Katarzyna Kalinowska from ISNS UW who conducted the pilot research among the post gymnasium³ students).

As usually we would also like to thank our Respondents, who took part in the research – Adults, Pupils and Students. Just like You we hope that the outcome of the research not only will be presented during the project

¹ On youth definition more in the part on theoretical notions and research assumptions.

² Elaboration is presented in the further part of the report.

³ Gymnasium is the first part of the secondary education in Poland, coming after primary school and introducing students to either high schools or vocational schools (transl). Detailed description of the Polish educational system is presented further.

conference, but also will be taken into consideration during the conceptualization of prospective social programs and policies for youth and cooperation with youth in our city.

1.2 Main aims of the project

- 1) standardization of the styles of life featuring Warsaw youth;
- 2) matching relevant styles of life with dangers of using psychoactive substances by youth, especially drugs⁴;
- 3) diagnosis of the competences featuring adults working with youth, undertaking decisions and/or making public statements on this issue and, most of all, organizing and conducting prevention activities among the communities of Warsaw youth;
- 4) preparation materials for discussion during the international conference of ECAD⁵: "Drugs in urban youth culture" scheduled to May, 2008 and devoted to socio cultural grounds of prevention activities undertaken by various subjects among urban youth in Poland and other countries belonging to ECAD.

1.2.1 Detailed aims regarding youth research

The main aims of the research regarding youth were conducted by:

- stating which styles of life (or their parts) endorse the increase of dangers regarding drug abuse⁶;
- discovering relations of drug abuse, drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes to other phenomena in social world of Warsaw youth;

⁴ Similar issues may be found in our publications: B. Fatyga and J. Sierosławski (1999) *Uczniowie i nauczyciele o stylach życia młodzieży i narkotykach*, Warsaw: ISP; B.Fatyga, (2001) *Młodzież bez skrzydeł*, ISNS, Warsaw; B.Fatyga and J.Rogała-Oblękowska, (2002), *Style życia młodzieży gimnazjalnej a narkotyki*, ISP, Warsaw; B.Fatyga, I.Oliwińska, M.Sińczuch i P. Zieliński, (2005), *Dwie prawdy o aktywności. Uwarunkowania i możliwości działania młodzieży w środowisku lokalnym w perspektywie polityki młodzieżowej Rady Europy*, Warsaw: Youth Bureau MENiS; B. Fatyga and P. Zieliński (2005), *The Differentiation of the Lifetime Opportunities of the Youth and Children of Poland*, (in:) B. Białecki and others, *The Bridge Generation .Complexities, Issues and Perspectives of Youth in Poland*, Milan: Bruno Mondadori.

⁵ European Cities Against Drugs

⁶ Because of the main issue embedded in drug prevention we have not focused on drug addicts but on youth undertaking experiments with psychoactive substances.

- an approach to point out actual and potential self-defense mechanisms featuring Warsaw youth against dangers occurring in its environment;
- evaluation of the meaning of drugs in youth styles of life.

Our ambition was also to realize and empirically validate a diagnosis of the situation of youth which would be more convenient for this social group.

Additionally we intend to compare international typologies of „hazardous” styles of life, what is the substantial issue for the discussion during the due conference.

1.2.2 Detailed aims regarding adult research

Regarding adults the detailed aims of the research regarded:

- diagnosis of sources and character of the knowledge on youth possessed by adults;
- stating the views of adult research participants on the hazards emerging from psychoactive substances, especially drugs;
- comparing adult opinions with declarations of young people regarding youth behaviors and an approach to explain potential differences;
- evaluating competences of people working with or for youth and/or issuing public statements on this topic;
- stating the possible support for youth with problems, especially regarding the abuse of psychoactive substances.

2. Basic conceptions and theoretical perspective of the research

Basic conceptions for our research are: youth, styles of life, cultural competences and drugs. Below we present their short characteristics outlining theoretical perspective of the research.

2.1 Youth

Contemporary youth is defined as "the collection of different social groups with different development potential, not necessarily homogenous businesses and

possibilities and chances of their realization (...) youth in view of adults is either <hope>, or <hazard>, or <a problem impossible to solve>, or <a partner in cooperation for common goods >"⁷. Usually, however, adults perceive youth as an object of decisions and activities rather than a subject which can be cooperated with. Henceforth we have differentiated youth in the most basic terms of the age criterion. We have decided to divide youth in this particular research into the following categories:

- younger teenagers: 13 – 15 years of age,
- older teenagers: age 16 - 18 years of age,
- younger adults: age 19 - 24 years of age.

Other socio demographic variables, such as educational, material and family situation, status of family of origin and/or (potentially) one's own family as well as health situation are presented in further parts of the report both in the sample description and, further, in following parts of the report (for sake of convenience we apply the term „youth” to all the age categories alternatively with the terms: „teenagers” and „younger adults”).

2.2 Style of life

2.2.1 Definition

Style of life is a conception outlining the main theoretical frames of the research. It as a complex, theoretical construction, impossible to constrain to a few, howsoever well chosen, indicators.⁸ We define it as „a culturally determined way of the realization of needs, habits and norms. It is regulated by sets of values – dynamic and static rules differentiating particular styles. The rules of

⁷ B.Fatyga et al. (2005), op.cit., pp.12-13, on different criteria on youth differentiation and criteria on inner divisions.

⁸ An example of arguable selection of such indicators is presented in: J.Czapiński, *Diagnoza szkolna 2008. Przemoc i inne problemy w polskiej szkole*, pp. 30-39. In this report the indicators of the style of life were: sport, Internet, sexual experiences, cigarettes, alcohol, drugs, grade for behaviour at school and, truancy, what in consequence makes the author create the “syndrome of troublesome student”. In such a perspective the notion of style of life becomes ideological and labeling, without the sense of scientific explanation. Similar approaches feature researchers of healthy and unhealthy styles of life, although the example of Czapiński research seems to be self evident.

styles of life enable people both *hic et nunc* and in other spatial and temporal perspectives to perceive oneself and one's life as relatively cohesive and sensible, simultaneously enabling researchers their standardization. Styles of life offer an individual the main area of providing justification for comparisons, grouping people and differentiation from others.

2.2.2 Styles of life and values

In the cited definition we have not applied the term „hierarchical values”. We believe that nowadays it is hard to speak about well grounded, stable and hierarchically ordered values existing in minds of young Polish generation or even the consciousness of their parents or other adults. „Hierarchies” of values are contemporarily replaced with dynamic and situational sets of values. In case of youth this situation has originated due to, on the one hand, distinctiveness of young age (what is neither a new fact, nor discovered by us), and on the other (and in this case it may be considered as *new*), interferences in the intergenerational transfer of values caused by both global and local social, civilization and cultural changes (this topic is elaborated in the part on values in the following report).

2.2.3 *Homo eligens* and *homo egens*

Henceforth we have applied the ideas conceived in the 1980's by Andrzej Siciński focusing on the research on styles of life from the perspective of *homo egens* – a choosing individual, or otherwise – „from the perspective of choices taken in the everyday life”⁹. We have completed this theoretical concept with the notion of *homo egens* conceived by Fatyga, which refers to satisfaction of one's needs¹⁰.

⁹ A. Siciński (1988), *Style życia w miastach polskich. U progu kryzysu*, Ossolineum, p. 51.

¹⁰ B.Fatyga (2008), *Rzeczy i ich miejsce w konsumpcyjnym stylu życia*, in print.

Classical, sociological approach to style of life understood as a tangle of objective and subjective factors resulting from social background is equally important in the theory of Siciński. It considers objective determinants, such as: economic ones and resulting from social structure, including education and professional life¹¹.

The idea of *homo eligens* as a methodological thesis implies that it is impossible to understand social, psychological and cultural phenomena without consideration of the fact, that individuals constantly take various choices. Much depends on external factors, as well as habits, which people may not necessarily be aware of. Such choices determine styles of life, rather than constitute people's conscious life strategies. On the other hand, as early as in 1970's Siciński noticed on styles of life, that „the constraints of the repertoire become a stimulus to exploit more extensively all the options available”¹². Since that time variety of choices have become more extensive, while simultaneously „less meaningful” and „less valuable”. There have also emerged new constraints, e.g. in the scope of tastes. These are most often determined by popular culture¹³. Moreover, some constant constraints, like economic limitations, have become unprecedented sharp and meaningful in control of styles of life. It is here, where the idea of a *homo eligens* acting in the world of consumer temptations supplements the vision of a *choosing individual*.

In general, the vision of youth recreated on the grounds of Polish youth research conducted after 1989 has become very complex. Thus, recreation of views and behaviors of young people are sometimes hardly comparable.

It is also worthwhile to consider the new existential interpretation of the notion of *homo eligens* when it is applied to youth. It can be combined with the

¹¹ In our research it referred to both the status of family of origin featuring young respondents and the status of adults, as well as adult views on the significance of education – more on this issue is presented in the part on values, needs and aims.

¹² A. Siciński (1988), op. cit. .63.

¹³ This issue is elaborated In: T. Szlendak, K. Pietrewicz (2007), *Moda, wolność i kultura konsumpcji*, (in:) T. Szlendak, K. Pietrewicz (ed.), *Rozkoszna zaraza. O rządach mody i kulturze konsumpcji*, Wrocław: Pub. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

idea of individualism and the notion of „game between persons”¹⁴ of Daniel Bell. Before we do that, however, we will introduce one more notion – of life strategy.

2.2.4 Life strategies and styles of life

The Needs and ways of their satisfaction, as well as other correlated choices taken by young people create changeable life strategies, which are adjustable to unstable reality. These strategies are conditioned by both the stable and the unstable indicators of life situations. Eventually, the style of life as a general conception is a dynamic category, both conditioned by particular, taken choices, and conditioning prospective ones.

We suggest that the notion of a life strategy should not be treated as real and conscious „leadership”¹⁵ of one’s own life undertaken by young people according to rules of chosen styles of life, but more as an attempt to such leadership, an attempt to take individual choices against existing conditions and constraints.¹⁶

¹⁴ D. Bell (1994), *Kulturowe sprzeczności kapitalizmu*, Warszawa: PWN, s.183. (eng. The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism).

¹⁵ According to *Słownik wyrazów obcych i zwrotów obcojęzycznych*, W. Kopaliński (1995), Warsaw: PWN, p. 919: strategy is „theory and practice of preparation and conducting big operations and campaigns”; due to various reasons youth is usually unable to conduct such campaigns in a responsible way, although in the process socialization and acculturation every individual usually learns such a skill; this notion may be completed with a category of *Lebensführung* - M.Weber (1972), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen: J.C.B Mohr.

¹⁶ The issue of choices taken by young people is the subject of attention of Polish sociologists, although not all its aspects are exposed. For example, the issue of the influence of popular culture and market on situational life strategies of children and youth has become the area of interest very recently. This domain is mostly dominated by experts in advertising and marketing and thus inaccessible by general public. Among sociological publications there may be mentioned: B. Łaciak (1998), *Świat społeczny dziecka*, Warsaw: Wyd. Akadem. „Żak” or K Kosęła (ed.) (1999), *Młodzież o rynku i demokracji*, Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa as well as A. Olejniczuk-Merta (2001), *Rynek młodych konsumentów*, Warsaw: CEiRB and *Dylematy rynku dziecięcego* (1996), Warsaw: Difin.

2.2.5 *Homo eligens* and individualism and collectivism

Henryk Domański and Aleksandra Dukaczewska¹⁷ referring to Denis Wrong¹⁸ say that individualism is both a motive force and the outcome of the system grounded in rivalry, competition, and domination of rules of reified exchange encroaching upon indirect relations between people. What is more, individualism as an inner drive for achievements „interwines with the urge of ‘being together’ (...) from time to time individual ambitions stand down in front of massively revealing needs of ‘community’, what leads to inner conflict”¹⁹. Warnings and calls to counteract „degenerated collectivism” challenging the system of values of western civilization tend to show up exactly in this context.²⁰

Our previous research allowed us to show, that collectivism in the world of contemporary youth is not a late reaction to rampant manifestations of individualism. Rather than that, these both notions intertwine in a new syncretic unity determining new qualities in the relations between „I” and the social world. The contemporary Warsaw youth gathers in „urban tribes” to much more extent than their previous colleagues, as one could name this phenomena after Michel Maffesoli²¹. They are „global teenagers”, at least that is how they are called by the Americans or „weekly party hordes”, what is the label conceived by one of the authors of this report. In the world of contemporary youth individualism and collectivism do not create sharp, polarized opposites.

2.2.6 The meaning of „games between persons”

Now we may come back to Bell’s notion of „the games between persons”. According to this author, we currently live in the postindustrial world, which is

¹⁷ H. Domański, A. Dukaczewska (1997), *Samodzielność i chęć polegania na sobie*, (in:) H. Domański, A. Rychard (ed.), *Elementy nowego ładu*, Warsaw: IFiS PAN, p. 331.

¹⁸ D. Wrong (1992), *Disaggregating the Idea of Capitalism*, (in:) M. Featherstone (ed.), *Cultural Theory and Cultural Change*, London: Sage.

¹⁹ H. Domański, A. Dukaczewska (1997), op. cit.

²⁰ Ibidem, s.332; also : G. Ritzer [1997], *Macdonaldyzacja społeczeństwa*, Warszawa: Muza S.A, pp. 295-338 (*The McDonaldisation of Society*) and D. Bell, op. cit., pp. 156-181.

²¹ M. Maffesoli (2000), *Le temps des tribus. Le déclin de l’individualisme dans les sociétés postmodernes*, Paris: La Table Ronde, (III edition).

dominated by such a game.²² Contemporary society necessitates „more cooperation than coordination and”²³, being grounded in organized societies rather than individuals. Bell, however, writes further that “Cooperation between persons is [...] is something more difficult than managing things” The necessary condition of a community is participation of its members. When too many groups target at too many different aims and do not accept compromises, there emerge deadlocks or increasing conflicts. We are dealing here with either the policy of consensus or dead end”²⁴ (emph. B.F. and P.Z.). The symbolic figure of such a society is Proteus “never stops to such extent that we may recognized his final aims”²⁵.

One may consider, whether and to what extent the ideas of Bell regard the contemporary Polish society. Poland is not yet the postindustrial society, however some parts of this „postindustrial landscape” can be spotted, especially in big cities. They co-exist with the excerpts of the former worlds, just like the collective values of the new and old order co-exist with different versions of individualism. We are facing both the traditional individualism represented in the European culture by mythical figures of Prometheus, Faust or American mannered „Self-Made-Man” along with the new individualism of the constantly interchanging Proteus.

Youth in Poland and Warsaw is „a postindustrial part of the social world”. Clifford Geertz says that the contemporary language of social theories has turned from the propulsive metaphors (the language of pistons) toward ludic ones (the language of pastimes)²⁶. In „the social division of labor” youth is the

²² D.Bell (1994), op. cit. p 183 -184. This notion cannot be replaced with more general “interaction”, because according to the intention of this author, this issue focuses on “clear” relations between persons, which are not mediated by labour to such an extent as in the past. “The game between persons” defines a unique kind of interactions appearing in the new social world.

²³ Zarazem Bell pisze, iż tak scharakteryzowany świat społeczny „trwa w drzeniu i trwodze” (ibidem, s.190).

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 184.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 197.

²⁶ C.Geertz (1997), O gatunkach zmaconych. (Nowe konfiguracje myśli społecznej), (in:) R.Nycz (ed.), *Postmodernizm. Antologia przekładów*, Cracow: Baran i Suszczyński, p. 224, (*Blurred Genres: The Refiguration of Social Thought*). The usefullness of the metaphor of play can be seen In R.Caillois (1999), *Gry i ludzie*,

group, which most often learns and experiences by the means of play and games. Simultaneously, the world of youth can be grasped as „a game between persons”, where at stakes there are, on the one hand, specifically understood individualism, and on the other, satisfaction of the need to exist in one’s own, safe group.

Our previous research showed that youth has been building styles of life in „the limited worlds”, closed from the point of view of most of adults. For example, rarely did come across the issues from public sphere (politics, institution not aimed at youth) when talking to young people. Most of the affairs which are important for young people took place in the area between their own privacy and such institutions as a family, school, church, media, police and most of all – in their peer world.

2.2.7 Problems in the interpretations of styles of life

Main difficulty in the interpretations of the research outcomes lies in the constants oscillations between either the „iron logic” and the influence exerted by segments of social structure on the views and behaviors of young people where they belong to or between their biological and demographical features and their own activities and increasing independence among the conditions of unstable social and cultural order.

2.3 Cultural and cognitive competences

The notion of competence is important to characterize adult participants of the research.

2.3.1 Definition

Let us apply the definition of Marek Ziółkowski, who perceives the cultural competence as: „the ensemble (...) of culturally shaped dispositions, due to the which human behaviors are featured by some regularity in certain cultural

Warszawa: Volumen (*Man, Play and Games*), also: A.Jawłowski (2000), *Razem z chłopakami. Subkultura hip hopowa jako grupa ludyczna*, master thesis at ISNS UW.

communities"²⁷. Competence regards certain aspects of culture which are consciously acquired through experience and/or habits and may be possible to be developed and modified. It is a feature of an individual or a group, who possess it and sometimes, let us add it, may it jealously guard. The most important part of the cultural competence is the cognitive competence, i.e. „culturally conditioned capability to classify objects of the surrounding reality, capability of interpreting dependencies (e.g. causal relationships) (...) is a sphere of culturally regulated reactions to meaningful phenomena, regardless of their intention"²⁸.

2.3.2 The scope of the competence of the analyzed adults

We are solely interested in these „aspects of culture”, which regard knowledge of adults on youth. The subject of the research was the sources of the competence, its structure and way of expression revealing in opinions and views of the respondents. We think that practical cognitive competence of adults in regard to youth is of a passive character and is related more to gathering rather than processing the knowledge. It relies on external knowledge and habits (routine) rather than on experience.

2.4 Drugs

A drug is the only main notion which will remain undefined. We are much more interested in the attitude of youth and adults to taking drugs and common ways of their comprehension rather than relevant expert definitions. The remaining reasons are presented below.

2.4.1 On the connections of styles of life and taking drugs

In our previous research we have come across groups of students belonging to older teenagers whose experience with psychoactive substances were richer

²⁷ M. Ziółkowski, (1989) Nabywanie kompetencji kulturowej, (in:) T Kostyrko, A. Szpociński (ed.), *Kultura artystyczna a kompetencje kulturowe*, Warsaw: COMUK, p.17.

²⁸ Ibidem, p.20.

than those from gymnasiums. However, we have not come across real drug addicts (apart from high schools for problematic youth)²⁹.

So far we have described youth who experimented with drugs, but these persons were not addicts. We would like to intensively highlight this fact, especially in reaction to panic media reports. One may draw a conclusion that media eagerly write, for example, on „decreasing age of the initiation” and create the impression that almost every young man is a potential or actual drug addict³⁰. Especially various young non-conformists are easily labeled in such a way by media or teachers.

Although drugs are easily accessible, even at schools, most young people react with either irony or aggression to approaches aiming at classifying them according to such media characteristics. This situation causes additional difficulties in conducting group administered questionnaires in schools aiming at the diagnosis of real danger of psychoactive substances threatening youth. Especially unwillingly filled in are questionnaires based on the ESPAD model.³¹

In the following research we also deal with younger adults – Warsaw students of tertiary schools. It is worth mentioning that there are hardly any researches on this environment having the same profile as this project.

3. Remaining assumptions of the research

3.1. On the context of the situation and social processes

Today it is difficult to talk about a cohesive style of life of young Poles, especially among urban youth, what is due to the progressing processes of social stratification. This process is distinctive in economic, social and cultural aspects as well as accompanied by the processes of anomy³², which is a derivative of, on

²⁹ B. Fatyga, J. Sierosławski (1999), op. cit.

³⁰ More on this issue is presented in the part on press analysis.

³¹ In further part of the report we obviously cite the newest SPAD outcomes, but would like to warn about their limited reliability originating due to ideological and methodological reasons.

³² We understand anomy in a very general way, as a phenomenon regarding: a) disorientated and dezorganized identity; b) situations featured by conflicts of social norms making it difficult or even impossible

the one hand, incomplete socio-cultural transformation, and on the other, expansion of the postmodern popular culture. Among many, not only young people, they sharpen the perception of differences and inequalities, create mythical images of social life and social problems, sustain stereotypes, claims and resentments and, in the end– in accordance with the theory of anomie - influence the increase of dysfunctional and auto destructive behaviors among individuals and social groups.

In the research we assumed that the set of social stratification indicators is symbolized by the type of high schools attended by the older teenagers and the division of public and private tertiary schools chosen by the students. Gymnasiums are supposed to group and mix people from various strata and environments, but in practice, they are already divided into better and worse ones. That is why in this case we focused on the statuses of families of origin.

3.2 On the differentiation of youth styles of life on the basis of age and gender

Regardless of the above macro social processes we may assume that older teenagers (16-18) and younger adults (19-24) represent relatively well developed styles of life. In the meantime, the younger teenagers (13-15) begin to shape and coagulate their own patterns and designs of social and cultural behaviors.

Our previous research (see footnote no. 3) revealed that one of the major factors differentiating contemporary styles of life of youth is gender. Girls (we researched mostly teenagers) resembled the type of „global teenager” to a bigger extent than boys, who (apart from being fascinated by computers) turned out to be more inhibited and withdrawn from the contacts with adults, as well as they

for individuals to abide by them and c) as a state of dissolution, reorganization and/or atrophy of normative system. Referring to Barbara Galas we also assume the conception of „privatized anomie”, i.e. internalized by individuals and injuring “from inside”. (This idea was presented during the jubiler session of OBM UW in 2006).

better and more harmoniously performed in their peer groups. Simultaneously, girls' contacts and conflicts were much more vast and superficial, whereas their personal problems were closer to too ambitious, overworked and too active inhabitants of big cities.

4. Main hypotheses of the research

The object of our research was to test 5 hypotheses, which we characterize in the following part. The hypotheses of moral panic, communication, domination of therapeutical-training discourse and SEP are intertwined and show different aspects of public discourse on drugs and youth. Ludic hypothesis regards the internal organization of youth styles of life.

4.1 Hypothesis of moral panic

We assume that the contemporary image of youth and regarding dangers is shaped mostly by media coverage. These, however, present social problems mostly in categories of *news* and moral panic, veiling and/or canceling important aspects of particular phenomena.

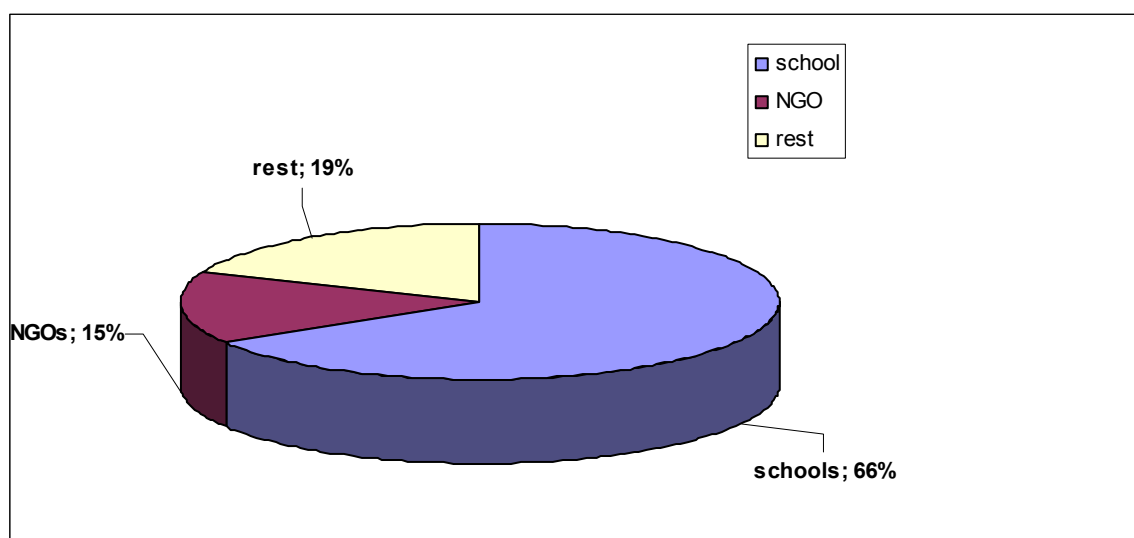
4.1.1 The notion of moral panic

According to Stanley Cohen³³ moral panic generated by media steps through three stages. In the first one media takes up some sensational news. (If this information regards the dangers of drug addiction and its consequences *to our children*, they suit the aim perfectly, similarly to the *decreasing age of initiation* with alcohol, drug or sex, as well as *dramatic statistics*.) The second step consists of so called spiral (deviancy amplification). Media not only repeat the same *news*, but also create situational information systems and take advantage of various information (also non sensational) in order to sustain public interest in

³³ This sociologist was the first to apply this notion in his analysis of media reaction to subcultures (*mods* and *rockers*) in early 1970's. On this issue there also are: S.Ungar, *Panika moralna versus społeczeństwo ryzyka: konsekwencje zmian w sferze niepokojów społecznych*, (in:) P.Sztompka, M.Bogunia-Borowska (ed.), (2008), *Socjologia codzienności*, Cracow: Wyd. Znak.

the topic. Eventually, there rapidly increase: social anxiety, moral outrage of the media consumers and either confirmation of existing stereotypes or creation of new ones (in this case) drug addiction. If there are applied any soothing voices of experts (*not all the youth consists of barbarians and drug addicts*), usually they are not welcomed as credible. In the third step there comes up an approach to take control of the phenomena. Usually it does not take a form of social control, but rather administrative one (e.g. state, local governments, in general – institutional). Often the tasks are delegated to schools, which are evidently overburdened, as revealed our research commissioned by The Ministry of National Education in 2005 (see chart No. 1). In this phase society loses interest in the topic, which is then presented in utterly different language (of bureaucracy, not emotions) and the discourse is transferred to partners defined in an utterly different manner (e.g. state or local administration, teachers, NGO's, therapists, parents and, at last, youth which is the central issue).

Chart 1. Offer for youth



source: B. Fatyga, I. Oliwińska, M. Sińczuch, P. Zieliński, *Biała księga młodzieży polskiej. Dwie prawdy o aktywności*, Biuro Młodzieży MENiS, Warsaw 2005, p.68.

Media panic (resp. moral) – as Eżbieta Czykwin³⁴ writes – is particularly efficient as a way of presentations social problems when media are able to convince its recipients that thus created social world is not only cohesive and consolidated but also accurately presents version of reality shared by the audience. The author adds that this phenomenon is of moral and often stigmatizing character. The language of separation, often identical with *hate speech* usually serves as the discursive instrument. In consequence of such media discourse there appears the differentiation between Us and The Others. It is usually arbitrary, supposedly unmasking, inessential and intended to point out implicit wickedness of The Others. Let us add that in case of youth and drugs there emerges particular social reception of information featuring resentment, because negative feelings (anxiety, animosity) are combined with positive ones (love towards children, urge to care).

4.1.2 Stating the hypothesis

Moral panic in media regarding „youth and drugs” may be realized in two ways:

- first, its course may be fiercefull (rapid and relatively short) – in this case the advantages of media coverage may predominate its social costs; discourse may extend the area of media and result in activation of social energy along with so called issue professionalization;

- second, panic can „smolder” for a long time existing as a media „duty issue”.

In such case it is accompanied by a bunch of other phenomena such as social disorientation, increase in stereotypization of the subject of panic, proliferation of certain prevention programs, and finally policy decisions on funding given ways of work with youth, certain NGO trainings and commercial enterprises operating in public sector and others.

In the analyzed prevention activities regarding drug addiction among youth moral panic is of the second of above types.

³⁴ E.Czykwin, *Stygmat społeczny*, Warsaw 2007, PWN.

4.2 Communicational hypothesis

Currently we face not only a crisis in the intergenerational communication, but also among various peer groups. These phenomena constitute one of the disregarded effects of social and civilization transformation in our country³⁵. However, much depends on the research perspective. It is one view when youth is considered as normal and it is assumed that communication with this group is not supposed to be problematic at all. This view is changed when one – like us – considers „normality” as a dynamic and interchanging category, in which case understanding between generations and various groups featuring different psycho, socio and cultural characteristics cannot be taken for granted³⁶. Our previous research allowed us to describe some dimensions of these issues³⁷ in its various aspects. In the due presentation of the research outcomes we highlight the manifestations of the crisis, especially corresponding dangers for educational and prevention activities. In the described perspective communicational hypothesis regards crucial issues influencing the diagnosis of the young generation situation.

4.3 Hypothesis of the domination of therapeutic and training discourse

In state of the professionalization of issue regarding drug addiction among youth the external discourses become more important (what is characteristic for the third stage of moral panic). At its core there is prevention discourse primarily based on applied psychological knowledge. Its snappy, massive and ritualized

³⁵ A few decades ago the consequences of the increasing intergenerational distance was described by an American Anthropologist Margaret Mead, (2000), *Kultura i tożsamość. Studium dystansu międzypokoleniowego*, Warszawa: PWN (The Study of Culture at Distance).

³⁶ B. Fatyga, A. Tyszkiewicz (rd.) (2001), *Normalność i normalka. Próba zastosowania pojęcia normalności do badań młodzieży*, Warsaw: ISNS UW.

³⁷ E.g. B. Fatyga, G. Fluderska (1998) Szkic do portretu dzieci ze środowisk społecznie zaniedbanych, (in:) *„Kultura i Społeczeństwo”*, vol 2; B. Fatyga (1999), Młodzież i dorośli: rodzice i nauczyciele. Wybrane problemy kulturowych relacji międzygeneracyjnych, (in:) *„Sociological Review”*, v. XLVIII/2; J. Rogala-Oblękowska (1997), Współczesna polska rodzina – mity i fakty, (in:) B. Fatyga, A. Tyszkiewicz (ed.), *Dzisiejsza młodzież. Stereotypy i rzeczywistość po 1989 roku*, Warsaw-Radom: ITE; J. Rogala-Oblękowska (1999), *Młodzież i narkotyki. Rodzinne czynniki ryzyka nałogu*, Warsaw: ISNS UW.

applications destroy its essence by simplifications, unjustified generalizations, routine and applications in inappropriate contexts, often based on worldviews.

4.4 SEP hypothesis

4.4.1 Definition and SET types

SEP or *somebody else's problem*³⁸ is a category allowing to describe how certain issues become insignificant in public discourse (as well as media discourse) and activities undertaken by individuals who regard given issue as alien and/or insignificant either for themselves or for their environment or as supposed to be concealed.

There are concealed SEPs, i.e. hidden practices of neglect which are manifested in discourse by absence. They originate out of: lack of descriptive categories enabling cognitive separation of the phenomena; blurring memory (denial, suppression); considering something as obvious, seen but not perceived. There are also articulated SEPs which are constituted by cancellation, such as euphemisms, marginalization, stigmatization, degradation, exclusion. Also, countersepization (e.g. rise of media panic) is possible and effective way of the sepization of other, more profound problem.

4.4.2 Dimensions of sepization

The authors of the conception have pointed three dimensions of sepization:

a) the dimension of Me vs. World; all the problems which are perceived as those which do not influence one's own situation are becoming somebody else's problems (*I don't care about it* but also *I don't care about it, because no one can do anything about it*). Countersepization is constituted by the openness of an ego towards all possible problems (often particular ones); a typical example of sepizational practices in this dimension pushing such problems towards others

³⁸ M.Czyżewski, K. Dunin, A. Piotrowski (ed.), *Cudze problemy. O ważności tego, co nieważne. Analiza dyskursu publicznego w Polsce*, Warsaw, OBS, 1991; also Helene Joffe, *Ludzkie reakcje na ryzyko: "to nie ja", "Należy obwinić kogo innego"* (in:) P. Sztompka, M. Bogunia-Borowska (ed.), (2008), *Socjologia codzienności*, Cracow: Wyd. Znak.

(*it's not my business, it's my parents', headmaster's, state', church's I am not to blame, and so on*);

b) the dimension of Us vs. Them; these are the problems concerning other groups, not one's own (*only children from dysfunctional families do drugs, my child doesn't*). The counterseparation here are the legal acts, various kinds of prevention practices, activities aiming at solving social problems and others;

c) the dimension of Text vs. Not Text; it regards, on the one hand, all the messages considered inside a given culture as meaningful and legal and, on the other, these messages which are considered as nonsense and/or insignificant; from our point of view it is valuable to differentiate the world of adults (producing legal and meaningful texts due to symbolic violence, regardless of their objective value) and the world of youth (producing unimportant and insignificant texts). The authors of the presented idea refer to Jurij Łotman and Boris Uspieński who made the distinction of culture, non-culture and anti-culture³⁹: From our point of view the world of youth most of the time is perceived by adults (authorities in legal, meaningful culture) as an area of non-culture, which has to be ruled and civilized (*youth is to be educated*); less often it is anti-culture, i.e. the sinister sphere of inverted values. Separational practices in the area of non-culture cancel the voices of „natives”, whereas in case of anti-culture they separate and label youth in a negative way in general, without any knowledge on its essence.

4.4.3 Stating hypothesis

On the grounds of the research it is possible to state that separational practices in the dimensions of Me vs. World and Us vs. Them are usually applied in the private sphere by particular people (although acting in social institutions, such as families or schools); separation in the Text vs. Not Text dimension takes the form of institutional approaches to solving problems (legal acts, educational and

³⁹ J.Łotman, B.Uspieński, O semiotycznym mechanizmie kultury, (in:) S.Żółkiewski (ed.), *Semiotyka kultury*, Warszawa, PIW. (*On the semiotic mechanism of culture*)

preventional programs). On the grounds of drug prevention in Poland we have come from the phase of concealed SEPs to articulated SEPs, which in public discourse are mostly manifested by stigmatization, degradation and exclusion. Counterseparation of the youth drug addiction usually hides various concealed SEPs, most of the time being an effect of both lack of knowledge on youth and real contact with this group.

4.5 Ludic hypothesis

There is a distinctive group of youth styles of life governed by the norms of ludicity and the present as a dominating temporal orientation.⁴⁰ Even if the dominant value of a style of life is different, and ludicity only „happens”, it remains an important constituent of the whole. In both of the cases in such an approach to *ludus* there is not much left of the atmosphere of *sacrum* – which used to be a holy time accompanied by psychoactive substances in the past and among other cultures. Neither is it a reminiscent of youth counterculture of sixties and seventies. Currently drugs have become to much more extent a part of everyday life (and every day ludic behaviors) in the social life of youth.

⁴⁰ B. Fatyga, J. Sierosławski (1999), op. cit., p. 95.

Chapter II

Basic information on research, samples and techniques

1. Characteristics of the research project

The project of the research assumed its realization in a few modules:

- a) quantitative research of teenagers and young adults studying in Warsaw;
- b) quantitative and qualitative research of adults;
- c) desktop research;
- d) analysis of media coverage on youth and drugs.

Quantitative youth research was close to the model of exploratory research, which Renate Mayntz, Kurt Holm and Peter Hübner call descriptive. The authors write: „The outcome of the descriptive research is description and classification (or typology - BF and PZ) of the social phenomena (with the frequencies of occurrence)”⁴¹.

1.1 Information on the realization of the field research

Field research on students and people working with or for youth and statistical analysis were conducted by Scientific Research Institute of The Polish Sociological Society (ZBN PTS) from 2.01.2008 to 14.04.2008.

Research outline, analysis and interpretation were conducted by the authors of the following report. The module on press analysis was utterly conducted by Albert Hupa from Youth Research Center in the University of Warsaw. Materials describing activity of institutions and organizations working for youth were collected during the field research.

⁴¹ R. Mayntz, K.Holm, P.Hübner [1985], *Wprowadzenie do metod socjologii empirycznej*, Warszawa: PWN, p. 37. More on exploratory research one may find in S. Lamnek, *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Band 1. Methodologie*, Eichstätt: Beltz, p. 100-105

2. Samples in the field research

2.1 Youth sample

The initial idea of analysis of representative sample of studying Warsaw youth unfortunately turned out to be unhelpful from the point of view of assumed aims. The reason for this are not demographical processes, but rather the status of the capital city as the biggest academic center and the ideology of educational *boom*, sanctioned by the last educational reform, which suggests older students that they should undertake general educational profile. In consequence, the population of Warsaw students between 13 and 24 years of age is dominated by students of tertiary education, while among teenagers there is a significant domination of students of high schools and gymnasiums (see table 1)⁴². Eventually, after statistical consultations we decided to separately sample students of secondary education (N=600) and of tertiary education (N=600)⁴³, resulting with a stratified quota sample (N=1200).

In the sample of tertiary students we took into account three main higher schools in Warsaw (The University of Warsaw, The Warsaw University of Technology, The Warsaw University of Life Sciences). Remaining participants of the research in this sample represented the following public schools: The Warsaw School of Economics, The Jozef Piłsudski University of Physical Education in Warsaw, The Medical University of Warsaw, The University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, The Maria Grzegorzewska Academy of Special Education, The Academy of Fine Arts, The Aleksander Zelwerowicz State Theatre Academy, Christian Theological Academy, The Main School of Fire Service, The Fryderyk Chopin Academy of Music. Besides, there were researched students of the following private higher schools: The Warsaw School

⁴² In further part of the report in most of the tables we have omitted the categories: „I don't know” and lacking data to present the data in a clear way. This reason, along with the possibility of multiple answers explain while in some of the casus percentages do not sum up to 100.

⁴³ On the basis of the archives of The Ministry of National Education and The Ministra of Science and Higher Education.

of Social Psychology, Almamer. Higher Economy School, Collegium Varsoviensis, The European School of Warsaw and Administration, Linguistic Higher School, Pedagogium, The Higher School of „The Association of families”, Edward Wiszniewski Warsaw Higher School of Economy. , Warsaw Higher School of Informatics, Polish Japanese Institute of Information Technology, Higher School. Education in Sport, , Higher School of Ecology and Management in Warsaw, Łazarski School of Commerce and Law, Wyższa Szkoła Języków Obcych i Zarządzania Finansami, Jerzy Giedroyc Higher School of Communication and Social Media in Warsaw, The Higher School of Pedagogy of the Society of Public Knowledge in Warsaw, Mieczysław Orłowicz College of Tourism and Recreation in Warsaw.

Tab. 1. Characteristics of youth population and sample according to types of schools in N and %.

school type	N in population	%	N in sample	%
secondary schools				
Gymnasium	47.007	33,1	201	33,5
Basic vocational school	4.170	2,9	13	2,2
General lyceum	57.432	40,5	227	37,8
Specialized lyceum	4.031	2,8	47	7,9
Technical secondary school	13.912	9,8	25	4,4
Post lyceal high schools and for adults	15.381	10,8	67	10,0
Missing	-	-	20	3,3
Sum	141.933	100*	600	100
Tertiary schools				
The University of Warsaw	56.292	13,2	116	19,3
The Warsaw University of Technology	30.479	7,2	78	13,0
The Warsaw University of Life Sciences	23.136	5,4	45	7,5
Other public	191.232	44,9	153	25,6
Other private	125.000	29,3	208	34,7
sum	426.139	100	600	100*
TOTAL	568.072	100	1200	100

*rounding error.

**In the next part we decided to divide students from particular types of schools according to the following rule: gymnasium students, general lyceum students, students of post gymnasial vocational schools and post lyceal high schools and for adults. Higher education students were divided according to the type of school: public or private.

Private higher education system in Poland has been developing in Poland for a short time. However, in the described sample, apart from few private well known schools which successfully compete with the established public schools, there are many higher or semi higher vocational schools which prestige and level of education are on a relatively low level and the profile being a result of a net force of the labor market demands, decrease of the prestige of the vocational secondary education and efficiency of the authorities of these schools in reaching educational staff.

Another important division in the sample characteristics is the gender differentiation - see tab.2.

Tab. 2 Division of students according to the gender criterion, in %.

school type	females	males
Gymnasium	46,8	53,2
General Lyceum	50,7	49,3
Vocational Schools	61,2	36,5
Post Lyceal High Schools and for Adults	71,6	28,4
Higher Public	53,8	46,2
Other private	61,1	38,9

It is worth noticing, that among the respondents from particular types of post gymnasial schools (vocational and post lyceal) and higher private schools there is a significant domination of women.

The characteristics of the analyzed young people is traditionally supplemented with the cross tabulation of school types with parental education and occupational status what gives an insight into social status of a family. These data are presented in tables 3 and 4.

Tab.3 School type vs. education of a mother (M) and a father (F), in %.

Type of education	Gymnasium		General Lyceum		Vocational		Post Lyceal		Higher	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
basic and lower	2,5	1,5	3,5	2,2	4,7	5,9	3,0	1,2	1,3	1,3
basic vocational	2,5	5,0	5,7	11,0	11,8	21,2	17,9	15,7	7,2	15,2
General secondary	5,5	3,0	8,4	4,4	9,4	3,5	7,5	15,7	23,3	17,2
vocational secondary	6,5	10,0	13,7	18,5	15,3	15,3	16,4	18,4	14,2	18,7
post secondary	4,0	3,5	13,7	8,8	15,3	11,8	9,0	7,3	12,3	7,2
higher professional or unfinished uniform higher	10,4	8,5	8,4	10,1	5,9	2,4	7,5	4,9	6,3	4,0
uniform higher	46,3	41,3	33,9	28,6	21,2	10,6	25,4	32,7	34,2	34,3

We would like to point a few characteristics: first, high percentages of parents with secondary or tertiary education; second, clear paths of promotion through educational choices, and third, reproduction of children statuses among better educated families.

Tab. 4 School type vs. the occupation of mothers (M) and fathers (F), in %.

Parental occupation	Gymnasium		General Lyceum		Vocational		Post Lyceal		Higher	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Farm	0,5	-	2,2	1,8	-	3,5	1,5	1,5	4,5	3,5
Own enterprise	15,4	33,8	15,9	30,8	5,9	20,0	13,4	23,9	8,8	19,5
public institution	29,4	19,4	30,0	13,7	31,8	14,1	26,9	17,9	34,7	27,5
private enterprise	24,9	21,4	24,7	30,0	22,4	24,7	19,4	22,4	36,6	36,2
pension	2,0	1,0	1,8	2,6	5,9	4,7	14,9	9,0	6,0	7,2
unemployed	5,0	3,5	8,8	2,2	5,9	2,4	7,8	1,5	6,3	1,2
casual work	0,5	0,5	0,4	-	1,2	-	-	1,5	-	0,2
Work abroad	1,0	-	-	0,4	1,2	-	-	1,5	-	-

Parents of the analyzed students are mostly very active in the occupational sphere. There are clearly visible high percentages of people employed in the private sector and possessing own enterprises.

2.2 Adults

The sample of so called adults (N= 302) was from the very beginning thought of as a convenient cluster of experts. We were aiming at reaching adults acting in close environment of youth and all the related problems. Consequently such a sample is dominated by educators, school psychologists and school headmasters. The structure of the sample is presented in table 5.

Tab. 5. Characteristics of the adult sample on the basis of profession and function, in N and %.

profession or function	N	%
school headmasters	72	23,8
school educators and psychologists	78	25,8
local government councilmen and officials	28	9,2
employees of educational institutions and psycho-pedagogical clinics	26	8,6
Police	25	8,3
probation officers	17	5,6
Priests	14	4,6
employees of non governmental institutions targeted at youth	13	4,3
journalists dealing with youth issues	11	3,6
employees of cultural institutions	9	3,0
other youth experts	5	1,7
representatives of Parent Councils	4	1,3
Sum	302	99,8*

* rounding error

What is interesting, „the experts” were significantly differentiated by age, and then, by gender. The youngest analyzed persons were 22 years old, while the oldest – 74 years old. Respectively all the following data regarding experts are based on the following division:

I age group: 22 - 35 years (30,0% of the whole),

II age group: 36 - 50 years (56,9% of the whole),

III age group: 51 - 74 years (12,9% of the whole).

In the analyzed group there were 72,1% (N = 217) females and 27,9% (N = 84) men. Almost all the respondents graduated from tertiary schools (91,4%; N = 276). Their basic civilization competences and extra occupational activities are

presented in table 6, which divides experts by age so that the data are presented in a clear way.

Tab.6 Basic civilization competences and social activities of adults vs. age groups, in %.

competences and social activities	22-35 years	36-50 years	51-74 years	Total
fluent English	17,3	9,5	5,6	10,6
average English	58,0	38,5	43,7	44,7
other foreign language on a fluent level	19,8	19,6	16,9	18,9
other foreign language on an average level	30,9	49,3	52,1	44,7
fluent competence in computers	70,4	56,8	29,6	53,6
average competence in computers	28,4	37,8	57,7	39,7
High competence in mobile devices	92,6	79,7	57,7	77,5
average competence in mobile devices	6,2	18,2	38,0	19,5
organizational membership	43,2	37,2	29,6	36,8

On the whole, only 14,9% of the respondents do not speak English and 9,3% do not speak any other foreign language, while only one person admitted to the lack of competence in computers and mobile devices. These initial characteristics reveal the fact, that technological competence is not an obstacle to comprehension and communication with young people. However, generational differences remain; while a few years ago according to the youth, adults *were not able to turn on the computer*, currently both of the groups use these devices in a different manner, and the division is endorsed by the extent of some of the beliefs held by adults (see part „Where the cyborgs are”).

A bit more than half of the respondents (55,1%) declared possessing children of gymnasial age or even older. What is interesting, the fact of having children hardly differentiated adults' views on *contemporary youth*. The same situation regards declarations about contacts with one's own children; 81,3% of the respondents said that there is a mutual understanding between them and their children and that they talk *about everything*. However, 14,4% of them stated that although their contact with their children is good, it is constrained to current affairs or holidays. To a direct question, whether they are satisfied with contact

with their own children, 99,4% answered positively: "yes" (73,9%) and "rather yes" (25,5%).

2.3 Characteristics of the techniques applied in the field research

2.3.1 Difficulties in conducting research among Warsaw youth

Conducting research in Warsaw, especially in schools for younger people is an ungrateful task. On the one hand, one must understand prolific complaints of headmasters, for whom frequent incursions of researchers disorganize work. On the other hand, researchers complain about frequent rejections coming from both: school authorities and parents, as well as low response-rates (on the average level of 60% in group administered questionnaires) and high level of the licentious jokes and vulgarisms – especially in the administered questionnaires in gymnasiums. That is why such a technique is not the best suited (much better outcome may be gathered with the means of qualitative research), but due to relatively short time of the project we were not able to afford the choice of other techniques.

One other problem is the unreliability of direct research conductors and the necessity of constant control of the process of gathering the data. In our case there were about 100 questionnaires which had to be repeated as a result of the control. As we were informed by the coordinators of field research from ZBN PTS it was still a result better than average.

2.3.2 Questionnaires of the interviews

In order to realize the aims of the research presented in chapter 1., the authors have designed new, original questionnaires. Because of the exploratory scope of the research, the questionnaires contained relatively big number of open questions. A significant amount of questions directed to youth was also applied in case of adults. Actually we have applied only a few questions from our previous research and one (after a necessary modification) from research of

other authors. A major role was played by the pilot testing of the questionnaire for youth. Young people (students) acted not only as *Guinean pigs* but also as competent judges whose influence on the final shape of the questionnaires is invaluable. It is enough to say that three quarters of the questionnaire were rebuilt after the pilot testing (the example of the questionnaire is presented in Appendix 1).

2.4 Media Analysis

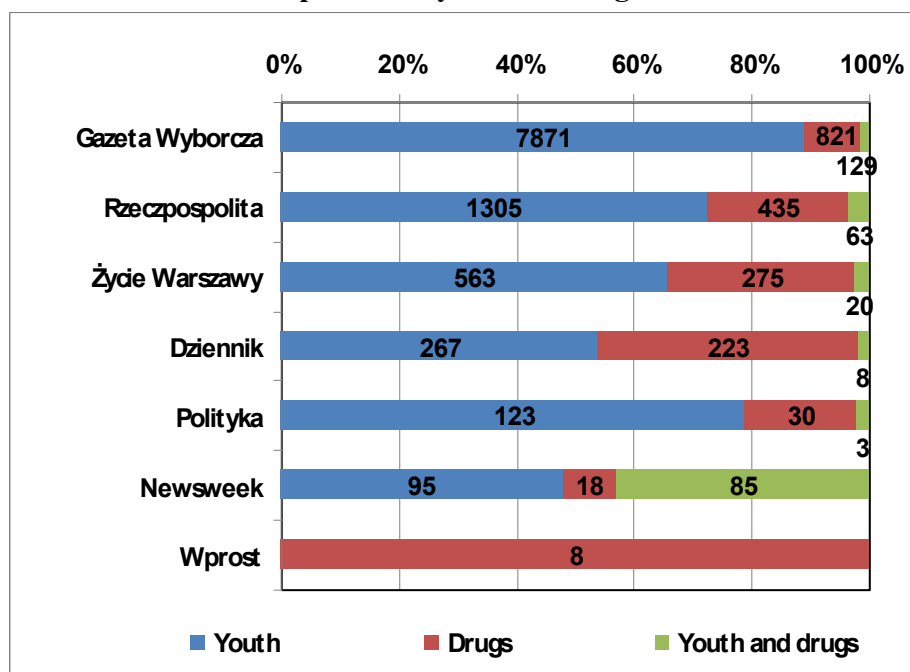
Media image of youth is definitely incomplete, because it lacks the most important medium for adults (which is not that important for youth) – television. However, due to the lack of time and technical difficulties the analysis was constrained to newspapers.

The press analysis was planned in order to verify the hypothesis on character of public discourse on youth and drugs (see – part on the research hypotheses).

2.4.1 Texts sample

Another source of data consisted of Internet press archives, among the which there were collected texts on youth, drugs, and the intersection of these topics (N=303). Such a constructed sample on the grounds of particular categories is presented in chart 2. The research provided for the texts issued from 1st of January, 2007 to 31st of December, 2007. When reading the the outcome presented in Chapter IV of the report and Appendix II, one must take into consideration that during this period in Poland there was the most controversial Minister of Education since the II World War – Mr. Roman Giertych from The League of Polish Families and former leader of rightist extremist organization „All Polish Youth”.

Chart 2. Articles chosen for the press analysis according to Journals



2.4.2 Methodology of archival content research

The author and performer of this part of the research constructed a computer software collecting articles from press archives in WWW. The texts were chosen on the basis of the existence of one of two keywords („youth”, „drugs”) and collected respectively in two phases, separately for each key word. Then there were extracted the texts containing both of the keywords (both „youth” and „drugs”), which constituted the material for further analysis. The texts were divided according to constituent topics (as key words do not reflect the topic) and the criterion of the main sender, further called *a voice*. In the next step, the author conducted the analysis of individual voices on the ground of the technique of semantic field conceived by Regine Robin and modified by Fatyga, Zieliński and Marek Kłosiński⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ R.Robin,(1973), *Histoire et linguistique*, Paris; por też: B. Fatyga, P.Zieliński, K.Górniak, (2000), *Zwei Europas.Jugendliche in Polen und in Deutschland an der Jahrhundertwende. Band 1. Der Stammesfeind und der Globale Kumpel*, Warschau and M. Kłosiński, (1994), *Obraz bezrobocia i bezrobotnych w polskiej prasie*, (in:) *"Kultura i Społeczeństwo"*, no 2.

2.5 Desktop research

The documents on the activities of particular institutions and organizations working in the area of addiction prevention or in general targeted at youth were collected by the conductors of the research during their visits in the due organizations, especially at schools. We have applied them to the initial recognition on the character of the work with youth. That is why they were not analyzed in such a rigorous way as previous data. However, this analysis enabled us to see that school prevention programs represent very unequal level and style of prevention activities: from a bit corruptive „promotion activities”, through *ticking off the task*, up to elaborated and competent instructions for teachers, telling what to do in case of meeting a student under the influence of psychoactive substances. What is interesting, some of the schools conducted own research (with different outcome) on the atmosphere at their premises, students' demands or creation of the school brand.

Additionally, we have collected and analyzed recent reports, articles and papers on the issues addressed in the following report. Some of them were applied in the father part of the following report (see Bibliography).

2.6 Final remarks

All the previously described data and sources were analyzed with the respective techniques of analysis and interpretation. In case of the research on students and adults, SPSS statistical package constituted the basis for the analysis.

PART II

Chapter III

Juventologic adult competence and youth declarations on their views and behaviors

Sources of knowledge, sources of contacts - comparisons

In this chapter we continue with the characteristics of adult participants in the research⁴⁵. We also compare their views on youth with views and behaviors declared by students. The outcome of the research allows for the characteristics of the area of consistent judgments and opinions as well as pointing the discursive fields, among which there exist big or even enormous discrepancies among the groups of youth and adults. Let us remind that the analysis aims at delineating knowledge, cognitive competences of adults along with reliability and legitimization not only the voices of the discourse, but also their activities targeted adults.

1. Values, problems and need of youth

1.1 Value sets of youth and adults

In the standard youth research concentrating on hierarchical values, which have been conducted in Poland for a long time (see Chapter 1), there are pointed similarities among the choices taken by young people and older generations. We have arrived at a similar conclusion in our research. Usually, after reaching such a conclusion a researcher thinks that she or he may sleep well: youth resembles adults, the differences are marginal and shallow; the processes of social reproduction are maintained in a familiar and well known way. If there are any

⁴⁵ In this and the next chapter the data in tables do not sum up to 100%. First, the respondents were asked to give more than one answer, second, in the tables there are not presented the distributions of answers but only selected categories (e.g. only “yes” or only “I use it regularly”), third, we omitted lacks of answers focusing on the quantitative analysis of the answers of the respondents.

differences at all, they are the result of a focus at different life aims and during different life stages. So there should be nothing strange, for example, that the importance of emotional life is relatively most often pointed by students, after all, this is a time of setting down. *C'est fini!* More acute researcher would be more willing to ponder over some trends which he or she comes across, such as secularization. The core of the problem remains in the fact, that despite some similarities regarding general, basic life choices among adults and young people, there are much more differences in the remaining outlooks on life and opinions on each other. These findings are presented in the following outcomes. The choices of most important values among the groups of secondary students, tertiary students and adults are presented in table 8.

Tab.8 What are the most important things in life, answers of youth and adults, in % and ranks

values	secondary students	R	tertiary students	R	adults	R
family	67,8	1	71,3	1	73,8	1
other people	44,8	2	32,0	6	34,4	6
emotions (love, friendship)	40,2	3	49,7	2	46,7	3
wealth, money	33,7	4	41,5	5	20,2	7
work	31,7	5	47,3	3	54,0	2
health	18,7	6	46,5	4	44,7	5
character traits	15,3	7	17,2	7	45,4	4
joy	9,2	8	7,7	9	3,3	10
respect, prestige, image	5,3	9	4,0	10	7,3	9
God, religion	3,7	10	8,3	8	16,2	8
ecology, nature, animals	2,0	11	0,3	11	2,0	11

1.1.2 The role of education as a pool of knowledge and an activity (studying) in sets of values

For many years education did not show up in sets of values as autotelic, but in compliance to the skewed ideology of educational *boom* it constituted the means to achieve aims pointed in table 8. Because there is a constant agreement that youth is supposed to study, let us compare opinions on this topic declared by youth and adults. In table 9 there are combined the views of adults and youth on

education as an activity, i.e. studying. Whereas adults' answers were almost identical, there were significant differences between secondary and tertiary students, as well as between youth and adults. The coercion and stress regarding education was pointed only by secondary students.

Tab. 9 What the idea of studying means to youth and to adults, in %.

characteristics	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
It is a duty	30,2	13,0	7,9	13,7
allows to develop and intensify interests	24,2	55,2	73,7	34,0
most of what I learn is unnecessary	22,5	3,5	2,3	10,7
It is a torment, it is strenuous	20,2	2,4	1,3	10,0
It is handy in every day life	14,8	8,8	31,8	19,9
It is a brain training	12,2	11,0	31,1	19,5
It is a condition to improve material situation	3,7	1,7	7,0	-
It is my passion	1,3	4,8	23,2	20,1
It is a pleasure	0,3	0,2	6,0	5,7

When we asked students, what kind of education they would like to have they pointed higher education (secondary students - 87,0%; tertiary students - 99,5%). Why do they study, according to themselves and adults?

Tab. 10 Why youth studies in the opinion of secondary students, tertiary students and adults, in %.

reason	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
to achieve material success	71,8	52,0	52,3	9,6
to achieve high position in life	40,2	30,8	33,4	-
to develop for a life time	31,2	29,3	11,6	18,7
to gain knowledge	28,3	21,0	12,6	12,1
to achieve sociable success	28,0	23,2	15,6	10,0

It is worth pointing the categories highlighted in the table 10 – adults less often admit the possibility, that reasons for studying may be autotelic for students themselves! In Warsaw this possibility was pointed by almost one third of the youth. There is also revealing snobbery that according to youth (and to smaller extent – adults) is combining education with sociable status.

It is also interesting to compare answers of adults and youth regarding the necessity of achieving higher education. Indirectly it gives us a clue on egalitarian attitudes, which are important from the perspective of the issues on „equal chances”. And here it is! The adult respondents are obviously not the proponents of sharing the value of education! This view does not differentiate the group, whereas we came across slight differences among students from public higher schools (more often saying *no*) and private higher schools (more often saying that it is *difficult to say*).

Tab.11 Does everyone should have higher education? Answers in %.

answer	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
yes	20,2	12,7	5,7	10,7
no	36,6	56,7	93,0	46,5
difficult to say	41,7	30,7	1,3	34,9

As for the youth the answer *yes* was the least frequent among students of post lyceal schools and for adults (13,4%), that is the oldest group; a bit more than 40% of the general lyceums and post gymnasial schools as well as a little more than one quarter of gymnasium students and one third of vocational schools gave the answer *no*.

Let us take a closer look at justification of the above views among youth and adults.

Tab.12 Does everyone should have higher education? Justifications, in %.

positive justification				
justification	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
people would be smarter, they would possess knowledge	38,8	63,2	82,4	34,2
there would not be unemployment	14,0	7,9	5,9	5,8
education guarantees professional success	11,6	25,0	29,4	12,6
negative justification				
justification	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
because of practical conditions (labor division)	49,1	53,2	38,7	12,9
not everyone needs it	15,6	20,3	22,9	-
not everyone is skilled enough	13,8	14,7	46,2	31,9
not everyone wants it	8,7	9,4	5,7	-

Although adults think that people would be smarter if they had higher education (they have it themselves, as we saw it!), although youth wants it or is during the process of achieving it, all the formulations on constraining the access to education are obvious. The views on this issue divide the groups in a following way: adults, first of all, perceive an obstacle impossible to overcome – the lack of skills; youth in general points practical difficulties. There emerges a question, how to equalize chances? *De facto* it is about equaling downwards, what may be spotted in different educational areas.

The comparison of data presented in the tables regarding the meaning of education allows for drawing one more conclusion: still, the most important is the material success, which education enables.

Education is a value „unequally mythical” - opinions on this issue consist of broken, disjunctive fragments of stereotypes and instant „politically correct” judgments.

1.2 Youth problems

From the point of view of the issues presented in this report it is worth to highlight the fact, that when we asked secondary students to point the most important problems among youth, they pointed drugs and alcohol in the first place, while smoking tobacco was on the sixth.

At the same time adults – although participating in the prevention problems on addictions (see part „Youth programs without youth) – pointed these problems on the 12th and 13th place! Both secondary and tertiary students also pointed aggression and violence as very important problems, while for adults these were on the 9th place. If we take a closer look at the most important youth problems in Warsaw according to adults, it turns out that these are anonymity and lack of acceptance (1st place) and problems with parents (2nd place). Obviously there also are facts, that youth does not live up to school expectations (3rd) and does not want to learn (5), as well as the lack of authorities, personal patterns and good manners, that is respecting rules of courtesy (4th).

When analyzing the results it is interesting to look at the diversity of the responses of secondary and tertiary students. They mainly regard material problems and difficulties in finding a job, pointed mostly by tertiary students and problems regarding smoking tobacco and alcohol most often chosen by secondary students.

Tab. 13 Most important youth problems in Warsaw, answers of youth and adults, in % and ranks.

problems	secondary students	R	tertiary students	R	adults	R	difference (youth in general)
drugs	33,5	1	19,3	3	6,0	12	20,4
alcohol	27,8	2	11,7	7	4,3	13	15,5
aggression, violence, crime	22,3	3	20,2	2	11,5	9	9,8
problems with parents	16,7	4	9,5	8	41,4	2	28,3
anonymity, loneliness, lack of acceptance	15,3	5	15,2	5	44,7	1	29,4
smoking tobacco	14,0	6	1,5	15	1,0	14	6,8
uninteresting cultural offer	10,8	7	18,7	4	12,9	7	-
problems with studying, too high level	10,5	8	4,0	12	21,9	3	21,4
material problems	10,0	9	36,2	1	14,6	6	8,5
addictions and addictives	7,7	10	7,3	10	7,6	11	-
problems in school, aversion to study	7,3	11	2,8	13	15,6	5	10,5
too many temptations, pace of life	4,7	12	8,8	9	12,3	8	5,5
lack of ambitions, aims, interests	4,2	13	5,3	11	9,6	10	-
lack of authorities, patterns and courtesy	2,2	14	2,5	14	16,6	4	14,3
problems with finding a job	1,5	15	12,8	6	1,0	14	6,2

1.3 Youth needs in Warsaw

Let us take a look at the most important demands of youth according to the analyzed three groups.

Tab.14 Perception of Warsaw youth needs, in % and ranks.

objects and places	secondary students	R	tertiary students	R	adults	R	difference (youth in general)
open sports facilities – in general	-	-	-	-	67,9	1	67,9
free of charge football fields	55,8	1	44,3	5	10,3	6	39,8
youth clubs	54,8	2	45,2	4	31,1	3	18,9
safe parks	52,7	3	60,3	1	1,7	10	54,8
modern cultural institutions	50,0	4	60,2	2	35,1	2	20,0
cheap private lessons	45,8	5	33,0	7	4,0	7	35,4
bicycle paths	44,5	6	51,0	3	3,0	9	44,8
fitness clubs	37,0	7	30,2	8	-	-	33,6
skate parks	34,7	8	22,2	9	4,0	7	24,4
help and aid points	34,7	8	37,8	6	12,3	5	24,0
facilities to develop one's interests	-	-	-	-	21,9	4	21,9

These are the next interesting results showing distinctive differences among Warsaw youth needs in view of younger and older respondents. Let us highlight that young people point out particular places and facilities. What is more, even if the ranks are cohesive, the frequencies turned out to be very differentiated (see percentage differences in table 14).

2. Practical theory of social bonds

Every human possess „a home made” model of the social world and one's own image of the role and contacts with other in this world, as Claude Lévi-Strauss would say.

2.1 Advantageous and disadvantageous traits in reciprocal contacts between youth and adults

Below we present beliefs of adult experts and analyzed youth on their reciprocal relationships.

Tab.15 Adult views on traits supporting and hampering contacts with youth, in %.

adult traits supporting contacts	%	youth traits hampering contacts	%
my outspokenness and communicativeness	50,0	their lack of courtesy	26,8
my benign care, I like them	17,2	aversion towards adults, mutiny	17,9
my knowledge, competences and experience	14,2	obstacles of age and experience	14,2
their positive traits	10,9	I don't mind anything	10,6
my young age	5,3	their aggression and out screaming	7,9
my sincerity, truthfulness	4,6	cultural and civilization differences	7,9
my sincere and equal treatment	4,6	their imprudence and stupidity	4,6
my patience and committing time	4,3	my lack of knowledge and time	4,0
my well being	2,0	their addictions, drugs and alcohol	1,0

It is interesting that neither the most frequent trait of adults – *communicativeness*, nor a bit less frequent – *knowledge and experience* have made adults understand that all the listed negative traits of youth, especially *lack of courtesy*, are *de facto* the result of failure of both their own *communicativeness* and *knowledge and experience*. This data also reveal the quality of their self evaluation as educators, mentors, leaders and, in the end, authorities. If only every 25th person admitted that he or she may be to blame, then outspokenness and communicativeness do not seem to be very handy traits in establishing and maintaining contacts with young people.

All in all, the thesis on two parallel social worlds of adult youth experts and youth itself becomes better supported. Still, it is comforting that every 9th person stated that *positive youth traits* are supportive in the bilateral contacts and admitted that they *do not mind anything about the youth* in establishing the contacts with the youth.

The nature of the social relations between older and younger people, especially the cultural and psychological pressure exerted on youth is presented in table 16. Usually, it is the parents which tell youth what to do.

Tab.16 Why youth should do something else than what they like, in %.

reason	youth		Adults		
	secondary students	tertiary students	school headmasters	educators/ psychologists	remaining adults
they have to, they don't have another option	26,7	35,2	29,2	28,2	25,0
for their future	21,1	38,0	37,5	37,2	25,0
in order no to do bad things	10,2	4,7	15,3	9,0	19,1
because it develops character	9,2	13,2	20,8	26,9	25,7
I don't agree with this statement	4,8	4,3	16,7	24,4	23,7

What is symptomatic, relatively high percentage of adults did not agree with the suggestion imposed in the question. This result may be interpreted twofold: either it is the expression of conviction that youth is supposed to like doing what they have to do, or youth enjoys what it does. If it were so, we are facing the signal of the existence of the sphere stretching from authoritarianism and helplessness.

Parents and teachers are the closest categories for youth (at least „territorially”). Usually, according to research, their traits are generalized over all the adults. Youth asked about the traits of parents and teachers which either support or hamper bilateral contacts gave the responses presented in tables 17 and 18.

Tab. 17 Regarded and disregarded traits of adults (parents) according to youth, in %.

traits of Barents			
regarded		Disregarded	
name	%	Name	%
love, care	31,4	Distrust	14,3
acceptation, trust	20,8	preaching, caviling	14,1
outspokenness, partnership	13,7	extortion, enforcement, despotism	12,1
sincerity	8,2	Over parenting	11,5
committing time	7,3	they are all right	9,0
sense of humor, being cool	3,5	aggression, punishments, shouting, Betting	4,5
there aren't such traits	1,6	lack of time	2,2

What is interesting, the biggest difference between secondary and tertiary students regarded *love and care*; young adults need these traits to much more extent (46,5%) than teenagers (16,3%). The distinct differentiation of the answers also regarded *acceptation and trust* (tertiary students - 27,8%; secondary students- 13,7%). Similarly *over parenting* and *lack of trust* are much more minded by tertiary students (respectively:16,7% and 17,8%) than by secondary students (6,3%; 10,7%).

Tab. 18 Regarded and disregarded traits of adults (teachers) according to youth, in %.

traits of teachers			
regarded		Disregarded	
name	%	Name	%
intelligence, knowledge, wisdom	23,6	smartness, arrogance, distance	29,0
indulgence, respect	11,6	injustice, favoritism	17,1
kindness, care	9,5	nothing, I like them	7,5
serious treatment, partnership	9,1	lack of knowledge and qualifications, stupidity	6,6
outspokenness	9,0	too high expectations	5,8
I don't like anything about them	5,8	they are nervous and impatient,	2,2
sense of humor, being cool	4,8		

As for the teachers, only one group of traits has clearly divided opinions of the analyzed young people; *intelligence, knowledge and wisdom* turned out to be definitely more regarded traits by tertiary students (39,2%), while they were pointed by secondary students in only 8% of the cases. In case of disregarded traits of teachers towards its pupils there are interesting only *smartness, arrogance and distance* (tertiary students - 34,0%; secondary students - 24,0%) and a statement that teachers *do not have disregarded traits* (tertiary students - 12,3%; secondary students - 2,7%).

2.1.1 Official and unofficial forms of sociability

One of the necessary parts of the positive image of youth according to adults – as it was already pointed by Antonina Kłoskowska – is engagement of the young in organizational life. However, many researches have shown for quite a long

time that youth is turning away from organizations. In case of this research the percentage of organizational and institutional youth participation turns out to be extremely high: 45,5% secondary students and 27,8% tertiary student answered that belong to some group or organization.

Tab. 19 Participation in groups and organizations according to school types, in %.

Gymnasium	General Lyceum	Vocational Schools	Post lyceal schools	Public higher schools	Private higher schools
53,2	49,3	38,8	28,4	34,2	15,9

For Warsaw youth types of participation are especially characteristic. The majority of the respondents pointed informal groups, which seem to be very important for young people. Apart from the differences between secondary and tertiary students participation in sport organizations also seems to be important. In the remaining types of the institutions there is more participation of secondary students, rather than tertiary.

Tab. 20 Participation in groups and organizations according to types of organizations, in %.

type of community/organization	secondary students	tertiary students	difference
pack of friends	70,0	65,3	-
sports club	33,7	22,2	11,5
dance club	12,8	4,8	8,0
other non governmental organization	11,4	16,2	-
a subculture group	10,3	2,4	7,9
scouting	8,1	2,4	5,7
religious organization	7,0	4,8	-
music band	7,0	4,8	-
theatrical, film groups and similar	3,7	0,6	-
choirs	2,9	5,4	-

Below we confront opinions of the adults on the youth participation in organizations.

Tab. 21 Why youth does not want to engage in organizations in view of adults, in %.

reason	school headmasters	school educators/psychologists	remaining	Total
organizations are to blame (bad rules)	59,7	35,9	38,8	43,0
youth is to blame (they don't like, don't want)	55,6	50,0	53,3	53,0
culture is to blame (out of fashion, cropper)	27,8	41,0	48,0	41,4
lack of advertisements, bad PR	22,3	25,6	24,3	24,2
lack of time	13,9	12,8	8,6	10,9
parents are to blame (they bring children up in a wrong way)	11,1	7,7	13,2	11,3

What is interesting, the most often and most cohesive opinions of the adults regard „fault” of youth.

2.2 Who impresses Warsaw youth

Around this point in the discourse on youth there turns up the issue of so called authorities. We have asked the question on who – according to youth and adults – impresses young people and what are the characteristic features of there „impressing” persons.

Tab. 22 Who impresses young people according to youth and adults, in %.

Persons	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
I don't know such a person/they do not exist	42,4	64,5	1,8	51,7
Peers, colleagues, friends	24,0	7,5	13,8	-
Mother	13,5	9,3	3,0	8,4
Father	9,0	4,2	1,2	5,4
Siblings	6,2	1,2	-	3,7
Further family	4,2	1,8	1,8	-
Musicians	3,7	2,5	15,7	12,6
Sportsmen	3,5	1,2	21,1	18,8
Religious leaders	3,5	5,0	40,4	36,1
Teachers, trainers	3,5	1,5	22,9	20,4
Actors	3,2	0,5	7,8	6,0
Professionals	2,8	2,0	6,0	-
Parents	2,5	2,5	26,5	24,0
Media people	2,3	2,0	28,3	26,1
Politicians	1,8	3,3	12,7	10,1
Entrepreneurs	1,0	0,0	2,4	-
Writers, poets	0,8	0,3	3,0	-
Priests	0,3	0,8	1,2	-

In regard to most of the categories in the above table adults divided by categories did not differ in views. There were some exceptions, though. It is interesting, that none of the persons directly connected to schools said that *there is not such a person* who would impress youth. On the other hand, school educators and psychologists were the least often convinced that youth is impressed by *teachers* (14,3%). This group holds belief that youth is impressed by *religious leaders* (52,4%), *media people* (35,7%) and *parents* (31,0%).

Tab.23 Characteristics of the persons impressing youth according to youth and adults, in %.

characteristics	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
communicativeness, outspokenness	16,5	8,0	41,6	29,3
intelligence, knowledge, wisdom	15,0	8,8	19,3	-
perfectionism, talent, greatness	10,8	3,0	15,1	8,2
persistence, regularity, strenuousness	9,2	6,8	13,3	5,2
strong will, charisma, abiding by the rules	7,5	8,2	33,7	25,9
entrepreneurship, resourcefulness	5,2	2,5	11,4	7,6
sense of humor, smile	4,5	2,2	3,6	-
image, beauty, outlook	3,8	0,5	13,9	11,7
media success, wealth, popularity	1,8	0,2	38,0	37,0

School headmasters were most often convinced that communicativeness and outspokenness are the features impressing youth (respectively 53,9% and 53,8%); persons not connected to schools – that *strong* will is the most impressing (37,6%).

2.3 Practical dimensions of outspokenness, tolerance and adult empathy

Severity along with the capability of empathy and most of all the margin of imagination and tolerance of adults towards dangers behaviors are indirectly reflected by the answers to the following questions. These outcomes are worth a bit of reflection because very often they result in practice of *labeling*⁴⁶ and

⁴⁶ Howard S. Becker writes in his classic text: "deviation is not a way of acting chosen by an individual, but rather a consequence of rules and sanctions applied by other people to <a criminal>. Deviant person is somebody labelled as deviant; deviant behaviour is a behaviour which is labelled in such a way ". H.S. Becker,

rejection of young people as „drug addicts”, „dysfunctional”, „pathological” or – traditionally „hooligans”. The first question regards the fact, whether young people come across situations allowing for behaviors which are reprehensible and unacceptable in the ordinary life.

Tab.24 Do young people come across situations, during which there are acceptable certain negative behaviors, in %:

behaviors	secondary students		tertiary students		adults		difference (youth in general)	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
getting drunk	65,3	16,2	84,8	8,3	13,6	63,2	61,5	50,9
taking drugs from time to time	19,1	58,8	22,8	62,0	8,9	76,8	12,1	16,4
smoking cigarettes from time to time	66,4	22,0	82,3	11,2	16,6	47,4	57,8	30,9
fight	56,0	25,3	57,2	31,3	15,6	48,0	41,0	19,7
untypical, „sick dog” behavior	62,4	13,2	68,9	14,7	23,8	28,5	41,9	14,6

It seems that adults have reacted to this question in a ritual or emotional way, while young people decided to think as experts in the first way, and then formulated the obligation norm (in its negative aspect). It is interesting that the biggest differences regarded getting drunk or smoking cigarettes by young persons. There were relatively smaller differences regarding taking drugs. The younger experts much more often than adults allowed for fighting or untypical behaviors if justified by a situation. However, it is worth pointing that all the youth which did not accept such behaviors, did not differ from adults in the percentages.

The next question directly regarded the possibility of accepting young people, which behave from time to time in the way presented below. The answers of the youth and adults are presented in table 25.

Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1963, p.9; a competent review of theories on labeling is presented in A. Kojder, Co to jest teoria naznaczania społecznego (in:) "Studia Socjologiczne" no 3, 1980; also E. Czykwin, *Stygmat społeczny*, Warsaw 2007, PWN.

Tab.25 Can you accept young people who... , in %.

behaviors	secondary students		tertiary students		adults		difference (youth in general)	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
drink alcohol from time to time	40,7	11,5	40,0	4,3	33,4	23,5	6,9	15,6
happened to take drugs	14,5	48,7	10,5	37,2	31,5	37,4	19,0	5,5
smoke cigarettes	39,5	12,8	38,0	7,3	35,1	16,2	-	6,1
enjoy fighting	16,3	31,8	13,2	36,5	15,9	45,7	-	11,5
happened to behave atypically, naughty, „get crazy”	40,3	6,2	32,3	4,0	36,1	7,6	-	-

If we compare adult responses on the evaluation of the acceptability of the situations in which dangerous behaviors may appear, it turns up that adults do not accept them at all. However, they are unexpectedly tolerant for persons who happened to take drugs. Apart from this, the discrepancies between adults and youth are not as big as in the previous case, but still it is interesting, that adults less often accept drinking and fighting.

In general, it is possible to say – as it comes from the analysis – that the situation creates deviants and *outsiders* rather than practices of exclusion are applied to them as individuals. This interpretation can be outstretched in two possible directions: on the one hand, it may be assumed, that the analyzed adults in their opinions are led by the rules of *political correctness* drawn from trainings and programs, coming from the supreme rule of *outspokenness* and *communicativeness*, which makes individuals unable to reject people and blames culture, society or even a family for the whole evil; on the other hand it is possible to assume that such judgments are influenced by the deep pattern of male behaviors, and are externalized by the conviction that youth has its swing. It is much safer to blame the situation, because it is possible to influence it, whereas it is harder to influence people.

2.3.1 Empathy, over parenting or special lenses for looking at youth

We asked young people and adults about the wellbeing of youth, including its both positive and negative aspects.

Tab. 26 Wellbeing of youth according to themselves and adults, in %.

state/wellbeing	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
overwork	64,5	54,0	60,6	-
illness	14,8	11,3	33,4	20,3
getting nervous, rage	54,5	33,7	63,9	19,8
helplessness	29,3	19,3	48,0	23,7
good wellbeing, being satisfied with one's life	48,7	50,7	26,2	23,5
life activity, it good to live	49,3	51,8	29,1	21,5
showing positive emotions	55,0	60,0	27,8	29,7

The only opinion on which most of the respondents agreed was the overwork of youth. In other cases, adults thought that youth gets ill, nervous, gets outraged and feels helpless. It could be perceived as an expression of treat and empathy, were in not for the fact that simultaneously adults stated that youth shows positive emotions!

3. Programs for youth without youth and what comes out of it

Idealistically it could be stated that participation in programs for youth enables adults to gain additional knowledge on this group. Usually, such programs contain some training part, often there is necessary some kind of diagnosis of the problem which the program is aimed at and during the course of which there should be some possibilities of informal contact with young people, there should be some evaluation and so on.

As it was declared among adults, 72,2% of them have taken part in at least one program for youth for the last three years. In the same time, there were only 10,3% of the secondary students and 9,0% of the tertiary students who answered the same question in a positive way! There were relatively more teenagers from

gymnasiums and general lyceums (11,9% each) than technical schools (5,9%). In table 27 there are presented the responses of the adults on the programs in which they have taken part.

Tab. 27 Adults participating in programs for youth, regarding program types, in %.

program	sum	school headmaster	school educator/psychologist	other
aggression/violence prevention	32,1	36,8	33,8	28,0
EU/citizen programs	23,9	36,8	16,2	21,5
addiction prevention	22,5	24,6	29,4	16,1
education, equal chances	21,6	24,6	10,3	28,0
health care	16,1	5,3	36,8	7,5
cultural education, art	15,6	19,3	4,4	21,5
spare time, holidays, holidays in city	12,8	12,3	8,8	16,1
sport	9,2	10,5	2,9	12,9
charitable	8,3	7,0	16,2	3,2
safety, traffic rules	5,0	3,5	5,9	5,5
drug prevention and AIDS	5,0	0,0	8,8	5,4
exchange, internships, scholarships	3,2	10,5	0,0	1,1

We think that the presented outcomes indirectly prove the phenomena of fashion to certain types of courses and trainings. These data is also proved by the desktop analysis of the documentation. What turns our attention is the small number of exchanges and internships.

4. Psychoactive substances in the opinions of youth and adults

4.1 Current data on taking psychoactive substances by studying youth

As for taking psychoactive substances, it is enough to base on other research so as to possess some orientation in this issue. Although they regard other samples of youth (only teenagers), they reflect the scale of particular dangers in our country.

According to data coming from so called Mokotów Research⁴⁷ (N=1461) from 2004, drugs were occasionally taken by 13,2% of the fifteen years old, and often by 4,2%, and at least once in a year were tried by 17,4% of the teenagers.

In the nation wide research (HBSC) of the students from the 3rd class of urban gymnasiums from 2006⁴⁸ (N=2.287) 12,6% admitted to smoking tobacco; 21,5% to drinking alcohol 3 times or more during a month; 10,4% to drinking beer at least once a week, and 57% of boys and 48,2% of girls admitted that they got drunk at least once in their lifetime. In the same time, there were 7,8% of the students who admitted to frequent contact with marihuana.

According to ESPAD research 53,1% of the students of 3rd classes of gymnasiums and 67,9% students from the 2nd classes of post gymnasial schools has had any experience with tobacco, out of which 16,3% of gymnasium students and 28,7% students of post gymnasial schools cannot be perceived as only experimenting with tobacco (they have smoked at least 40 cigarettes in their lifetime⁴⁹. 90,2% of gymnasium students and 94,8% of post gymnasial schools have undergone experiments with alcohol⁵⁰. As for drugs (marihuana and hashish) 10,9% of gymnasium students and 17,4% of post gymnasial schools declared contact with these substances during the year prior to the research⁵¹

In the research from April 2008 ("School Diagnosis...") analyzing a significant sample of students (N=21.757) of schools from primary to post gymnasial, 23.1% of students we are interested in (13-19 years of age) admitted to smoking tobacco, 71,9% to drinking alcohol and 14,1% to taking drugs during the 12 months prior to the research.⁵²

⁴⁷ A district in Warsaw.

⁴⁸ J.Mazur (ed.) (2007) Status materialny rodziny i otoczenia a samopoczucie i styl życia młodzieży 15-letniej, Warsaw: Instytut Matki i Dziecka, pp.81-96.

⁴⁹ J.Sierosławski, *Używanie alkoholu i narkotyków przez młodzież szkolną. Raport z ogólnopolskich badań ankietowych zrealizowanych w 2007 r* commissioned by ESPAD, p.10.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p.13.

⁵¹ Ibidem p.54.

⁵² J. Czapiński, *Diagnoza szkolna 2008. Przemoc i inne problemy w polskiej szkole. Raport roczny programu społecznego Szkoła bez przemocy*", pp.33-35.

Unfortunately, the data on taking psychoactive substances are less frequent and not up to date. According to the research committed by the Chancellery of the RP President in course of the program "Higher Schools free of drugs" from 2004 (N=1545) 40,0% of the students had contact with these substances, while 12,0% took them systematically⁵³. Almost 36% per cent of them claimed to do it out of interest, 33,2% for pleasure, 31,0% for relax, 9,6% for extraordinary experiences and the same amount to forget about their problems, 8,6% in order to have energy for fun, 7,4% out of boredom and only 3,1% to learn faster and more efficiently!

On the other hand, from the research on the legal consciousness of the drug addiction among tertiary students in Cracow (N=211) also conducted in 2004 it turns out that 78,9% of the students were able to give correct definition of drug addiction, 91,9% of them believed that people taking drugs need social help and special treatment; 49,8% believed that it is necessary to treat drug sellers in a harsh way and that the problem is to be solved by the education of the society. 47,4% said that law is too liberal, although only 4,8% knew the current bill. Additionally, the definition of drug addiction was known much better among people who had themselves tried drugs. It is interesting that the research showed no correlation between prevention programs in schools and the knowledge of the bill and that the average knowledge of the bill among the people gaining knowledge from TV was relatively lower. Also, no correlation was perceived between the support for drug legalization and the attitudes towards selling drugs, and in the end, the existing prevention programs were considered inefficient⁵⁴.

Although these dangers should not be disregarded, on the ground of the cited research it may be assumed that the group of youth at risk between 13-24 years of age included about 10 - 15% of the population, while the rest are the

⁵³ J.Hodor, Studenci i narkotyki: badania krakowskie, (in:) "*Puls medycyny*" no. 14, 2005.

⁵⁴ J.Morawska, E.Krawczyk, L.Satora (2005), Badania świadomości prawnej dotyczącej zjawiska narkomanii wśród studentów krakowskich wyższych uczelni, (in:) "*Przegląd Lekarski*" no 6.

people who are more vulnerable to alcoholism, whereas drugs remain in the area of experiments.

4.2 The Image of a drug addict in the opinions of youth and adults

Coming back to our research we would like to present data on the opinions of the representatives of all the three groups about psychoactive substances. First, let us take a closer look at the image of a drug addict described by secondary students, tertiary students and adults – tab 28.

Tab. 28 Features differentiating drug addicts from normal people, according to youth and adults, in %.

features	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
behavior	26,2	26,5	28,1	-
character traits (e.g. lack of strong will)	12,7	25,8	35,1	15,8
psyche (<i>has a screw loose</i>)	9,8	14,3	40,4	28,3
beliefs, opinions	8,5	14,0	8,9	-
outlook	6,7	8,8	6,3	-
ill organism	5,0	3,8	3,6	-
lack of concentration	2,8	6,0	5,0	-
bad surrounding, lack of love in a family	1,7	2,3	19,2	17,2

As we can see, the knowledge of the respondents on this issue can be divided into:

- "observant" (outlook and behaviors) – there are no differences here, about one third of both of the groups applied this category to describe a drug addict;
- "introspective" (psyche, beliefs, character traits, ill organism, lack of concentration) – this category were definitely more often applied by the adults (93,0%) than the younger respondents (51,5%); the resources of this type of knowledge were most often applied in answers;
- "introceptive-empathic" (bad surrounding, lack of love) – what is interesting, this type of knowledge and this kind of description was the least popular (possibly not because of the complicated label we applied); still, it was significantly more often used by the adults

School educators and psychologists were most convinced that drug addicts can be differentiated by behavior (34,6%). Outlook was most often mentioned by students from post lyceal schools and for adults (11,9%). Lack of concentration as a distinctive trait of drug addicts was most often pointed by students from post lyceal schools and for adults (9,0%). Problems with organism were mostly pointed by students from vocational schools (7,1%). The difference in beliefs was most often mentioned by the students from public higher schools (16,3%). Character traits were mostly pointed by adults not directly connected to schools (37,5%). Psyche as a distinctive trait of drug addicts was most often mentioned by school headmasters (43,1%). The negative influence of the surrounding is the most distinctive trait of drug addicts according to school educators and psychologists (30,8%).

4.3 Differences between hard and soft drugs

We asked both the younger and older respondents, whether according to them there is a difference between hard and soft drugs.

Tab. 29 Is there a difference between hard and soft drugs? in %.

Answer	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
Yes	34,5	42,0	43,5	5,2
no	20,7	23,2	52,2	30,3
it's difficult to say + I don't know	42,3	34,8	4,3	34,3

The adults turned out to have clearly polarized opinions. One may say that the world is thus as it should be, because adults know, while youth has doubts. The most convinced about the existence of this difference were school headmasters (50,0%), while about its lack – school educators and psychologists (65,4%). If so, let us take a look at what, according to the respondents, differentiates soft and hard drugs and whether they consider such a division as meaningful.

Tab.30 Justification of the differentiation between soft and hard drugs, in %.

what differentiates	respondents perceiving the difference			
	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
soft do not addict	39,6	54,8	44,3	-
soft are harmless	38,2	38,1	45,0	6,9
this is a scientific division	3,9	2,8	13,7	10,4
what differentiates	respondents not perceiving the difference			
	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
both types addict	40,3	57,6	63,1	13,7
there is no such a differentiation	19,4	24,5	22,9	-
both are unhealthy	12,1	23,7	20,4	-

It is interesting that tertiary students and adults were more convinced than secondary students that soft drugs do not addict. Because of the importance of these answers let us take a look at who answered this question and in what way. The opinion that soft drugs do not addict was mostly shared by students from public higher schools (59,5%), and among adults – people not directly connected to schools (46,6%). In the same time 59,1% of the school educators and psychologists stated that soft drugs are harmless and that *there is no such a division* (25,5%).

Among the secondary students who did not perceive the difference between soft and hard drugs students coming from post lyceal schools and for adults constituted the biggest group sharing opinion that both of the types of drugs addict (75,0%). However, this category of students from the group perceiving the difference were the most eager to state that soft drugs addict (69,6%), while students from general lyceums were most convinced that soft drugs are less harmful (47,4%).

4.4 Views on drug legalization

In the perspective of the cited research from Cracow, it is an important issue whether to legalize drugs or not. Below, we present the views about it among the analyzed groups.

Tab.31 Should drugs be legalized? in %.

answer	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
yes	21,3	16,7	4,0	14,5
no	49,5	62,7	89,7	33,6
difficult to say	16,8	12,2	4,3	10,2
I don't know	9,3	9,5	2,0	7,4

These data present yet another example of the difficulties in conducting the discourse, when stands of both the groups are that different.

4.5 Alcohol and cigarettes

If alcohol and cigarettes constitute the main danger for youth, it is worth to look at the views of the respondents on the nature of these substances.

Tab. 32 Is alcohol a drug? views of youth and adults, in %.

answer	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
yes	23,8	28,5	49,0	22,8
no	50,5	45,2	44,7	-
difficult to say	18,8	18,2	5,3	13,2
I don't know	5,2	8,2	1,0	5,7

Just as we could have observed it in the previous case, adults have expressed their views with much more certainty than youth. Their justifications are presented in table 33 and show that both the pro and contra views are extremely cohesive in all three groups, apart from the issue of similarity of alcohol and drug performance.

Tab.33 Justification of the opinions that alcohol is or is not a drug, in %.

justification of the opinion that alcohol IS a drug				
Justification	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
also addicts	83,2	84,8	81,6	-
performs in the same way	11,9	13,5	28,6	15,9
destroys body	19,6	12,3	13,6	-
justification of the opinion that alcohol IS NOT a drug				
does not perform as a drug	29,4	43,5	41,0	-
is less harmful	11,9	28,8	17,2	-
is legal	10,9	19,2	14,2	-
in small quantities can be a cure	2,3	3,0	3,7	-

The views of the respondents on cigarettes are presented in table 34.

Tab.34 Is tobacco a drug? views of youth and adults, in %.

answer	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
yes	37,8	28,5	46,7	13,5
no	39,3	42,3	44,0	-
difficult to say	15,7	20,2	7,7	10,2
I don't know	4,8	8,8	1,7	5,1

In this case, the opinions of the students are yet again not as unambiguous as in case of adults. However, vast majority of the respondents coming from all the groups in unison declared that tobacco *also addicts*.

Tab.35 Justification of the opinions that tobacco is or is not a drug, in %.

justification of the opinion that tobacco IS a drug				
Justification	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
also addicts	80,2	87,7	85,0	-
performs in the same way	3,5	4,7	14,3	10,3
destroys body	20,7	18,7	10,7	9,1
justification of the opinion that tobacco IS NOT a drug				
does not perform as a drug	25,4	45,3	40,9	5,2
is less harmful	14,8	24,0	28,0	8,4
is legal	11,0	19,7	9,8	5,7

5. Consumptive and alien youth culture

Youth culture means here a segment (or a niche) embedded in popular culture, which, on the one hand, uses youth as an object of its own performance, while on the other, is used itself by youth. Let us only remind that these data are supposed to diagnose juvenologic competence of adults.

5.1 Postmodern behavior of the consumers

In table 36 we present the outcomes displaying the adult knowledge on the behaviors of youth acting as participants of mass culture and consumers, as well as adult knowledge on the selected dangerous behaviors.

Tab.36 Behaviors proving „the consumptive style of life” in view of adults and youth declarations (only yes), in%.

Behaviors	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
eat in McDonald's or other <i>fast food</i>	17,0	17,5	77,5	60,2 (!)
use makeup cosmetics	32,8	41,2	66,2	29,2
use care cosmetics	51,2	52,5	52,6	-
drink energizers	22,5	19,3	51,0	30,1
apply slim diets	8,2	7,7	38,7	30,8
work out, physical exercises	49,3	45,7	27,8	19,7
take medicines and vitamins without prescription	21,2	22,0	25,2	-
take diet supplements, „burners”	14,2	16,2	18,5	-
apply vegetarian diets	3,2	4,5	11,6	7,8
sleep long enough	11,7	14,7	3,3	9,9
eat healthy food	24,3	24,7	1,3	23,2

One more time we may see how the adult beliefs may seem mythical when compared to declarations of young people.

5.2 The Adult knowledge on the participation of young people in culture versus behaviors declared by youth

Below we present basic forms of participation in the contemporary popular culture.

5.2.1 Music

The adult competences regarding music listened to by youth look like a mix composed of: rough copy of adult behaviors from their own youth (where the omission of the category „*everything bit by bit*” is particularly distinct) and the image of youth as dangling (*bouncing*) barbarians, who do not participate in sophisticated tastes.

Tab.37 What music youth listens to, in %.

music genres	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
Rock	39,5	32,0	53,3*	7,7**
modern pop	38,8	23,8	31,5	-
foreign hip hop	38,2	14,8	65,6	12,3**
Polish hip hop	36,5	17,2		
soundtracks	32,5	12,0	-	22,3
dance	32,2	21,5	35,1	8,3
everything bit by bit	27,0	45,8	2,2	34,2
reggae	23,5	11,0	2,3	15,0
electro	17,5	10,2	-	13,8
old fashion pop	16,7	11,2	-	13,9
metal	13,0	6,7	*	**
jazz	11,0	12,7	1,7	10,1
classical music	10,5	9,2	3,6	6,2
singed poetry	6,0	6,5	1,7	-
disco polo	-	-	4,3	4,3

* for adults it is a loud, rhythmical music in general, in the column difference positions *rock* and *metal* and *hip hop* are combined in case of adults.

The data on the musical associations with particular kinds of behaviors, which are presented in table 38, reveal that there are more differences between secondary and tertiary students than between youth in general and adults.

Tab.38 Musical associations with particular kinds of behaviors, in %

genres	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth general) in
PARTY				
dance, trans, house	41,3	41,5	25,8	15,6
pop	17,5	30,2	23,5	-
hip hop	9,2	12,2	21,3	10,6
DRINKING ALCOHOL				
rock/metal	12,7	30,2	17,2	-
hip hop	22,8	12,3	19,2	-
SPORT				
dance, trance, house	12,7	19,2	5,6	10,3
rock/metal	9,2	15,3	6,0	6,3
hip hop	8,2	11,7	10,3	-
VIOLENCE				
rock/metal	28,7	46,7	33,1	-
hip hop	24,5	16,2	27,5	-
DRUGS				
rock/metal	17,5	30,7	20,5	-
hip hop	20,7	20,5	22,2	-

5.2.2 Press consumption

Although only 2.0% of adults said that young people do not read press at all (what is admittedly not compliant with youth declarations), their beliefs on newspapers and magazines read by teenagers are wrong. Especially adults declared that youth reads press targeted at youth, whereas it is hardly so. About IT press consumption by young *cyborgs* we write in the further part of the report.

Tab. 39 What press is read by youth, in %.

newspapers and magazines	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
social and political	30,2	47,2	25,2	13,5
don't read	17,3	22,7	2,0	18,0
tabloids	15,5	8,8	26,8	14,6
female	14,5	16,7	21,5	6,4
youth	13,7	1,5	37,7	30,1
sports	12,0	3,0	21,5	14,0
educational	9,2	5,5	13,6	6,3
IT	8,2	5,5	28,1	21,3
"fashion"/design	6,8	4,2	5,0	-
male	5,3	3,3	4,0	-
cars	4,7	4,0	14,6	10,3
musical	3,5	1,3	7,0	-

5.2.3 Listening to the radio

In case of this medium adults definitely do not appreciate either popularity or diversity of radio stations listened to by youth.

Tab.40 Radio stations listened to by youth, in %.

Radio stations	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
Eska	66,3	49,2	30,8	27,0
Radio ZET	42,0	36,7	33,1	6,2
Radiostacja	41,3	24,7	21,2	11,8
RMF FM	39,0	37,3	32,1	6,1
Antyradio	20,2	19,0	12,6	7,0
Radio WAWA	14,3	16,2	10,3	5,0
Roxy	13,2	8,8	2,6	8,4
PR channel III	8,8	8,5	7,0	-
don't listen	8,5	7,2	2,6	5,2
Radio Maryja	7,3	0,7	-	-
Radio Józef	4,7	1,5	0,7	-
Classic FM	4,7	4,5	-	-
Tok FM	4,5	4,7	3,6	-
Radio PIN	3,2	5,2	2,0	-
PR channel I	3,3	2,7	-	-
Jazz Radio	2,7	4,7	-	-

5.2.4 Watching TV

As for TV consumption adults do not appreciate either diversification of the offer or youth needs and tastes. Their opinions are much more grounded on stereotypes rather than on observations.

Tab.41 what programs are enjoyed by youth according to youth itself and adults, in %.

Genre	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
Polish soap operas	48,0	28,7	23,8	14,5
entertainment, <i>show, reality show</i>	30,3	22,0	34,4	8,2
musical program, hit lists	19,2	12,7	36,8	20,9
foreign soap operas	16,8	3,8	2,6	7,7
Sports	11,3	6,2	16,9	8,1
News	9,7	38,7	5,0	19,2
foreign drama (thriller, adventure)	8,5	2,0	-	5,3
Scientific	8,3	3,8	5,3	-
Cartoons	7,5	1,5	4,6	-
sitcoms,	7,3	2,8	2,6	-
talk show (Majewski, Wojewódzki)	7,2	6,2	6,0	-
Film	7,2	8,7	3,6	-
Polish drama (thriller, adventure)	4,8	5,2	18,9	13,9
publicism and journalism	3,7	7,2	4,3	-

5.2.5 Internet usage or where do Cyborgs live?

Below we compare the outcome of our research with comparable data gathered in 2007 by the authors of “Social Diagnosis”⁵⁵. Analyzed adults in view of other research and in comparison to youth do not look like “technological illiterates”. They use the Internet primarily for work and current affairs. Still they are eager – usually to a huge extent – to overestimate skills and application of the Internet featuring youth (see table 43). There is only one exception showing the strength of the stereotype, which was already mentioned – reading online press. So in order to answer the question stated in the title of this paragraph one may say that

⁵⁵

cyborgs live in the heads of the adults. If we take a closer look at activities which are especially overrated by adults, we may come to the conclusion that cyber youth uses the Internet as:

- a platform of participation in popular culture, esp. in entertainment;
- the escapist place from social bonds in *real*;
- a part of consumptive style of life.

Tab. 42 Rough comparison of the outcomes from our research and “Social Diagnosis”, in %.*

online activities	adults in general	youth in general	SD	Difference between SD and adults	Difference between SD and youth
finding information for job/education	86,8	73,0	55	+31,8	+18
e-mail	85,1	77,3	68	+17,1	+9,3
reading online Press	38,4	32,0	31	+7,4	-
online shopping	22,5	17,7	16	+6,5	-
communicators (gadu-gadu)	20,9	74,0	51	-30,1	+23,0
VOIP	16,9	12,1	24	-7,1	-11,9
online auctions	16,6	22,3	17	-	+5,3
job search	15,9	22,1	14	-	+8,1
own page/blogging	15,6	12,9	8	+7,2	+4,9
Usenet/forum	15,2	25,8	15	-	+10,8
downloading software	8,9	31,5	19	-10,1	+12,5
downloading music, movies, games	6,3	49,4	22	-15,7	+27,4
watching tv	5,0	12,4	12	-7,0	-
publishing own creations	4,3	9,1	8	-	-
chats	2,3	12,1	14	-11,7	-
massive multiplayer games	1,3	19,8	18	-16,7	-

* comparison regards only categories from both of the research

Tab. 43 Online activities of adults and youth, in %

online activity	adults	youth according to adults	youth in general	tertiary students	secondary students
finding information for job/education	86,8	83,4	73,0	76,8	69,2
e-mail	85,1	89,1	77,3	90,3	64,3
reading online press	38,4	18,2	32,0	34,5	29,5
shopping	22,5	38,4	17,7	16,2	19,2
communicators (e.g. gadu-gadu)	20,9	96,0	74,0	71,5	76,5
VOIP	16,9	37,1	12,1	15,5	8,7
online auctions	16,6	50,3	22,3	20,7	23,8
searching for courses, private lessons	16,6	28,1	7,1	8,5	5,7
job search	15,9	35,1	22,1	31,8	12,3
own page/blogging	15,6	41,7	12,9	9,5	16,3
Usenet/forums	15,2	55,3	25,8	28,2	23,3
online communities	14,9	82,5	56,5	46,2	67,0
watching Youtube	9,6	62,3	47,1	35,3	58,8
downloading software	8,9	66,9	31,5	24,7	38,3
downloading music, movies, games	6,3	88,1	49,4	34,7	64,2
watching TV	5,0	18,9	12,4	9,7	15,2
publishing own creations	4,3	18,5	9,1	6,8	11,3
chats	2,3	87,7	12,1	18,5	5,7
scheming, hacking, bullying	0,3	10,9	5,4	1,8	9,0
massive multiplayer online games	1,3	81,5	19,8	12,7	27,0
watching TV series inaccessible via TV	1,0	27,5	15,4	11,7	19,2
watching porn	0,0	24,5	10,7	4,2	17,2

5.3. What youth does in *spare time*.

In title of this chapter there is not a mistake: we mean really spare time, i.e. time which is not engaged by studying and neither organized nor controlled by adults. It remains in the disposition of youth.

Tab. 44 What youth does in spare time, in %.

activity	secondary students		tertiary students		adults		difference (youth in general)
meeting friends	28,2	1	25,7	1	85,4	4	58,4
sitting by the computer and surfing the Internet	23,1	2	16,6	3	98,7	1	78,8
watching TV	14,9	3	16,4	4	91,7	3	76,1
sport	13,9	4	19,9	2	51,3	6	34,5
doing nothing	10,4	5	13,0	5	-	-	-
listening to music	8,2	6	8,7	7	98,0	2	89,5
developing, learning	6,3	7	5,6	8	36,8	7	30,9
going to cinema, watching films	5,7	8	11,8	6	10,3	8	-
wandering around, shopping malls	2,7	9	3,1	9	65,9	5	63,0

In the table 44 there are presented only categories mentioned by both of the groups. However, the due image can be completed with the fact, that adults tend to fill youth spare time with many other activities; for example they said, that young people smoke cigarettes (76,5%); drink beer (73,5%); play (70,9%); work as voluntaries (25,6%) date and mash (12,8%). It is obvious, that adults, at least symbolically, would also like to posses „power/knowledge”⁵⁶ over these domains. But it is also interesting that much more adults were convinced that in this time youth performs, first of all, bad and reprehensible activities. Let us state it directly – although only 2,6% of adults stated that youth in its spare time takes drugs *very often*, but 22,8% said that youth does it *often* and 40% that young people do drugs *rarely*. There were only 3,0% of adults who were convinced that youth *never* takes drugs!

6. Dangerous culture of youth spare time

In this part we will deal a little more with „spheres of darkness and risk”, which is these spheres of youth activities which are performed out of control and influence of adults. As we will see further, it does not affect their convictions

⁵⁶

M.Foucault, (1975), *Surveiller et punir.Naissance de la prison*, Ed.Gallimard.

that they know what youth does, and sometimes they even theoretically know these things better than youth itself. It is essential from the point of view of this report, because we will take a closer look at where and how young citizens of Warsaw entertain themselves and what dangers they come across, as well as what knowledge on this issue is revealed by adults.

6.1 Warsaw: *excuse me, do they beat... steal, rape and do drugs...*

First, let us take a look at the Warsaw map of dangers conceived by adults.

Tab. 45 Places where youth spends time are which are associated by adults with dangers, in %.

places	beating	rabble	drugs	thefts	aggressive subcultures
clubs, discos, pubs	37,6	27,5	50,7	11,7	27,5
stadiums	24,0	18,5	0,9	2,2	34,1
streets	19,5	16,7	16,6	19,7	10,8
particular districts	12,7	1,8	16,2	4,0	9,0
public transport	10,0	19,8	10,9	35,9	2,4
Praga ⁵⁷	9,5	2,7	0,4	3,1	5,4
everywhere	5,4	18,0	4,8	13,0	11,6
socialists estates	4,1	3,2	4,8	0,4	12,6
school	3,2	12,2	14,0	15,2	-
concerts	2,7	2,3	4,4	3,6	-
shopping malls	1,4	1,4	3,1	20,2	-

Adults, as it seems, are able to point dangerous places with great precision. It is not without a sense of irony or even *pure nonsense* that they often consider school as less safer and „cultural” than other places! Let us add some data on places which are considered by adults as dangerous because, according to this group, there happen sexual intercours and/or it comes to rapes.

⁵⁷ A district in Warsaw

Tab. 46 Places where youth spends time and which are associated by adults with dangers regarding sex, in %

Place	sexual intercourses	Rapes
home parties	40,3	18,8
discos and their toilets	24,7	36,8
clubs and their toilets	22,7	18,8
parks, squares. woods	10,4	32,4
nearby of Central Station	7,1	-
gay clubs	4,5	-
toilets at schools	3,9	-
everywhere	1,9	10,5
Powisłe ⁵⁸	1,3	2,3

Adults regard discos as places full of rape, but the problem is, that according to youth declarations, young people *somehow* do not attend these places and even state that these places are already extinct in Warsaw!⁵⁹

⁵⁸ A district in Warsaw

⁵⁹ Opinions exclamated during the pilot testing of the research, see also Ch. 2.

6.2 Participation in parties

The results in table 47 reveal that young citizens of Warsaw are not that *partying* as it may seem.

Tab. 47 Being on parties, in %.

answer	secondary students	tertiary students
yes, often	20,7	18,0
yes, from time to time	47,2	59,5
rarely	24,8	19,5
no	7,3	3,0

Drawing from results presented in table 48 it may be assumed that adults would not *seize* young people in their places of fun.

Tab. 48 Places which youth enjoys, in %.

place	secondary students	tertiary students	adults	difference (youth in general)
friends' homes	81,0	73,5	49,3	27,9
clubs	44,2	51,9	68,2	20,0
own home	37,8	37,6	24,2	13,5
pubs	33,0	62,5	38,7	9,6
summer cottages	23,2	10,8	6,0	10,8
concerts	18,2	17,4	16,9	-
open airs, festivals	14,5	12,4	11,3	-
school parties	10,7	1,4	4,0	-
discos	-	-	7,6	7,6
yards, streets	-	-	3,6	-

Data in table 49 show that these are older teenagers who attribute themselves expert knowledge on places of entertainment.

Tab. 49 Do you know places which youth enjoys and which are associated by you or your friends with dangers, according to school types, in %.

danger	G	GL	VS	pL	higher public	higher private
risk of beating	47,8	53,3	57,6	46,3	30,1	30,8
rabble	52,2	61,7	56,5	52,2	36,2	33,2
selling drugs, drug addicts	43,8	58,8	50,7	50,7	36,2	33,2
thefts	47,8	55,3	47,8	20,0	27,0	26,0
making sex	37,3	45,8	52,9	35,8	23,0	19,7
rapes	29,9	24,7	25,9	13,4	11,2	13,0
aggressive subcultures	33,8	44,1	40,0	31,3	21,2	19,2

If we compare knowledge declared by adults and youth, it becomes clear who really knows where dangers are – see table 50. The hypothesis, that young

people inform adult about dangerous places should be withdrawn in the view of data cited in the part on social bonds (see previous chapter) and of the data gathered in table 50 on the percentage of differences in the responses of youth and adults.

Tab. 50 Do you know places, which youth enjoys and which are associated with dangers, answers „yes”, in %.

danger	secondary students	tertiary students	Adults	difference (youth in general)
risk of beating	50,7	30,3	73,7	33,2
rabble	55,7	35,2	74,0	28,6
selling drugs, drug addicts	52,0	29,2	76,3	35,7
thefts	50,8	26,7	74,3	35,5
making sex	42,2	21,8	51,3	19,4
rapes	24,8	11,8	44,3	26,0
aggressive subcultures	37,7	20,5	55,7	26,6

We also asked the students, whether they know, which places attended by youth are *cool* and safe according to them or their friends.

Tab. 51 Cool and safe places according to youth, in %.

place	<i>cool</i>		safe	
	secondary students	tertiary students	secondary students	tertiary students
particular clubs	21,8	60,7	13,3	51,8
clubs in general	10,2	5,2	3,8	2,0
pubs and cafés	7,3	15,3	4,8	15,2
own or friends' homes	6,0	2,7	10,5	4,8
pubs in general	5,5	2,5	3,0	1,7
malls, supermarkets	3,3	0,3	3,0	0,7
squares, parks, streets	3,2	3,7	2,3	3,0
school	1,5	0,5	4,5	1,5
concerts	1,2	1,0	0,3	0,5
none	1,0	0,5	3,2	5,0

However, clubs and pubs attended mostly by tertiary students (as was shown above) and regarded by them as safe are thought of by adults as *lair of junkies*!

High cognitive competences regarding culture participation of Warsaw youth could be useful to establish proper contacts, comprehension of cultural matters important to youth or intellectual exchange. However, such a way of mutual comprehension seems, as we could see, to be blocked, SEPized, and all in all

rather than being a way, it is rather the abyss impossible to cross. General conclusions regarding this part of the report along with set of the research hypotheses are presented in the conclusions of the whole report.

Chapter 4

Youth image as a device of symbolic violence

1. Youth image in press analysis

In this chapter we present main conclusions drawn from the press analysis⁶⁰. Their aim is to strengthen or weaken four out of the five hypotheses assumed in the overall research. The most important aim is to find out, whether all the area presented in the previous chapter as the juvenologic competence of adults is enrooted, generated or reflected – and to what extend – by the image of young Poles presented in press.

Below we present a few *voices* – especially these which correspond to categories of adults considered in our research. All of the analysis is presented in Appendix II.

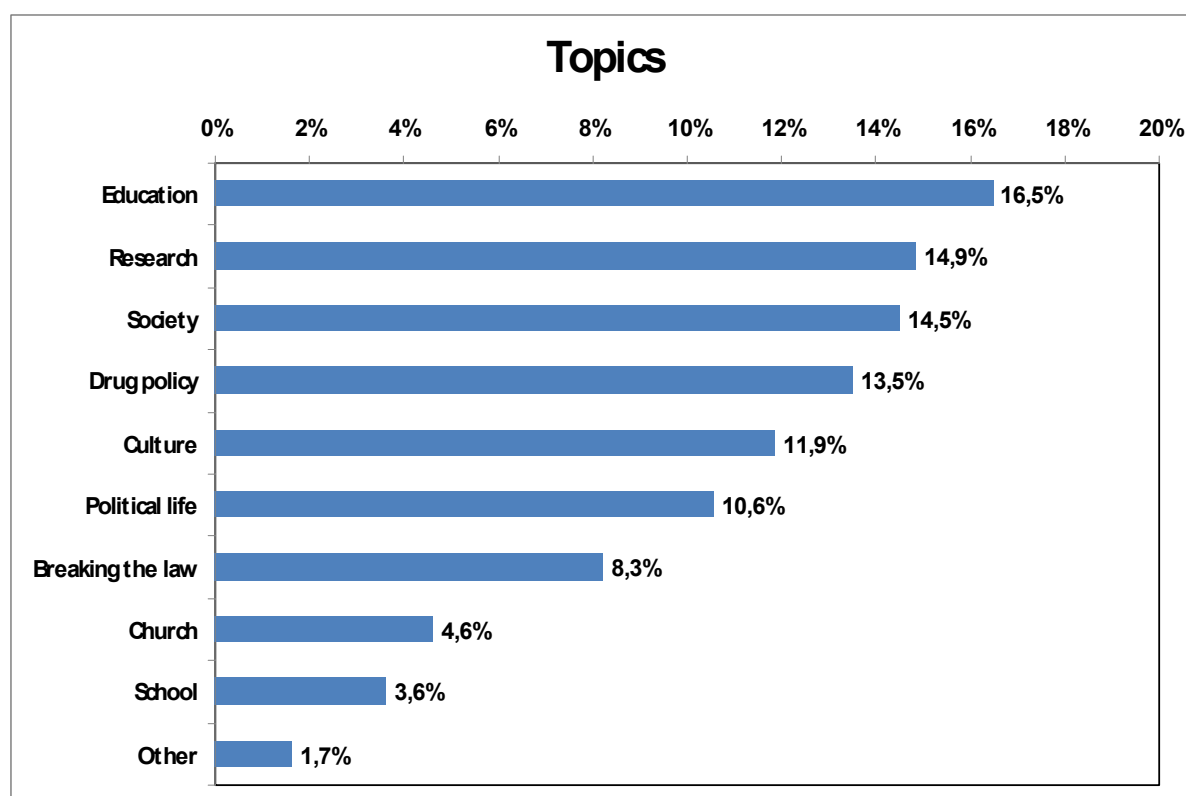
1.1 Topical analysis of the press articles featuring youth and drugs

The summary of the topics relating to articles which were the subject of the analysis is presented in chart 3. What draws our attention is the high percentage of the articles committed to drugs and the specific *signum temporis* of political context, which was already mentioned in the research characteristics. One may wonder, whether politics interfered in the analysis too much. Even if it were so, we do not consider it as a drawback; it is justified to assume that due to the activities of the Minister Giertych there were articulated many concealed SEPs, which are much harder to spot in discourses featuring political correctness and democratic standards.

On the other hand, it is puzzling that so few of the articles were committed to the sole institution of school. Precise contexts entailing the issues of drugs and youth are presented below, where they are combined with particular voices of press discourse.

⁶⁰ We only present the cognitive horizon, i.e. inventories of traits and behaviours without giving frequencies, see Appendix.

Chart 3. Main topics of the articles with keywords „youth” and „drugs”, in %.



1.2 Voices occurring in the press discourse on youth

Data in table 52 show that media themselves were the most eager to make statements on youth and drugs. The *voice* of „research” is *de facto* constituted by „experts”. Teachers and school officials did not turn up in this choir too frequently, although it is school which is primarily responsible for prevention activities. Also youth and parents were not much of use in the analyzed articles. If we consider media as the „fourth power”, it is obvious that they take care to preserve the dominant voice in the discourse. This domination is also performed by allowing other *voices* to enter the public scene.

Tab 52 Voices in the press discourse on youth and drugs, in N and %.

voice	N	%
media	111	36,6
research	30	9,9
experts	24	7,9
social workers	22	7,3
school officials and teachers	21	6,9
artists	20	6,6
politicians	17	5,6
NGO's	16	5,3
local government representatives	16	5,3
Polices	15	5,0
Giertych triples	14	4,6
Church representatives	13	4,3
Ministry of Education	13	4,3
youth	4	1,3
Family of Radia Maryja	3	1,0
courts	2	0,7
sportsmen	2	0,7
parents	1	0,3
other	12	4,0
Sum	303	100,0

2. Youth image according to the voice of media

Journalist does not create a homogenous image of the young generation of Poles. This *voice* appears in four ways.

Youth as "a hero (not necessarily) of our times" – they are *political prisoners of IV RP* (at least *in spe* - BF and PZ!), *dreaming giant*, (sic!), *the most responsible generation with intelligent look* (sic!), *voluntaries in yellow suits and prospective opinion leaders*, and at last *people who will heroically read Gombrowicz, although the Ministry will not prescribe it!*

Positive youth is constituted by a few distinct categories: general youth - *our, normal, cheerful, lovable people*; as well as *young*

businessmen and intellectualists; and separately oasis youth⁶¹ and sport fans, who are not hooligans.

Ambivalent youth is at the same time homogenous, these are mainly: *rich kids*, in subculture outfits, equipped with technological gadgets and *spending time in malls*.

Definitely the most colorful is the negative youth, which also represents three categories. One of them is constituted by *villains, cutthroats, streetwalkers and girls dresses as whores, interested in fashionable cloths and unable to write a word without a mistake, crooked and bored (mouth stretched from yawning), incorrectly looking (sic!), and in the end, at last – socially maladjusted hooligans, aggressive, spoiled and demoralized people*; the second category, a little less direct, entails such characteristics as: *perfidious (e.g. instead of noble messages of Sienkiewicz they will definitely choose Witkiewicz potted with mescaline), boisterous, frisky and rioting*, while the third are evident failures⁶²: *unable to speak Polish, causing educational troubles*.

2.1 Youth activities according to the voice of press

It is interesting that the above division is blurred in the characteristics of youth activities.

2.1.1. Youth activities in general

Youth in general: *does not have any values, lives with anorexia, unwilling pregnancies, holiday adventures, at least experiments with alcohol. sex and drugs (takes aphrodisiacs as drugs – sic!), plays with live and death, makes a show of it, from everything what is dutiful, proper and mandates runs away as from Kartuzjan techno party, pervasively hastens to everything what is unwelcomed (sic!), underground and in general wrong*. The last phrase deals with youth misdemeanors.

⁶¹ A Polish Catholic formation

⁶² The category of "dips" is described: B.Fatyga, G. Fluderska, J. Wertenstein-Żuławski, (1993), "Wszystko byłoby z nami w porządku gdyby nie rzeczywistość...", (in:) K. Kosela (ed.), *Młodzież szkolna* 92, Warszawa:CBOS.

2.1.2 Activities in spare time

In spare time there remains only one alternative for youth, which either: *wanders around shopping malls, spends nights in the biggest disco in the city, drinks, smokes, does drugs, plays tardy, swears and beats, performs impudent acts of robbery, reinforces gangs in slums*, because either it *rots in family dens* (this one is on the youth from vocational schools), *watches extraordinarily licentious videos, listens to muddling music, waits for its idols on streets and cries „f...!“* or *uses the Internet, which is their main battle field, sticks with one leg in real and one in virtual reality, where build their own reality, wear small information centers in their pockets* in order to *receive current news from gossip servers*.

2.1.3 Activities in public scene

Youth on public scene: *sleeps, has organized a few sluggish and symbolic riots, is unaware of its own power, is unable to use it, waits for their own heroes, moves away from the world rules by the leader of LPR and snorts on it, accepts restrictions because don't care about it, moan when hears slogans „Ducks“, summarizes Lepper with the word „beetroot“, do not rebel against their educators and rulers, law abidingly show their pockets*.

2.2 Activities targeted at youth noticed by press

2.2.1 Culture activities

Youth is by culture submitted to: *bombarding of the images of undressed sexually provocative stars to the unseen extent, which subdued their imagination, media do more bad than good, and arouse their imagination*.

2.2.2 Activities of rather unidentified social subjects (society)

With youth one: *smokes dope, drinks alcohol, gives money to fetch drugs, which are also distributed among them, makes party for them, there is no idea what to do with youth caught taking drugs, their problem is still unsolved, they are hastily considered as criminals, they have penalties, order is kept and they are checked whether bring in alcohol, but also: there are created habits among them, they are reminded not to drive under the influence, there is a anti drug fight among them. they are gathered in the club rooms and talked to in course of anti drug days. People try to educate them, there are organized journalism contests and there are organized club rooms for them in malls,*
one must also: *aim at them educational work (sic!), try to understand them, treat with justice, make proper conditions for them so that they can blow off all their enormous amounts of steam, make them believe in themselves and in their educational aspirations, bring them up and give them examples, take care so as they don't get borer and wander aimlessly.*

2.2.3 Activities of schools, teachers and educators

Teachers along with youth: *smoke marihuana and drink alcohol. Deputy of Voluntary Labor Corps looked after them while having a criminal past, but on the other hand: teachers take care of youth and drag them (sic!) to the Museum of Warsaw Uprising.*

2.2.4 Activities of parents

Parents: *try to become their chaps, go shopping with them, infect them with fashion for ABBA (sic!).*

2.2.5 State activities

IV RP: *approaches youth education decisively, will punish them severely for any delinquency; there are announcements of uniforming and disciplining youth, although Giertych doesn't manage them.*

3. The image of youth according to the voice of experts

This time it is the *voice* of sociologists and psychologists commenting research and/or giving opinions on young people.

Youth according to experts is: *ours and belongs to one of those most well behaving, it is Polish, school* (according to school types), they are *people and young Poles*, as well as *in the age of experimenting*. Experts characterized them, by dividing into: *ruthlessly realists and pragmatists, inversion of rebels, y generation of normal and withdrawn conformists, global chaps and innovators*. Because of their material situation according to experts they are those who *have everything home and students from pathological families, students of parents who don't go to parents-teachers meeting and who are more susceptible to addictions*.

It becomes more interesting further, because youth is: *a group contesting any rehabilitation actions, belong to risk groups, feel the urge of intense sensations, undergoes identity crisis, underestimate themselves, easier gets frustrated, can't cope with battering emotions, they are emotional containers, they are depressive teenagers, young suiciders, youth is lonely, is afraid of not gaining knowledge, suffers and looses will to educate, lacks parental interest but also it is difficult, boisterous, erotically pushy and rarely they are happy boys*. Experts with great emphasis stigmatize especially girls – *naughty daughters* are the most lenient name, because they sometimes are *chicks, small vipers, which are too easy* (sic!).

3.1 Youth activities according to the voice of experts

In general youth is the subject of psychological diagnoses: *experiments in different ways, pushes the limits, gets into unnecessary troubles, suddenly learns less efficiently, brakes friendships, suffers depression, desperately turns attention towards themselves*.

Girls obviously have problems with their sexuality: they *dally, look for sexual opportunities, drip with sex (sic!), benefit from the looms of female liberation front, have the urge for penis and get on the knees (sic!)*

At school youth: *ignores teachers' commands, provokes them to outbursts of aggression and talks back (sic!).*

Also in spare time youth: *plays truant at shopping malls, listen to grave music, dresses black, self inflicts wounds, more and more earlier dive into drugs and uses them systematically and succumb to violence or the other way round – smokes and drinks less, takes less drugs and even declares abstinence.*

Among the *voices* of experts there also happens positive youth, which in its spare time and not only then: *sites rather home than in pub, fulfils moral orders, chooses prenuptial abstinence, took a quite good lesson of Polishness (sic!), patriotically looks quite well in the perspective of international youth and cautiously plans own career.*

3.2 Activities toward youth according to experts

First of all youth has to be analyzed, so as to *create preventional program*, because *they can be freely shaped, there are prevention workshops for them and works with them individually, they are domesticated with otherness and multiculturalism and receive signals.*

Experts do not constrain themselves to describe youth, but also give dutiful recommendation. Youth has to be: *led to righteous path, taught values, cannot be given instant recopies, cannot be underestimated but has to be treated as partners, be open towards them but in the same time it has to be carefully looked at, one must fight in order not to loose contact, one has to think how to organize time for them, so it is valuable, one must stimulate their delight, they have to be loved with wise love, to be helped and taken to specialist – psychologist and psychiatrist!*

4. Voice of school community

Youth in here is generally described in a similar way as by journalists and experts, but there is a distinctive difference in case of the form of style and form of the message: *students, regardless of generation or confession aren't any angels*. Youth is most of all „the object of educational actions”, where is described as: *difficult youth because it is a demanding youth*. *Culprits, young boys resembling football fans, there happen children from orphanages, foster families, children of refugees not knowing Polish, children with major disabilities, truants and prospective musicians*.

4.1 Youth activities according to representatives of educators

They are the people who *pose high expectations, order their world, answer very difficult questions, talk about research with parents and teachers*. On the other hand, they *not definitely know what is good and what is bad, often do not have shaped proper behavioral patterns, want things which they can't talk about with teachers, catch ideas and visions which are not necessarily noble*, some of them *are already addicted to smoking, provoke teachers, are afraid of complaining because don't want to be accused of telling on, don't feel respect even in front of the headmaster*.

4.2 Activities of parents aimed at youth

For youth *parents have less and less time, control them*, when youth is even in *the kindergarten or primary school* and in consequence *nobody has time to teach young people basic rules, parents tell their child that it's better to drink half a pint at home than take drugs*, but after all *children have to be talked with mostly at home*.

4.3 Activities of school aimed at youth

Here once more we have two dimensions: what is being done and what should be done. This part if started with the characteristics of education in general.

4.3.1 Education in general

Education is: *a complex process of creating an inner motivation system of student, creating internally controlled men, free in thinking, acting in responsible way, having values and moral norms which create their consciousness. In education nothing forcefully. Education is a complex process of developing one's interests, social attitudes, civil responsibility for co created community, teaching how to find satisfaction in helping others, means enabling young people to find motivation but to turn down the temptation of drinking and taking drugs.*

4.3.2 What ought to be done with youth

Youth should be: *engaged with something positive, given access to psychological clinics, prepared to live in democratic society, taught assertiveness and understanding what is important in life, trusted although in particular situations there should be put some limits, causes of bad behavior should be eliminated with whole kindness for a child, youth should be though that in some situations they can't keep their hands in pockets.*

4.3.3 What is being done at school

At school youth is: *taught, there are organized extra classes, there are offered musical classes, taking drugs, smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol is forbidden (these caught with alcohol have to drink oil), teachers confiscate ringing mobiles, youth is tough discipline, responsibility, team cooperation, culture of well being, teachers are also tough freedom by John Paul II (?- BF and PZ).*

5. The voice of local governance

Definition of youth issued by the *voice* of local governance in all its positive, neutral and negative aspects does not differ from the *voices* of school authorities; however, in case of both style and form it differs *in plus* from the voices of media and experts. It is interesting that in this *voice* there are negative aspects of youth which have come from the *voices* of experts and media and the

voice which has not been analyzed in this part: youth seems to be the problem of: *endangered students, social maladjustment, drugs and alcohol, unwanted pregnancies*. Similarly to the characteristics of youth activities – new elements have not appeared.

5.1 Activities aimed at youth

Local governance focuses on the ground work: characterizes projects, actions and individual prevention activities which are considered as efficient. What is important – there is a clear focus on positive thinking without any approaches to stigmatization and ghettoization.

6. The voice of social workers and Police.

The definition of youth is in both of the cases not too specific. Much resembling two previous *voices* it has either neutral or benignant attitude with the emphasis to the word *kids* (or else *new street kids*).

6.1 Youth activities

In the vast characteristics of youth dangerous behaviors there are most of all described these which regard taking drugs according to the epidemic model: beginning with amphetamine taken for more efficient studying and marihuana used so as not to be stressed up to selling drugs. There was also pointed that both the adults and the environment can get youth involved in dangers. In case of these voices there is also a very positive description of activities of youth being the active participant of prevention programs, where the stress is put to decisions, responsibility and positive attitudes towards *these kids which cause most educational problems*.

6.2 Prevention activities aimed at youth

Here we will again cite a more detailed set of activities mentioned by social workers and youth, because it reveals the difference between this voice and messages issued by media and experts. According to social workers youth: *is to be talked to and educated because we have to tell them what we approve of and what we expect from them (when they are under the influence it's better not to*

talk to them immediately, but rather wait until they feel better), there is a struggle for their sobriety, struggle against drugs, they are helped, there are prevention activities (it's better to prevent rather than cure), the trend of less intensive alcohol consumption should be maintained, they are helped to get a grip on themselves, we try as much as possible, at proper time we have to brake any further escalation of alcohol consumption and criminal behaviors, they have to realize that there is a chance of living in a normal world, without thefts, fights and drugs so in consequence there are people trained to recognize dangers regarding taking drugs, there are set consultation points where they are stimulated and activated, they are shown what is good and what is bad, they are no more scared by the negative effects of the alcohol, but they are entertained by various workshops, they are taught through drama and meet musicians and talk about drugs and addictions.

According to the Police although *they are taken into custody*, they are also *secured from dangers, cared for, they are fantastically activated, their time is engaged, there are prepared lectures for them and their attention is drawn towards the solitude of elderly people; youth wants and is able to care for security in own schools, tries to counteract violence, truancy and drugs, has many ideas and knows how to put them in practice, but also sleeps during boring meetings, so has to show up in the projects, create and put to practice projects on the security improvement in their schools.*

7. Youth according to the voice of NGOs

It is interesting that in comparison to the *voice* of social workers, the definition of youth reconstructed on the basis of the *voices* of NGOs appearing in press is different: the tone is here definitely more paternalistic (*people under charge, without help of their parents they won't get by*), expressions are labeling and sometimes stigmatizing (*children from pathologic families*), and their education is described as deviant (*they went wrong, went off course, their freedom begins*

when they realize they own weakness, when they want to change their life, when they are able to choose their own aims, they still can go back).

7.1 Youth activities as ghettoization

Youth first does something and then starts thinking, drinks too much alcohol. gathers in parks, near monuments, blocks and sometimes cellars and lofts, looks for something to, kills time, experiments, tries alcohol, drugs and violence but not for bad reasons but out of curiosity, they don't have proper patterns and care at home, tries to find the way, looks for contacts on streets, wanders around streets, interests drug dealers, often gets to community homes.

7.2 NGO's do what they are supposed to (PR)

Youth has to be got to and engaged into cooperation, be helped, saved from own mistakes, one has to counteract their marginalization, to show them the necessity of change, show and state their aims and ways of their realization, they have to see that this other world do exists, one has to look at the world with their eyes to see and understand their needs and dreams, so in order to do that one has to join forces, get their trust, show them that we care for them and we are interested in their problems and not simply get the job done, NGOs prepare offers for youth so they can look at themselves and realize what wrong is happening, they are enabled to find time for themselves and for their interests, it is possible to show them that they might life differently, that there is other way round, to rise passions, that' it's good to have rules and use them in life.

8. The voice of representatives of the Church

8.1 Divided youth

According to this voice youth is both the profoundly believing intellectuals and the JPPII generation, survivors from TV schism as well as turned from wrong way, but also there is bad youth which do not go to church, doesn't have time for it, they are cynical, aggressive, selfish and uses psychoactive substances, and there is also youth which came back from prisons, wanders around the streets,

deprived of parents and homeless. Youth is even full of anxiety towards women and domestic problems (sic!)

8.1 Activities of the divided youth

Good youth cuddles to priests and joins pilgrims, systematically participates in masses, wears shirts with JP II and BXVI, participates in voluntary organizations. Bad youth graduates schools as religious illiterates, runs away from churches, selectively abides by the Decalogue, doesn't know how to pray and is vulnerable to occultism.

8.2 Challenges for the Church

Bad and indifferent youth is the challenge for activities of priests, because some priests don't know how to get to youth, and they have to do it with the means of their friends, through the Internet but one may also make talk-shows, one also has to share their concerns, respond to their problems, fill with good, endorse their faith and engage in religion. Even the Pope patiently poses with them to photos.

Chapter V

Diagnosis of the styles of life – research outcome

In this chapter we present the results on the styles of life regarding Warsaw youth analyzed in our research according the criteria of school types and gender. Because of the abundance of data we present only these outcomes which reveal more or less evident differentiations.

The data is presented in the form of charts showing particular features. The graphs are ordered in the next chapter in broader configurations in regard to:

- social composition characterized by the family of origin (parental education and occupation);
- self image (i.e. declared values, self-esteem, optimism, typical behaviors attitudes towards one's own problems);
- social bonds with closest groups, peers;
- typical and proffered time organization;
- participation in popular culture (represented by listening to the music, reading press, watching TV, listening to the radio and application of the Internet);
- ways of spending spare time;
- spatial mobility in spare time (most preferred places of entertainment).

Even though it is not a complete set of categories, which may be useful for the analysis of youth styles of life, they still offer much information necessary from the point of view of the due diagnosis and essential in preparation of the prevention activities.

Chart 4.what music do you listen to?

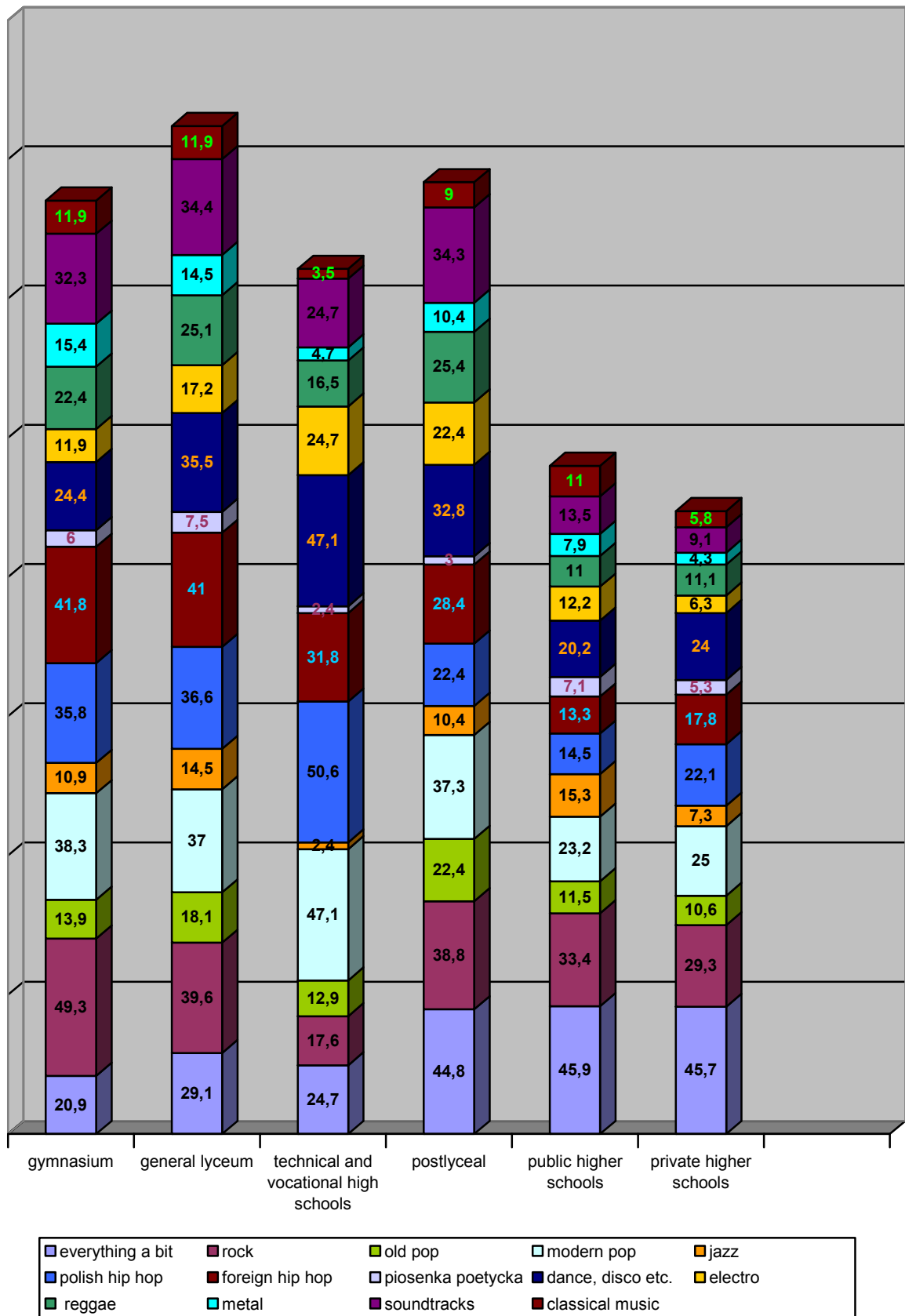
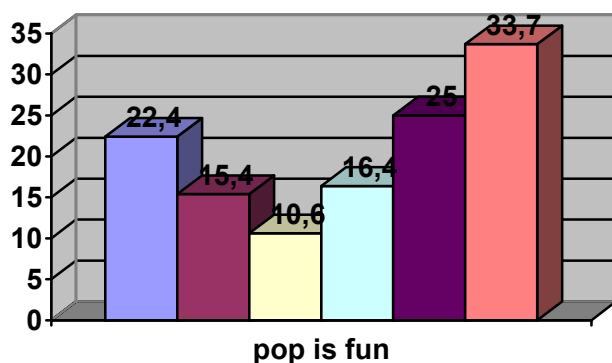


Chart 5. What do you associate music with?



gymnasium

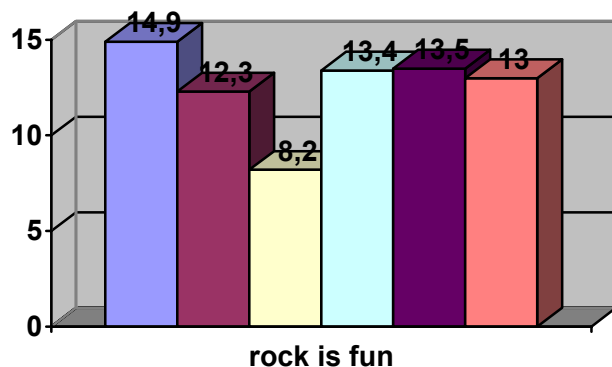
general lyceum

technical and vocational high schools

post lyceal

public higher schools

Chart 6. What do you associate music with?



gymnasium

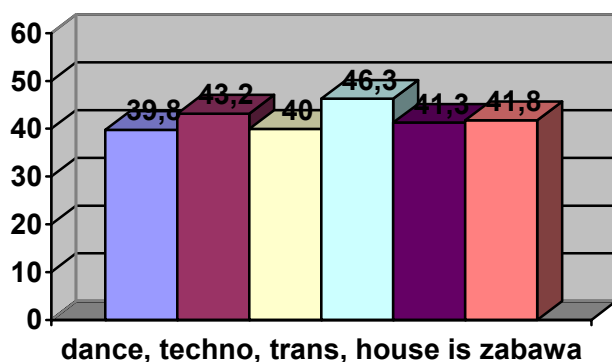
general lyceum

technical and vocational high schools

post lyceal

public higher schools

Chart 7. What do you associate music with?



gymnasium

general lyceum

technical and vocational high schools

post lyceal

public higher schools

Chart 8. What music do you associate alcohol with?

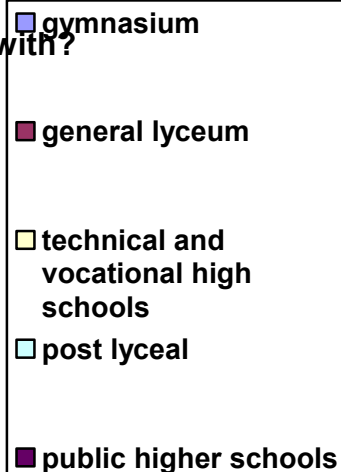
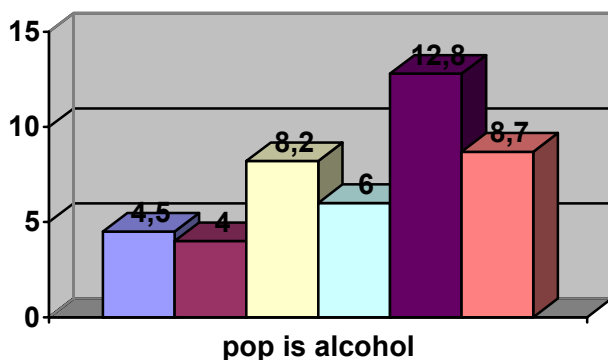


Chart 9. What do you associate music with?

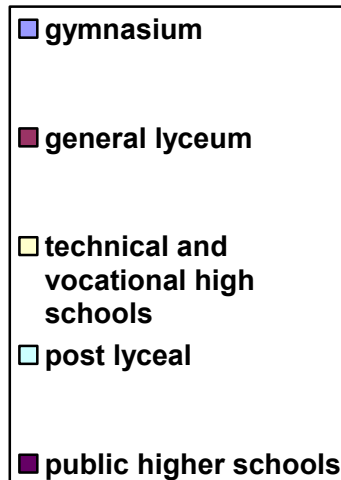
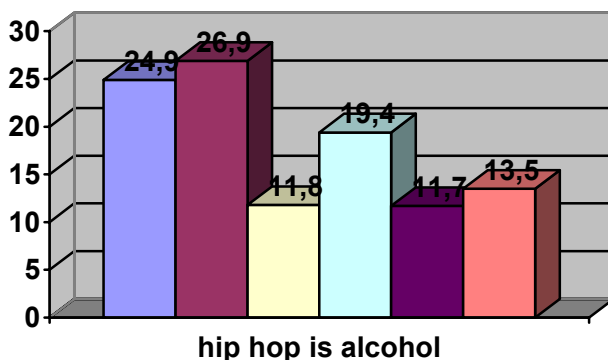


Chart 10. What do you associate music with?

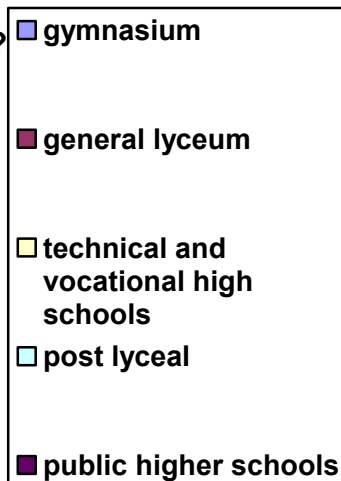
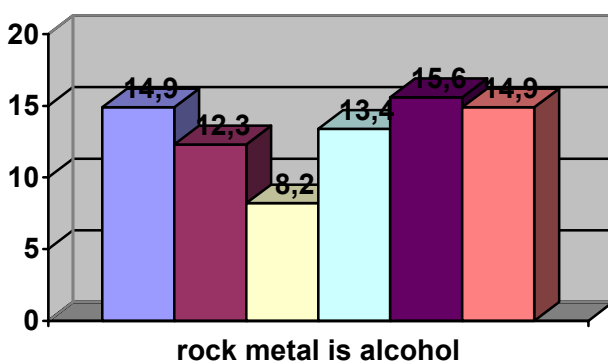


Chart 11. What do you associate violence with?

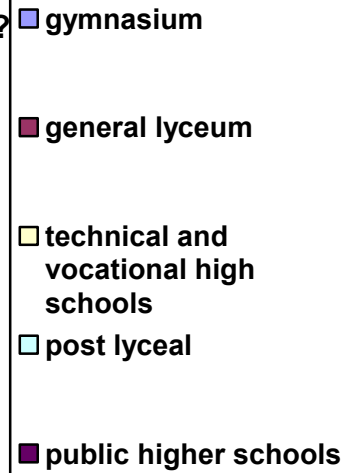
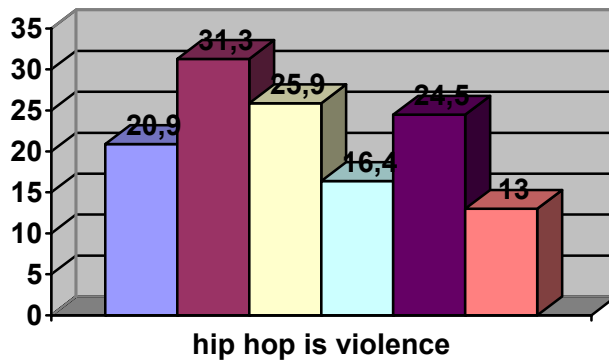


Chart 12. What do you associate violence with?

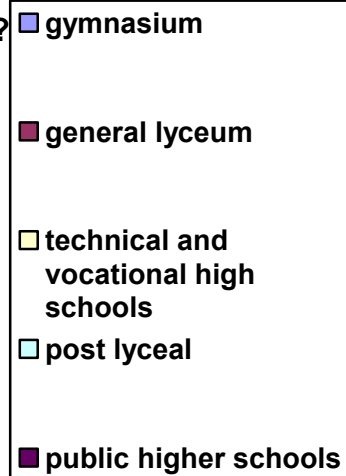
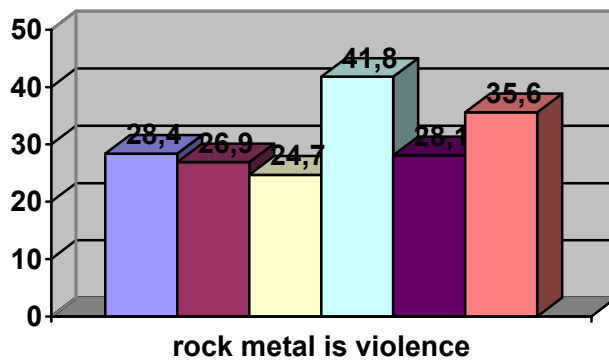


Chart 13. What do you associate drugs with?

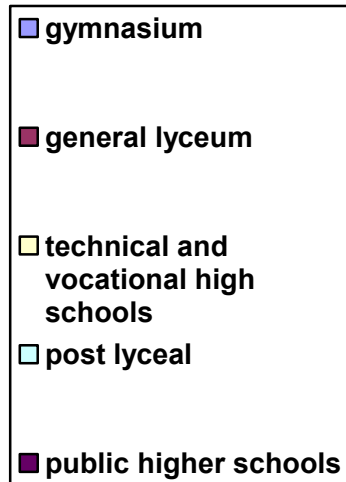
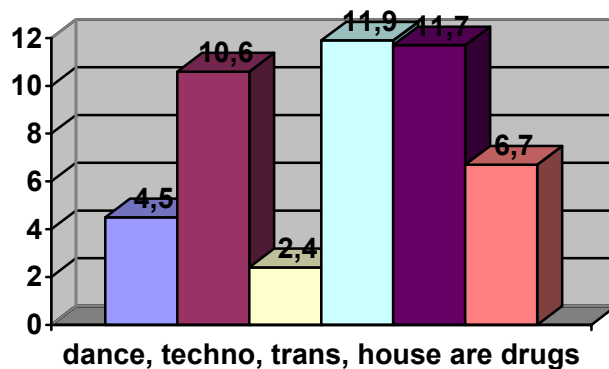


Chart 14. What do you associate drugs with?

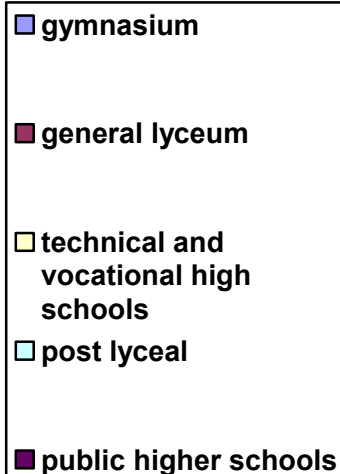
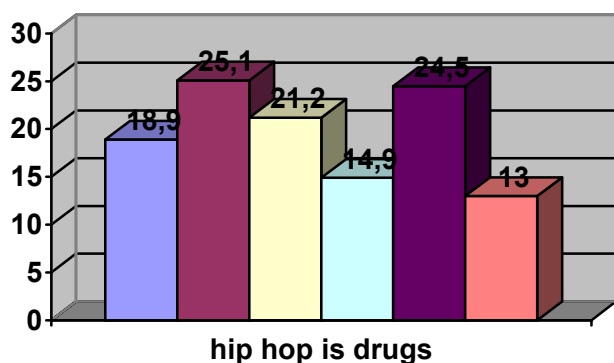


Chart 15. What do you associate drugs with?

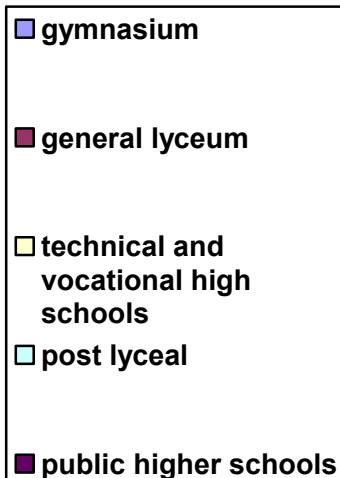
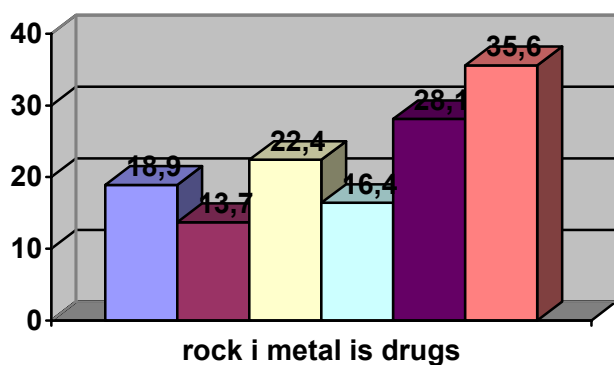


Chart 16. Why do you watch tv?

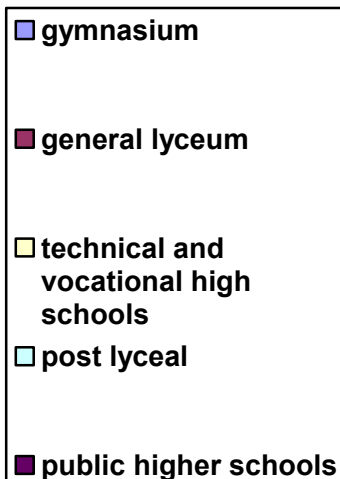
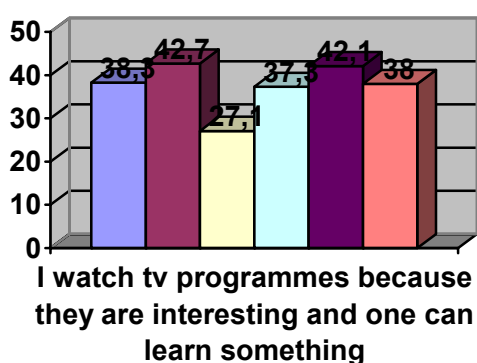


Chart 17. Why do you watch tv programmes?

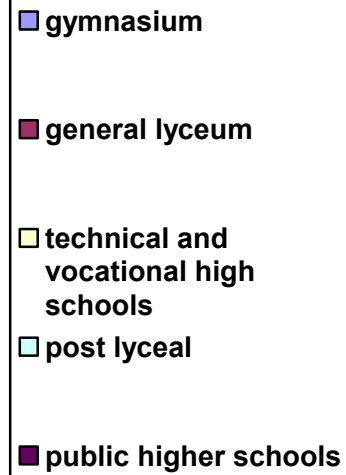
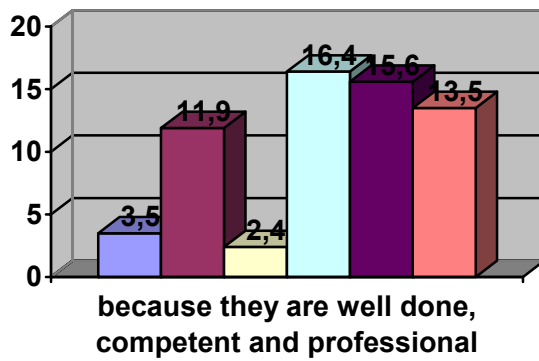


Chart 18. Why do you watch tv programmes?

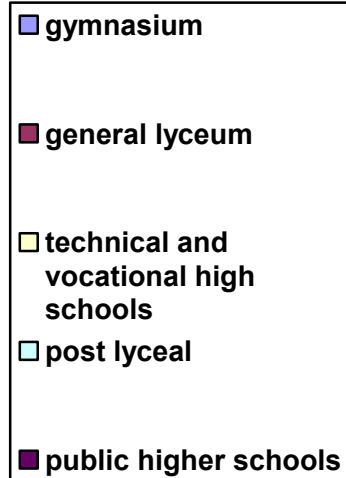
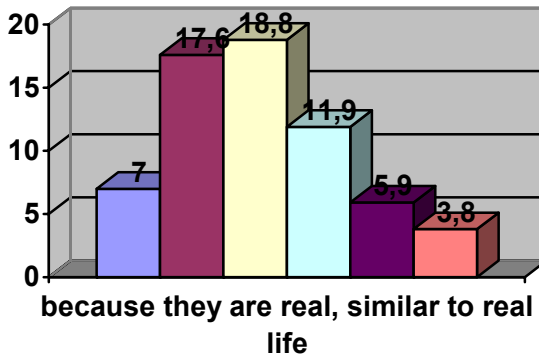


Chart 19. Why do you watch tv programmes?

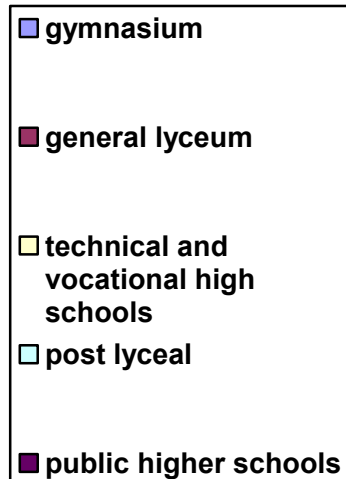
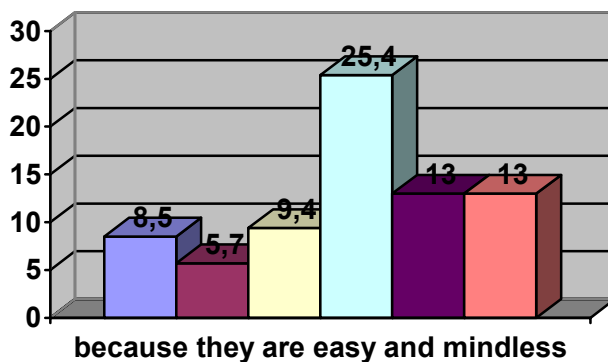


Chart 20. Why do you watch tv programmes?

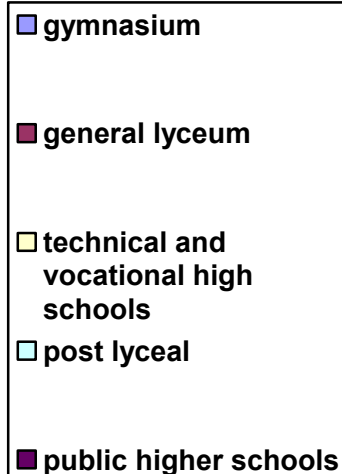
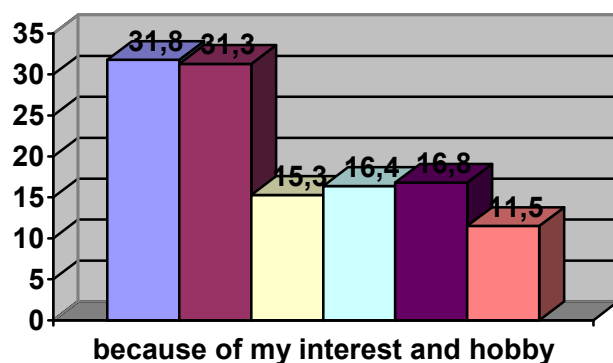


Chart 21. What newspapers and magazines do you read?

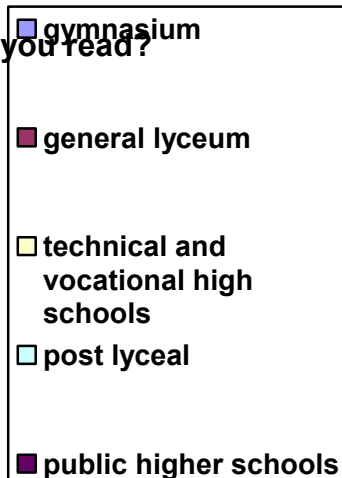
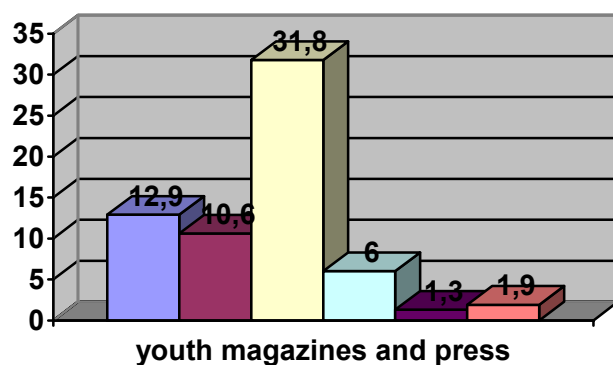


Chart 22. What newspapers and magazines do you read?

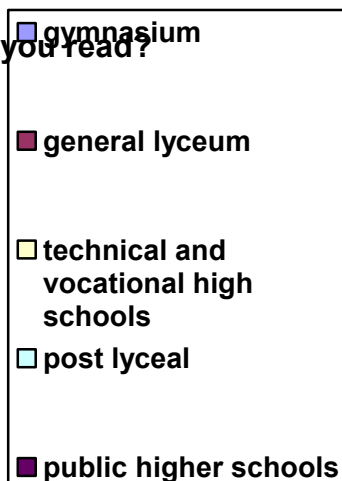
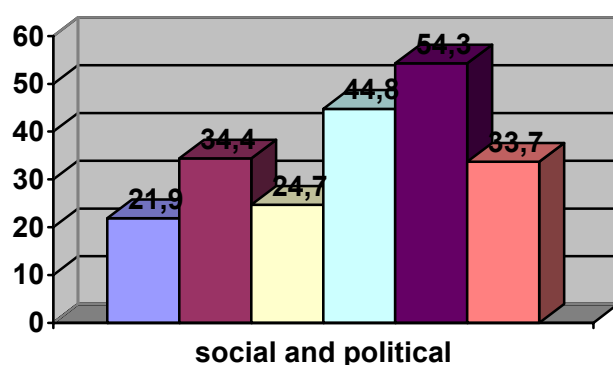


Chart 23. What newspapers and magazines do you read?

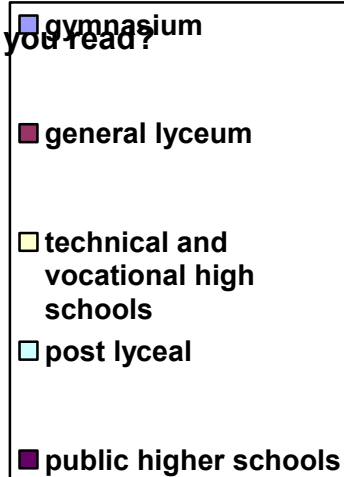
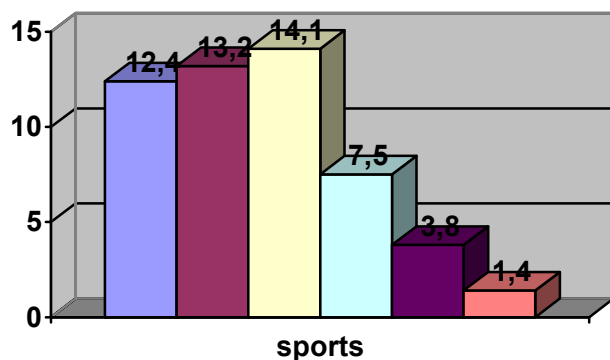


Chart 24. What newspapers and magazines do you read?

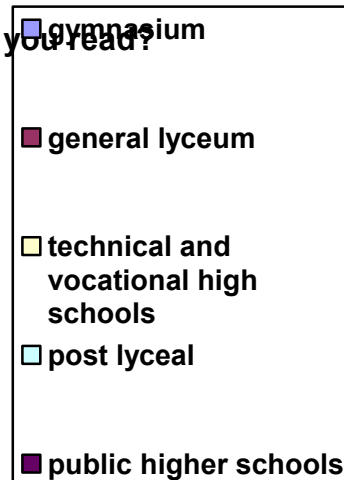
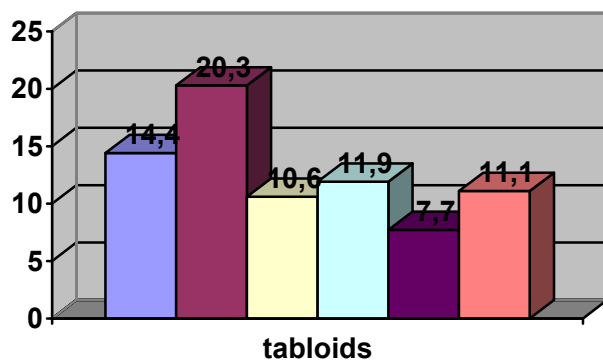


Chart 25. What newspapers and magazines do you read?

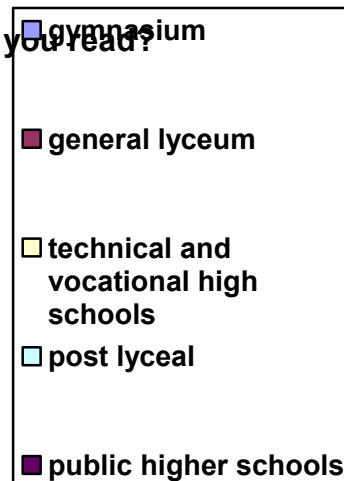
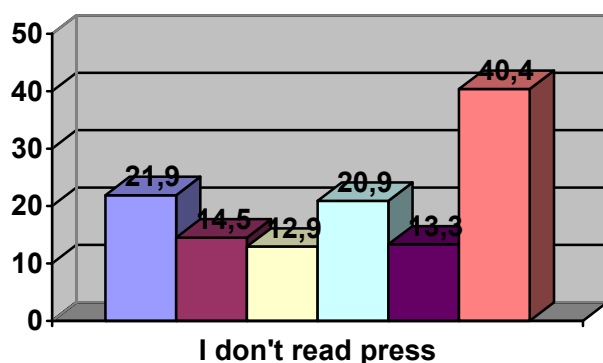


Chart 26. Do you use in the Internet:

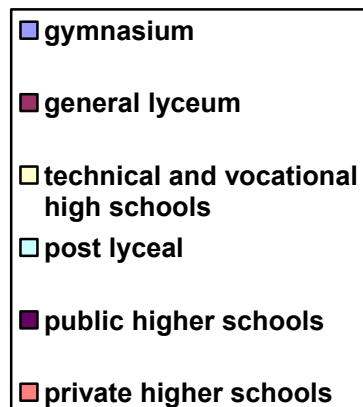
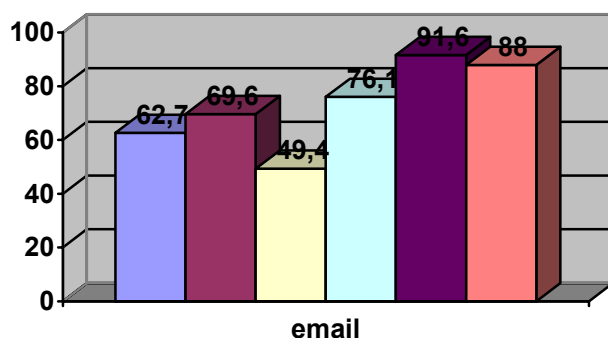


Chart 27. Do you use in the Internet:

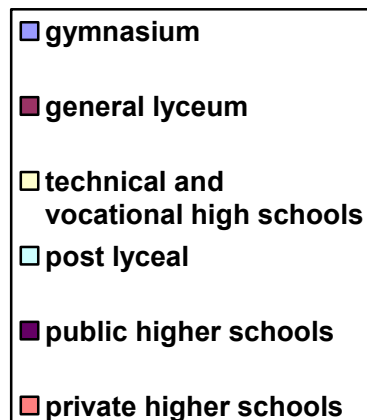
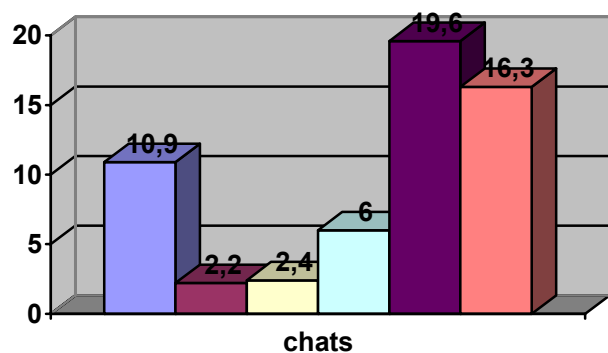


Chart 28. Do you use in the Internet:

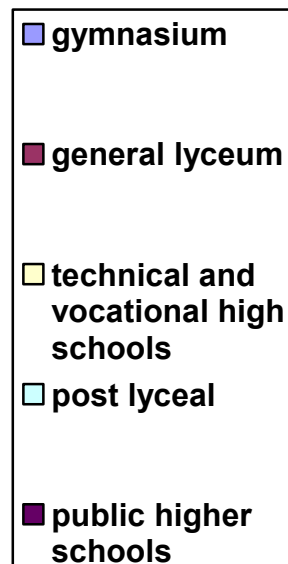
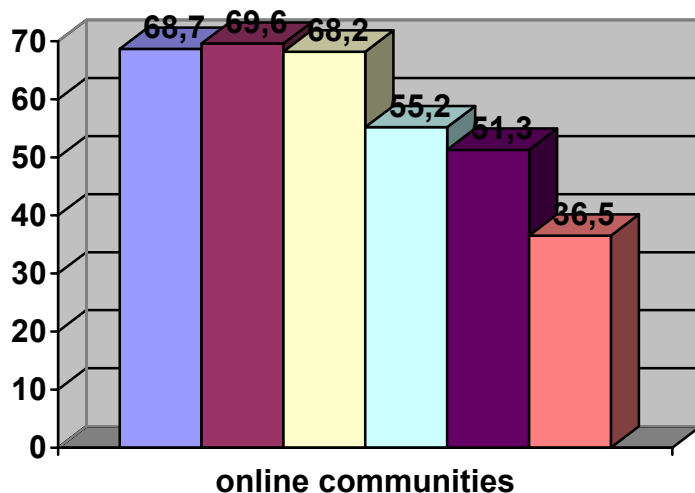


Chart 29. Do you use in the Internet:

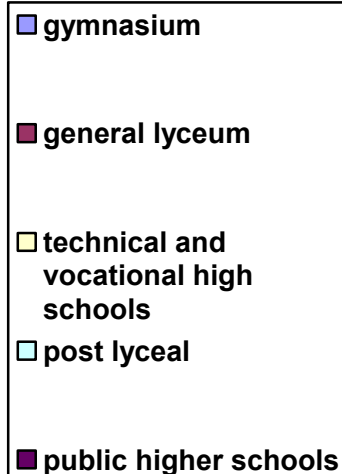
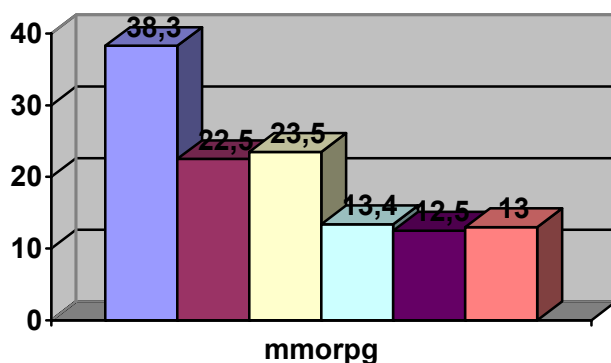


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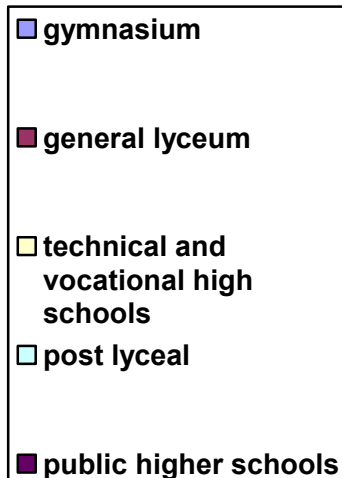
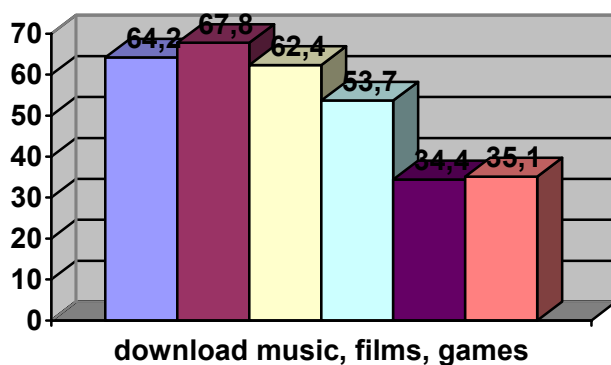


Chart 31. Do you use in the Internet:

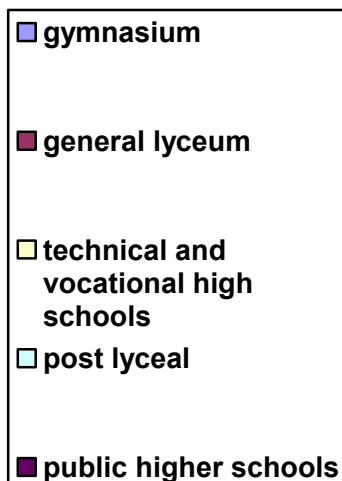
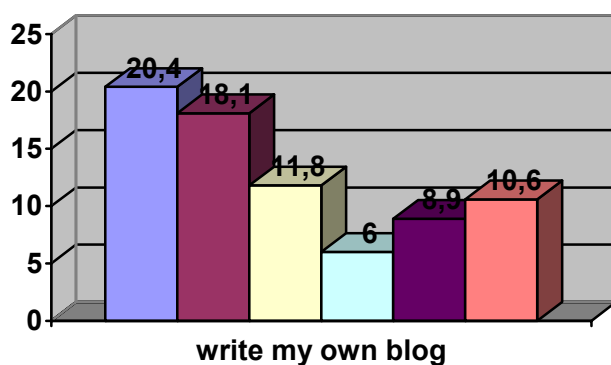


Chart 32 Do you use in the Internet:

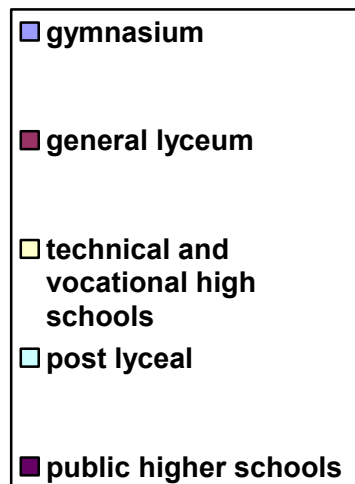
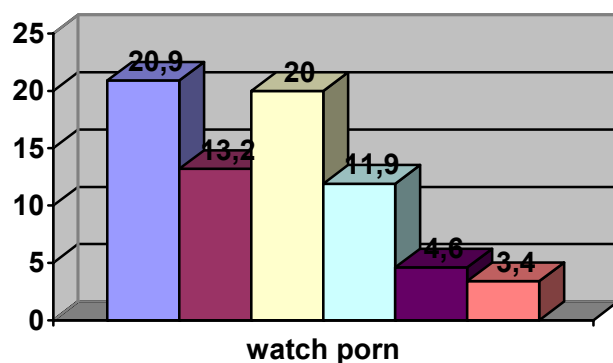


Chart 33. Do you use in the Internet:

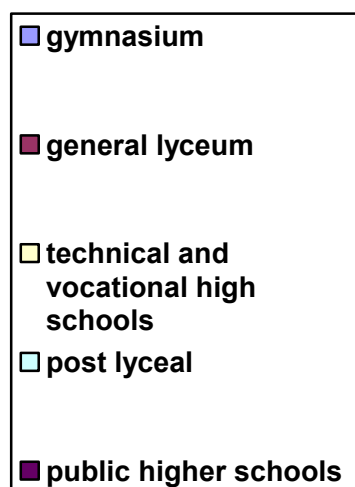
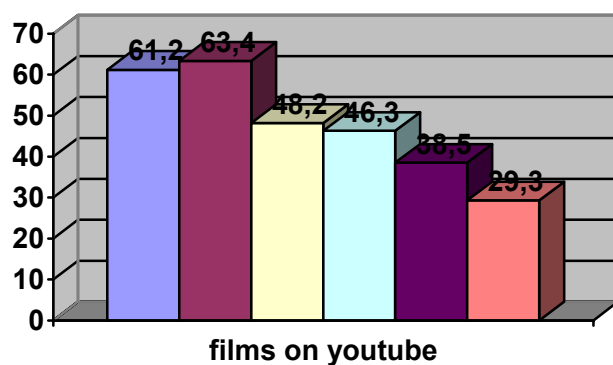


Chart 34. What would you like to do in the morning?

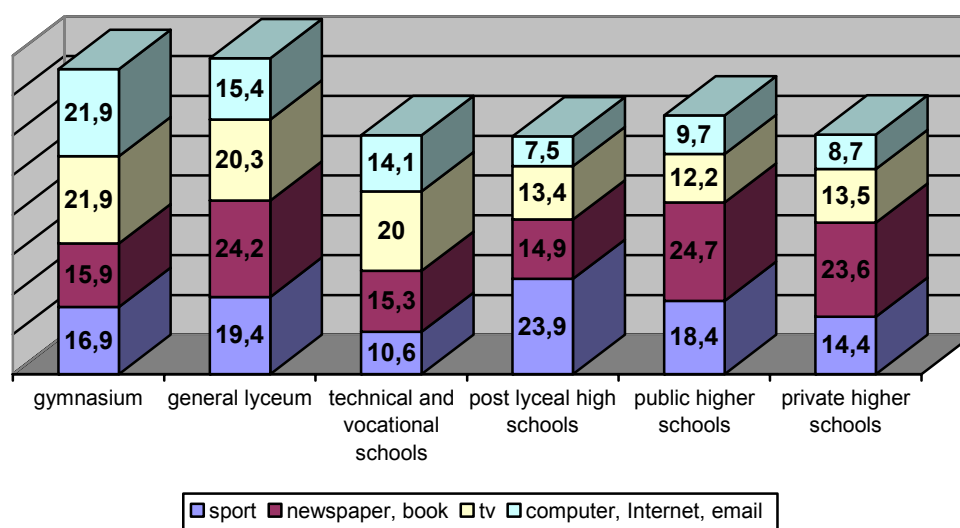


Chart 35. What would you like to do in the daytime?

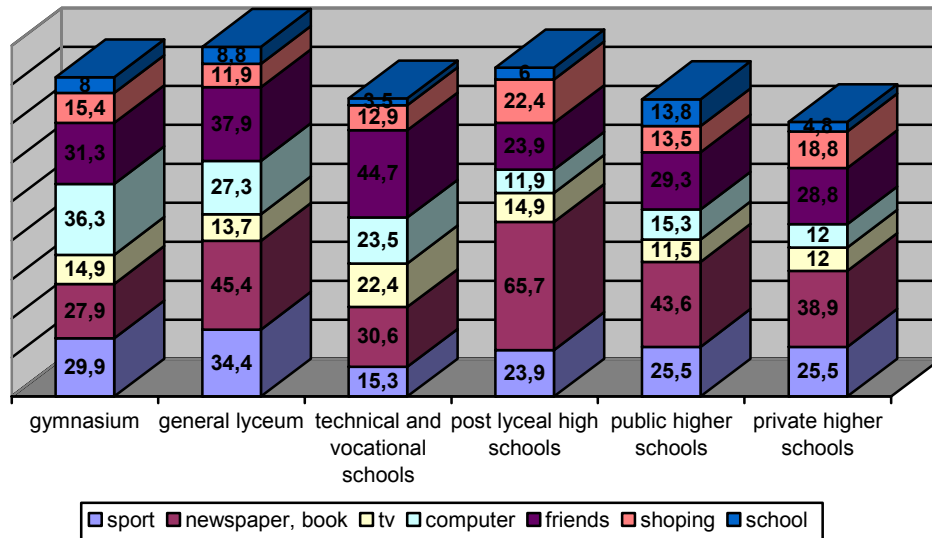


Chart 36. What would you like to do in the evening?

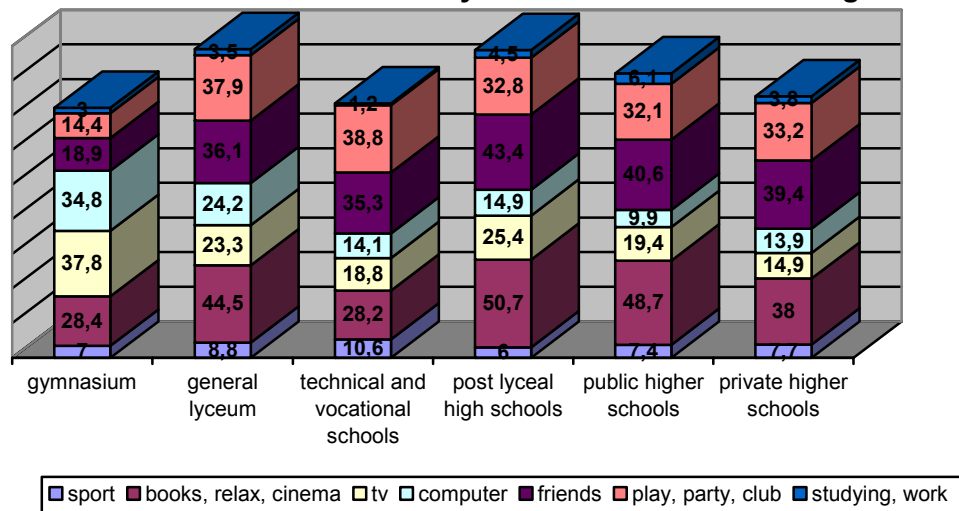


Chart 37. During the last year

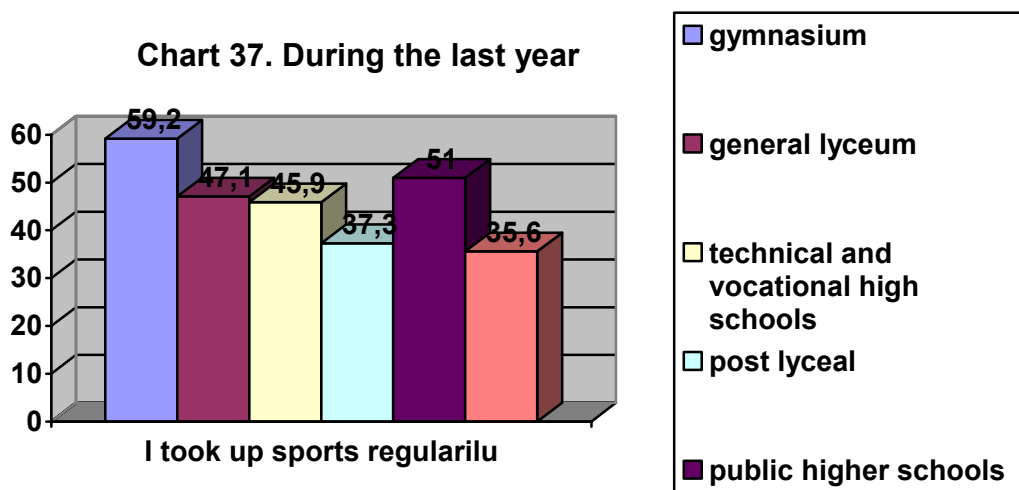


Chart 38. During the last year

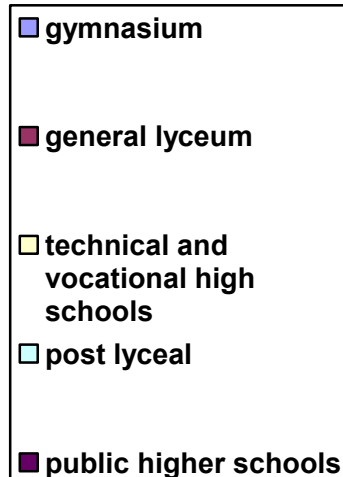
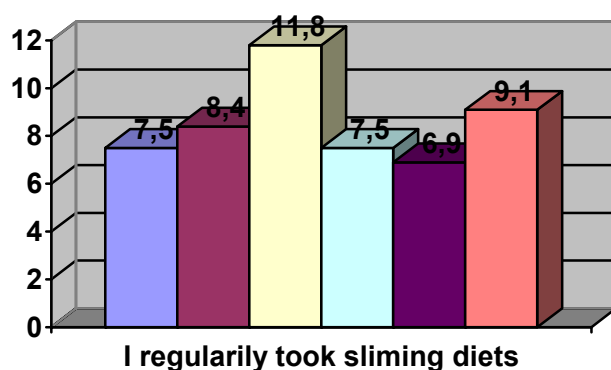


Chart 39. During the last year

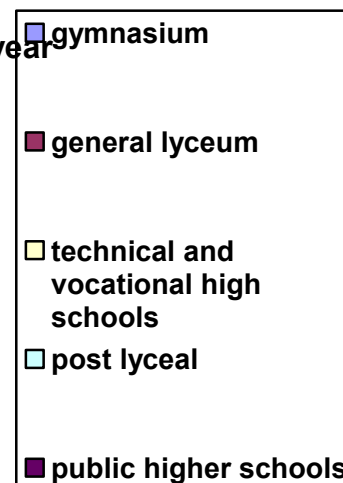
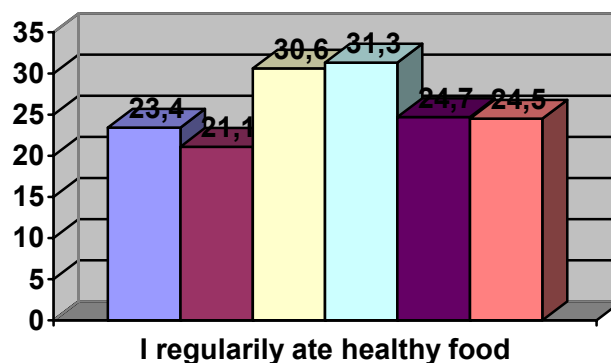


Chart 40. During the last year

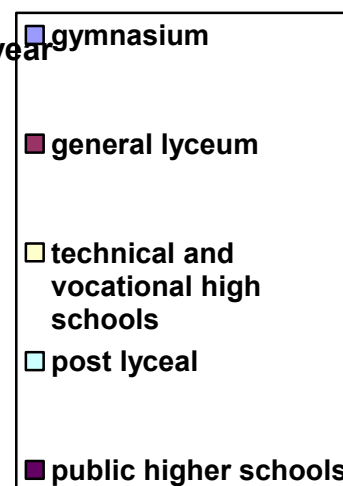
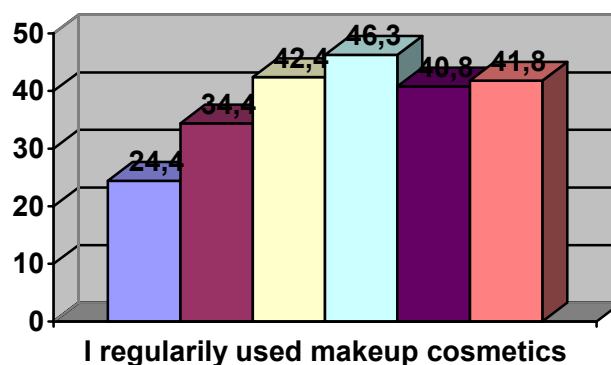


Chart 41. During the last year

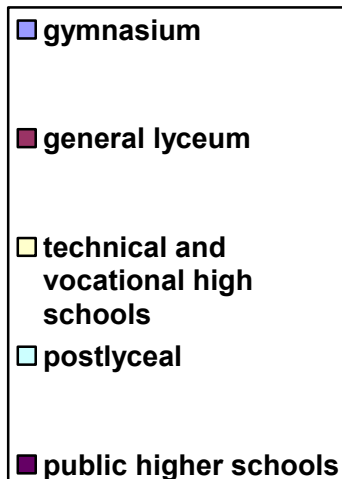
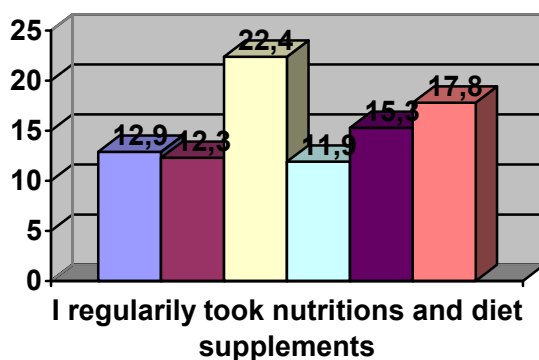


Chart 42. During the last year

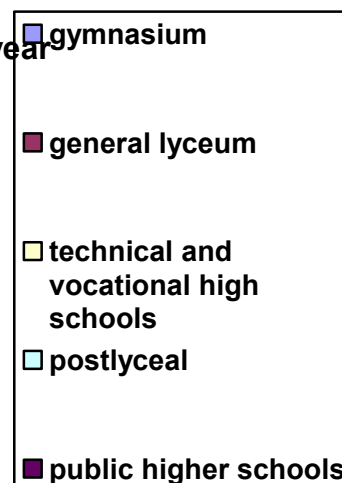
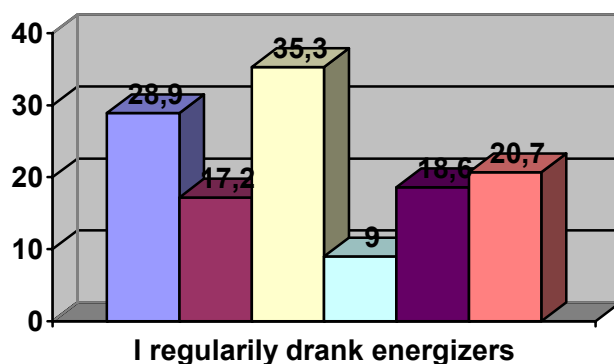


Chart 43. During the last year

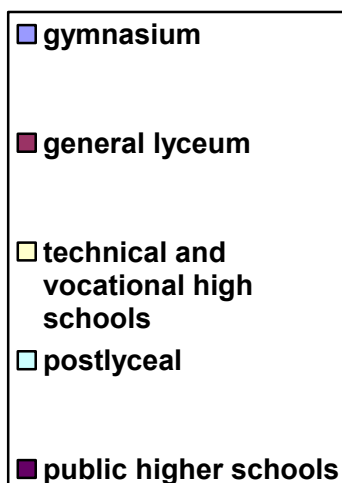
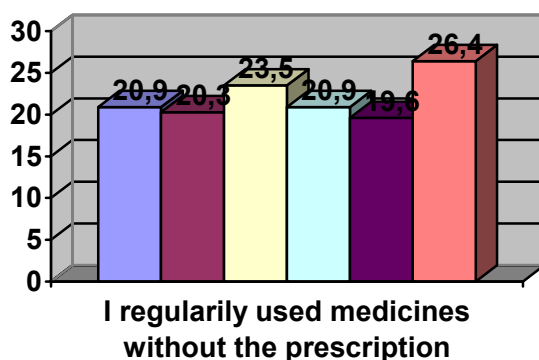


Chart 44. During the last year

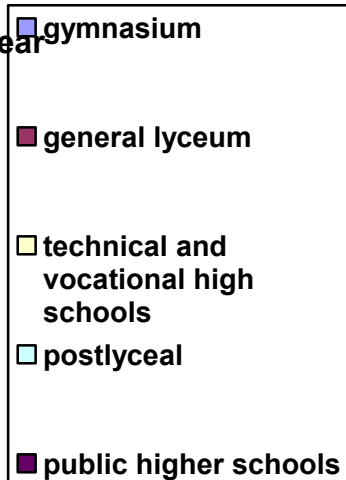
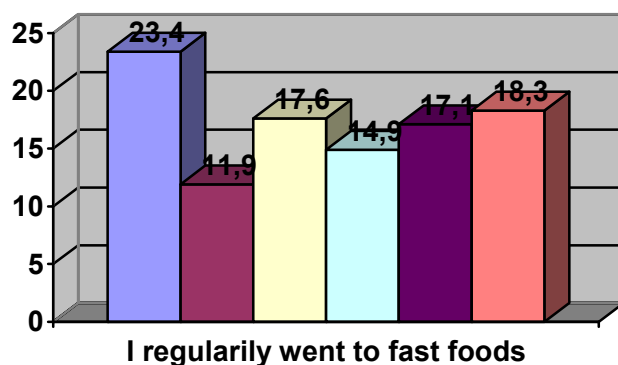


Chart 45. During the last year

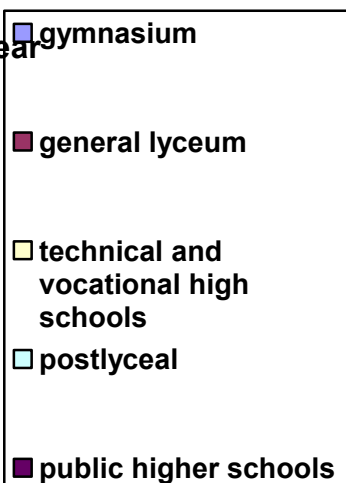
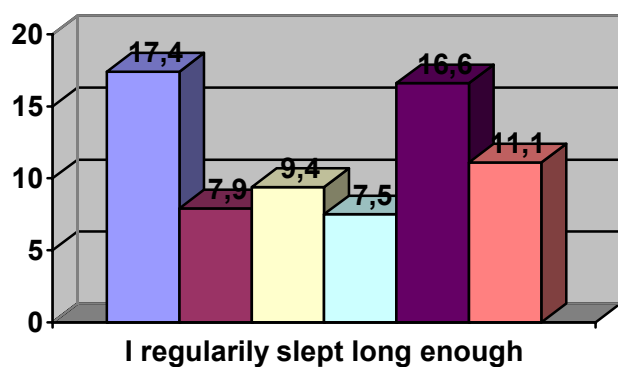


Chart 46. During the last year

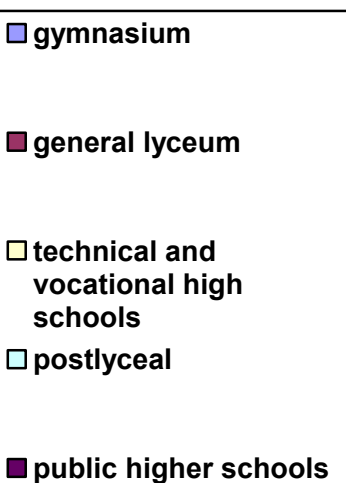
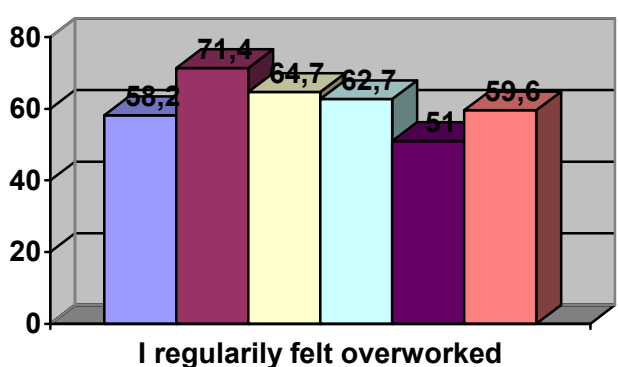


Chart 47. During the last year

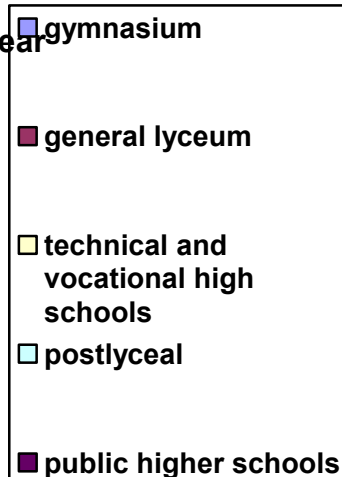
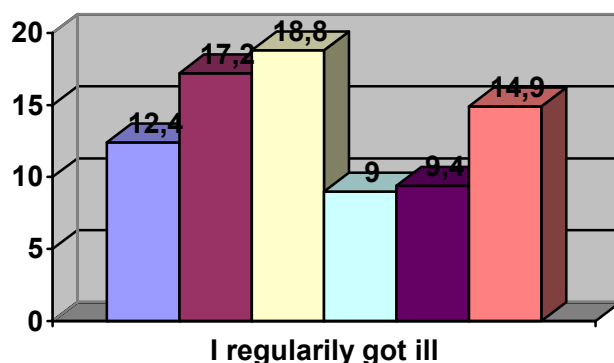


Chart 48. During the last year

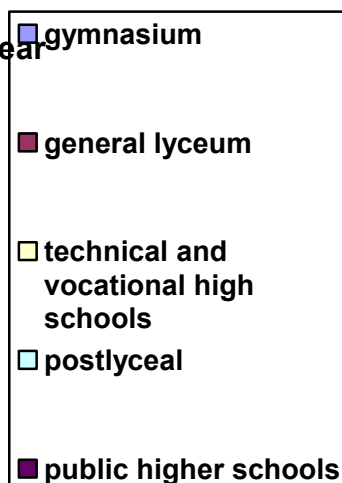
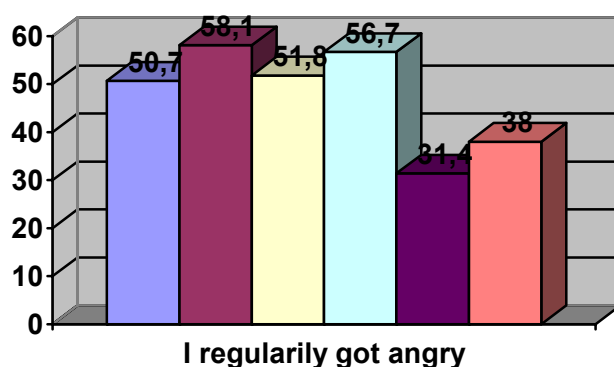


Chart 49. During the last year

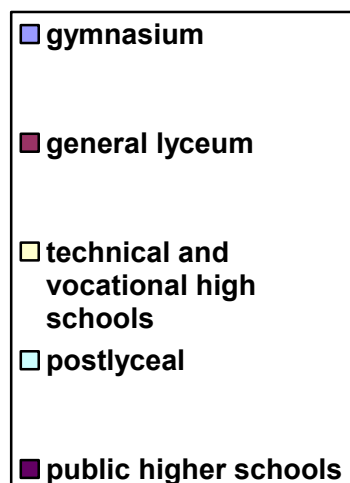
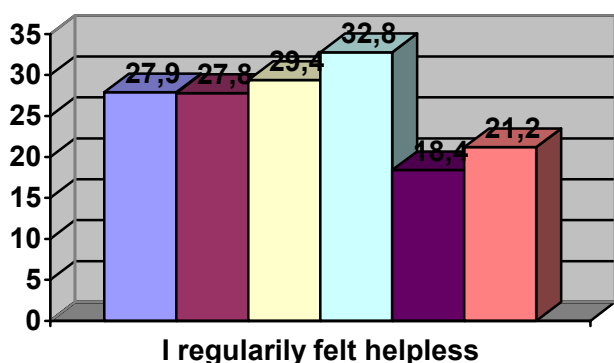


Chart 50. During the last year

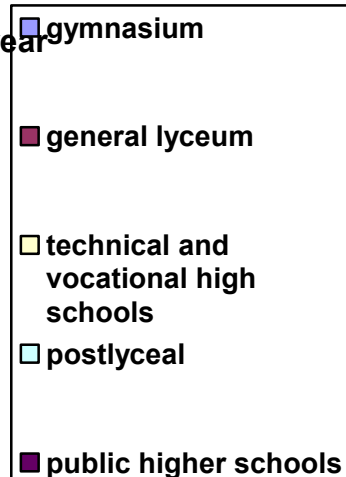
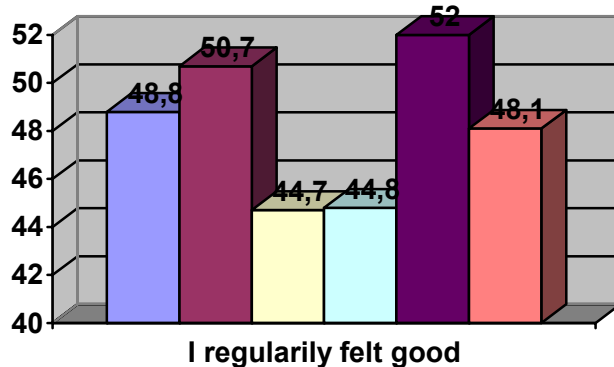


Chart 51. During the last year

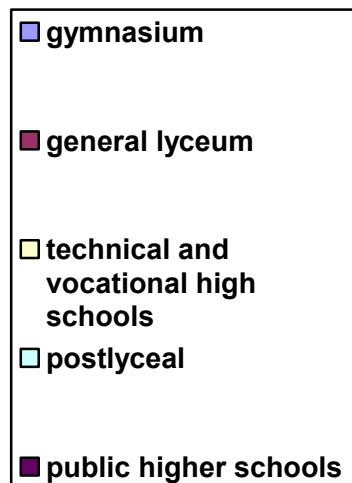
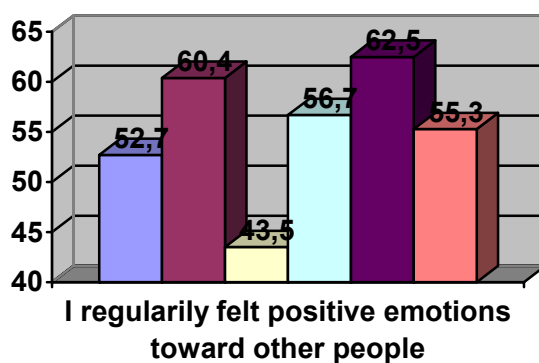


Chart 52

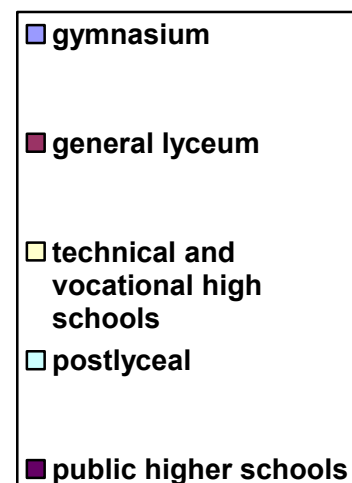
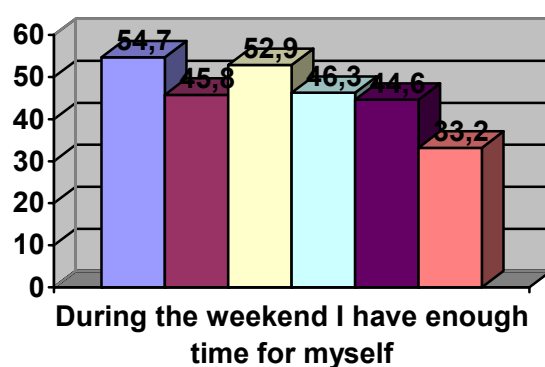


Chart 53

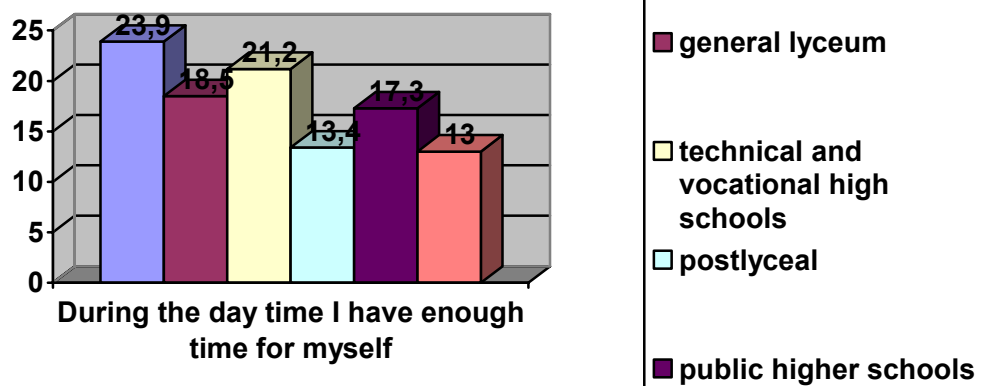


Chart 54. What do you mostly like doing during a day?

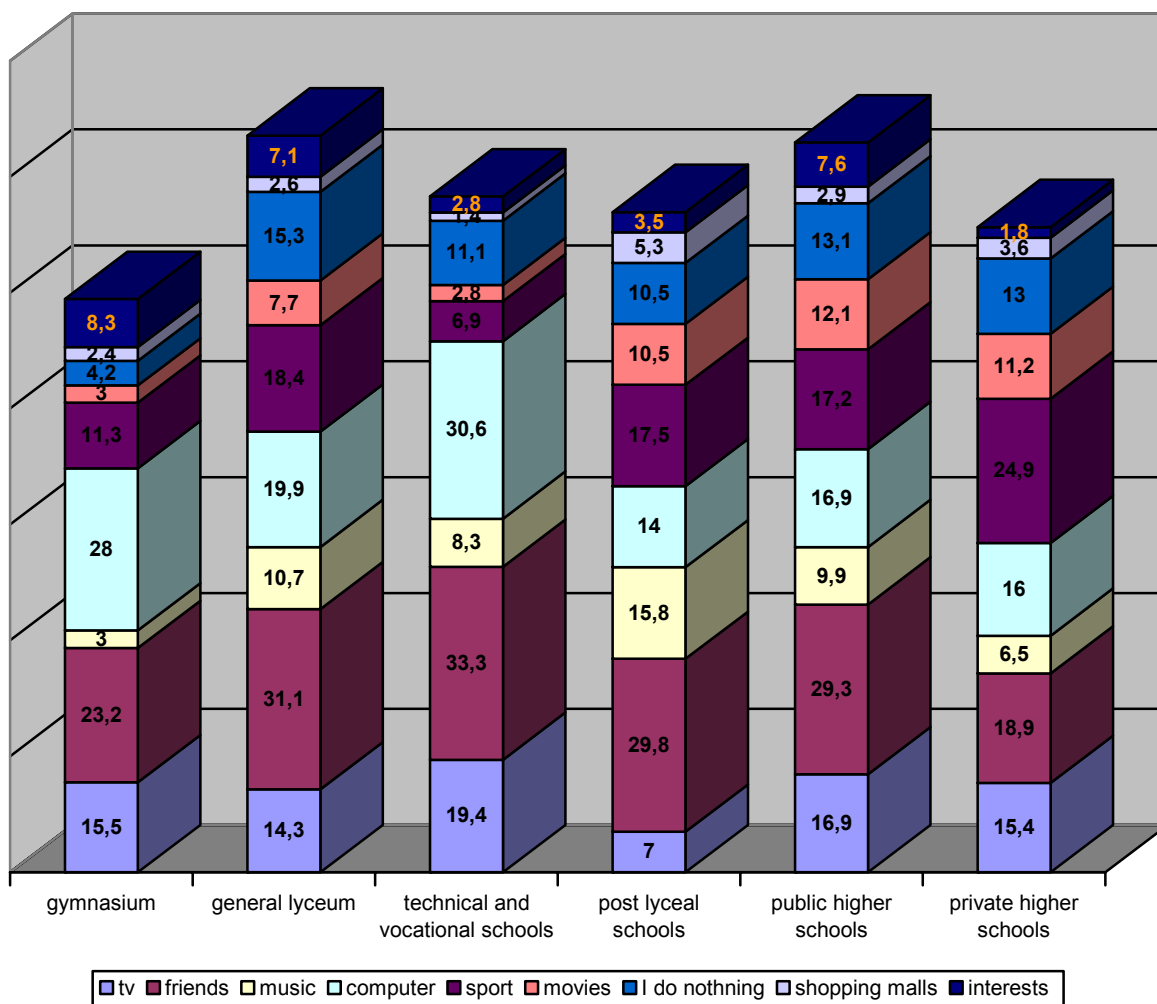


Chart 55. I accept

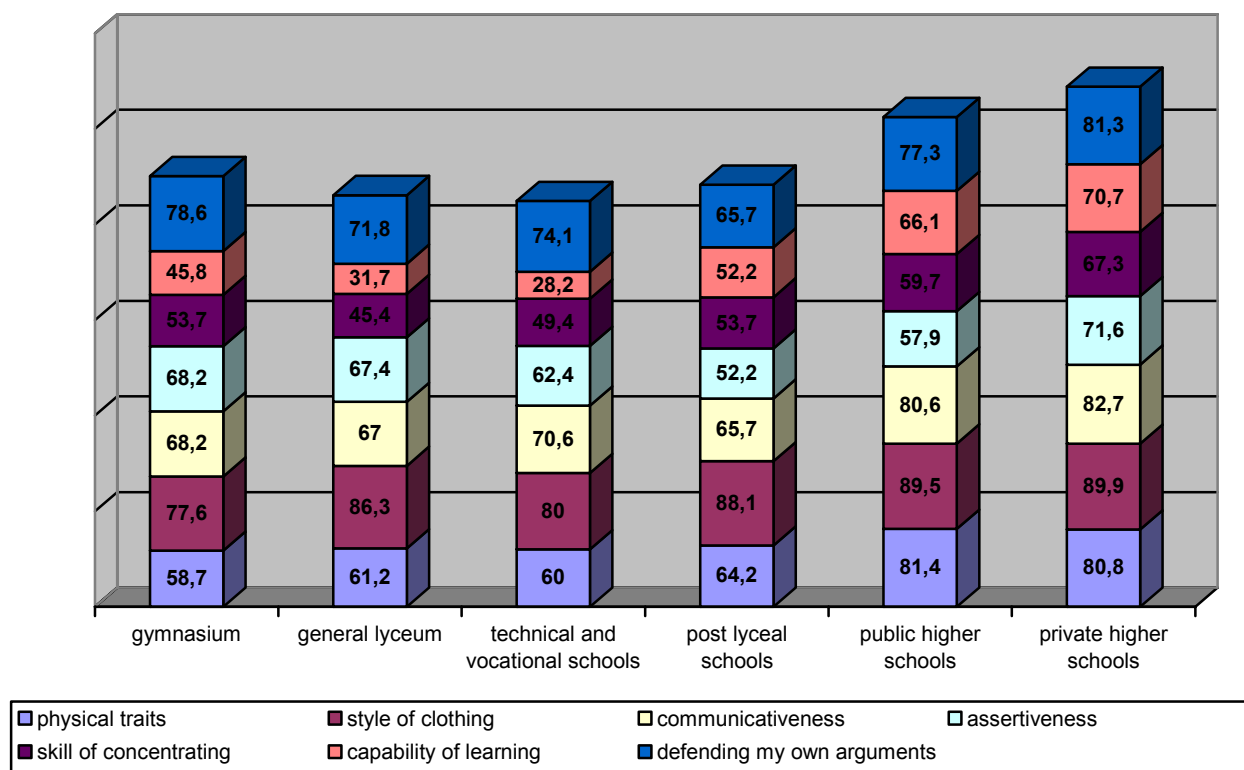


Chart 56. I would like to change

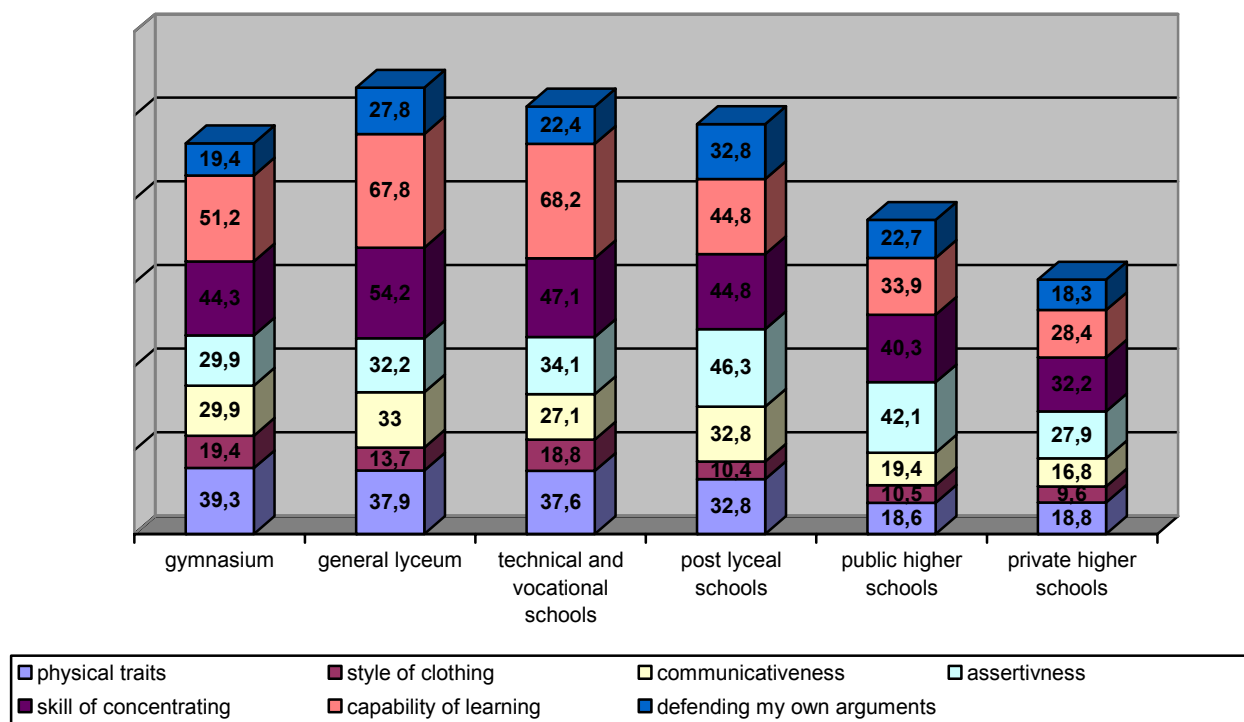


Chart 56. weaknesses

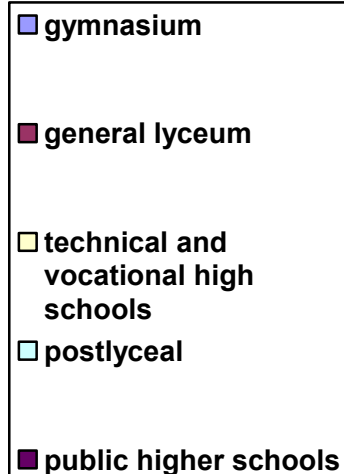
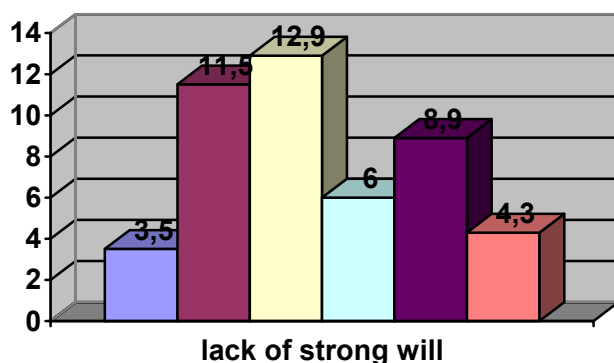


Chart 57. Weaknesses

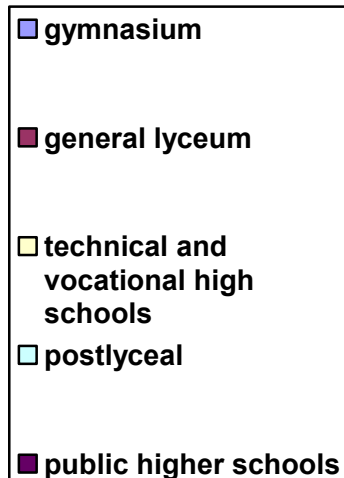
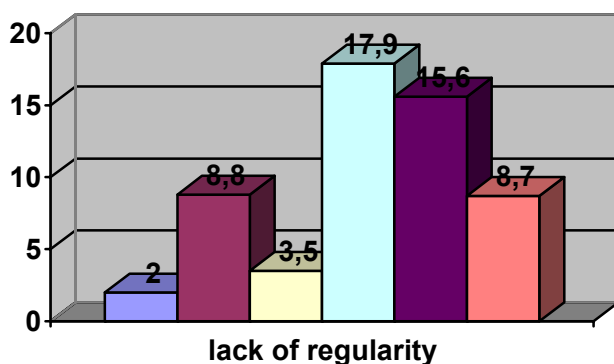


Chart 58. weaknesses

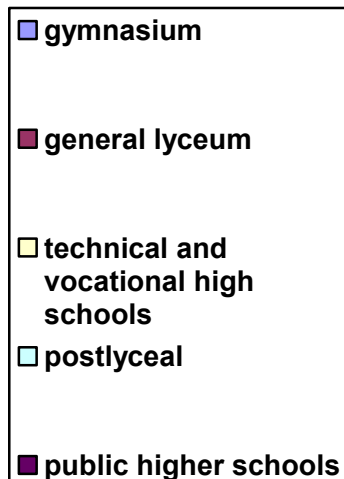
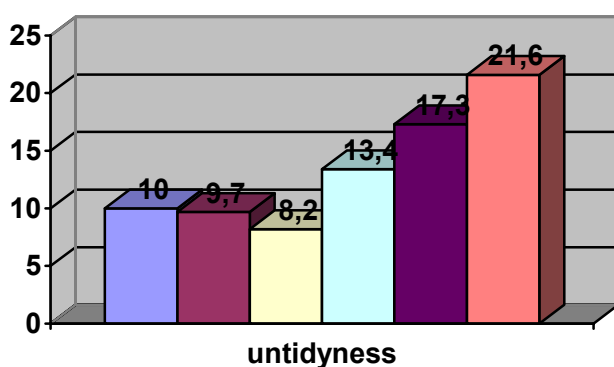


Chart 59. weaknesses

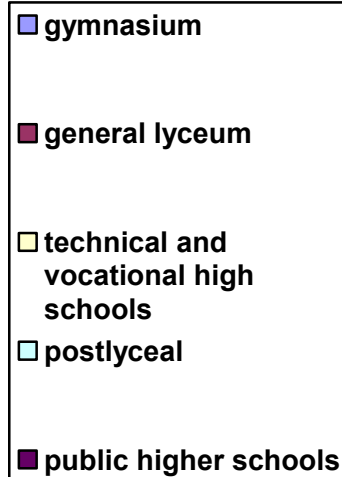
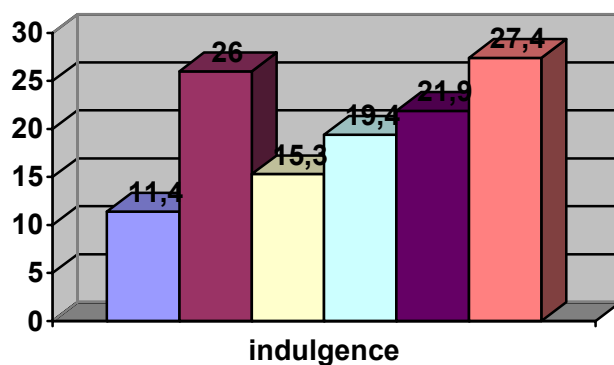


Chart 60. weaknesses

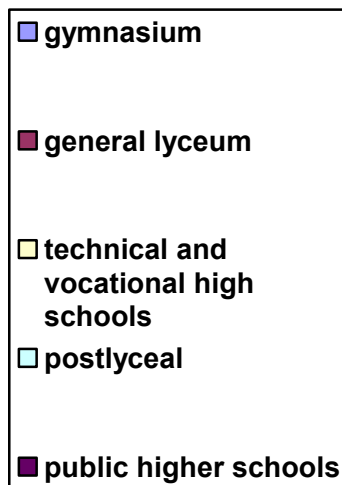
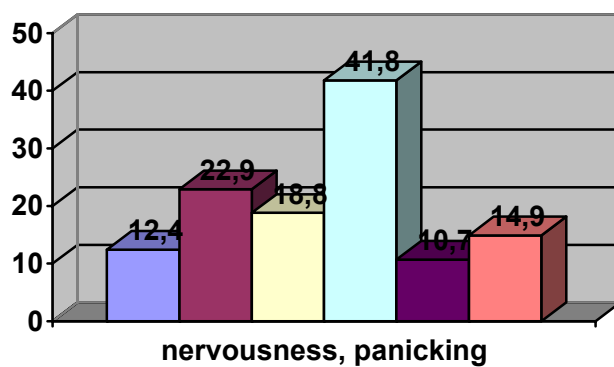


Chart 61. weaknesses

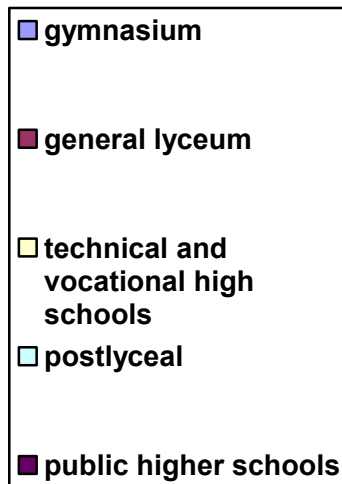
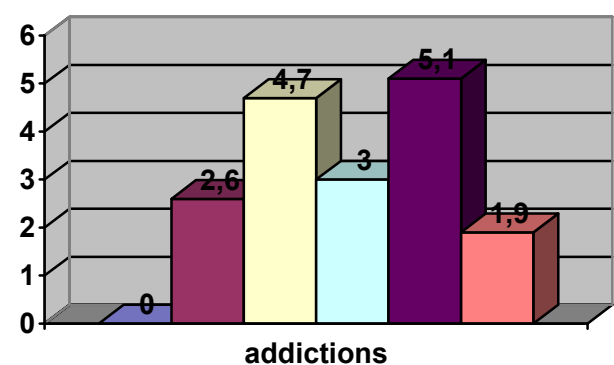


Chart 62. weaknesses

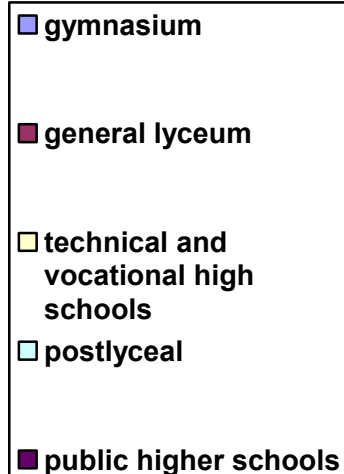
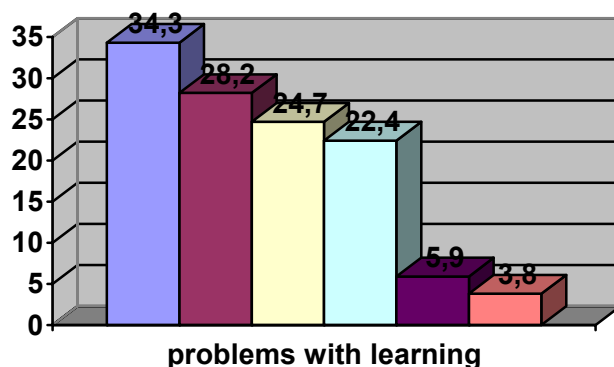


Chart 63. weaknesses

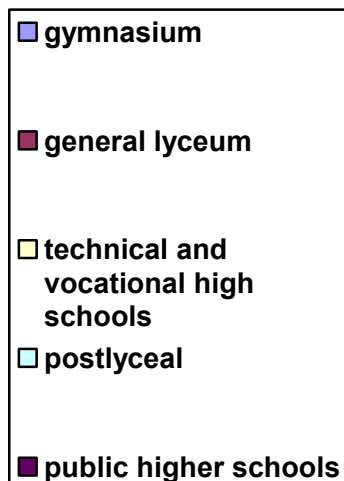
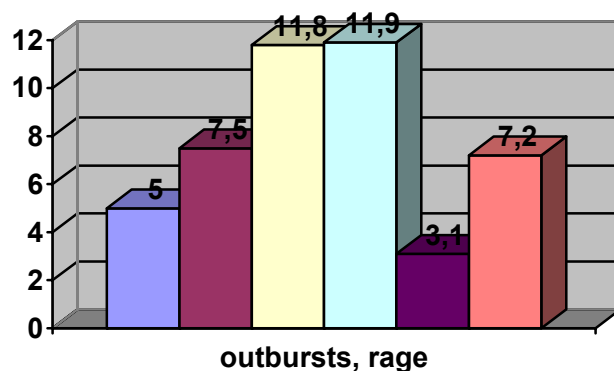


Chart 64. advantages

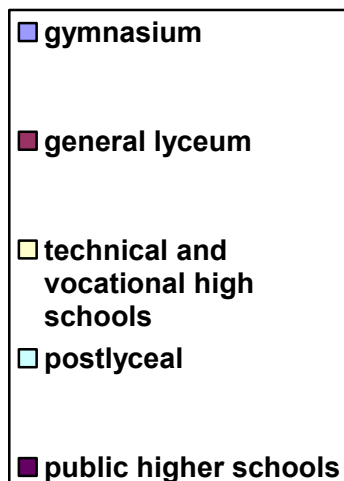
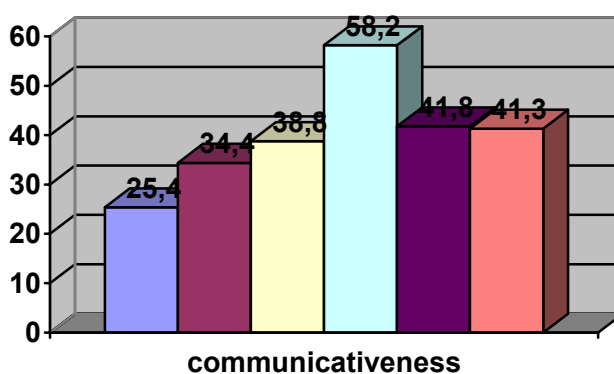


Chart 65. advantages

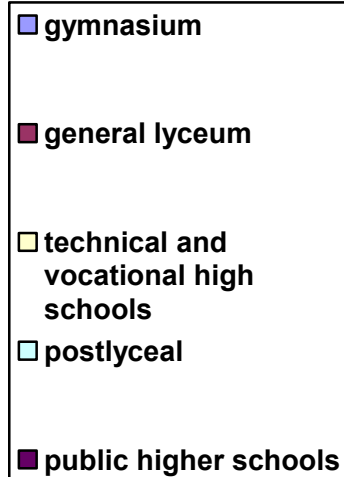
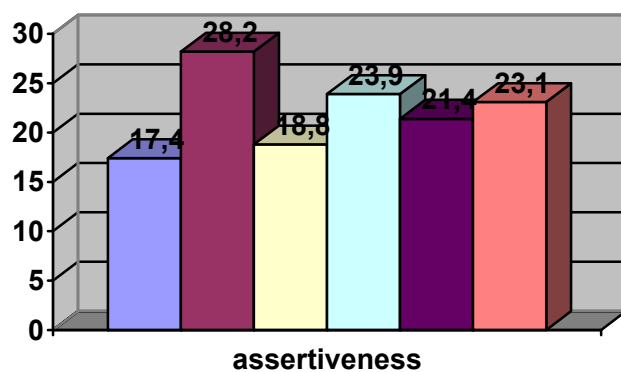


Chart 66. advantages

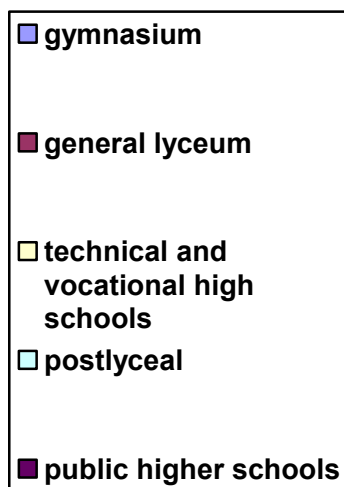
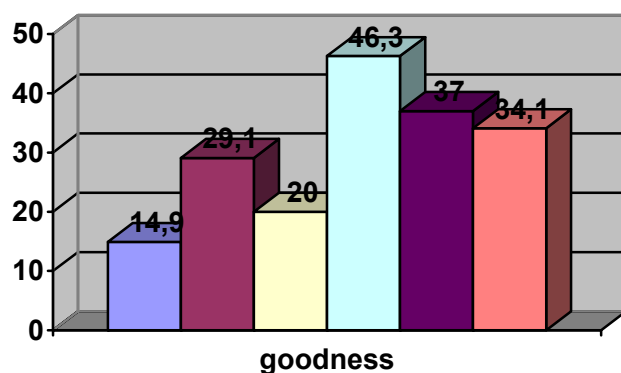


Chart 67. advantages

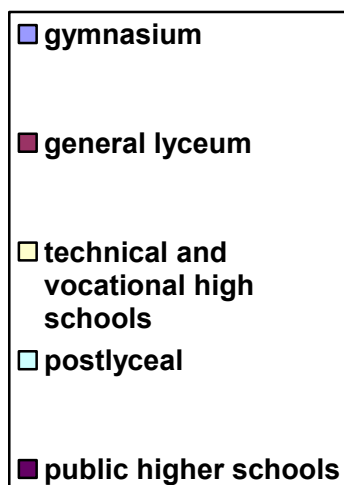
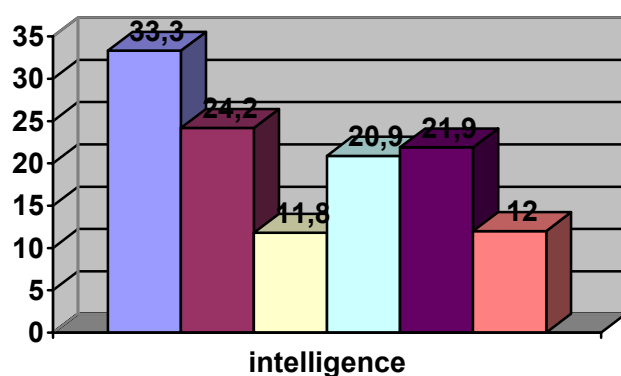
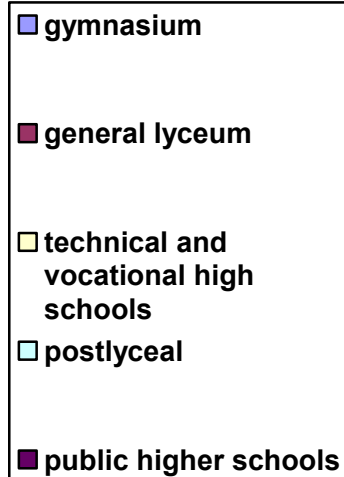
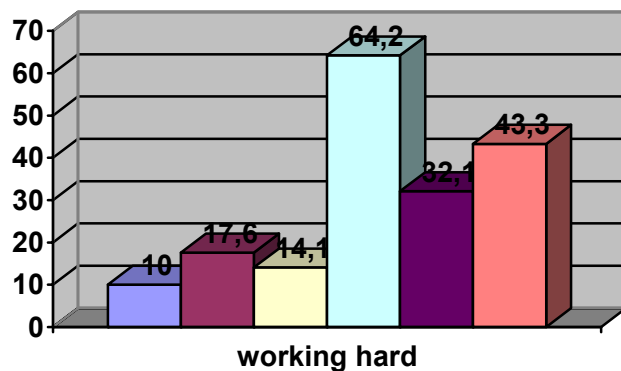


Chart 68. advantages



Charts 69. advantages

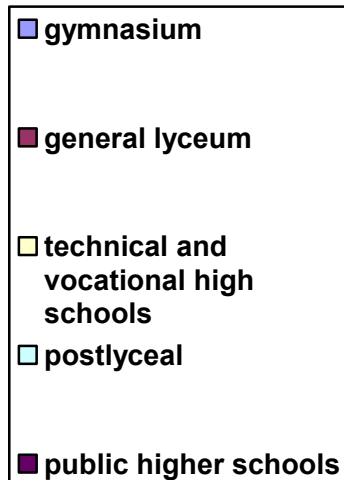
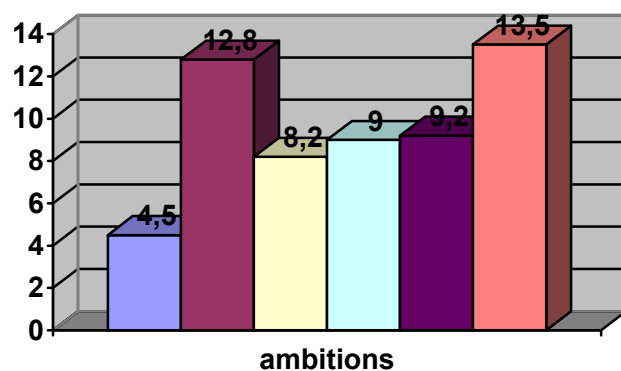


Chart 70. advantages

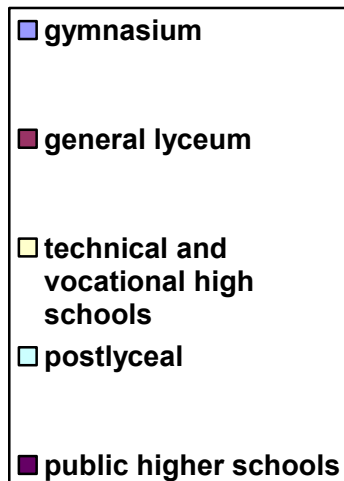
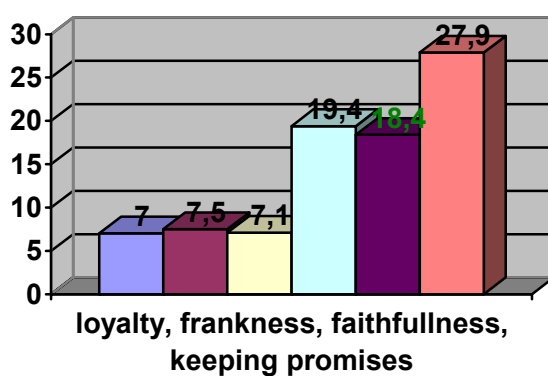


Chart 71. advantages

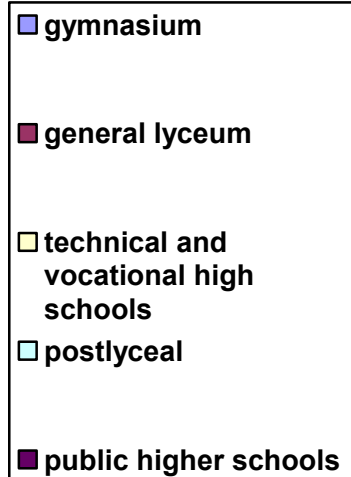
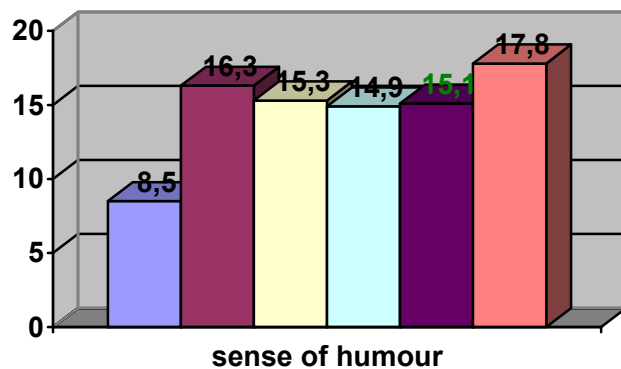


Chart 72. favourite traits

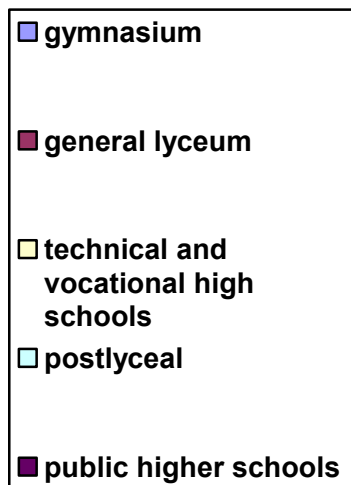
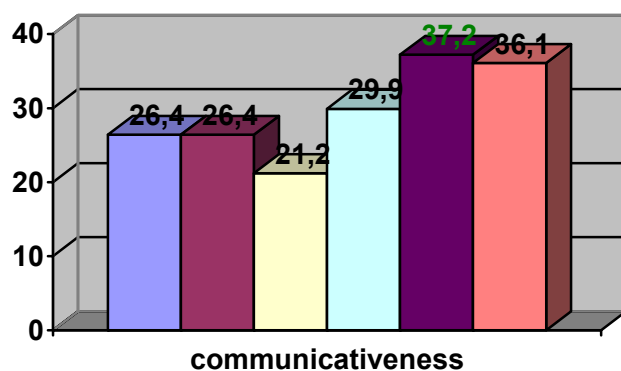


Chart 73. favourite traits

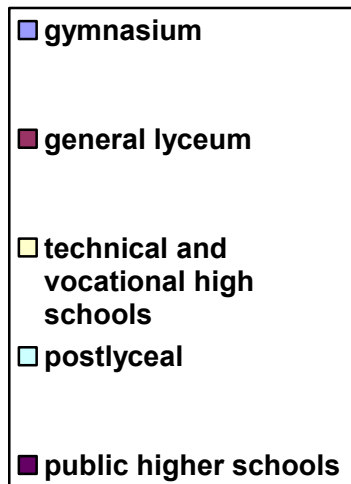
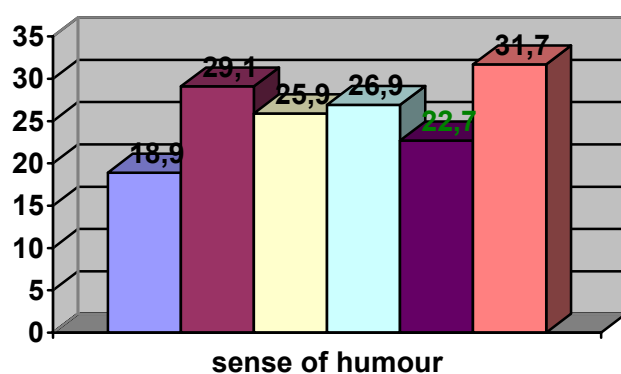


Chart 74. favourite traits

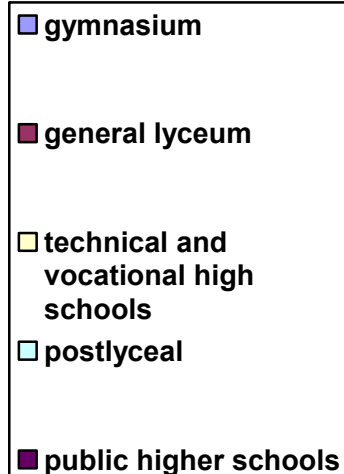
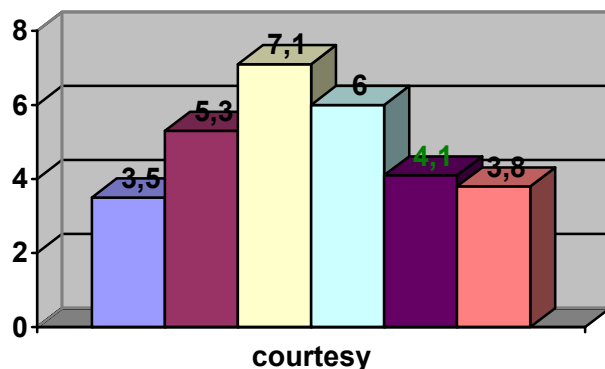


Chart 75. favourite traits

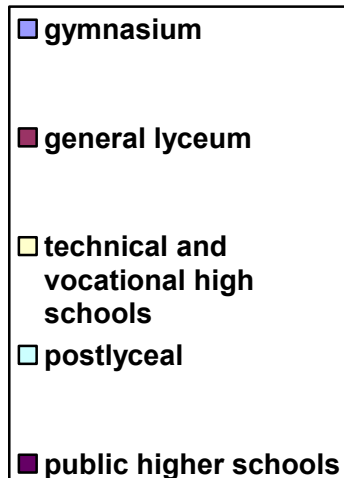


Chart 76. favourite traits

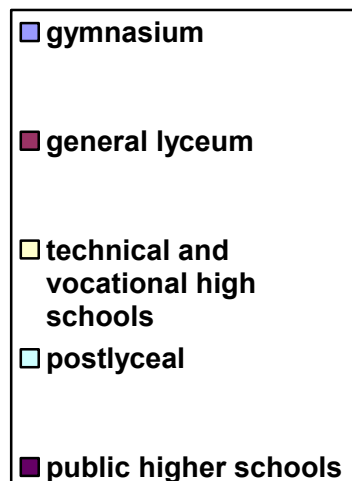
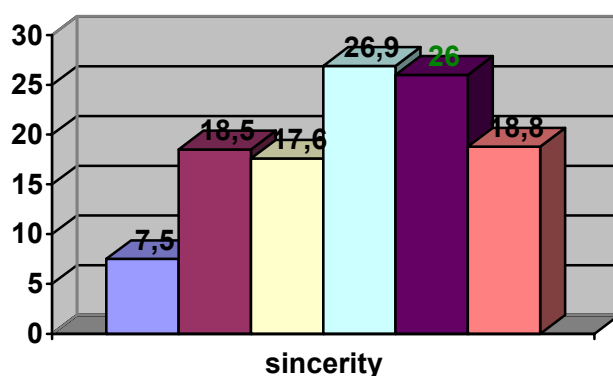


Chart 77. favourite traits

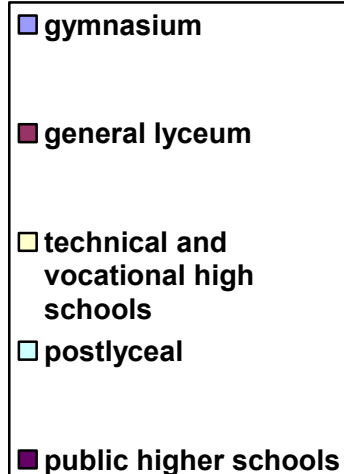
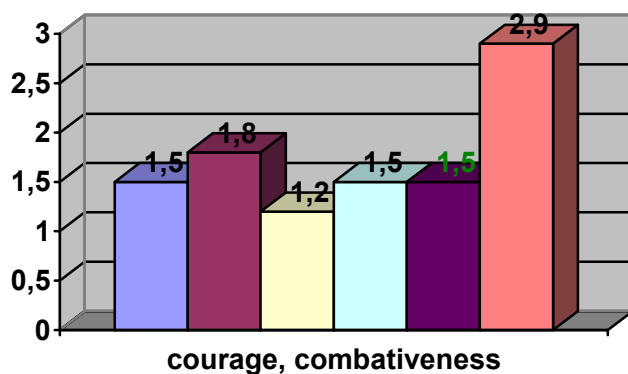


Chart 78. disliked traits

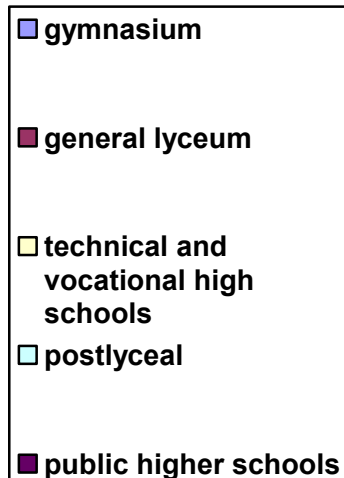
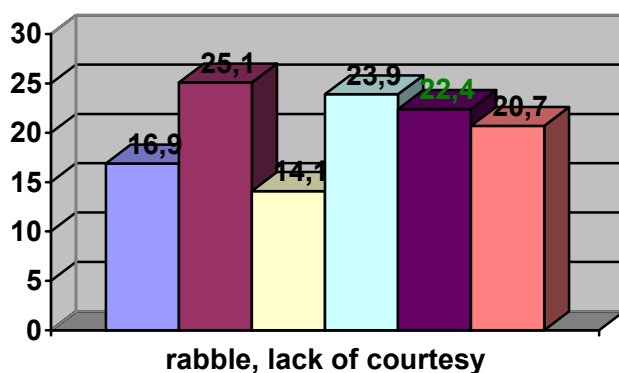


Chart 79. disliked traits

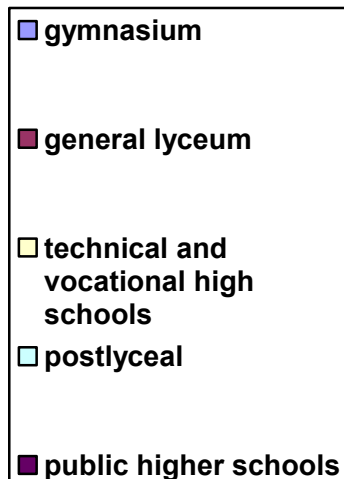
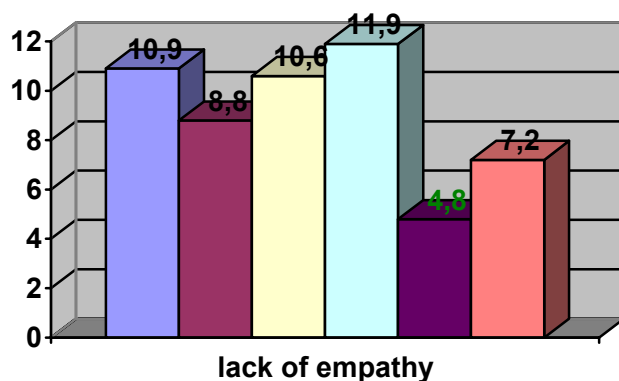


Chart 80. disliked traits

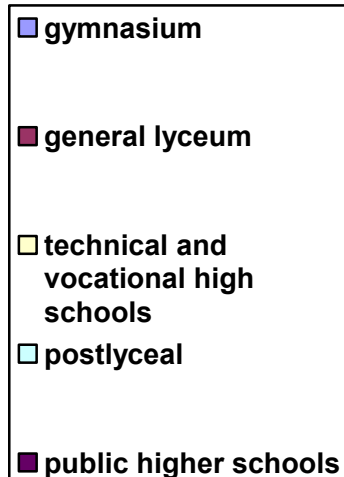
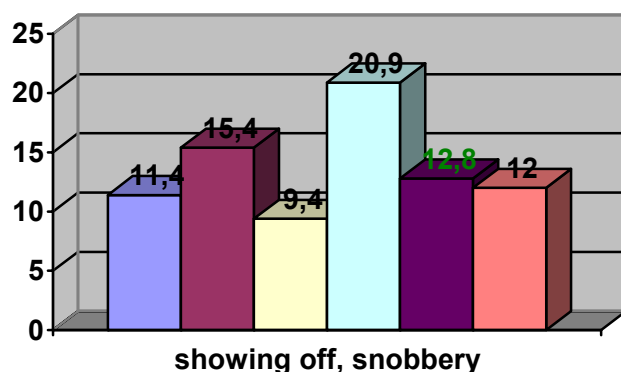


Chart 81. disliked traits

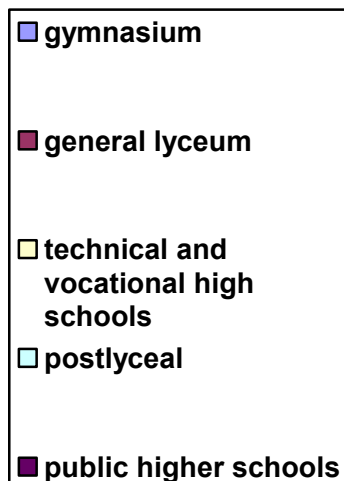
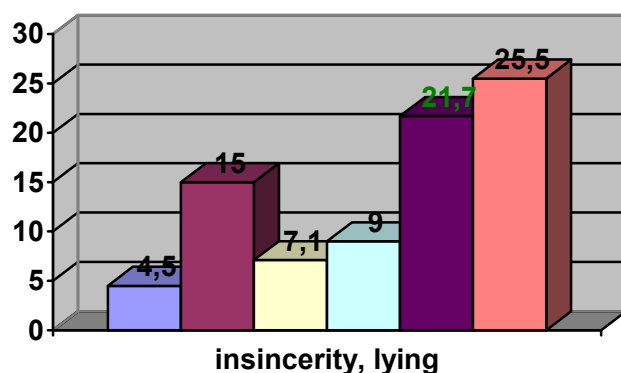
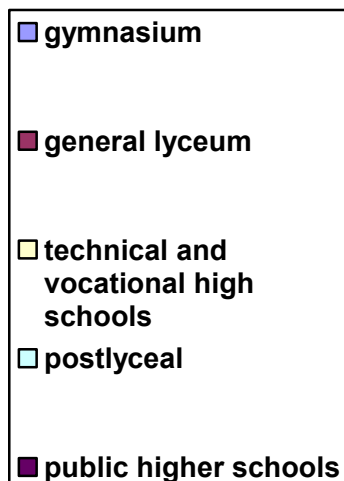
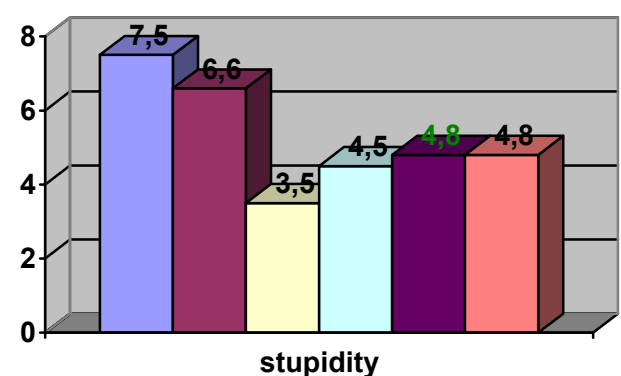
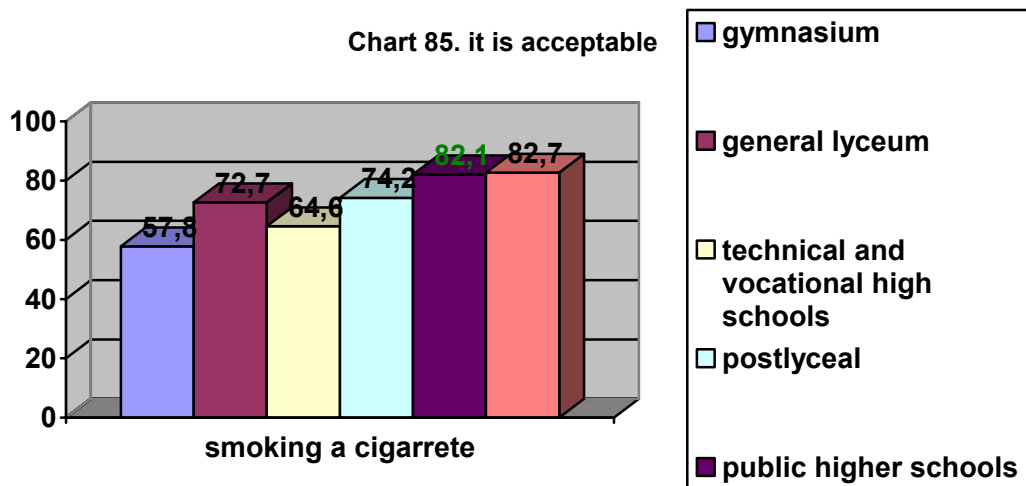
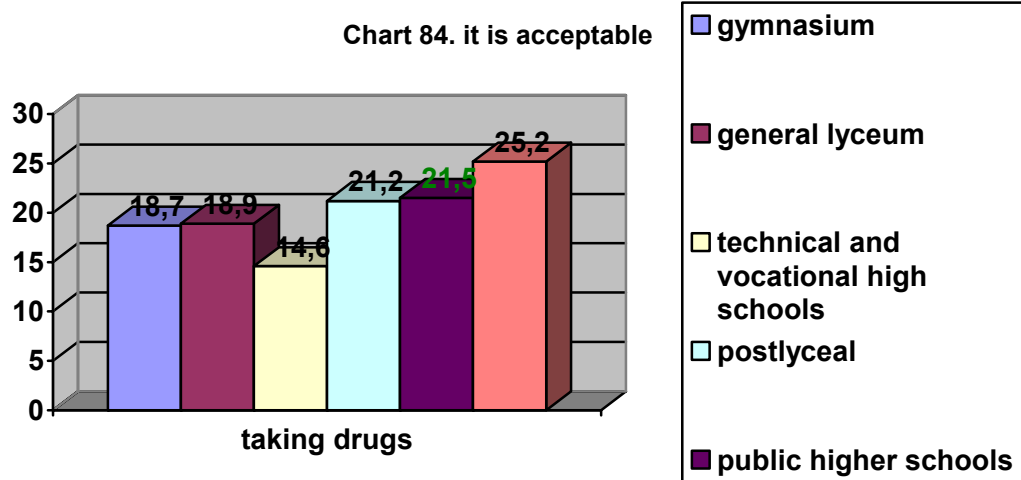
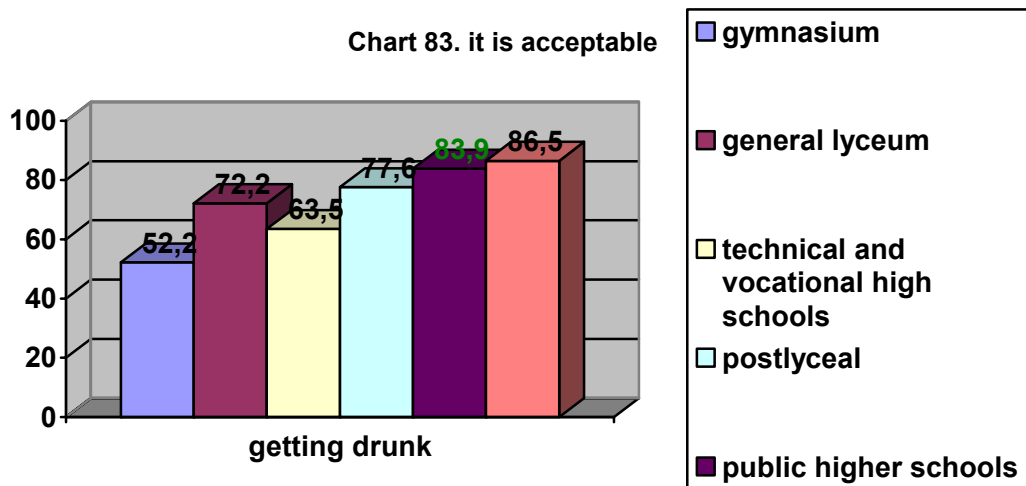


Chart 82. disliked traits





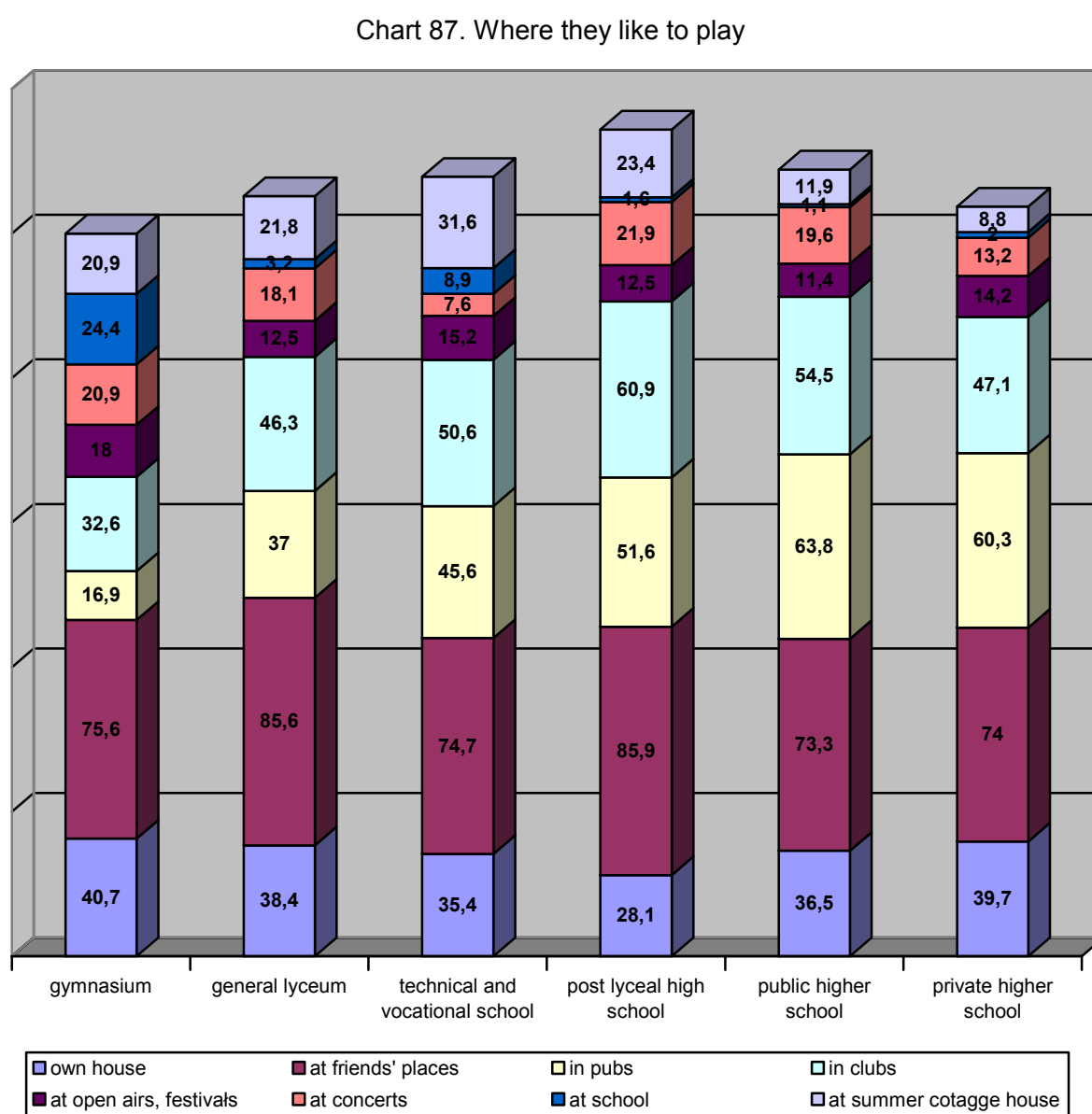
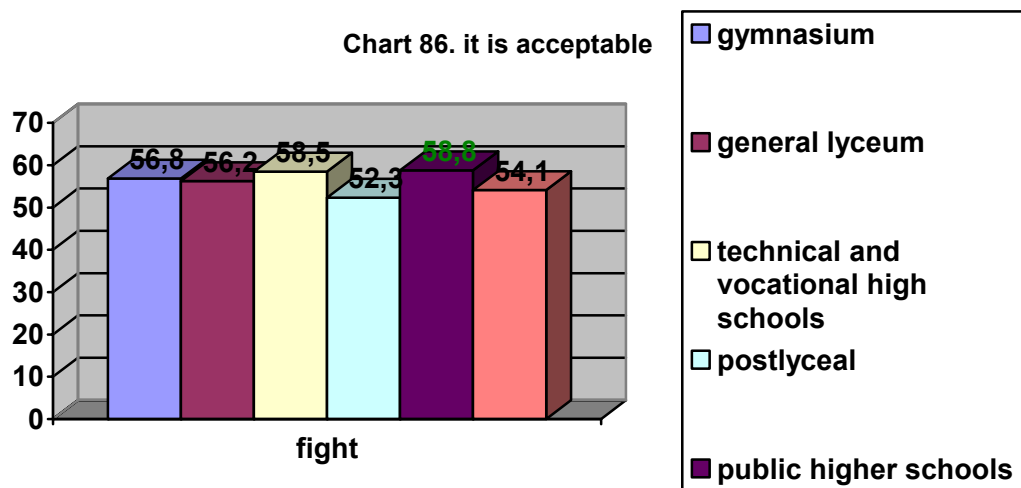


Chart 88. what is most important

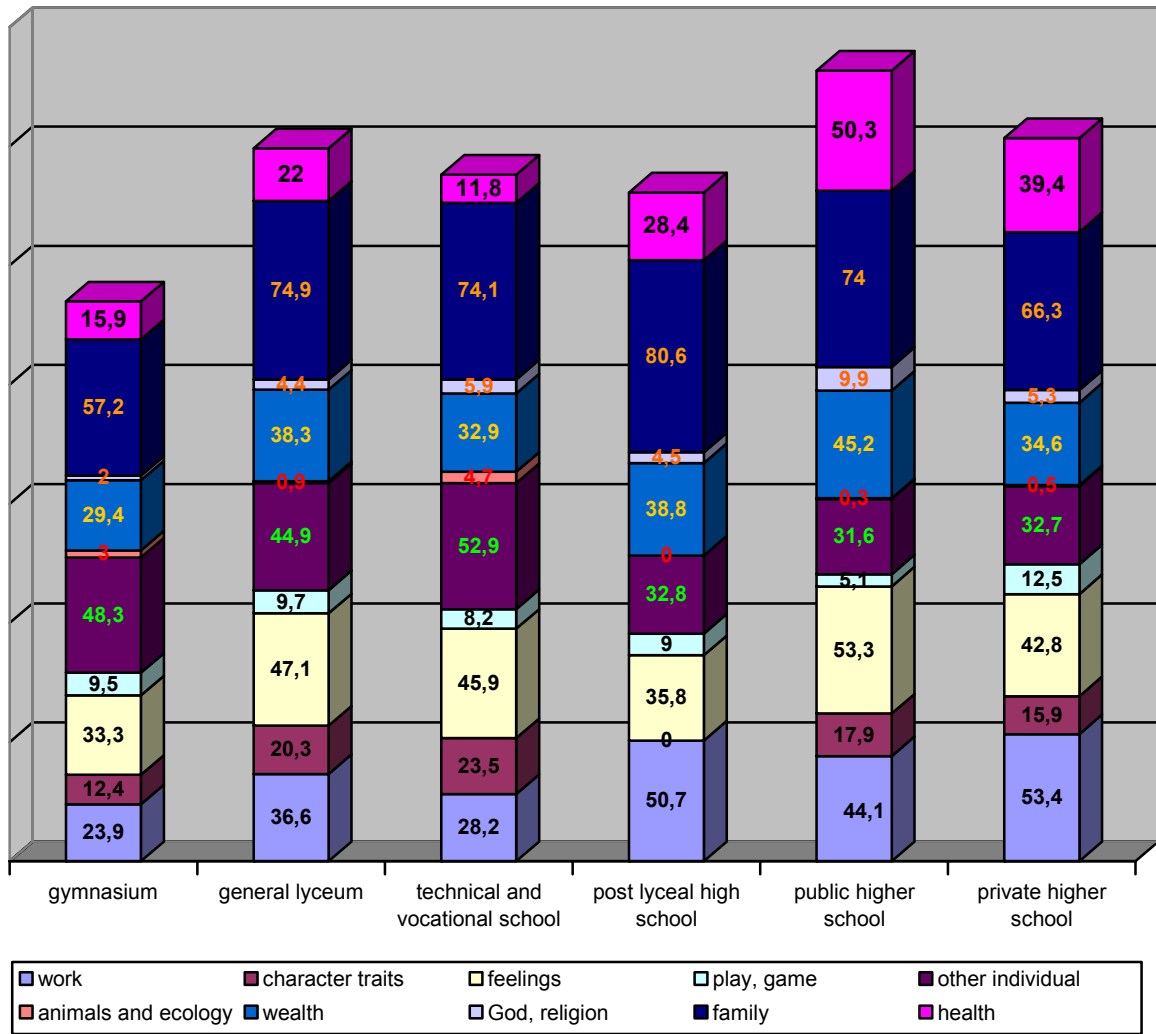


Chart 89

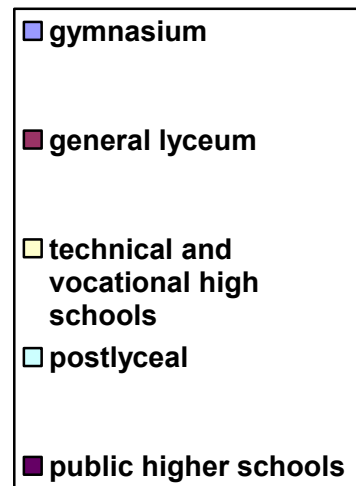
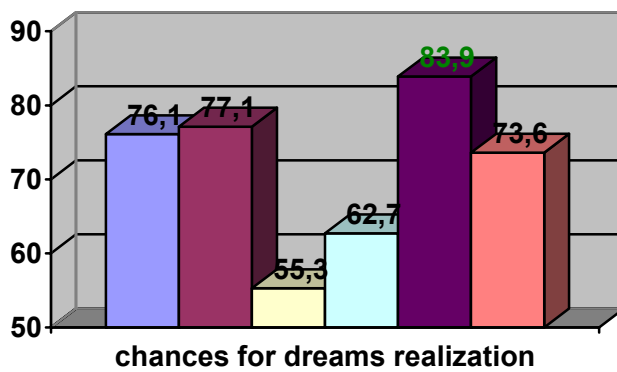


Chart 90. problems

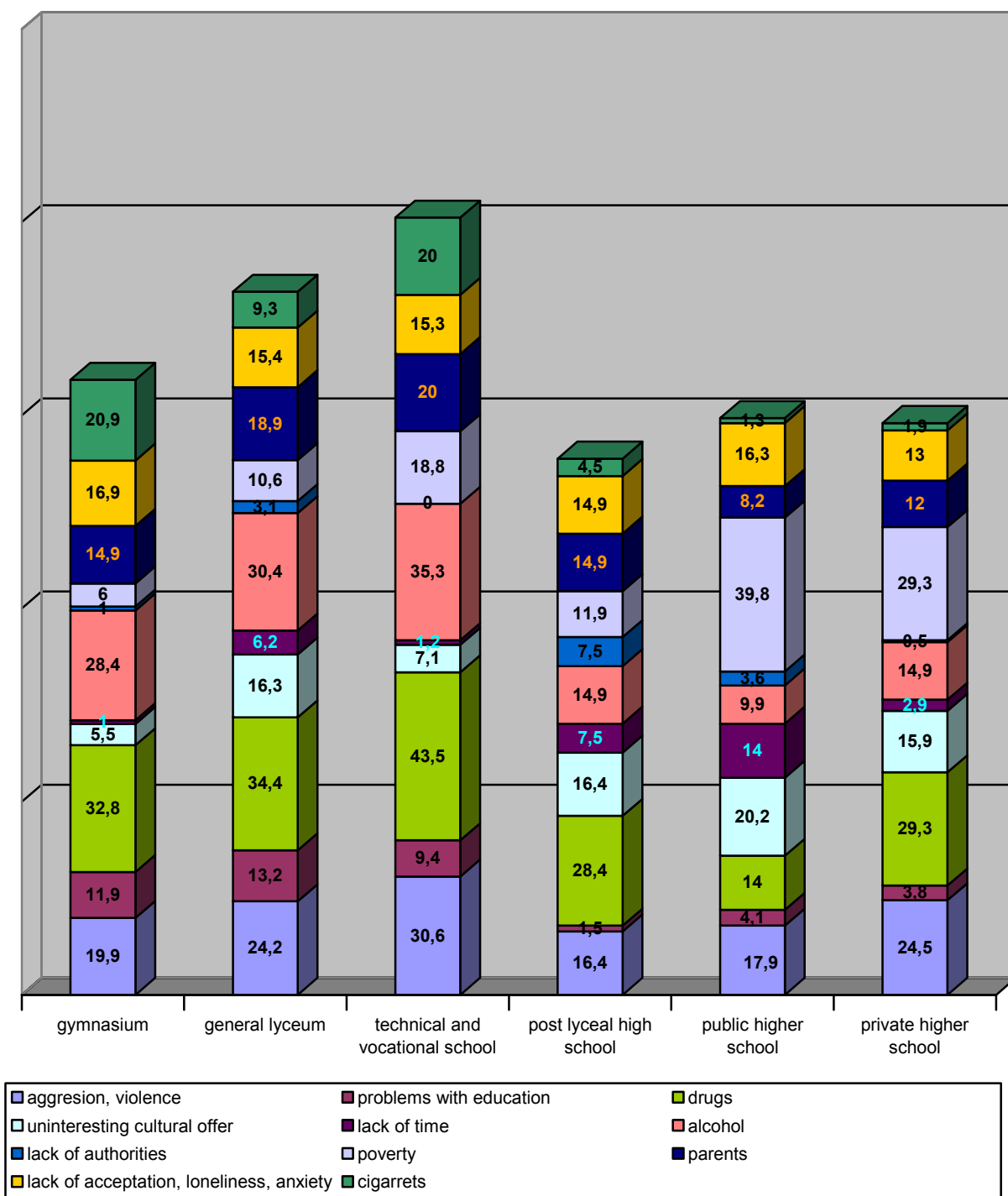


Chart 91. work during the last year

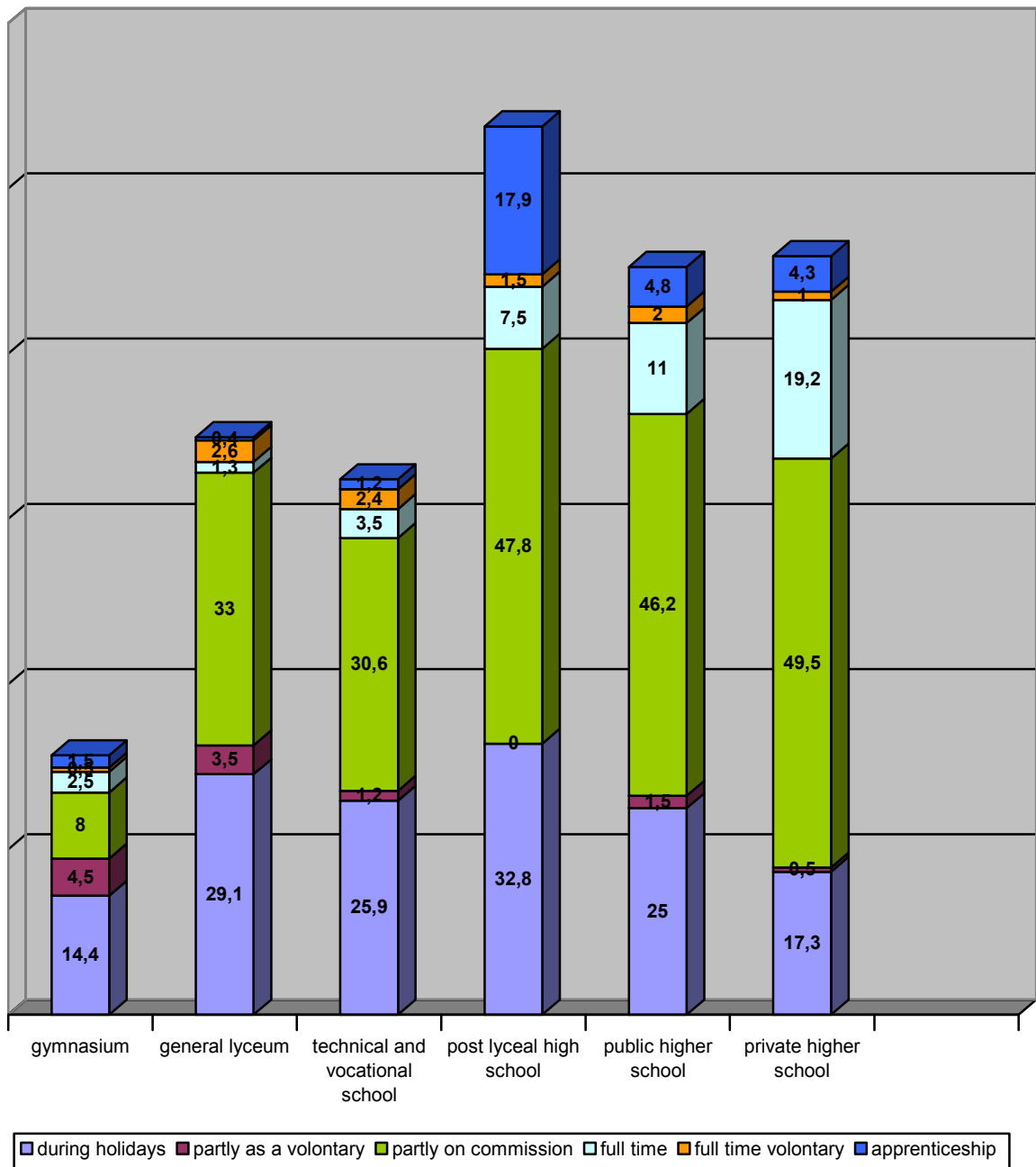
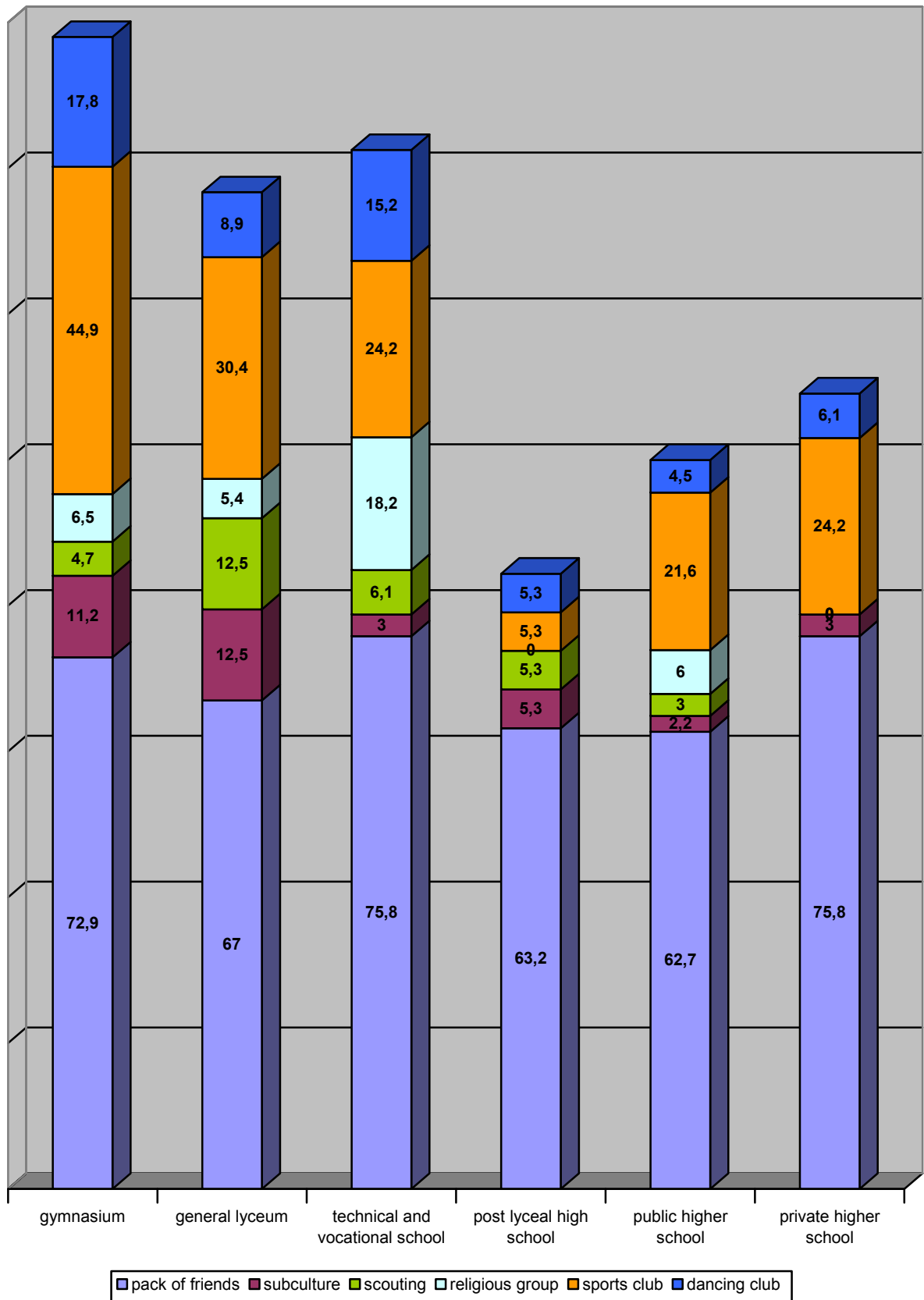


Chart 92 participation



Wyk. 93 ile masz pieniędzy na swoje potrzeby

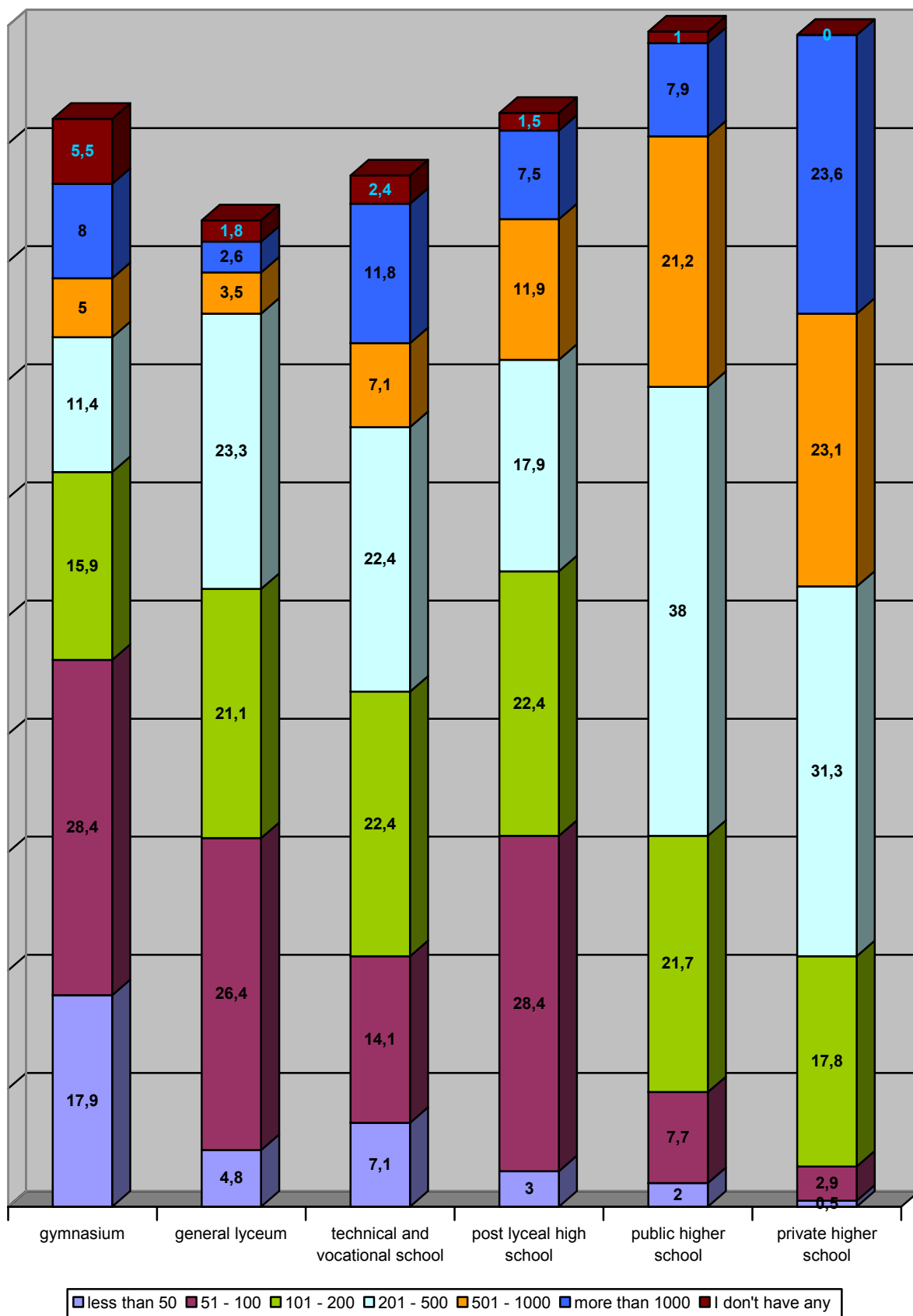


Chart 94. press

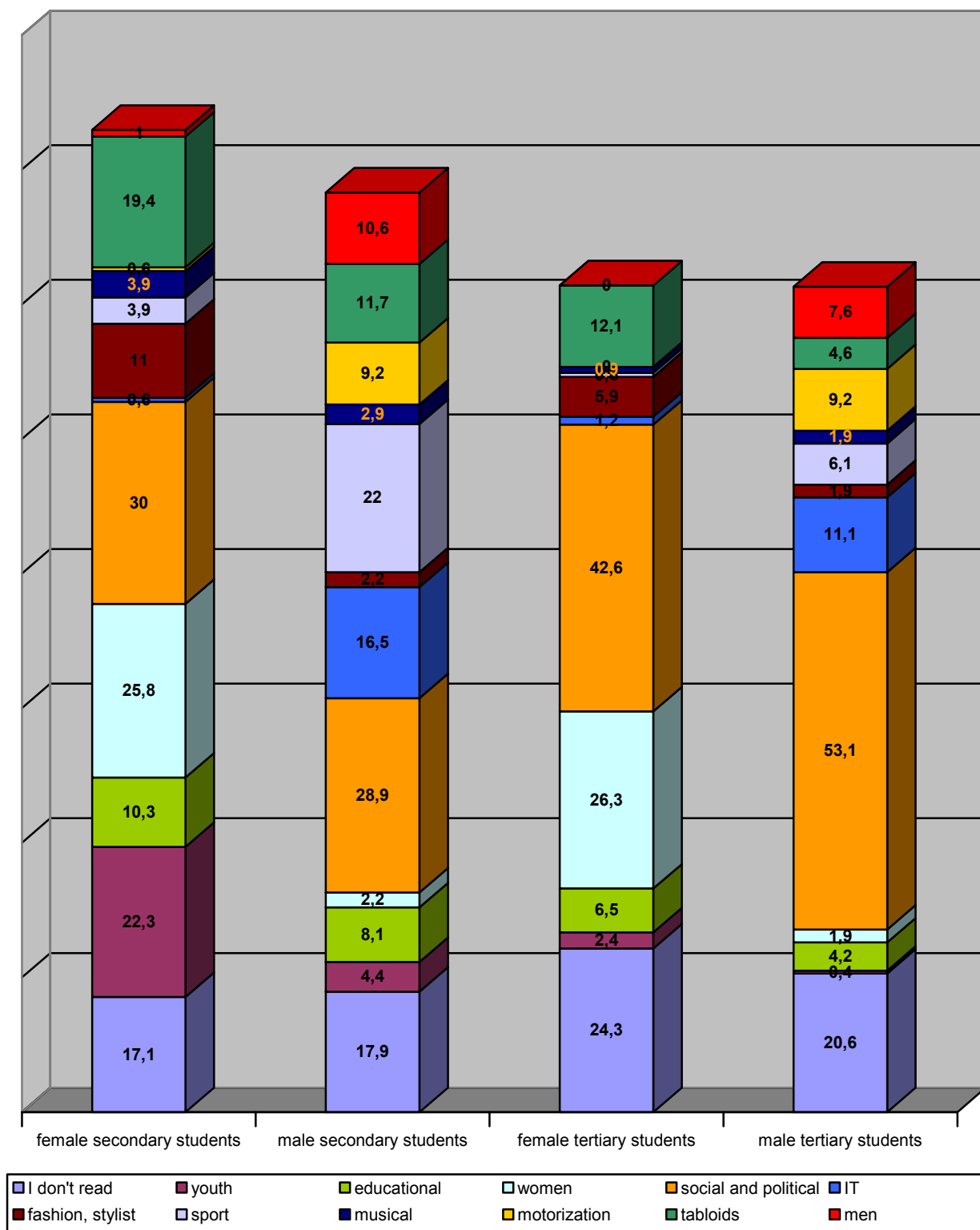


Chart 5. In the Internet I regularly do

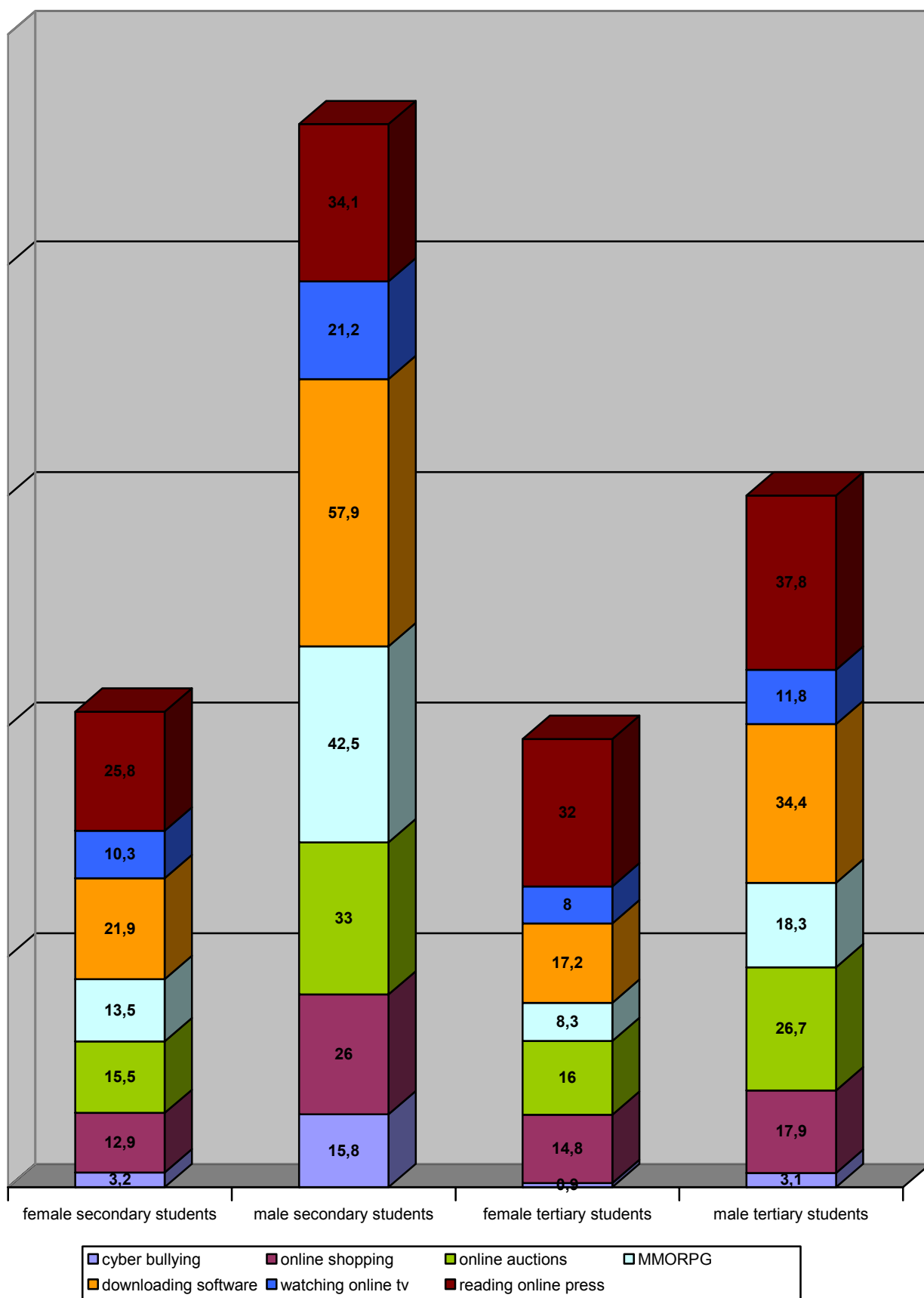


Chart 96. behaviours

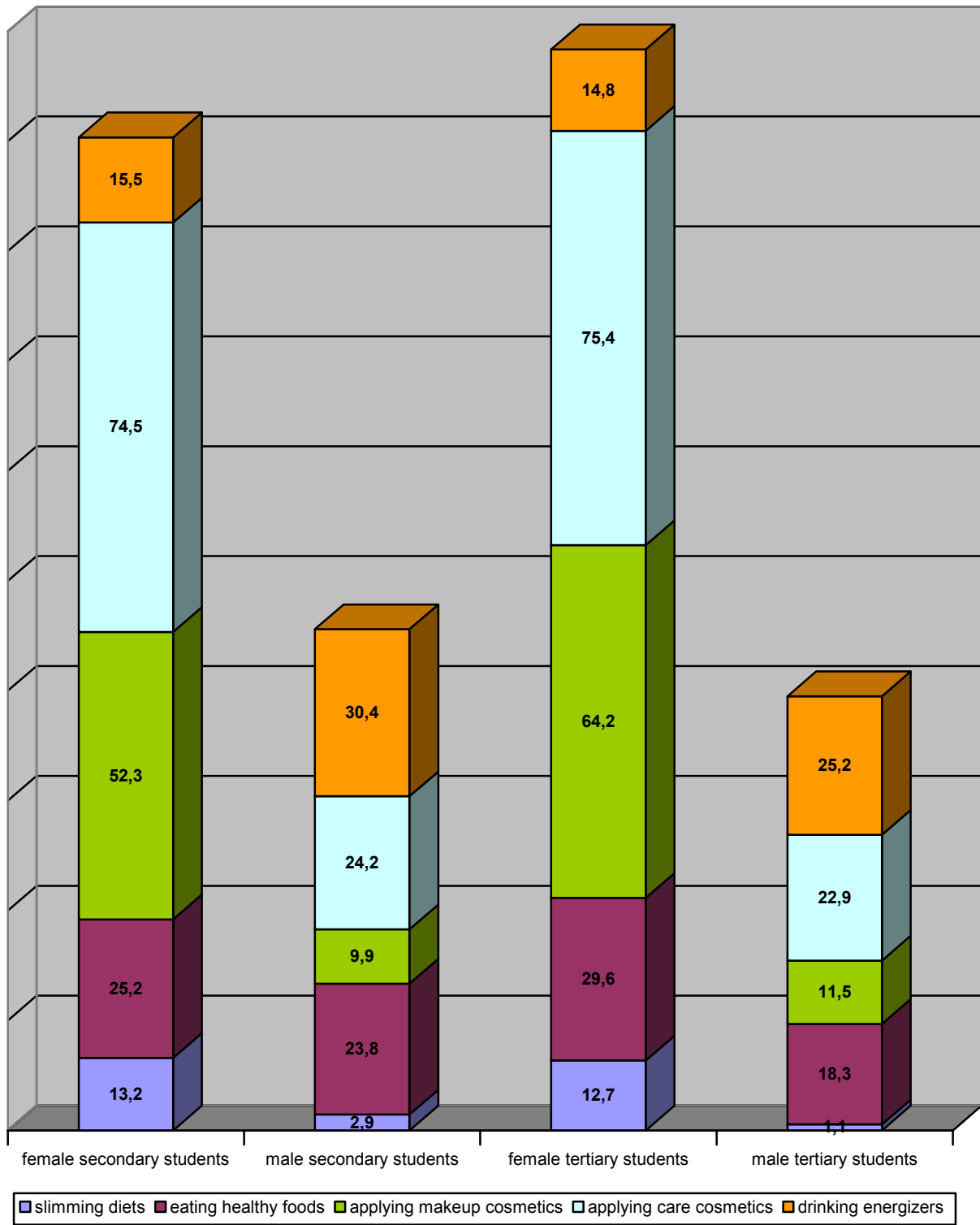


Chart 97. During the year

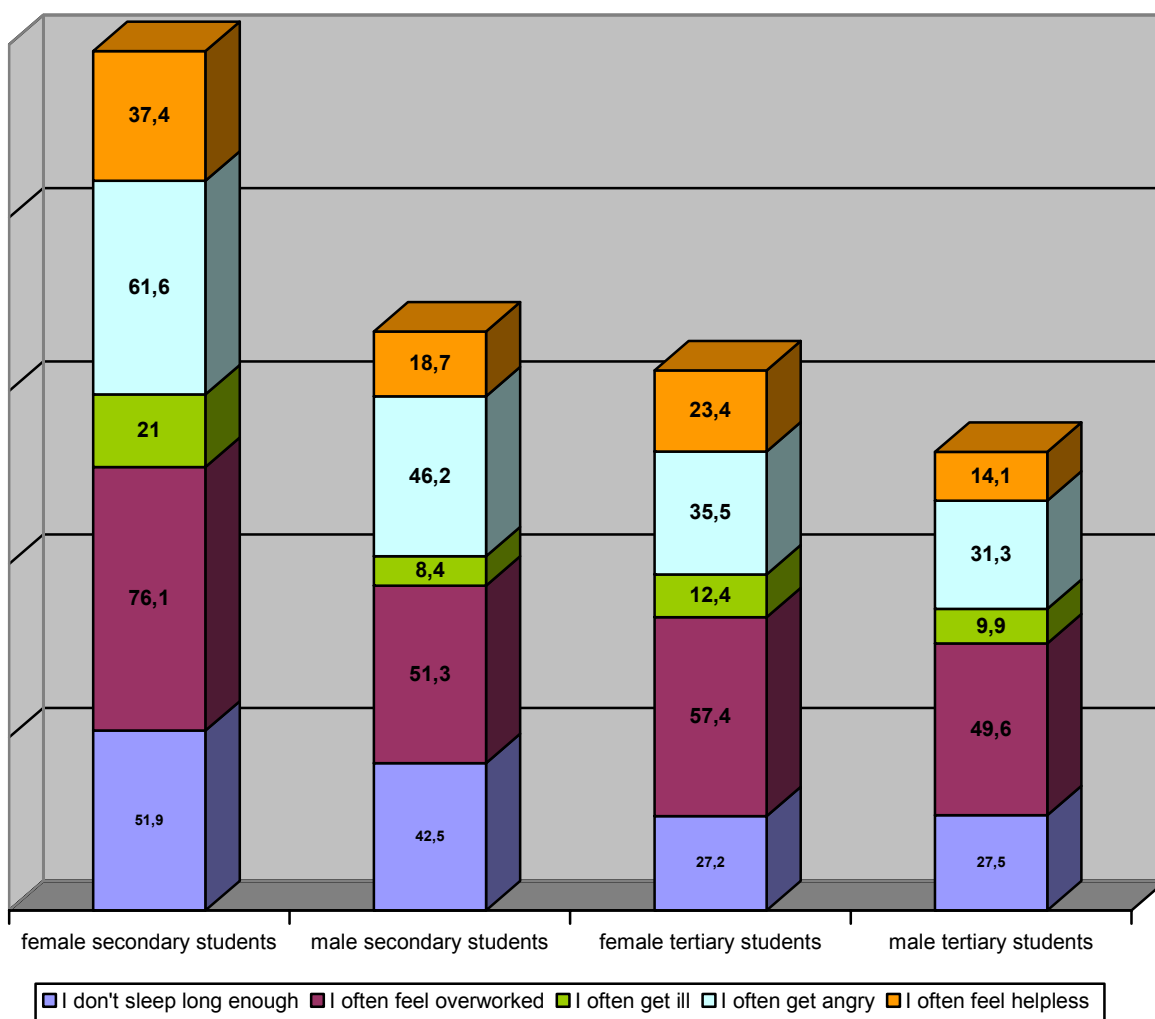


Chart 98. During the year

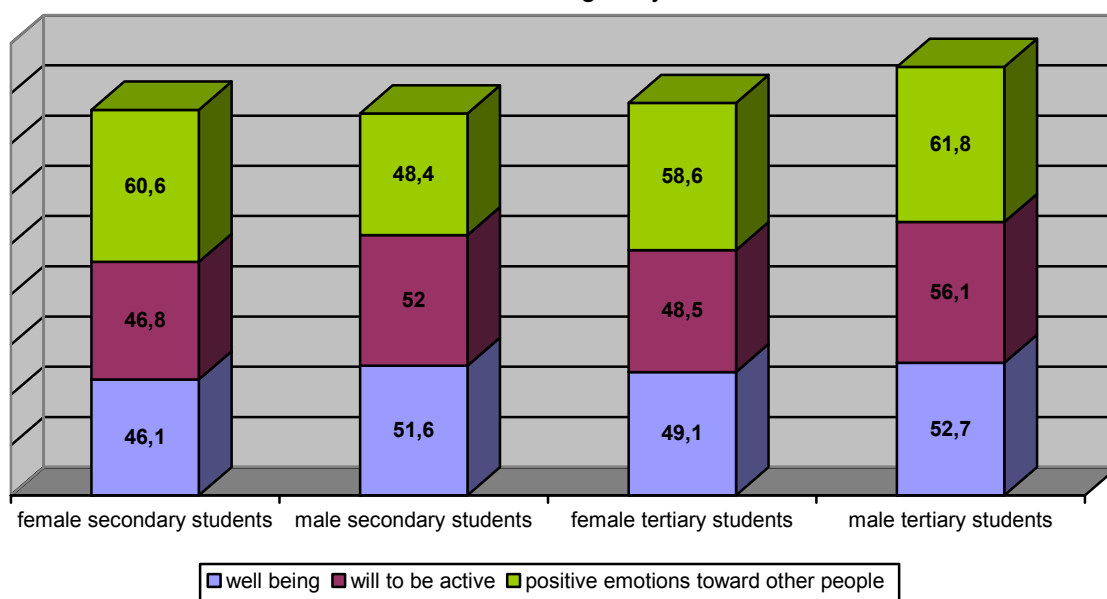


Chart 99. weaknesses

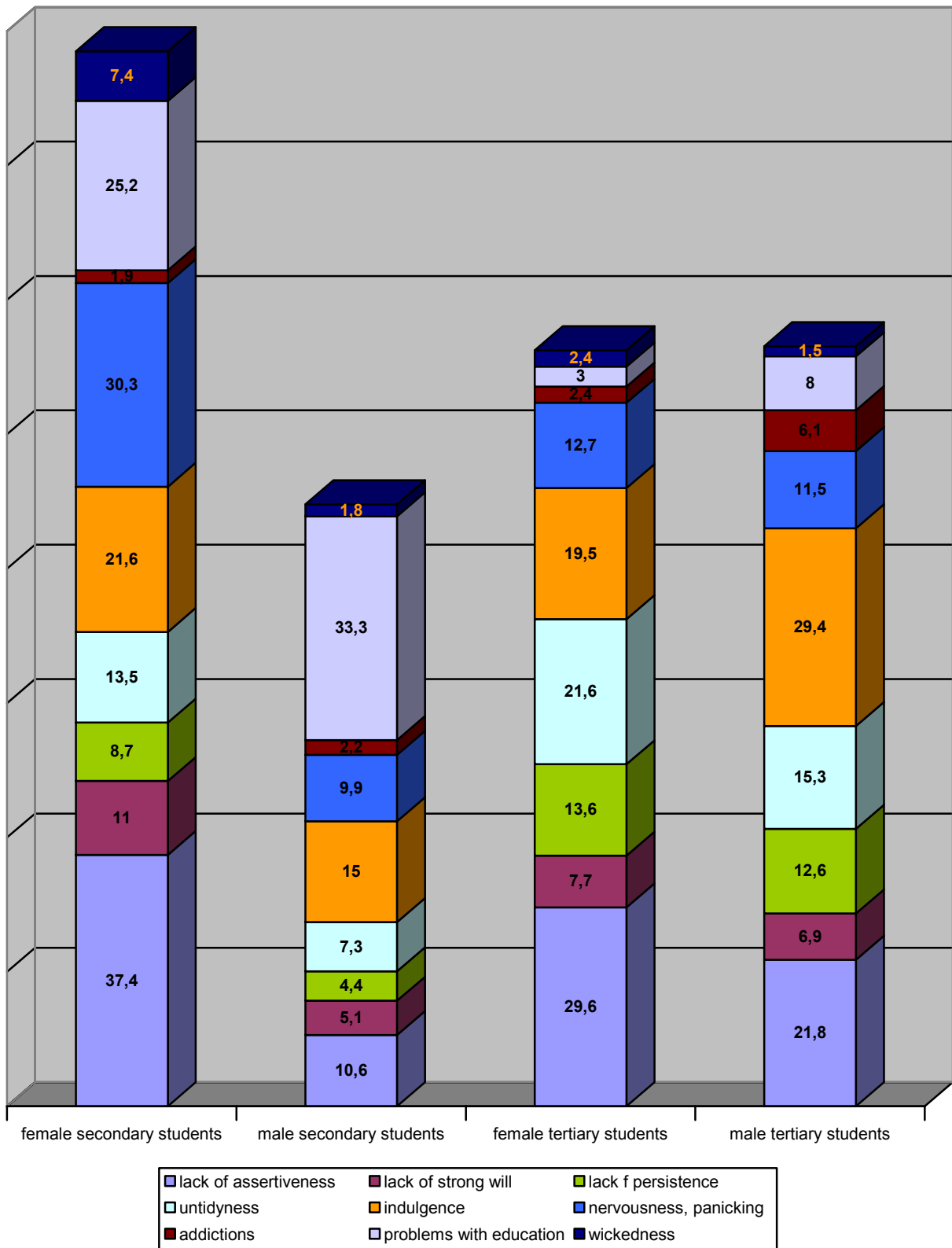


Chart 100. advantages

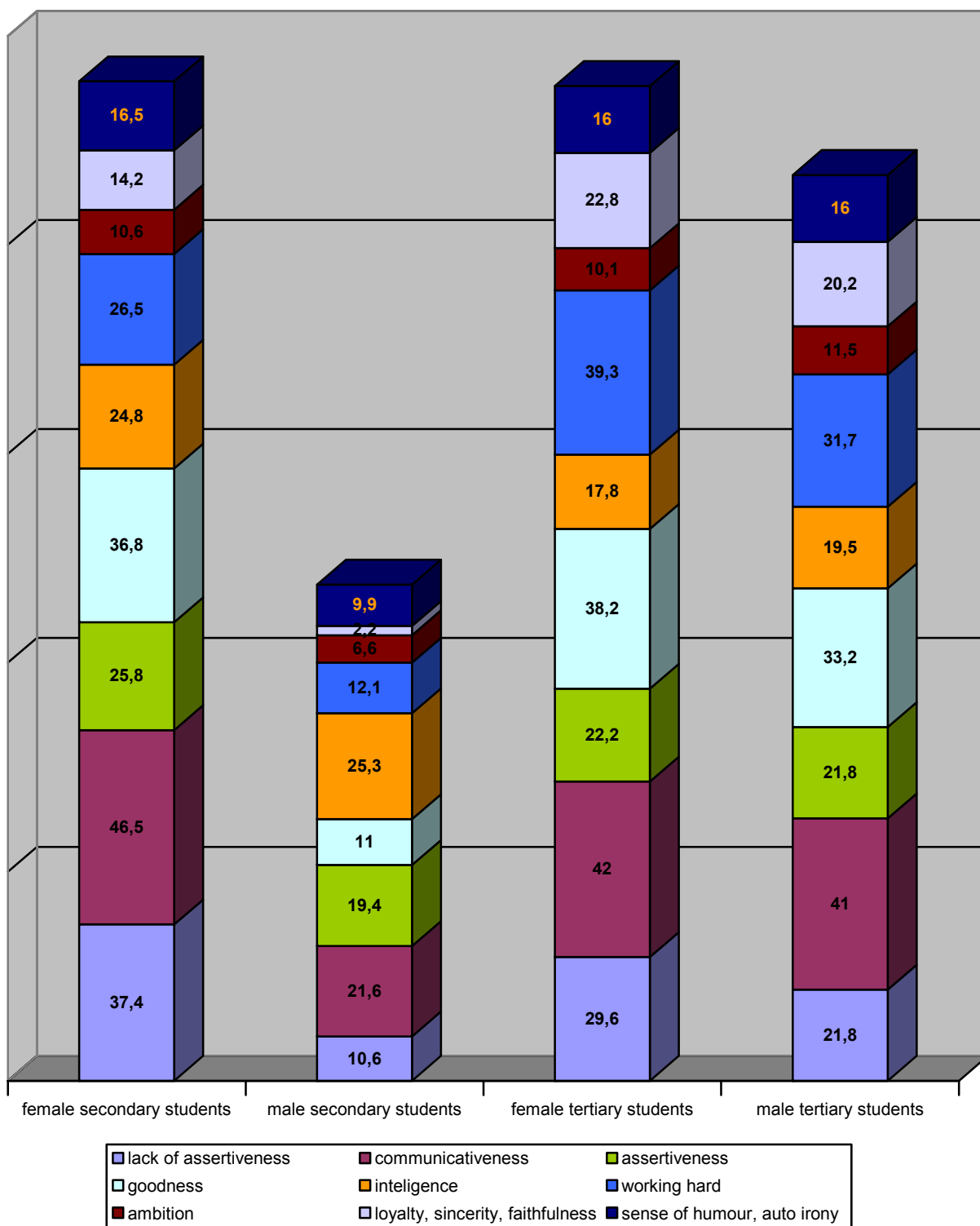


Chart 101. legalize drugs

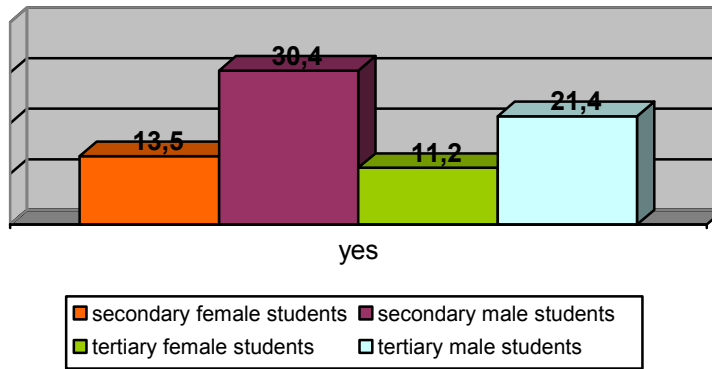


Chart 102. legalize drugs

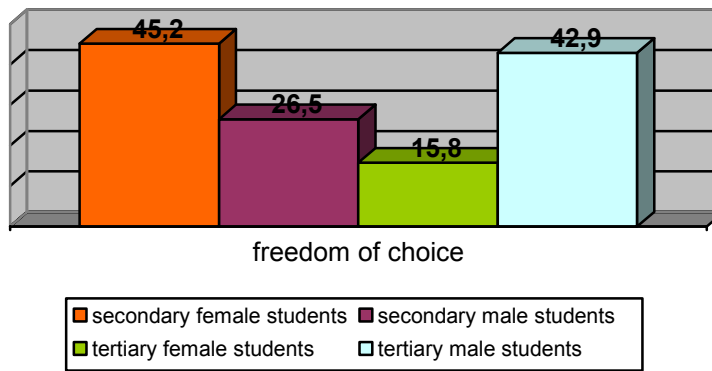
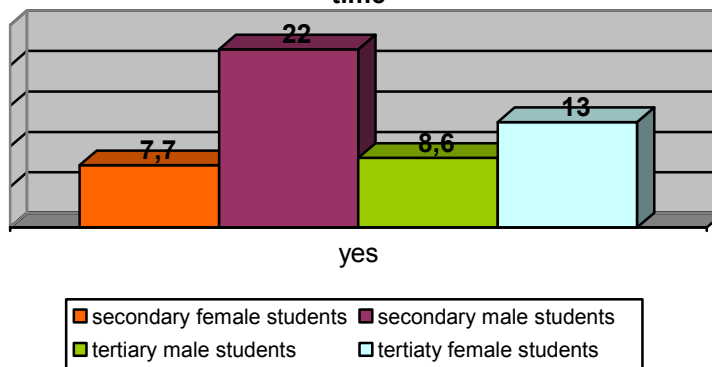


Chart 103. acceptance of people taking drugs from time to time



PART III - SUMMARY

Chapter VI

Intergenerational communication model

Finally, we present two models⁶³ recreated on the grounds on the empirical data analyzed in chapter III:

- compatibility of the sets of values featuring adults and youth;
- juvenologic competences of adults.

Together they constitute the model of basic intergenerational communication. Let us remind that they are considered as the most important condition of undertaking any reasonable decisions and activities towards youth – including prevention activities. They are also confronted with the hypotheses which we assumed in the research (see chapter 1) and the analysis of *voices* in the press contents (in chapter 4). Theoretical grounds for this interpretation are provided by the classic and little big book of Margaret Mead where are presented 3 types of culture⁶⁴ - post figurative (tradition and adult domination); co figurative (which is dominated by peer bonds) and pre figurative (where, among others, due to civilization changes the world order is reversed and adults have to learn from their children), see also further. The data interpretation obtained in such a way made us introduce the complex notion of resentment⁶⁵ as an explanatory variable in our research. Max Scheler conceived resentment as a returning negative emotion featured by grudge and hostility, impulses of envy and vengeance, inhibition and feeling of impotence. It is often accompanied by

⁶³ The reconstruction of models was based on calculating and comparing on charts (in %) cohesiveness of the views declared by respondents from both of the groups, as well as comparing differences between the views of the adults on the youth behaviours and respective declarations of youth. These differences were presented in chapter 3. We assumed that there is a high level of cohesiveness if the differences are not higher than 5%, low cohesiveness – between 6% and 15%, very low – between 16% and 20% and the lack of cohesiveness in case of more than 20% difference. These data are interpreted in a qualitative way in this chapter.

⁶⁴ M. Mead, *Culture and Commitment. A study of the Generation Gap*, Doubleday 1978.

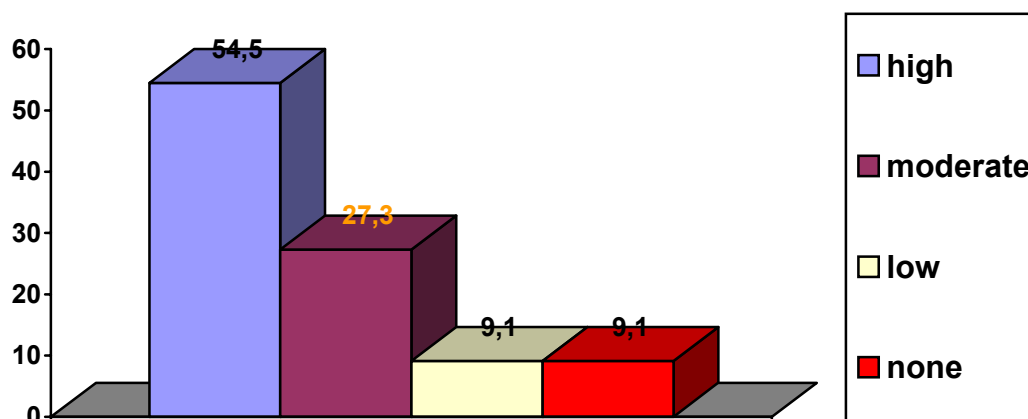
⁶⁵ M. Scheler, *Gesammelte Werke*, b.III, *Vom Umsturz der Werte*, Bern 1955.

competition. Here all these elements are strengthening by the conviction of righteousness and sense of duty. „Situations – says Scheler – in which resentment threatens in a general way are the attitudes of the older generation towards younger one. (emph. - M.S.)⁶⁶

1. Models of compatibility of sets of values featuring youth and adults versus hypotheses assumed in the research – the devil is in the details!

1.1 Compatibility of beliefs regarding values

Chart 104 Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on what is the most important thing in life, in %.

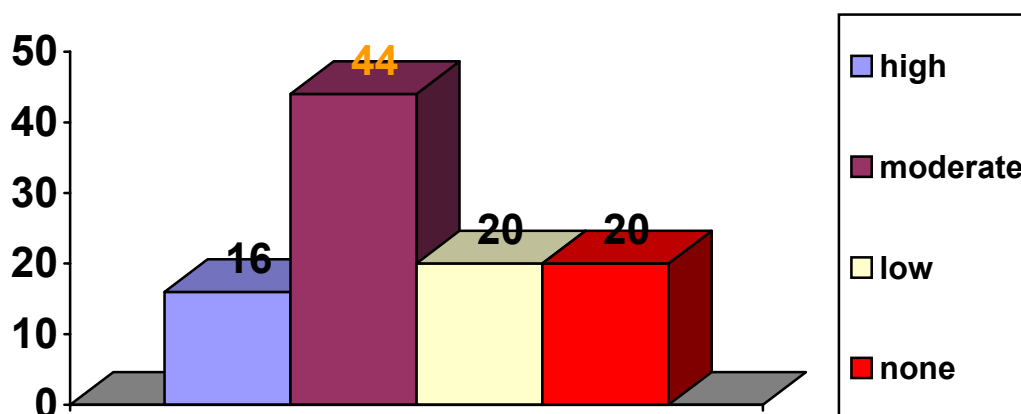


In the basic, even principal sets of values there can be seen a very high level of compatibility. It gives a well prepared ground for the communication between adults and youth. However, there could also be spotted some dangers resulting from the intervention of media and the training/therapeutic discourse and SEP practices aiming at stigmatization, degradation and exclusion, for example through disclamation of responsibility (e.g. and passing it to so called *dysfunctional* families – family is still the value pointed by all the groups with the highest frequency). What we want to emphasize is that different ways of

⁶⁶ Op. cit., Polish edition, p. 59.

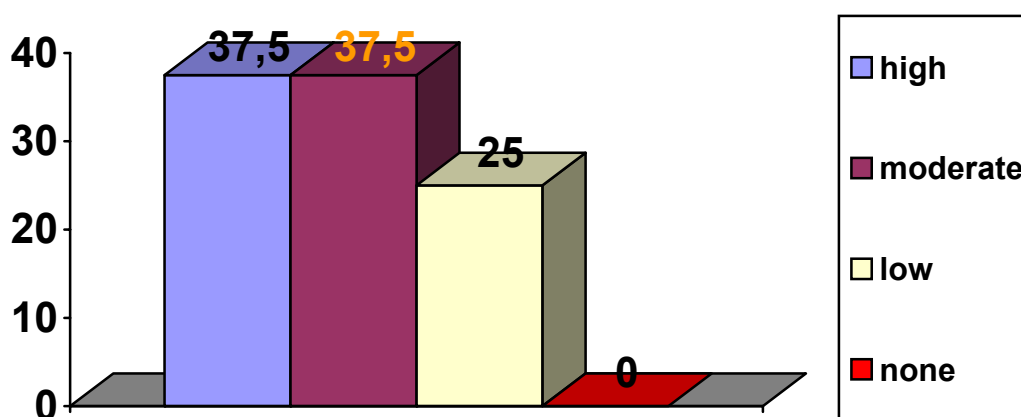
comprehending values is the negotiable area between adults and youth, being conditioned by good communication.

Chart 105. Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on educational issues, in %.



The educational issues are mainly the area of discrepancies, lack of compatibility and resentment in beliefs, declared mainly by adults. The analysis of the detailed data in tables reveal that adults present vague attitudes towards values regarding education and contradictory beliefs: on the one hand, they present themselves as the defenders of the traditional, autotelic, self realizing and ideological comprehension of values regarding education, but in the same time they want to control it and do not believe that youth, which most often declares pragmatism, is able to share their views (although satisfactory group of young people declares devotion to autotelic values!). Thus, the communication is in advance doomed to failure, adult moral panic is derivative of the ideology of educational *boom* presented by media and in consequence all the regarding SEPizations become concealed and unarticulated (lack of public debate on the aims of education, which would not be dominated by media or school communities!). Let us notice, that such an attitude of discourse do not endorse prevention programs aimed at youth. From the axiological point of view there is distinct adherence of adults to post figurative and co figurative culture, while youth represents the mix of all three types.

Chart 106. Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on coercion towards youth, in %.



Here it is obvious that more than one third of the respondents from both of the groups agree to the domination of educational model in which youth strictly abides by all the imposed duties. In this group communication may remain vertical and hierarchical. It is worth to remind that there were more opponents of this model among adults than among youth. However, if the educational activities are constrained to the acceptance of unavoidable coercion, then the communication seems to be doubtful, even with all the efforts and strains coming from adults. Rather, there should be counteracted all the SEPizational practices canceling the sphere of reasonable freedom and taking the lack of this sphere for granted. Media, which present youth in a malevolent and unworthy way do not aid establishing the dialog, similarly to the training/therapeutical discourse, which in practice leads to the realization of rule *divide et impera* (there are such individuals and there are other individuals) while not working on the invention of reasonable and modern rules of understanding and cooperation.

1.2 Practical scope of tolerance and acceptance of adults towards youth

Chart.107. Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on the acceptability of situations, during the which there may happen situations allowing for behaviors disapproved of in everyday life, in %.

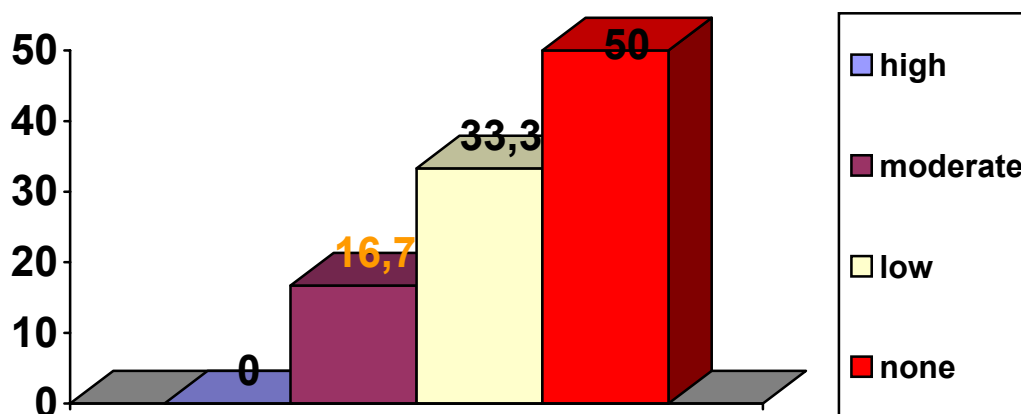
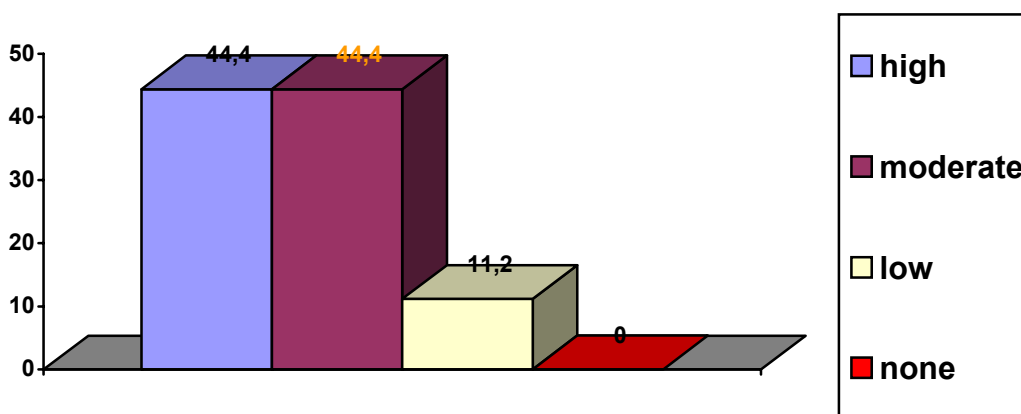


Chart .108. Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on acceptability of young people who undertook risk behaviors, in %.

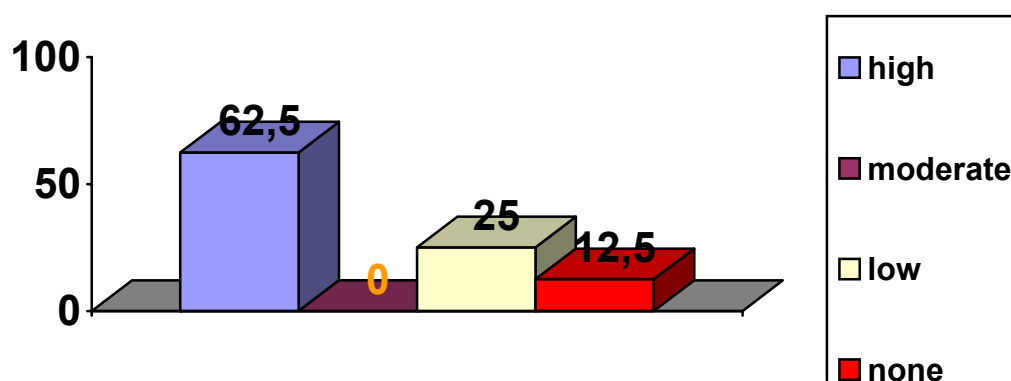


When we compare both of the above charts, we may see a particular split in the beliefs featuring both adults and youth and regarding estimation of a situation as the exclamatory or justification factor of unconventional behavior of young people and the position of youth itself as an agent of such acts. Youth *knows life* and is aware of the fact, that such situations take place; simultaneously adults do not allow for such a view. It resembles a little bit cursing rain. We think that this is the result of the domination of the training/therapeutical discourse over media,

which cite many such situations. The level of intergenerational misunderstandings is essential in scope of the possibility of communication. Without any changes in adult knowledge it is impossible to reciprocate with youth! A similar domination of trainings and thinking in therapeutical categories can be perceived in the second chart: the famed outspokenness and communicativeness of adults do not allow them to reject people, but there is a concealed SEP of omitted possibility that a young individual is stuck in the current of situations which they do not always are in charge of. In this perspective the acceptance for young people who happen to make mistakes becomes declarative and hollow.

1.3 Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on the issues regarding psychoactive substances, including drugs.

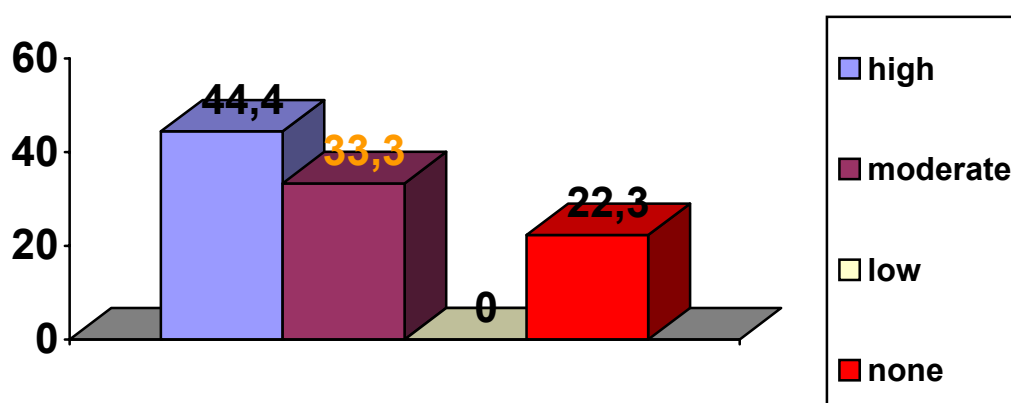
Chart.109. Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on the differentiation drug addicts and normal people, in %.



Very high level of compatibility of beliefs presented above reveals social odium towards the character of a drug addict. The differences which exist in this dimension regard smaller stress put by youth to character and psychological traits as well as the extent of the influence of family factors (psychological). Once more, these differentiations originate out of more pragmatic perspective featuring young people, while adults perceive drug addicts by the prism of undergone trainings and programs „for youth”. However, the field of dialogue

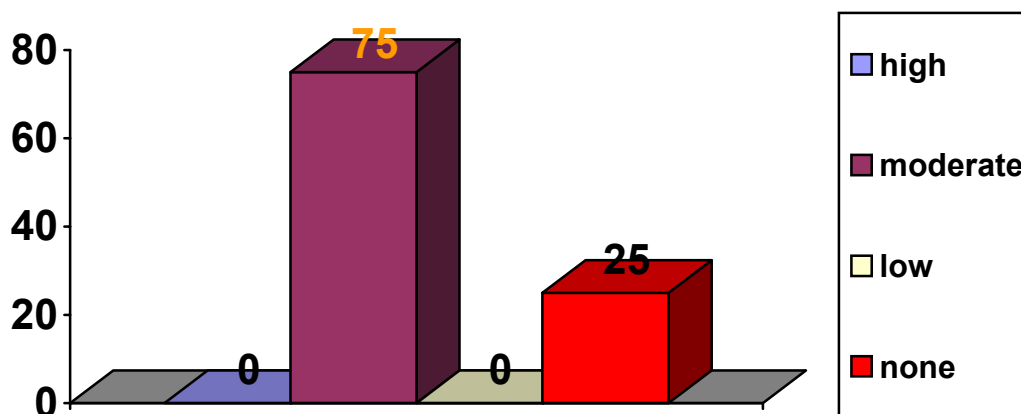
does not seem to be too risky, although we advice not to exaggerate with *psychological chat*.

Chart.110 Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on the differences between soft and hard drugs, in %.



In this case we face strikingly categorical character of the adult opinions and doubts characterizing youth. Let us remind that there was high compatibility of justifications, *they soft drugs do not addict and are not harmful*. If adults share these ideas, then it may be assumed that these are massively participated prevention programs which are undergoing the process of sepization. Interestingly enough, the media influence seems to be constrained at this point because they present drugs *en bloc* as evil, what also happens in some more radical prevention conceptions, so these results do not seem to be the result of this discourse. This is a clear example of an articulated SEP existing in our research as a cancellation of arguments existing in public discourses. As it seems the training/therapeutic discourse is not too convincing for quite a few adults, so such beliefs do not endorse their credibility as people *speaking to youth* with official arguments – we will leave this point for the opinion of the readers. Here emerges the possibility of explaining the data with the ludic hypothesis, which would silently include a considerate group of adults, who have experienced some experimental or ludic *smoking dope*, and in the same time haven't become *drug addicts* and *have come up roses*.

Chart.111. Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on the legalization of drugs, in %.



In this case adults once more turned out to be more categorical than youth in their opinions. However, this time they much more often stated that drugs should not be legalized. Practically, there is no compatibility sphere between adults and youth at all. It may be considered as a hint in the preparation of the trainings and prevention programs. And in the perspective of the assumed hypothesis it is worth to highlight high compatibility of the beliefs declared by adults with media and training/therapeutical discourses, quite the contrary to the previous case, while the beliefs of adults show that these discourses do not influence them too much. Hence, the communication is difficult. The problem of concealed sepization regards adults in the entire sphere stretching from the beliefs on smaller harmfulness of drugs to the definite objection to drug legalization.

First, let us draw on the basics in the form of Venn diagram for psychoactive substances. The substances we are interested in (alcohol and tobacco) and which are presented in the diagram may be in general called „drugs”. From this perspective we will make a summary of the next part of data.

Venn diagram for psychoactive substances

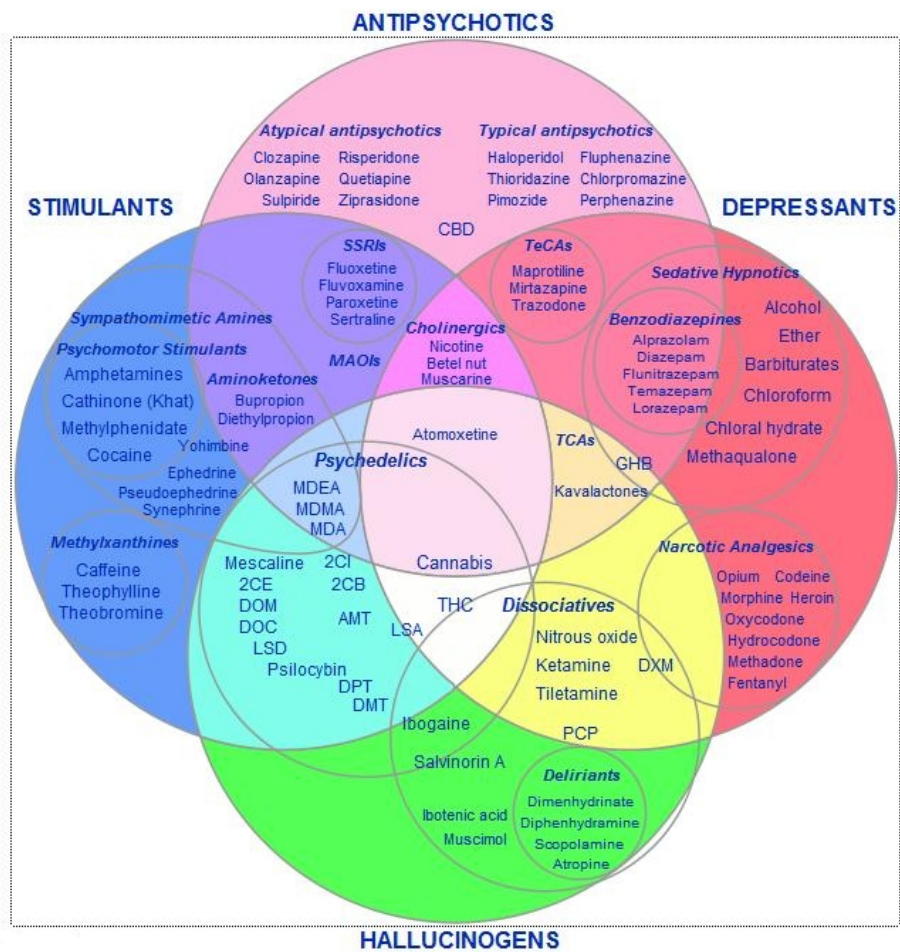
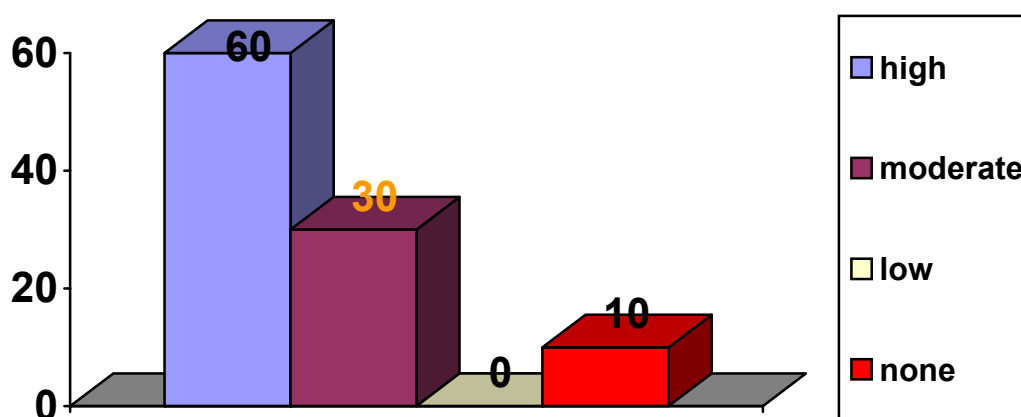
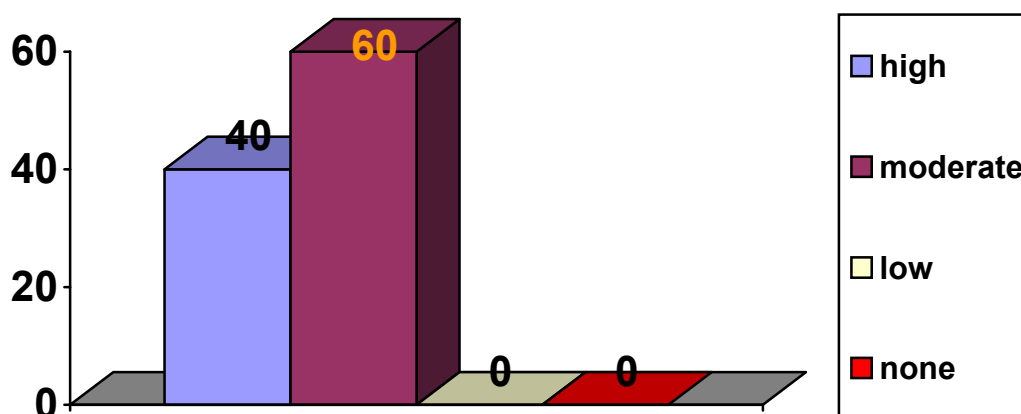


Chart 112. Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on whether alcohol is a drug, in %.



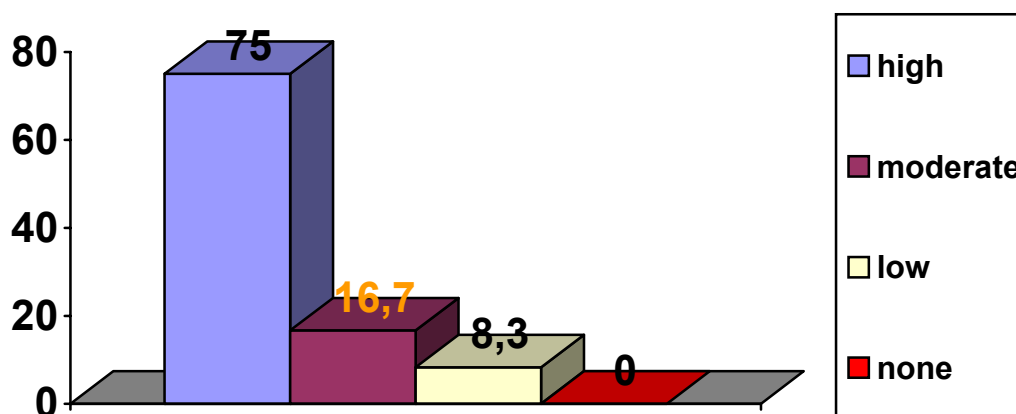
The compatibility of the opinions presented by both of the groups is considerably high, although almost half of both adults and youth are wrongly convinced that alcohol is not a drug. Still, adults stated twice as much as youth that alcohol should not be included in this group. The justifications for both of the possibilities are similarly frequent. And once more we face the weakness of the training/therapeutic discourse. In the media discourse alcohol does not show up separately but rather is combined with other substances and labeled generally as dangerous substances. But on the other hand, there should not be too many communication obstacles because if we take a look at the youth hierarchy of their problems, then we see that these substances constitute quite a big problem for them, regardless of the quality of knowledge they present. Thus adults should make a better use of their knowledge. There also show up the remains of former Polish alcohol culture which may be reproduced among youth.

Chart.113 Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on whether cigarettes are a drug, in %.



These outcome may average be combined with trend which is described in other research, including ESPAD (percentage of smokers is decreasing). Almost all the respondents agree that cigarettes addict – although there were considerable discrepancies among related views, they were not of such a decisive character. In case of smoking there are not so many axiological differences and traditional patterns as it is with alcohol. Besides, many young people get to this addiction. Thus, media and therapeutic discourse are cohesive and not that ideological as in case of drugs in its strict sense. SEPization sphere of this problem has been relatively small for quite a few years. Also there were important social campaigns devoted to the presentation of fatal effects of smoking and of healthy life (in its core subculture version there is present the revitalization of the *Straight Edge*). And in the end – a substantial change in hygienic: cigarettes stink, which is less and less accepted by youth along with smoke.

Chart. 114 Compatibility of beliefs between adults and studying youth on behaviors associated with particular musical genres, in %.

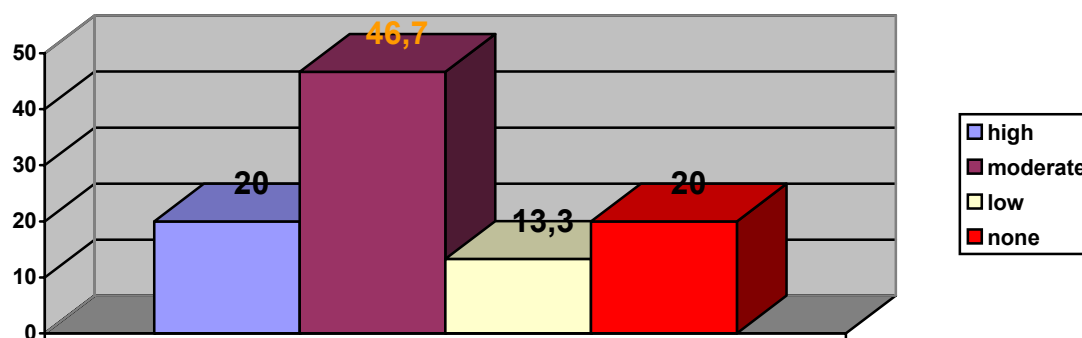


In this part we will show surprisingly high level of compatibility of the associations of music genres with risk behaviors of the youth. It is just as well that youth often listens to rock and metal, which is the music known by adults from their own youth, so the sphere of compatibility of associations is high. Other genres of music are presented by media or by trainings and SEPization regards these kinds of music or ways of listening to the music, which adults do not know (lack of competence in scope of contemporary popular culture) or either think that youth does not listen to such a music or do not even know that such a music may be enjoyed by youth

2. Models of juvenological competence of adults versus voices of press and hypotheses assumed in the research

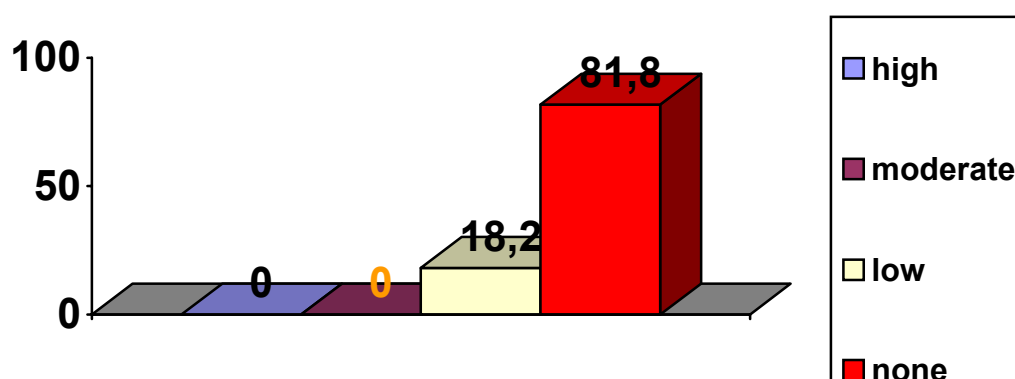
2.1 Basic competences: problems and needs

Chart 115. Cognitive competence of adults in scope of the most important youth problems in Warsaw, in %.



Just like in case of the previous research of the activity obstacles conducted in 2005, it turned out that adult competence in scope of the proper recognition of youth problems is relatively low. In case of this research high compatibility between declarations of adults and youth showed up in the dimensions of uninteresting cultural offer, general addictions and the lack of ambition, aims and interests. Adults evidently overestimated youth features requiring therapy – being the obvious effect of the training/therapeutic discourse; problems with parents (SEPization effect), problems with education (common effect of sepization and media discourse), lack of authorities (obvious moral panic and application of SEPization practices). But they also underestimate the problem of smoking among secondary students (see also further), definitely do not perceive youth problems with alcohol, drugs and aggression (what only points at the inefficiency of media and training message or at their own lacks of competence and so called lamenting ritualism).

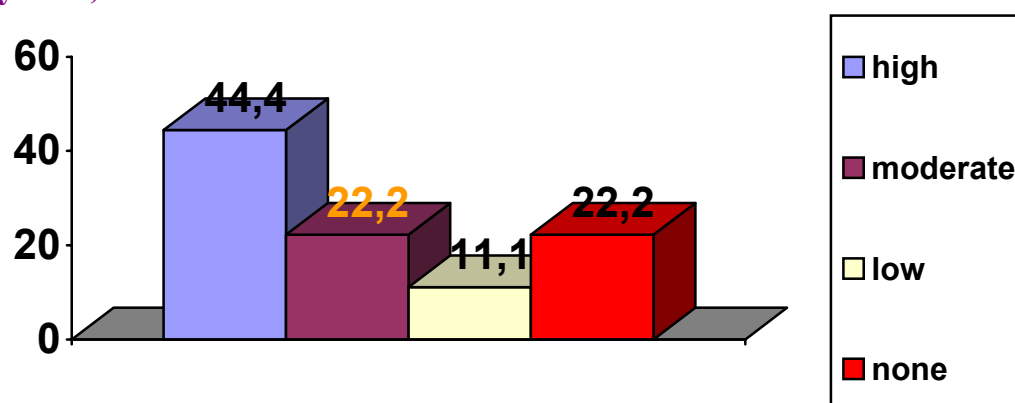
Chart 116 Cognitive competences of adults in scope of most important youth needs, in %.



This is one of the worst results obtained by adults in our research and is easy to explain in view of the assumed hypothesis. Youth does not constitute one homogenous voice neither in the media discourses not in the city. It was the blind luck that „Gazeta Wyborcza” printed an article on the 7th of May, 2008 on the existence of 300 Youth Councils in Poland. It may be so, but in Warsaw there are only 5 shiftless councils in our districts! The effect can be seen in both of the above charts and in the proper part of chapter 3. No comment!

2.1.2 Basic competences: authorities and personal patterns and their characteristics

Chart 117. Adult competences in scope of recognition who impresses Warsaw youth, in %.

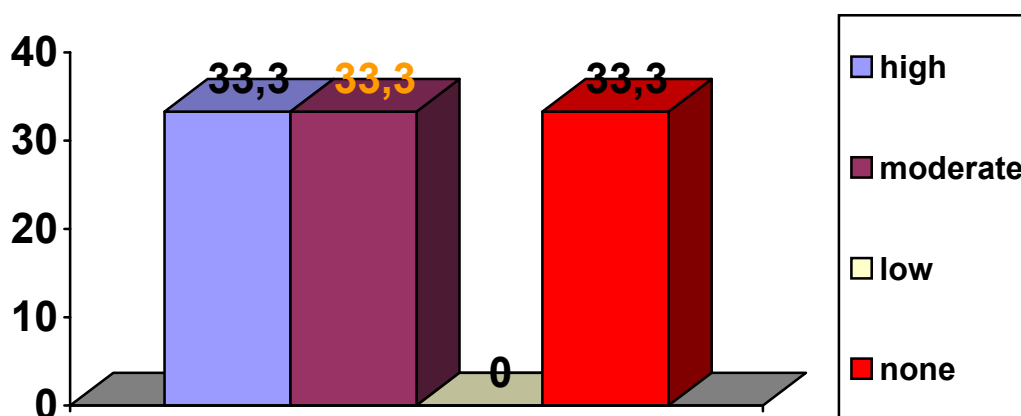


High compatibility of the declarations of both youth and adults in this dimension regarded: peers, a father, siblings, further family, professionals, entrepreneurs,

writers, poets and even priests, although these were not made up by high percentages.

In the area of lack of competences there is simply a concealed SEP stating that youth simply cannot have authorities and personal patterns. This is the evident effect of the post figurative thinking, while the youth declarations reveal it's enrooting in the pre figurative thinking. Especially, there were religious leaders who were evidently overestimated by adults as potential authorities; interestingly enough, when one compares it to the previous data that adults did not regard religion as very important in their life, we face a partial hypocrisy and an effect of the moral panic after the death of John Paul II. On the other hand there were underestimated: a mother (while parents were overestimated), media representatives (i.e. most of all idols), teachers, and what is most amusing – politicians; the last result is a partial effect of the moral panic – if youth „had won the elections”, it has to admire politicians, while it is no so!

Chart 118. Adult competences in scope of the recognition of the characteristics featuring persons impressing Warsaw youth, in %.



It is interesting that the area of adult competences in scope of recognition of the authoritative features turns out to be relatively small, along with small competences or even its lack being very frequent, especially when we compare them to the declarations regarding recognition of persons impressing youth. These are yet another picturesque catastrophes being the result of: the

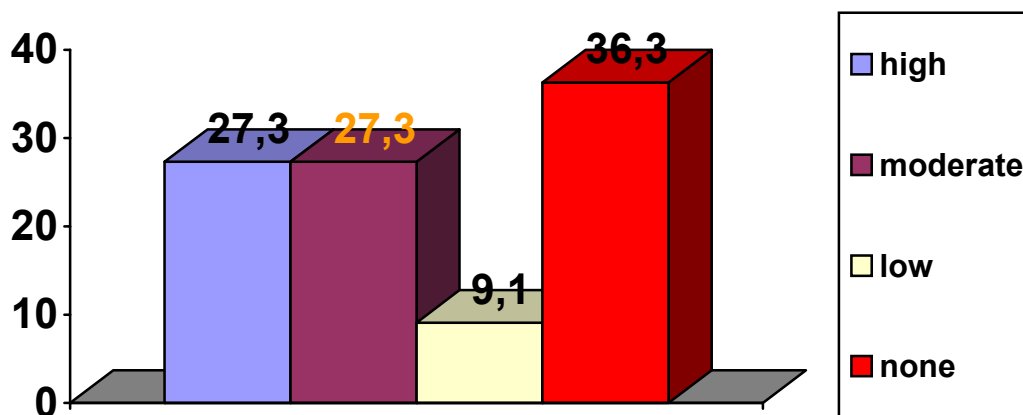
training/therapeutic discourse especially in regard to theoretically widely accepted *communicativeness*, media discourse featured by moral panic regarding fatal consequences of popular culture (overestimation of *media success*), and mixing all the adult conviction rooted in post figurative thinking that youth has to have *strong will, charisma and rules*,

Data coming from both of the charts show how difficult it is for youth to conduct authentic discussion and cooperate with the adult partner who is deaf to our arguments in the Gombrowicz style⁶⁷, thinking merely: „They (that is youth!) must have examples to look up to! End of the discussion!”

2.2 Adult competences regarding issues of the youth participation in the contemporary popular culture

2.2.1 Adult competences regarding issues of the healthy and unhealthy style of life featuring youth

Chart 119 Cognitive competences of adults regarding behaviors characteristic for the postmodern style of life featuring youth, in %.



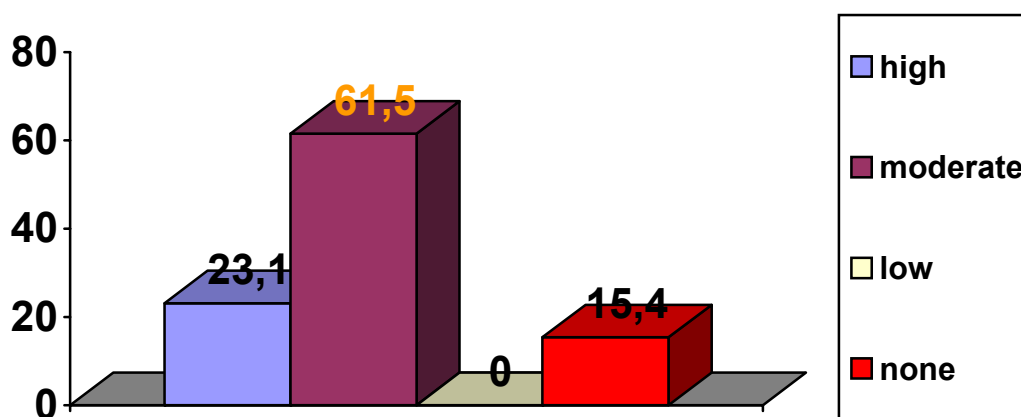
Also here the extent to which adults are aware of what youth *de facto* does is ashamingly low, excluding compatibility of knowledge *regarding* care cosmetics, medicines and so-called *burners*. The adults have overestimated all the elements we asked about, apart from: sport, sleeping long enough and

⁶⁷ i.e. totally closed.

healthy food. The compatibility of these beliefs with media discourse is very high – social and cultural distance in the perception of youth as representatives of popular culture is more than significant. Thus, potential and actual potential of SEPization is ample, capabilities of comprehension – little.

2.2.2 Adult competences regarding issues of the youth participation in the contemporary popular culture

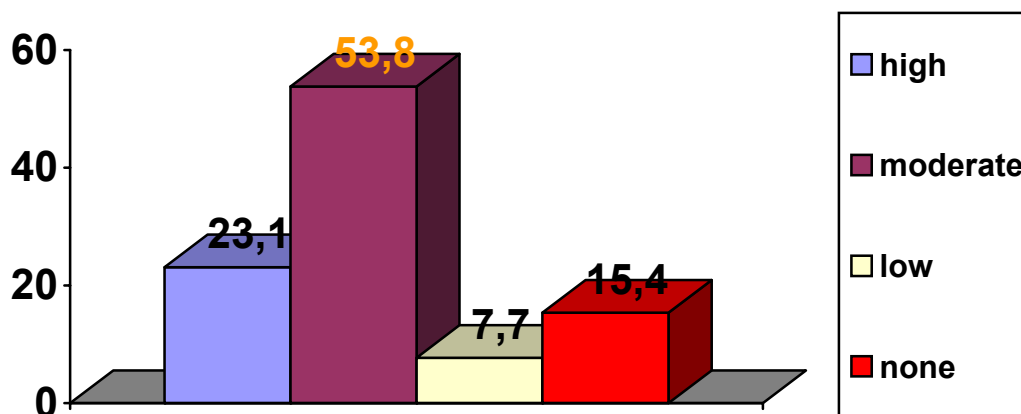
Chart 120. Cognitive competence of adults regarding music listened to by youth, in %.



Because of much dispersion of musical tastes among young people, the exclamations of adults on this topic seems to be, first of all, grounded in the knowledge coming from media and their memories from their own youth, influenced by the resentment. Maybe this is the reason why adult did not realize that young people happen to listen to more ambitious musical genres, and most of all, very miscellaneous.

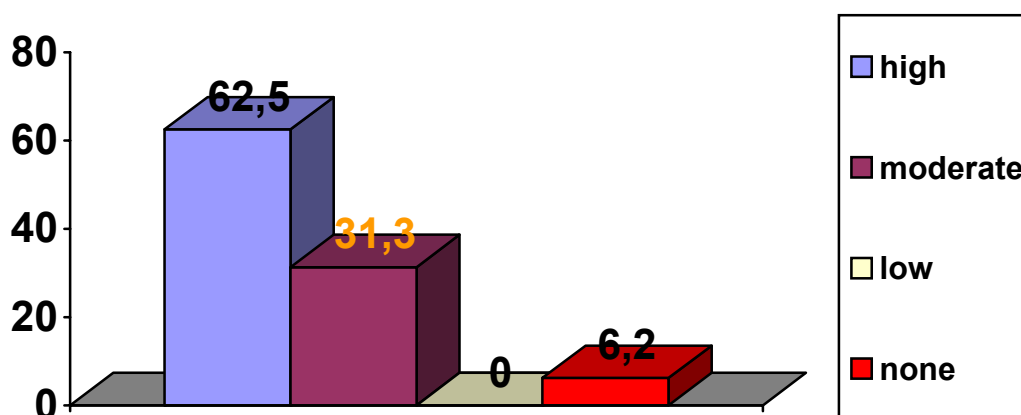
Communication in this area is rather an object of the irony coming from young people rather than proper discourse.

Chart 121. Cognitive competences of adults regarding press read by youth, in %.



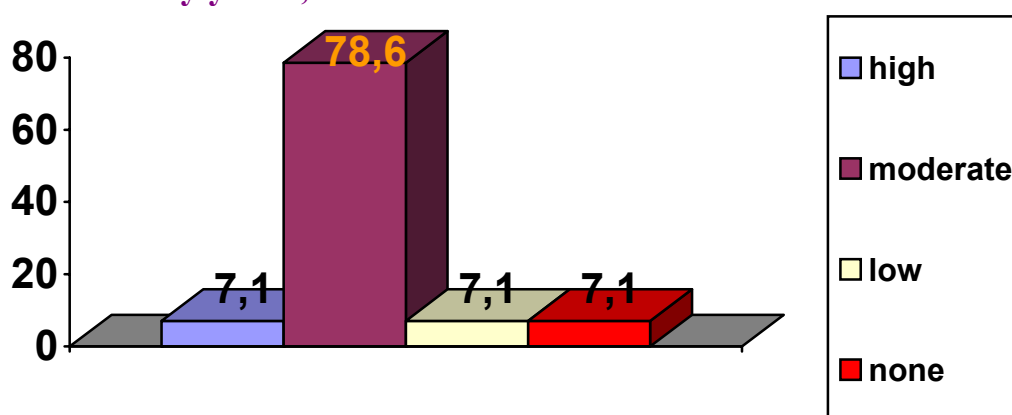
Adult knowledge on press read by youth is similar to the one featuring music. Youth, contrary to adults' views, does not read press intended for youth. Let us remind that high competence regards fashion magazines, men's magazines and musical magazines (although very few young people declared that they read it). Here, once more we face emerging cultural post figurativism of adults and the resentments resulting from their lacks of competence in popular culture.

Chart 122. Cognitive competence of adults regarding radio stations listened to by youth, in %.



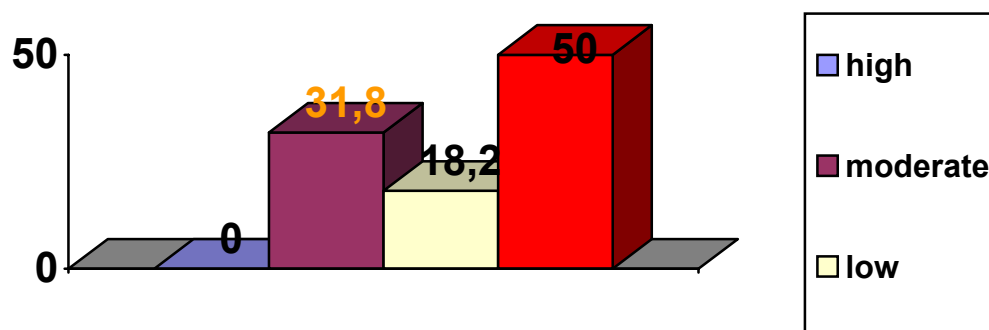
Interestingly enough, adults actually did not recognize a radio station, which was one of the most frequently pointed by youth, which is radio Eska. In all the other cases (apart from Radio Maryja, which is troublesome and may be the object of jokes, Classic FM, Program I and Jazz Radio) adults turned out to be quite competent. Maybe this is connected with their own post figurative listening to the radio, which is after all shared by youth.

Wykres.123. Cognitive competences of youth regarding kinds of TV programs watched by youth, in%.



First of all, adults underestimated the youth audience of national and international soap operas and news; on the other hand, they overestimated musical and sport programs and Polish drama series. Youth tastes turned out to be very dispersed, so this particular lack of competence featuring adults may be explained by the over whole lack of pop cultural competence of this group

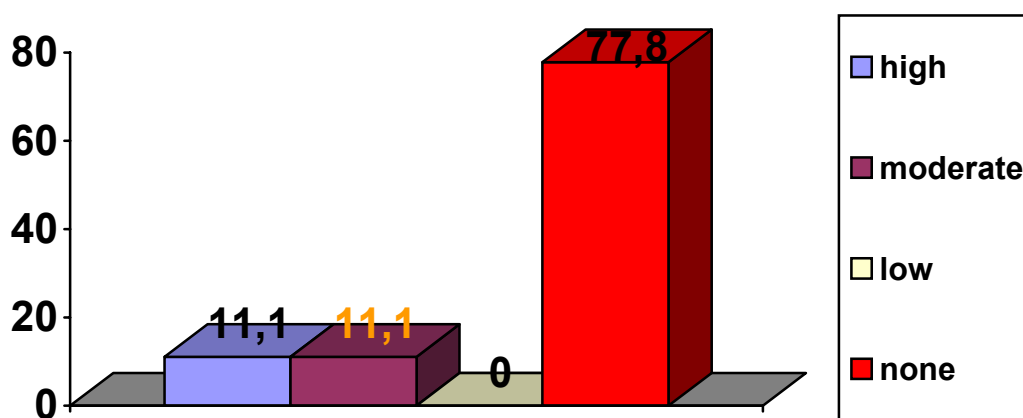
Chart 124. Cognitive competence of adults regarding youth online activities, in %.



At last, most mythical medium: Internet. The level of technological resentment and false knowledge among adults is here one of the highest in our research. Adult views turned out to be very compatible with the *voices* in press and more and more famous issue of Internet addiction in the training/therapeutic discourse. Only one activity was underestimated by adults – reading online press, while all the rest of the activities were significantly overestimated. As we already mentioned, adults in Warsaw possess in many cases higher competences than elsewhere, sometimes even higher than youth itself, so these are not objective lacks of skills which influence the opinions stated in this question, but presumably the evident effect media panic. And in consequence, the sphere of potential misunderstandings may grow if adults try to forcefully persuade youth addiction to this medium.

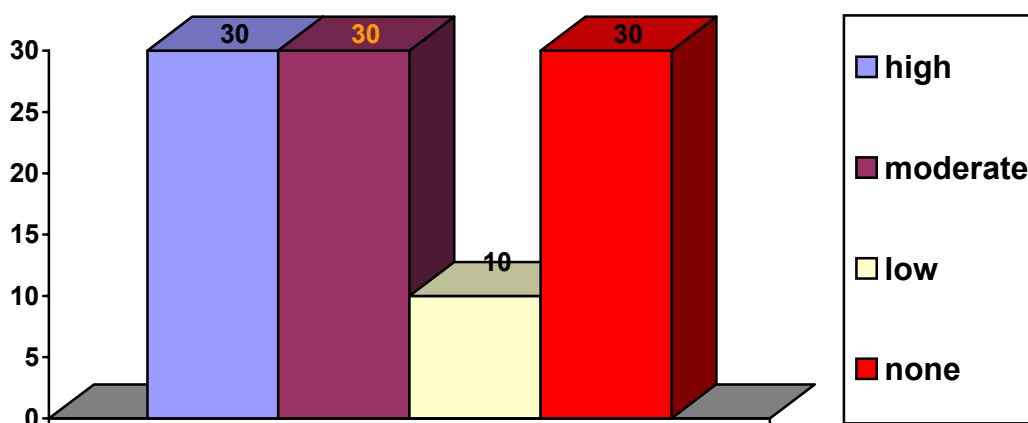
2.2.3 And for the classic: spare time

Chart 125. Cognitive competence of adults regarding spare time, in %.



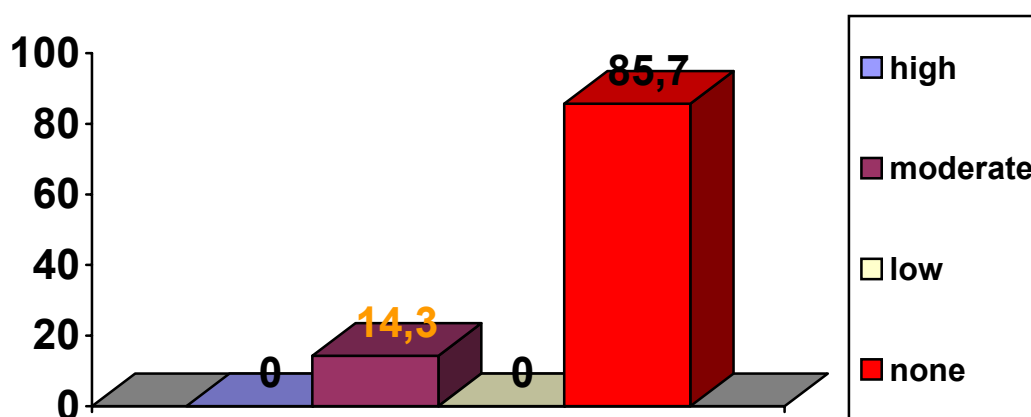
Another shaming result, especially due to the fact, that the majority of the adult respondents consisted of experts responsible for organization of time for youth. This extraordinarily high result is, among others, influenced by the conviction consistent with the issue mentioned above, i.e. that adults think that youth in its spare time *sits by the computer*. The sole areas of competence regard *doing nothing* and *going to the cinema*, while all the rest consist of myths constantly repeated by adults; old and new; as for the newest there is *wandering around shopping malls*, which is currently becoming a new object of the media panic (silent protagonist of this conviction are of course the Americanization or westernization of style of life and the contemporary popular culture being the source of evil). As we already mentioned in a part of chapter 3, at this point we are facing the second step of the moral panic regarding dangers of drugs and the first step regarding malls. So, if simultaneously youth in its spare time, at least according to the overwhelming majority of adults, *trips there out*, then we have quite an attractive area of counteractions which may be undertaken by media. What's more, one may apply some therapeutical actions, which easily come with the post figurative pattern of an adult as a personal image being the youth educator – what was perfectly presented in press,

Chart 126. Cognitive competence of adults regarding places which youth enjoys, in %.



High competence in this case regarded mostly concerts and open-air, as well as school parties, clubs, pubs, discos, whereas yards and streets were rather overestimated. Adults especially did not appreciate the meaning of home parties and spending time in summer cottages. Probably, one may say that adults being under the influence of media messages turned out to be more eager acolytes. According to them along our streets there runs a vast horde of ludic youth. Once more this is the result of the post figurative resentment, which this time, is not based on similarity but on the difference in the sensation of civilization standards and tastes.

Chart 127. Cognitive competence of adults regarding dangerous places which are visited by youth, in %.



Adults simply know where young people: fight, steal, sell drugs, and make sex, where there are rapes in toilets, where there are aggressive subcultures and rabble. But the problem is that it is hardly possible that adults saw these places with their own eyes – tertiary students much less frequently declared that they knew dangerous places, but, on the other hand, they were much more competent in pointing cool and safe places – they even gave particular names! Then how do adults know such things? Once again – from media, trainings and vague gossips. The post figurationsim of adults is articulated in the form of evident need of possessing knowledge/power. We are more eager to believe secondary students, especially from post gymnasial schools, who *start to visit* such places, rather than listen to adults.

Both the model of compatibility of opinions and the juventological competences evidently highlight proliferate discrepancies between youth and adults, as well as gaps in adult knowledge not only on particular behaviors of youth, but also its values, problems, needs, issues in the contemporary popular culture and styles of life. Many of them are surprisingly compliant with press and training/therapeutical discourse, but it has to be stressed that these discourses organize adult imaginations on youth only to certain extent. In some parts of

this knowledge, especially where old mental and cultural patterns are still valid (representative for post figurative culture), media and training/therapeutical discourses still loose. One of the costs of this process, evident in this case, is the multidimensional resentment of adults against both the popular culture and youth.

It is worth to take a closer look at the fact, that the discourse, which we call training/therapeutical, accordingly to what Michel Maffesoli has written⁶⁸, "does not fulfill the promise of consolation", for it does not provide knowledge but only ideology. This ideology may be justified by scientific explanations (see Appendix I– *voice* of research), but in practice it may as easily disable the possibility of cooperation and understanding. This discourse is not efficient due its lack of sense of humor, it does not keep a distance, and – contrary to anticipations – serves objectification of youth. Along with the media discourse (which is unacceptable as for the dignity of young people, journalist competences and language aesthetics) they bring unnecessary chaos to the mutual intergenerational communication.

Let us make some last remarks on competences and Mead cultural types, where the actors of the described performance are embedded. It is obvious that adults are unable to reach the state of perfect competence in their contacts with youth, what is due to natural and cultural competences. Sometimes, however, they could simply ask about some things. One other thing is that the „evil” culture, which youth simply comes across as a fact and has to face, is mainly the effect of the co figurative process maintained by adults themselves. All the educators compete with the decision makers and creators of that particular popular contemporary culture. Youth in this struggle is just a set of pawns; they have to wait quite a long time until they become generals.

⁶⁸ M.Maffesoli, *Le temps des tribus. Le déclin de l'individualisme dans les sociétés postmodernes*, Paris, Le Table Ronde, 1988.

Chapter 7

Typology of styles of life of the Warsaw youth accordingly to school types and gender

Having presented the detailed results of the research in the previous chapter, we may present a synthetic description of the Warsaw youth styles of life, especially in the perspective of their distinctive characteristics, beliefs and behaviors. The summary of the following description consists of the typology which is confronted with other propositions of Polish youth researchers. First we present the table with the structure of youth expenses

Tab.53 Structure of youth expenses covered with own money, in %.

expense	G	GL	V	pL	Public Higher	Private Higher
clothes	58,2	70,0	65,9	77,6	76,0	81,3
cinema	54,2	72,2	58,8	58,2	69,1	65,4
food	42,3	52,0	43,5	59,7	59,4	51,4
cosmetics	31,8	39,6	50,6	53,7	56,6	67,8
computer gadgets	26,4	17,6	17,6	4,5	20,7	26,9
books	23,9	28,6	8,2	23,9	51,8	59,1
beer or other alcohol	20,9	48,0	49,4	44,8	35,8	41,3
concerts	15,9	19,8	11,8	19,4	24,2	34,1
public transportation	14,4	15,9	16,5	38,8	41,3	45,7
cigarettes	13,4	26,0	31,8	19,4	12,2	22,1
school accessories	7,5	11,0	15,3	28,4	30,4	28,4
travels	7,5	4,8	4,7	3,0	3,6	1,0
drugs	6,0	4,0	4,7	0,0	0,5	2,4
medicines	6,0	6,2	5,9	11,9	7,7	11,1
Sport equipment	2,0	0,0	0,0	1,5	0,3	0,0
life expenses, payments	1,0	0,0	1,2	1,5	2,0	4,8
press	1,0	0,9	2,4	1,5	0,3	0,0
bike, car, fuel	0,5	0,9	2,4	4,5	1,3	1,4
mobile phone	0,0	0,9	1,2	1,5	-	-

1. Gymnasium students

Half of the analyzed students of gymnasiums have mothers and parents with higher education. The most numerous group of their parents works in the private

sector (40% of mothers and 55% of fathers), in the which the most frequent situation is that both of the parents have own businesses.

Students of gymnasium usually spend from 50 to 100PLN for their own needs, while only 5% declared that do not posses own money.

1.1 Self image and values as the element of styles of life

These young people accept their own physical traits and style of clothing to the smallest extent of all the young people analyzed in the research. So they would like to change all these characteristics. As for other traits, such as communicativeness or capability of learning they do not differ from the rest.

As for their weaknesses most seldom they chose the lack of strong will, regularity, indolence and did not point the issue of addictions at all. The most frequent problem which they pointed at regarded problems with education (e.g. learning by heart); it was pointed by more than one third of the respondents from this group.

Students of gymnasium regard as their advantages the least frequently: communicativeness, assertiveness, goodness, hard working, ambition, loyalty, sincerity, keeping promises and sense of humor. Most often they declared that their advantage is their intelligence!

On the whole, students of gymnasiums pointed the smallest number of important values in their life. Comparing to the rest of the youth they chose to the smallest extent: work, feeling, wealth and success, God and religion as well as a family.

Out of all the respondents most often they said that smoking is one of Warsaw youth problems and the least frequently they pointed poverty, lack of time and uninteresting cultural offer.

1.2 Social bond among peers and its grounds

As for the characteristics valued among peers, students of gymnasiums pointed sense of humor, courtesy and sincerity to the smallest extent out of all the youth.

This group most often disapproves of stupidity among their peers. The least often they pointed insincerity and lying as the disapproved traits.

Gymnasialists are also the least tolerant for getting drunk and smoking among the analyzed youth.

It is not strange at all, that it was this group, which most often declared participation in clubs and organizations with small advantage of informal groups, as well as sport and dancing clubs.

1.3 Time organization – projection and reality

In the mornings the students of gymnasiums, if were allowed to do what they wanted, they would most eagerly watch TV and sit by the computer. In the daytime they would like to do the same things as in the morning. They would like to spend time with the computer but would not watch TV as much as others.

Simultaneously they most often declared that they have free time for themselves both during the weekend and week days.

Drawing from their answers to the question on what they would like to do during a normal day, one may point that they mostly dislike what they actually do; they less frequently than others listen to the music, watch movies (in the cinema) and hate *doing nothing*. What they enjoy to the biggest extend is sitting by the computer.

When they were asked about what they did regularly during the last year, they were the most frequent group which took up sports, slept long enough, but also ate junky foods in *fast foods*. Comparing to others they reluctantly applied sliming diets, diet supplements and steroids, but also quite frequently drank energizing drinks and least often used makeup cosmetics.

1.4 Participation in culture as an element of style of life

Out of all the respondents they most often listen to rock, metal and foreign hip-hop as well as classical music (the last one along with students from general lyceums and students of public higher schools). The distribution of genres is most even – they pointed least frequently that they listen to everything so it may

be assumed that their musical tastes are quite precise. Among all the respondents similarly to students of vocational schools they least often associated dance, techno and trance with drugs. Other music associations did not distinguish them from the rest. Similarly to students of general lyceums they most often associated alcohol with hip hop.

Students of both gymnasiums and general lyceums most often declared that watch TV out of their interests and hobbies, but in the same time do not take into consideration the extent to which these programs are well done, competent and professional. Less often than students from post gymnasial schools they declared that are interested in truth presented in TV, but also the relatively rarely watch easy programs.

Out of all the respondents they least often read social and political press, but relatively to the rest this is the most common type of press they read.

As for the Internet, students of gymnasiums more often play massive multiplayer games, write they own blog, and watch films and porno. Along with students from general lyceum they also most often watch films on Youtube.

1.5 Spare time and entertainment

Because of their age they have pointed more often than others that they like to play at school and that they least often go to pubs and clubs. They also least frequently worked in the previous year (but still, this group possessed the biggest number of voluntary workers). On the other hand, they most often declared that they enjoy spending time at their own houses and in the open air feistiness.

2. Students of general lyceum

90,8% of their mothers and 96,8% of their fathers have at least secondary education and about 30% of both of the parents – tertiary. 40,6% of their mothers and 60,8% of their fathers work in the private sector.

Students of general lyceums most often spend from 50PLN to 100PLN, but on the second place this amount varied between 201 and 500PLN. Hardly anyone declared that does not have own funding (1,8%).

2.1 Self image and values as the element of styles of life

Although the students of general lyceums were not particularly different from the whole of the analyzed students, in case of their declared sets of values there may be pointed features differentiating them from students of gymnasiums on the one hand, and students of public higher schools, on the other. They pointed more often than students from gymnasiums family, health, character traits, feelings and work. Most of these traits (apart from family and character traits) were chosen by them less frequently than tertiary students.

Students of general lyceum least frequently accepted their capability of concentration and most frequently would like to change it. Actually in general they were the most frequent group which was not satisfied with themselves and would like to change the biggest number of their traits. Similarly to students from technical schools they declared that they should change their learning capabilities and that they lack strong will and along with students from private higher schools they declared that they are the most indolent (also we think that it

cannot be interpreted that straightforwardly). In comparison to the rest they are most eager to improve their communicativeness.

Students of general lyceums most often regarded assertiveness as their advantage and along with students of private higher schools – ambition (once more – the interpretation of this outcome should take into consideration the general image of their style of life, see further).

When asked to point youth problems in Warsaw, students of general lyceums less often than students of gymnasiums pointed smoking, but more often – alcohol and drugs; they also pointed more frequently uninteresting cultural offer. But out of all the respondents they pointed most often problems with learning.

2.2 Social bond among peers and its grounds

Students of general lyceums are the biggest group of our respondents which disapprove of rabble and lack of courtesy among their peers. They are also distinctive for their participation in scouting and subculture groups.

2.3 Time organization – projection and reality

Students of general lyceums turned out to be the most active in responding to the question about their activity preferences. Least often they pointed shopping, but are distinctive due to sport activities performed during a day. Along with tertiary students they prefer early newspaper and book lectures, but least often watch TV during a day. Their most preferred activity during the day is meeting with friends; relatively to the overall sample they most often pointed *doing nothing*.

When asked about their most regular activities during the previous year, they answered the least often of all the respondents that they took up sports and ate fast foods; they also didn't sleep enough to the biggest extent.

Out of all the respondents they most often declared that they were feeling overworked, got angry and nervous.

2.4 Participation in culture as an element of style of life

Students from this type of schools more often than others listen to the music, especially to soundtracks and classical music. As for musical associations they do not differ from others in a significant way, but more often than others associate hip hop with alcohol, violence and drugs, and less often than others associate pop with alcohol and rock and metal with drugs.

More often than others they watch TV programs because they are interesting and one may learn something from them. Similarly to students of post lyceal schools and tertiary students they declare that they pay attention to professionalism of television production. Simultaneously they least often declare watching inane and easy TV programs. Along with the students of gymnasium they most often choose programs because of their interests and hobbies.

Students of general lyceums most often declare reading tabloids. As for other kind of press they do not differ from others.

This group also least often uses online chats. Most of the time they participate in online communities, download music, films and games, as well as they regularly watch films on Youtube.

2.5 Spare time and entertainment

Students of general lyceums more often than others enjoy spending time and play at homes of their friends (similarly to students from post lyceal students). They also pointed this possibility most frequently. What is interesting, they work more than students from technical and vocational schools.

3. Students of post gymnasial technical and vocational schools.

27,1% of mothers and 36,5% of fathers have education which these students are just achieving, although much more numerous group of parents have higher education than the level so far achieved by their children: mothers - 42,4%; fathers -24,8%. A little more than half of their mothers work in private or public institutions, while 44,7% of their fathers work in the public sector, the half of which in their own businesses.

These students most often spend on their needs between either 101PLN and 200PLN or 201PLN and 50PLN, while 12% declared an amount higher than 1000PLN.

3.1 Self image and values as the element of styles of life

This group more often than others declared that their values include character traits, pets and ecological issues. They were the least frequent to point health in this dimension. These students are also distinctive because of the fact that they least often declared that they have chances to fulfill their dreams.

It is this group which most often regularly applies sliming diets, uses diet supplements and nutrients and energetic drinks. If so, it is no surprise that they least often point that they get ill and most often that are happy. They also are the least numerous to feel positive emotions towards other people.

In their self image they accept the smallest number of traits. In this scope they least frequently accept their capabilities of studying and they are the most eager to change it.

Relatively to the whole of the respondents these students regard as their weaknesses lack of strong will, addictions, outbursts and irritability. They were also the least frequent to point untidiness. While among the advantages they were the least frequent to point intelligence.

It is these students who pointed the biggest number of problems, which according to them, refer to youth in Warsaw. These were the problems most frequently pointed in this group: drugs, alcohol, violence, aggression, problems with parents and smoking (in the last of which they remind students of gymnasium). However, they did not refer to any point regarding authorities.

3.2 Social bond among peers and its grounds

These students in comparison to others relatively more frequently valued courtesy, while the least frequently chosen admirable feature of their peers was pugnacity and courage. On the other hand, while they were asked to point features which they disapprove, most often they mentioned rabble and lack of

courtesy, so there is some kind of inconsistency. The least often they condemned showing off, snobbery and stupidity. This group is also the least tolerant for people taking drugs.

Relatively to the rest this is also the group with which most often belongs to religious groups.

3.3 Time organization – projection and reality

These students the least frequently would like to take up sport, either in the morning or in the day time, besides they do not like it. During day they would least frequently commit time to reading books and studying, but most frequently – meet with their friends. As for the evenings – most often they would like to spend time partying on parties and in clubs, while the least frequently pointing a book, relax and cinema.

They were the most frequent group of all who would like to meet their friends, sit by the computer and watch TV during a day. They do not enjoy cinema, and what is very interesting, the least frequently of all the youth they said that enjoy wandering around shopping malls. Similarly to students from private higher schools they were also the least frequent to point that they would like to develop their own interests.

3.4 Participation in culture as an element of style of life

These students both relatively to others and among themselves most often declared that listen to modern pop, Polish hip hop, dance, disco and electronic music. The least frequently in the whole sample they listen to rock, jazz, classical music, poetic songs and metal. Besides they do not associate pop or rock with partying, as well as they do not associate alcohol with hip hop, rock or metal, the least frequently they associate violence with rock or metal, while drugs are the least frequently associated with dance, trance, techno and alike.

These group less often than others watch TV because of its cognitive values; they very rarely pay attention to professionalism, and most frequently they choose TV programs because of their resemblance to ordinary life.

They were the only students of technical and vocational schools who read more press for youth rather than social and political newspapers. Very frequent are also sport newspapers and magazines.

These students are the least eager to use e-mail and similarly to students from general lyceums they avoid online chats, but just as often as students of gymnasium they watch porno online.

3.5 Spare time and entertainment

These students are not significantly different from others in view of activities performed during spare time and forms of entertainment. Only one thing differentiated them from other secondary students – they chose summer cottages as a favorite place for entertainment.

4. Students of post lyceal high schools and for adults

One fourth of mothers and one third of fathers of these students have tertiary education, but the majority of them have already got the education higher than their parents: 44,8% of their mothers and 52,0% of their fathers are not as well educated as they are. The biggest group of their mothers works in either private or public institutions, but 46,1% of their fathers are employed in the private sector, the half of which in their own businesses.

Interestingly enough, these students most often declared that they spend very little amounts of money for their own purposes (between 50PLN and 100PLN).

It is also important to highlight that because of the fact that they are in similar age to tertiary students, we focus on comparison of these two groups rather than with secondary students,

4.4 Participation in culture as an element of style of life

The only feature that make this group distinct in the light of musical preferences are soundtracks – they listen to this kind of music much more often than students. Their musical preferences make them more similar to students of general lyceums.

Relatively to the whole analyzed sample it is this group which associates partying and drugs with dance, techno, trance and similar musical genres. They also definitely more often than others associate metal and rock with violence.

They also watch TV paying much attention to professional standards, whether a program is of a high quality. But in the same time they prefer programs which are easy in reception twice as much as the rest of the youth.

Press consumption does not differ in this group and in others, apart from the fact that they read sport press and magazines more often than tertiary students.

The situation is similar in case of the Internet, apart from the fact that they use online chats three times less than secondary students and are the least frequent from the whole to write own blogs.

4.3 Time organization – projection and reality

These students more often than others declared enjoying listening to the music; they also visit shopping malls most willingly. Definitely the least frequent of their choices were watching TV and using the computer and the Internet.

These students would commit most of the time in the morning to sport and the least to sitting by the computer. During daytime most frequently they would like to read (newspapers and books) and go shopping. As for the evenings they declared more often than the rest of the youth that provided they could, they would read or meet their friends.

4.1 Self image and values as the element of styles of life

These students both relatively to the others and among themselves most often pointed family as an important value. They also constituted the only group which did not point families and ecology at all. They also rarely pointed optimism in scope of dream realization.

As for their own characteristics they least frequently pointed assertiveness so they would like to change it as well as learn better argumentation. They also more frequently than others pointed the lack of regularity and two times more

than others – nervousness and panicking, they also most frequently listed outbursts and rages.

When asked about their advantages, they more often than others chose communicativeness, goodness and – definitely – hard working.

Similarly to students from private higher schools they are the least frequent to take up sports. Most of the time they declared that eat healthy food, use makeup cosmetics and least of the time, that use diet supplements and burners and energizing drinks. More than others they feel helplessness and similarly to students from technical schools feel good.

Among all the youth analyzed in the research this group pointed the smallest number of problems which bother Warsaw youth and in the same time were the most frequent of all to state that the biggest problem is the lack of authorities. Most rarely they recognized problems regarding aggression, violence and education.

4.2 Social bond among peers and its grounds

These students most rarely declared that belong to any groups or organizations, in the which they relatively often stated that belong informal groups of friends. There were also no individuals who pointed religious groups.

Among their peers most often they value sincerity and least often – kindness and goodness. Definitely more than others they disapprove of showing off, snobbery and lack of understanding. A little more than others they also dislike fights.

4.5 Spare time and entertainment

These students are the most frequent to play, most of the time at homes of their friends, in clubs and at the concerts, they are also the most frequent to work during holidays and as trainees. They did not mention voluntary work at all.

5. Students of public schools

39,8% of their mothers and 40,6% of their fathers have graduated from higher schools – their children are already reproducing their status. The rest is

promoting above the education featuring their parents. Most of the time their fathers and mothers take up hired labor; relatively least often they have own businesses.

Students of public schools most often may spend between 201 and 500PLN for their own needs. The second group has between 101 and 200PLN.

5.1 Self image and values as the element of styles of life

More than the rest of the respondents they chose: health, feelings, wealth and religious values, less than others: play and other people. This group is featured by the biggest optimism.

These students apply diet supplements and steroids less often than tertiary students from private schools. Less often than all the rest of the respondents they take medicines without prescription, especially in view of the students from private higher schools who do it more often than all the rest of the youth. They also sleep long enough definitely more students from private higher schools. These students less often than others feel overworked and similarly to students of post gymnasial schools are the least frequent to get ill, get angry and feel helplessly. Most often they feel well and have positive emotions towards other people.

This group most often accepted their own physical traits and style of clothing (tertiary students in general accept themselves to a much bigger extent than secondary students and five times less declare problems with studying).

Students from public schools more often than other respondents do not accept their addictions.

As for the problems threatening Warsaw youth they more often than others regarded poverty, uninteresting cultural offer and lack of time. Definitely more rarely than others they regarded drugs and their parents as problems.

5.2 Social bond among peers and its grounds

Most of the time they value communicativeness among their peers. As for their dislikes, most of the time they chose lack of understanding. Most frequently they

declared participation in packs of friends, although in comparison to the rest of the respondents they are the least eager to participate, the smallest number of students from this group also belongs to subculture groups.

5.3 Time organization – projection and reality

In the mornings these students are more eager than the rest to read books or newspapers, and the least eager – to watch TV. During day time most of them would like to study, and the least – to watch TV. In the evenings they would first of all like to work or study, most rarely – sit the computer. They are definitely more eager than their friends from private higher schools to take up sports. They also enjoy going to the cinema more than others.

5.4 Participation in culture as an element of style of life

Most of the time students from public tertiary schools listen to everything bit by bit, as well as jazz, and similarly to students of gymnasiums and general lyceums – classical music. This group most rarely listens to old and new pop, Polish and foreign hip hop, dance, disco and reggae. Along with students of general lyceums they are most frequent to listen to poetic songs.

Relatively to the rest of the students they most often associate alcohol with pop, rock and metal, the least hip hop. Just like students of general lyceums – they most often associate drugs with hip hop.

Similarly to students of general lyceums they choose TV programs because they may learn something from them. On the other hand, just like students from post lyceal schools they pay attention to professionalism of TV production. Just like students from private higher schools they do not treat seriously the resemblance of TV programs to the real life.

It is obvious that that they are the least frequent to read youth press and tabloids, while they most of the time and more than others choose social and political press.

Almost all of them regularly use emails, almost none – use online chats. Less than others they play massive multiplayer games and download music and movies.

5.5 Spare time and entertainment

They play at homes of their friends less than others, although this is the most frequent answer in this group to the question on partying. Students from public higher schools work almost as much as students from private higher schools

6. Students of private higher schools

23,6% of their mothers and almost the same amount of fathers have graduated from higher schools. Still, the most frequent group has mothers with high education - 54,8%, and fathers – high vocational or general high - 43,1%. Mothers work in private and public institutions, while fathers - 58,7% - in the private sector (20,2% has own enterprises).

The most frequent groups is able to spend between 201 and 500PLN, and the next – more than 1000PLN

6.1 Self image and values as the element of styles of life

This group more often than others declared that play and work are their important values. Out of all the groups they have the highest high esteem and were the least frequent to change anything at all. They are the most frequent to accept their own style of clothing, communicativeness, assertiveness, ability to concentrate, capability of learning and ability to defend their arguments.

However, similarly to students of technical schools they very rarely pointed intelligence as their advantage. Their additional advantages, considerable in view of the rest are: loyalty, sincerity, keeping promises, sense of humor and ambition.

So do these particular *übermensch* have any weaknesses? Most often they pointed: indulgence and untidiness, the least often – problems with education (sic!).

More rarely than others they take up sports, most often they take para medicines and medicines without prescription.

In comparison to students from public higher schools they more often think that among the problems of Warsaw youth there are: drugs, aggression and colophon. Lack of time and poverty is definitely much less (five times) of a problem for them.

6.2 Social bond among peers and its grounds

They were the most frequent group to value sense of humor, being cool, kindness and goodness, as well as combativeness and courage among their peers. Less often than others, similarly to students of gymnasiums they valued courtesy. As for their dislikes, most often they chose insincerity and lying.

They were the most tolerant to getting drunk, smoking and taking drugs.

In this group none of the respondents declared participation in scouting and religious groups.

6.3 Time organization – projection and reality

They are the least active of all the groups and nothing special differentiates them from others. Most of the time they say that they do not have spare time for themselves during week days and in the weekend. It is important, that the least frequent they declared that they would like to commit time to their interests.

6.4 Participation in culture as an element of style of life

These students listen to the music to much smaller extent than rest of the respondents, as well as electro, metal and soundtracks.

More often than others they associate pop with entertainment, the least often – violence and drugs with hip hop; most often they associate drugs with rock and metal.

This group was the least frequent to associate TV programs because of their resemblance to the real life.

In the same time, they are less frequent than others to read sport magazines. On the other hand, they almost two times more than others declare that do not read press at all.

In the Internet they are the least frequent to participate in online communities and watch Youtube. As rarely as their friends from public higher schools they play online games and download music and movies, as well as have their own blog.

6.5 Spare time and entertainment

Students of the private higher schools were the least often to point summer cottage houses as places of play. During the last year they were the most frequent to work part time on commissions and full time.

7. Typology of styles of life in the perspective of gender.

Here we came across a surprise. In all our previous research on styles of life featuring youth we saw that gender was the most important ground to differentiate and constitute youth tribes and distinct, formerly very sharp styles of life⁶⁹. In the meantime and in this research youth is ruled by a postmodern unisex: only a few features differentiate styles of life of girls and young women and boys and young men; we will take a closer look at them

7.1 Self image and values as the element of styles of life

In stating one's disadvantages there is a difference between female and male students of secondary schools. These differences are blurred in the tertiary schools. Secondary female students much more complain on their lack of assertiveness, nervousness, panicking, as well as on their wickedness, often on weak character, lack of persistence, untidiness and indulgence. They are less frequent than boys to complain on their problems with studying. At the same time female tertiary students not much more than their male friends point their lack of assertiveness and untidiness, a little less on their indulgence, addictions

⁶⁹ See: B. Fatyga 2001, op. cit.; B. Fatyga, J. Rogala -Oblękowska 2002, op. cit.

and problems with studying. Such features as lack of strong will, lack of persistence, nervousness and wickedness do not differentiate these two groups.

It is interesting that in the evaluation of their advantages tender clearly differentiates secondary students, while it is not so in the tertiary schools. The only feature that does not differentiate secondary students is intelligence – pointed with the same frequency.

Bad well being in different dimensions is more often felt by female students, although differences in tertiary schools are getting smaller. Well being (assertiveness, positive emotions) is more differentiating: positive emotions are more frequently felt by females than by males at secondary schools, while it is the other way round in tertiary schools.

Slimming diets, care and make up cosmetics are more often used by female students. Male students drink energizing drinks twice as much as female students. Healthy food is more often mentioned by females than males in tertiary schools; at secondary schools there is no such a difference.

It is interesting that tender has differentiated the views on drug legalization and their justifications. Male students are more eager to legalize drugs. However, the freedom of choice was stated by females two times more than by males at secondary schools, at tertiary schools – males three times more than females.

7.2 Social bond among peers and its grounds

The acceptance for people who happened to have taken a drug is three times higher among girls than among boys at secondary schools, while at tertiary schools it is two times higher among males than among females.

7.4 Participation in culture as an element of style of life⁷⁰

Here the only dimension of differentiating styles of life according to gender criterion turned up to be reading press and using the Internet.

⁷⁰ We have maintained the numeration of points from the previous parts so that they are easy to compare; some differences did not turn up to be significant, as we mentioned it earlier.

Five times more girls than boys at secondary schools read youth press. It is obvious that there are definitely more girls than boys who read magazines for women and fashion magazines, while more boys read motor and sport press. Girls hardly read IT press, but much more often read tabloids.

More females than males at tertiary schools declare that do not read press in general; they hardly ever read IT press and magazines on sport and for men. Females from tertiary schools read women, fashion magazines and tabloids just as often as girls at secondary schools. Among students from secondary schools there were not too many differences about social and political press, but male students of tertiary schools read it more often than their female friends.

Still these are boys and men in both levels of education who use computers more often than girls and women. However, these differences are higher at tertiary schools than at secondary schools. Besides, reading press online is similar in case of both genders.

8. Synthetic typologies of styles of life of youth after 1989

8.1 Typologies created in the first part of the transformation up to 2000

J. Wertenstein-Żuławski (1993)	H. Świda-Ziemba (1995)	J. Wertenstein-Żuławski, B. Fatyga, G. Fluderska (1993)	B. Fatyga (1999)
Not grounded in empirical research	Research on students of general lyceums and tertiary schools in Warsaw	CBOS youth research 92' (teenagers)	Generalization of quantitative and qualitative research from 90's.
Majority, for which nothing changed in new Poland	Authentic Catholics	Aspirations to middle class	“normals”
Apologists of new deal	Competitive and self-reserved type	Post intelligence	Postinteligents (workaholics)
Disappointed with the transformation	Emotional individualists	Retreat and misanthropy	Schemers
Sober skeptics	Homeostatic and community type	Urban dodgers	Failures (drifting youth)
Calm optimists	Potential emigrants	Anarchists and punks	Subculture groups (right/left wing)
Happy with regained freedom (elites)		Professionals	Ethos professionals
Willing to „come back to prison”		Budget sphere children	
Willing to widen their freedom		High speed kids	
		Young inhabitants of country side	

8.2 Typologies created after 2000

B. Fatyga (2001)	B. Fatyga (2002)
Research on teenagers from small cities + qualitative nation wide research, Holidays 99' – summaries	Research on gymnasium students + representative qualitative research - summary
gender: girls - "global teenagers"; boys - "tribal enemies";	TYPES
Age: older/younger: difference in aggression, activity and drive for success;	Traditional type with postmodern elements; (country side teenager)
school type: student of gymnasiums – wildest school tribe;	Traditional style with elements of social and cultural marginalization shaped under the influence of <low level message (teenagers from country side)
school type: general lyceum – self dependent elites	Modern style with a slight touch of tradition and dominant influence of <high level message> of popular culture (city teenagers)
school type: vocational lyceum – retreated and „dumb”	Postmodern style , rejecting most of the traditional elements, drawing from commercialized youth culture (city teenagers)
school type - "dodgers"	SUBTYPES
School type: vocational school- heterogeneous collectivity, youth forced to self steer	Youth with organized spare time: <i>sportsman, football players, library goers, cultural institutions goers, movie fans, extra lessons fans, learning foreign languages, youth from community centers, club goers, prospective active parishioners.</i>
	Grouped with unorganized spare time: <i>one's own community, pub goers disco goers, pairs.</i>
	Types of youth somehow engaged in spare time: <i>computer nerds and home birds</i>

8.3 Typology of styles of life of Warsaw youth, 2008.

8.3.1 Typology of educational tribes

This typology is essential because a particular type of school not only focuses objective data closely connected to the stage of student development, social condition (with Warsaw distinctive in view of the rest of Poland) and cultural background, but also enables to show two paths which are followed by Warsaw youth on their way to maturity (one being smooth and easy and the other – more difficult and rough). One more argument for such a differentiation is the fact that we have for the first time the opportunity to analyze youth brought up under the influence of the ideology of educational *boom* – and practically – after the reform of educational system. It also represents the whole of the educational career.

Styles of life which we have reconstructed from this perspective can be divided into two dynamic types:

- **style** represented by almost half of the students of gymnasiums, general lyceums and public higher schools; grounded on the **reproduction of status** (first of all – educational) and reproduction of intelligence culture and ethos;
- **style** of the gymnasialists coming from families, where parents have different than higher education, students of post gymnasial technical schools, post lyceal schools and for adults and students of private higher schools; its basic force defining the style is the **formal promotion through education**, and in culture: unstable location and a bunch of chaotic processes strongly determined by external circumstances.

Besides, particular subtypes divided according to schools can be describes as:

Students of gymnasiums – tribe colonizing world (with the means of devices at hand, both in virtual web and *real*) to one end: to recognize and extend their social surrounding; intelligent, full of doubts in case of self esteem, very active, with prolific and casual (apart from family) social bonds, having good taste and high competences in the dominant popular culture, from which they most often choose (contrary to what adults may think) – high level of messages; they have a good start due to families of origin, but are not spoiled by money, if they reinforce elites, they will constitute the type of enlightened entrepreneur and western middle lass being contaminated with Polish intellectuals;

PREVENTIONALLY OVERSOCIALIZED, lack of competences and communication respecting their individuality;

Students of general lyceums – tribe under pressure or *comme il faut*; their values are getting towards more mature sets, social bonds focus in packs of friends and *web*. They are overwhelmed by the pressure of their educational success and influence their well being and self esteem, although they have learned to steer this process; besides, they already constitute the elite with

intelligence ethos, appreciating worthy (and comfortable life), well oriented in both the Gutenberg Galaxy and the Culture of Image.

PREVENTIONALLY AUTONOMOUS (actually) – they mostly require reasonable leaders who help to organize world in such a way that they may achieve aims with more ease;

Students of post gymnasial technical and vocational schools - tribe (so far) without allocation, seduced by the low level message of popular culture, what is apparent in their well being, although they may win in the near future (lack of experts), what decreases their self criticism and pessimism in the area of achieving aims; relatively retreated and misanthropic, the most religious and the least tolerant.

EXPERTS ON PROBLEMS– one may learn a lot by listening to them;

Students of post lyceal high schools and for adults - tribe of strenuous promotion, the most outstretched between all the three types of Medal having needs and features of traditional intelligence, but following more difficult path, the most retreated.

SECURED BY TRADITIONALISM, but in due course NOT IMMUNE to challenges of post modernity;

Students of public higher schools – tribe already perfect, because they already have overcome biggest challenges – studying and lacking only incomes suitable to their social position; these individuals who do not reproduce the status of family of origin, quickly make up lacks in their style of life (but not necessarily cultural competences what we know as academic teachers), cool, but over tired, during their path to education have differentiated their tastes (especially musical), socially closed, engaged professionals, closest to their aims.

FIGHT WITH ADDICTIONS in THE NAME OF HEALTHY STYLE OF LIFE, not necessarily with success, because a bit of the dark side is not too harmful on the social market;

Students of private higher schools – tribe of *Self-made-men a la Pologne*; they are not to successful children of transformation and the ideology of educational boom; their extreme ego securial individualism made their self esteem flying in the sky; immature social bonds (resembling rather students from gymnasiums rather than their equals); quite primitive and loud ludicity based on low level messages from popular culture, not too active, but make their living (often to pay tuition, but they declare high demands), under grown with resentment, but aware of the appearance of their success;
THREATENED WITH ADDICTIONS and actually the most helpless.