

Piotr Dlugosz*

YOUTH IN THE SITUATION OF ANOMIE IN THE EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE BORDERLANDS

The aim of the following paper is to present youth in the borderlands of Poland, Ukraine and Hungary as well as to determine the level at which they became adapted to the socio-economic system. The research was conducted with the use of the survey method and the auditorium questionnaire technique, the sample was of quota character. The results of the research indicate that the country determines the occurrence of anomie to a greater extent rather than the inhabited borderland. The majority of different symptoms appeared among Hungarian youth. Less symptoms were observed among young Ukrainians and the least in Poland. The most characteristic symptom of anomie is employing innovative strategies in striving for life goals, economic values spreading to other spheres of life and strong etatist, egalitarian and authoritarian orientation. The level of optimism is low as well.

Keywords: *anomie, youth, borderland, East-Central Europe, life aims, life strategies, optimism.*

INTRODUCTION

Marginal status of youth in social structure and limited access to social statuses reserved for adults exposes youth to deprivations in the world of advanced consumerism. Peripheral location of borderlands regarding centres may make the social-economic situation bad for them, which may unfavourably influence the process of entering adulthood.

Unfavourable economic situation in peripheries, marginal social status in social structure and deepening difficulties connected with achieving independence may create the state of anomie. The „Indignados Movement”, „Euromaidan” in Ukraine or the dissent against Polish political situation in 2015 which was the outcome of parliamentary and presidential elections may exemplify the protest against socio-political reality, which is aversive for youth. Youth as a sensitive and affectionate participant of social life may feel system tension to a greater extent. It is probable that youth’s reactions to system dysfunctions are more sudden and become conspicuous earlier (Parsons, 1964; Nowak, 2009; Wertenstein-Żuławski, 1998; Szafraniec, 2002).

Emil Durkheim notices that all the political and economic tremors have negative impact on social structure (Durkheim, 1951). Axio-normative chaos comes to being, individuals do not know which goals to strive, which norms are valid, how to function in new conditions. Robert Merton (1968) also pays attention to the conflict between cultural values and institutionalized norms. In

* **Piotr Dlugosz** – PhD, sociologist, University of Rzeszow and East European State Higher School in Przemysl.

Scientific interests: sociology of education and youth, youth of the Polish-Ukrainian borderland.

E-mail: ptc@wp.pl

the author's opinion anomie occurs when despite using appropriate measures an individual cannot gain culturally defined aims. System norms collapse and deviatory strategies are employed. Merton enumerates examples of such strategies, i.e. innovation, ritualism, dissent and withdrawal. The state of anomie may threaten the social system and individuals functioning in it. Unavailability of fulfilling goals perceived as right, lack of unambiguous rules which should be followed, lack of faith in achieving success are some of the symptoms of anomie.

Durkheim and Merton's theory of anomie was elaborated on by Polish researchers regarding the socio-economic crisis taking place in Poland in the 1980s and the period of major changes in 1989 (Nowak, 2009; Sztompka, 1982; Sztompka, 2000). Stefan Nowak on the basis of Merton asserts that blocking human needs and goals in Polish society in the 1980s delegitimized the system (Nowak, 2009, p. 232). Piotr Sztompka gives attention to main forms of crisis: deprivation, anomie and alienation (Sztompka, 1982). On the other hand, Jerzy Wertenstein-Żuławski (1998, p. 145) asserts that Polish youth in the 1980s of the 20th century felt forsaken and alone in a hostile world heading towards a disaster, had the feeling of not having chances and perspectives, the need of having bond in a small group, escape from unwanted and besieging reality into rock music, relationships and drugs perceived as psychological remedy against the threatening world, desperate need of finding the meaning of values, the fulfillment of which is usually impossible.

Talcott Parsons (1964, p. 221) puts emphasis on different aspects. The author states that constant social changes make adjusting capabilities of the system to youth's demands impossible. Moreover, increasing individualization, lack of support in making key life decisions from social groups and institutions, leaving them to their own fate, imposing demands which are difficult to fulfill or create conflicts also lead to anomie.

On the other hand, Krystyna Szafraniec by analyzing Polish youth in the context of the theory of anomie at the beginning of the 21st c. presents two models of anomie of the transformation period. The first one derives from Durkheim – the model of „anomie of chaos” covers early 1990s of the 20th c. The second one refers to Merton's model of “structural disharmony”. In the first case the period of transformational transition from one social system to another, from the foregoing political age to a new one by nature gives rise to normative havoc and chaos, creates a situation in which former norms become invalid, while the new ones are not fully constituted yet. In the conditions of coexistence of two cultures representing two different social worlds and social realities are characterized by certain vagueness, indeterminateness, lack of directions and solid reference points (Szafraniec 2002, p. 456). In the second case, in the economy model liberal solutions appear. The system bases on individual contributions, while material success is the measure of human value. Youth

from upper social classes find it easier to fulfill these goals, whereas the youth of lower status have to struggle with obstacles on the way to success. As Szafraniec (2002, p. 457) puts it: „in the language of theory of anomie it is a classic example of disharmony in a society which is stable, nonetheless not rich enough for the cultural offer to be equally available to all. Hence the noticeable turn to deviations from the norm and deviatory behaviours, putting more emphasis on pragmatics of acting rather than its moral attributes and increased social assent to normatively “laid-back” attitudes. It is worth noticing that the consequence of immersing into anomous world is the sense of anomy thus helplessness, abandonment, losing the sense of life, being lost, lack of hope” (Szafraniec, 2002, p. 473). Authoritarianism and escapist tendencies shall be included in psychological consequences as well.

In the situation of post-transformational society which has run out of the hitherto ways of development, the system becomes insufficient and economic and political crises occur. Both models of anomie may exist simultaneously, at the same time creating favourable context for deviatory behaviours. On the one hand, normative chaos resulting from ideological change in Poland, Hungary and Ukraine comes to being. On the other hand, it is noticeable that the hitherto norms which would lead to success do not bring the expected outcomes, e.g. higher education does not lead to high social status because of educational inflation, which may undermine the meaning of trust in system rules and the system as a whole. An additional factor influencing the rise of anomie may be youth’s place of inhabitation, that is the borderland, which is connected with a decrease in the effectiveness of system norms and rules. Peripheral location evokes the occurrence of economic crises and multidimensional deprivations resulting from poorly developed economy and unemployment being higher in such a case as well as an insufficient number of workplaces for specialists.

This paper aims at finding answers to the following questions:

- Are the symptoms of anomie noticeable in the youth living in the borderland?
- Does a given type of borderland have impact on the occurrence of symptoms of anomie among youth?
- Is the anomie determined by the stage of transformation at which certain countries are?

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

The conducted research was initiated by the author of the following article. The research was carried out in 2015 in the western borderland in Zielona Góra and Ślubice – a border town in the Lubuskie voivodeship. Youth from Racibórz in the Silesian voivodeship in the southern borderland, located on the border with Czech Republic also underwent the research. Other borderlands

are located in the area of Podkarpacie voivodeship. The southern borderland on the border with Slovakia is represented by youth from Krosno, Rymanów, Dukla. Rzeszów – the capital city of Podkarpacie voivodeship where approximately two thousand students from Ukraine study is also included in the research. The research covers the whole eastern borderland which is in the area of Podkarpacie voivodeship as well. All the schools from Lubaczów to Przemyśl, Ustrzyki Dolne, Lesko and Sanok were surveyed. On the other side of the border in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, youth in Drohobych and its vicinities which belong to the Lviv Oblast underwent the research as well. The survey was also conducted in Uzhhorod, which is the capital city of the Zakarpattia Oblast. The city is located in the Ukrainian-Slovak and the Ukrainian-Hungarian borderland. The research was also conducted in Kharkiv, the capital city of Kharkiv Oblast in the Ukrainian-Russian borderland. The last place where the survey was conducted is Nyíregyháza – a city with comitatus rights in the North-East part of Hungary, the capital city of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg comitatus. It is located in the Slovak-Ukrainian-Romanian borderland.

Therefore, the survey research was conducted in different borderlands: eastern, western, southern. These borderlands are internal and external borders of the European Union. Observations were carried out with the use of the survey method, employing the auditorium questionnaire technique. The sample was of quota character. On the one hand, an attempt to grasp the representation of „the whole” youth in a selected region was taken. In this case an attempt to maintain quotas regarding the school time and place of inhabitation was taken. On the other hand, it was also planned to conduct the research on secondary school leavers, who seem to have particular plans and goals for the future. The research was conducted on the following number of youth: in Przemyśl 1232, Krosno 406, Rzeszów 570, Raciborz 187, Słubice 258, Zielona Góra 336, Nyíregyháza 359, Drohobych 392, Uzhhorod 468, Kharkiv 428.

The search for symptoms of anomie among youth is carried out in two fields. The first one refers to the classic model by Merton (1968), in which it is verified whether the preferred means of achieving goals by youth are consistent with the system rules. Anomie occurs when the means preferred by youth are inconsistent with systemic presumptions (meritocracy, professional competences).

The second field refers to institutional indices of anomie. On the one hand, it will occur if it is observed that material values such as individualism, universalism, striving for achievements dominate in social life of an individual. On the other hand, ideological values such as egalitarianism, etatism, authoritarianism, fatalism, the sense of perpetration, acceptance of socialism will be observed. Thanks to this it is possible to verify to what extent the preferences of youth are consistent with liberal and market ideology.

EMPIRICAL DATA ANALYSIS

Life Goals

On the basis of data presented in Table 1 one may observe patterns of youth's life aims. First of all, youth have a hierarchy of life goals which may be described as universal. In each of the researched borderlands the most important life goal is happy family life. Developing one's interests and talents, having friends, leading a calm, far from every-day troubles life was found in a slightly lower, yet universally accepted rank. Accumulating great wealth, high income, having people's respect, independence and helping others are highly popular among all of the respondents. The surveyed people care about having power or starting their own business less.

While writing about the observed differences one should bear in mind the fact that they are divided into two types. The first type is connected with the differentiation between countries. On the basis of the gathered observations it may be said that the value of higher education has a lower rank in the borderlands in Poland, whereas higher in Ukraine and Hungary. In the case of aiming at leading life for pleasures and fun a similar division is observed. This aim is chosen less often by youth in the borderlands in Poland, while more often in Ukraine and Hungary. The case of aiming at finding a good job is similar. This life goal may be described as a key one for youth entering adulthood. Material standing and consumption possibilities depend on the job. They have impact on making a decision of starting a family. Among Polish youth this aim scores higher than in Ukraine and Hungary.

Differences between countries and borderlands occur as well. They are observed in the case of religiosity. Aiming at leading a life according to rules set forth by religion is the highest in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland – 66% in Przemyśl, in the Polish-Slovak borderland – 64% in Krosno, 65% in Rzeszów, 76% in Drohobych and 63 in Uzhhorod. Lower popularity of this aim is observed among youth from western and southern (Polish-Czech) borderlands of Poland. Significantly lower importance was given to this aim by youth from Kharkiv (36%) and Nyíregyháza (29%).

Analogical situation occurs in the case of starting one's own business. The data indicates that the spirit of entrepreneurship is manifested more strongly among Ukrainian youth rather than Polish or Hungarian. Nonetheless, slight differences may be observed in acceptance of this aim in Polish borderlands. Entrepreneurship in Polish society is more noticeable in the western borderland rather than the southern or eastern ones.

Table 1. Youth's life goals and aims (Data is presented in %)¹

	Przemysł	Krosno	Rzeszów	Zielona Góra	Stubice	Racibórz	Drohobych	Uzhhorod	Kharkiv	Nyíregyháza
Graduating from a higher school	77	78	60	75	68	71	92	88	94	90
Happy family life	95	96	96	96	98	94	95	95	96	96
Starting one's own business	37	35	43	45	47	31	65	70	75	51
Living the moment and living life for pleasures and fun	56	59	72	66	64	60	70	73	77	95
Developing one's talents and hobbies	93	96	92	97	95	93	94	90	95	96
A calm, far from every-day troubles life	84	87	81	84	80	81	83	86	79	92
Accumulating wealth, high income	86	88	87	87	92	86	65	82	79	85
Having people's respect	88	90	91	89	89	88	93	85	87	87
Finding a good job	95	96	97	97	96	96	86	78	87	81
Living according to faith	66	64	65	45	48	54	76	63	36	29
Independence from others	87	90	85	90	89	85	90	86	87	91
Helping others	83	85	81	83	81	83	91	85	84	86
Having friends	91	95	93	93	92	91	93	90	92	92
Having a high position at work	71	75	75	76	80	65	69	76	79	87
Having power	23	24	24	18	22	23	28	58	45	13

Aiming at having power is differentiated as well. In the Hungarian-Romanian borderland it is a marginal aim. It has a bit higher popularity among youth in Polish borderlands and the Polish-Ukrainian borderland. Power is appreciated the most in the Ukrainian-Slovak and Ukrainian-Russian borderlands.

¹The Table contains the answers *I highly care +I care*.

Summing up, the analysis of life aims has shown that certain life goals are universal and result from general cultural trends and the specificity of the life stage and psychosocial needs which are related to it. Socio-centric, family, affiliative, self-realization, altruistic and individualistic goals are included in this syndrome.

In the case of educational and employment orientations, the country rather than the type of a borderland has a higher meaning in shaping life goals. In this case Polish youth give more attention to finding a job rather than graduating from a higher school. In the case of “the spirit of entrepreneurship”, religiosity, having power, the influence of borderlands was higher. “The spirit of entrepreneurship” occurs more often in Ukrainian borderlands and to a lesser extent in the western borderland in Poland. The observations indicate that entrepreneurial attitudes are more common in the borderlands with a richer neighbouring country. Higher religiosity was observed in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland, which may be the legacy of the times of Galicia in which traditionalism and conservatism were dominant. While comparing these two variables one may observe similarities between the western borderland in Poland and the eastern borderland in Ukraine as well as the eastern borderland in Poland and the western borderland in Ukraine.

MEANS LEADING TO ACHIEVING GOALS

Finding a job, starting a family and becoming independent are often listed among the criteria of adulthood. In life goals of the researched young people especially in Poland the job is in the highest rank in the hierarchy of life aims and in the remaining borderlands job is often perceived as a priority.

Job in modern societies is the basis of defining one’s social status. It gives an opportunity to earn money and influences most important life decisions, such as the one regarding starting a family. Job determines consumption possibilities of an individual, which in the post-modern world is an index of social status. The higher the level of consumption, more often exchanging things into new ones, the higher the social status.

The analysis of life goals indicates that the majority of youth choose adaptation and conformism in the relations with the social system. Job becomes an instrumental goal, thanks to which a young person can enter adulthood.

In the conducted research the respondents were asked what in their opinion decides about finding a good job upon graduating.

Taking into account percentage division of answers to the above question, youth most often indicated that protection and good contacts determine finding a good job. Such an opinion was dominant in all the Polish borderlands and in the Hungarian borderland. This factor is indicated less often in Ukraine, especially in Drohobych.

Table 2. Means of finding a „good” job (Data in %)²

	Przemysł	Krosno	Rzeszów	Zielona Góra	Stubice	Racibórz	Drohobych	Uzhhorod	Kharkiv	Nyíregyháza
Contacts and protection	92	92	91	94	90	90	61	74	70	93
High professional qualifications	93	93	91	92	89	91	92	87	95	93
Education	85	85	82	81	81	79	84	82	83	90
Initiative and entrepreneurship	76	76	66	83	73	72	81	79	86	82
Parents' wealthiness	48	52	48	48	50	48	42	62	57	44
Occupation, type of a job	86	83	81	85	82	77	80	83	84	83
Solid and diligent work, well performed	84	82	83	82	82	81	90	86	89	89
Place of inhabitance e.g. a big city, countryside	60	60	43	55	62	57	46	58	48	59
Cunningness	43	39	39	50	40	38	67	74	72	79
Luck, chance	44	47	43	49	44	44	48	63	58	69
Social origins	30	32	32	31	26	34	32	56	43	64
Looks, personal charm	52	58	52	59	53	54	42	57	58	91
Political views	18	17	17	10	11	19	20	34	29	40
Prestige of the higher school	66	73	68	70	69	59	64	65	62	78
Command of foreign languages	92	96	91	95	97	91	85	86	84	96

High professional qualifications and skills are unanimously acknowledged as the most important means of finding a profitable and prestigious job. A similar case is with the command of foreign languages. Among Polish and Hungarian youth language skills were more often indicated than among young Ukrainians. Higher education also scored highly. A little less attention is given to the obtained profession. Solid and diligent working has also a high influence on finding a “good” job. In Polish borderlands this feature is indicated less often, whereas more often in Ukraine and Hungary. An effective means of

² The table contains the answers *definitely yes* + *yes*.

finding a job is initiative and entrepreneurship. The prestige of the higher school from which one graduates scored a little less. In Poland, except from Racibórz, in all the borderlands the influence of this means was indicated less often. In Ukraine the prestige of higher school was taken into account less often, whereas more often in Hungary. Even less importance in relation to finding a good job is given to the place of inhabitation. In Poland this factor was indicated a bit less often by the students in Rzeszów. In the remaining borderlands this influence scores more.

Lower importance is assigned to parents' wealthiness. Looks and personal charm was indicated by more than a half of youth. The meaning of this factor was indicated the least often in Drohobych, and most often in Nyíregyháza. Cunningness was chosen as a vital element of finding a job more often in Ukraine and Hungary.

Analogical percentage of the respondents indicated that luck and coincidence have influence on finding a job. In all the Polish borderlands and in Drohobych opinions were similar. In Uzhhorod and Kharkiv and in Hungary the respondents were more often counting on a stroke of luck. The influence of social origin on finding a job scored lower. Approximately one third of respondents in Poland in Drohobych indicated the existence of such a relation. This fact was more often noticed by youth in Uzhhorod and Kharkiv and most often in Hungary. According to young people, political orientations have the smallest influence on finding a good job. In this case youth from Polish borderlands and Drohobych have given consistent answers. Still, the respondents from Uzhhorod, Kharkiv and especially Hungary evaluated the influence of political orientations on finding a good job higher

On the basis of the gathered data a few conclusions can be drawn. First of all, youth is characterized by more similarities than differences in strategies of finding a job. It is especially noticeable in Polish borderlands. Secondly, taking into consideration the situation of anomie which occurs when an individual attempts to achieve culturally defined goals with the use of illegitimate rules, it may be stated that the intensity of anomie is especially high in Polish and Hungarian borderlands. Youth in Poland and in Hungary believe that good contacts and protection are the best means of finding a job. It may be possible that the command of foreign languages often indicated in Poland and Hungary as important means of finding a job is rooted in the fact that the researched youth are going to look for job abroad, which would mean that escapist strategies are employed. Moreover, if the level of approval to legitimate rules among the whole population of youth is taken into account, it should be stated that in Poland qualifications, command of foreign languages, education, profession and diligently performed work are most important. In Ukraine this hierarchy looks a bit different. Qualifications, diligently performed work, education, initiative and entrepreneurship are considered priorities in Ukraine.

On the other hand, Hungarians enumerate command of foreign languages, high qualifications, personal charm and education. Finally, the conducted analyses indicate that in five cases the opinions of youth from Drohobych were more similar to Polish answers rather than those of their Ukrainian peers. This phenomenon may be perceived as convergence of youth from West Ukraine (Drohobych) with European culture. It is worth adding that the situation in which youth from Drohobych inhabits the area between the East and the West may lead to a situation which may result in anomie. The fact that Polish youth are more anomous than Ukrainian youth may be surprising, which is indicated by the fact that Poles use more deviatory models of adaptation. Nonetheless, the conclusions which may be drawn from the analysed research are similar to those conducted by CBOS. According to the representative study, the acceptance of meritocratic rules among youth is decreasing, whereas the importance of deviatory behaviours is increasing. The previous groups more often indicated the importance of higher education, whereas now moving abroad or nepotism scored higher (Młodzież 2013, 2013).

INSTITUTIONAL INDICES OF ANOMIE

While searching for a broader look at anomie, the theory of institutional anomie by Messner and Rosenfeld which assumes that in the situation when the values typical for market institutions dominate over the values connected with different institutional spheres, the phenomena characteristic for social deregulation may occur is worth mentioning. Individualism, universalism, aiming at achievements and commodity fetishism are the values from the field of economic social institutions (Bieliński, 2013, p. 148). Anomie is also understood as certain psychological dispositions, in which fear of future, authoritarianism, uncertainty are included. Yet another sign of it is rejection of ideological assumptions which are understood as entrepreneurship, dominance of free market, competition and acceptance of meritocracy as well as acceptance of the existence of social inequalities.

Similarly to previous analyses, a part of the measured indices of anomie is identical for all the youth, and part of it changes depending on the type of borderland or country. The importance of success is almost universally accepted among youth regardless of the researched borderland. Nevertheless, in the question whether one needs help from other people in order to achieve success different answers were given. If the index of individualism which presents social atomisation is to be taken into account, the highest score was reached in the West borderland of Poland (Zielona Góra 47%, Słubice 54%) and the South borderland 55% and the East borderland of Ukraine 51%.

Table 3. Institutional-ideological elements of anomie (Data in %)³

	Przemysł	Krosno	Rzeszów	Zielona Góra	Słubice	Racibórz	Drohobych	Uzhhorod	Kharkiv	Debrecen
Achieving success in life is exceptionally important for me	92	92	93	94	95	91	94	96	96	94
I don't need help from others in achieving success	42	40	45	47	54	36	43	55	51	39
If I work hard, I will get everything I want	67	64	70	67	69	56	86	80	88	59
Now in our country every entrepreneurial man can come to fortune	41	37	39	37	35	37	37	43	45	26
In the present socio-economic conditions people like me don't have a chance in the future	29	28	26	25	27	33	22	37	26	24
I don't have much influence on things that happen to me	39	39	36	33	42	37	47	57	42	25
Our country needs a strong leader rather than democracy	47	43	51	42	46	40	57	68	60	48
Finding a job for everyone who wants to work should be the responsibility of the government	84	82	88	79	86	85	94	87	87	95
The gap between the lowest and the highest income of the people who work is definitely too big	83	85	81	77	81	78	86	82	84	94

³ The table contains the answers *definitely yes+yes*.

Socialism gives countries better opportunities for development rather than capitalism	27	24	34	29	28	26	42	54	45	42
Economy will function better if majority of companies will belong to private entrepreneurs	44	41	41	45	42	33	42	47	49	38
Close contact with the West (the European Union Member Countries) poses a threat to culture and economy of our country	31	27	35	30	29	31	17	32	36	41

On the other hand, the lowest score was given in the South borderland of Poland (Racibórz 36%) and Nyíregyháza in Hungary 39%. Anomie would be in correlation with individualization which is the strongest in the West border of Poland and in the South and East borders of Ukraine.

In the case of trust in success of hard work, the highest affirmation of this opinion is noticed in Drohobych 86%, Kharkiv 88% and least often in Hungary 59% and Racibórz 56%. In the remaining Polish borderlands this statement was accepted by approximately three quarters of respondents. 35-45% of youth in Polish and Ukrainian borderlands were convinced that an entrepreneurial man may come to fortune. Young Hungarians accepted this standing less often (26%).

Approximately one third of respondents agrees with the statement that in the present socio-economic conditions youth have no chance in the future. Noticeably less such voices were gathered in Drohobych (22%) and more in Uzhhorod (37%). Lack of hope and pessimism have touched a small group of youth. In the next statement, the level of fatalism the intensity of which in the researched population reached between 33% and 47% was measured. The highest level of it was noticed in Uzhhorod (57%), whereas the lowest in Nyíregyháza (25%). On the other hand, the authoritarian syndrome was observed among approximately 40-51% of respondents. It was the strongest in Ukrainian borderlands (Drohobych 57%; Uzhhorod 68%; Kharkiv 60%). This may be connected with disorganization and chaos resulting from the political conflict in Ukraine.

The support for etatism was high and exceeded the number of 80% respondents. The school-leavers from Drohobych 94% and Nyíregyháza 95%

most often agreed in the question whether the government should provide jobs for everyone. The acceptance of the postulate of regulation of remuneration and limiting income inequalities was analogical. The majority of youth in all of the borderlands agree with this statement. The highest percentage of support for egalitarianism was noticed in the Hungarian borderland (94%) and the lowest in Zielona Góra (77%).

Nonetheless, youth evaluate socialism differently. In Poland, 24-34% of respondents were convinced that socialism gives better development opportunities. In Ukraine such an opinion was stated by 42-54% of respondents. In Hungary there were 42% of supporters of socialism. Privatisation of economy was supported by approximately 40% of respondents from the whole population. The lowest percentage of such indications was noticed in Racibórz (33%), whereas the highest in Uzhhorod (47%) and Kharkiv (49%). Fears connected with further cultural and economic expansion with the European Union Member Countries were indicated most often by youth from Kharkiv (36%) and Nyíregyháza 41%. The least fears connected with cultural-economic integration were noticed among youth from Drohobych (17%).

By summing up the gathered observations on different spheres of anomie in borderlands it is necessary to state that the majority of youth aims at achieving success. This is a feature of the generation. Taking into account the institutional elements of anomie it is necessary to notice that among the population faith in one's determination and driving force, hope for the future, individualism are most common. Youth believe in entrepreneurship to a lesser extent, the level of fatalism is low. The second aspect connected with political system preferences shows that youth are egalitarian, etatist, authoritarian. Nonetheless, the minority of school-leavers evaluates socialism positively, majority is against privatization and one third of respondents believes that further integration with the European Union Member Countries will pose a threat to culture and economy. In other words, higher anxiety is noticed in the ideological sphere, since the political views of youth are different from liberal-market assumptions.

Most answers gathered in borderlands are similar. If there are differences, they most often appear between countries. The level of individualism, entrepreneurship and determination was the highest in Ukraine, whereas lower in Poland and even lower in Hungary. Lower fatalism was noticed in Ukraine, whereas higher in Poland and the highest in Hungary. The highest level of etatism was observed among Hungarian respondents, while lower among Ukrainian respondents and the lowest in the case of Polish youth. The affection for socialism was expressed by Ukrainian youth, then by young Hungarians and the least often by Polish youth. Privatisation of economy also has the majority of supporters among Poles and Ukrainians, less among Hungarians. The feeling of European Union posing a threat to culture and economy most often appeared

among Hungarians, less often in Poland. Internal polarization within a group was also noticed in Ukraine. In the West Ukraine the fears were at the lowest level, whereas in the East Ukraine definitely higher. This confirms the cultural gap between the East and the West of Ukraine, where one party strives for integration with the European Union, while the second aims at integration with Russia.

It is surprising that the majority of symptoms of anomie was noticed in Hungary, which may be explained by the current political situation in this country. The system with elements of „*welfare state*” is introduced by the government which focuses on supporting country capital, while neoliberalism is rejected. These ideological changes in the recent years may have led to changes in attitudes of youth.

It is necessary to state that the chances of achieving one's goals were evaluated at the highest level in Kharkhiv (66%), Drohobych (64%), Uzhhorod (63%). Lower level of optimism was observed in Polish borderlands in Zielona Góra (51%), Rzeszów (51%), Racibórz (43%), Przemyśl (39%), Krosno (36%). The lowest degree of faith in success was observed among young people from Nyíregyháza 27%.

Therefore it may be said that the index of anomie is the highest in the Hungarian borderland and the lowest in the Ukrainian borderlands. It is possible that the optimism and enthusiasm of Ukrainian youth results from the changes taking place in connection with the Euromaidan revolution. In Poland the feeling of lost chances is observed in the Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Slovak borderlands. Youth in the remaining borderlands evaluate their chances better. Hungarians assess the conditions in their borderlands the lowest, which confirms that they are prone to anomie in post-transformational conditions.

CONCLUSIONS

The anomalous behaviours are noticeable in the relations between cultural aims and system norms. Youth seems to pursue society expectations, by striving to find a job, get education, start a family, have friends and be independent. Nevertheless, means of achieving these aims are not fully approved by society. Nepotism and protection are highly valued strategies. It is especially observed in Poland and Hungary, which may indicate an innovation in the field of rules. In Ukraine cleverness and cunningness is given high importance. Hence the disharmony connected with common approval to deviatory strategies taken by school leavers. The meaning of knowing foreign languages which may be used in the process of looking for a job abroad may be interpreted analogically. In this case the question of innovation arises, as success is the goal and the means of achieving it is emigration. In general, high importance of deviatory strategies among young people indicates the occurrence of anomie.

The other index, which concerns institutional anomie, indicates clearly that individualism, universalism, aiming at success are present among the researched youth. Market values have entered different fields of social reality, which indicates the occurrence of anomie. The situation is even worse if ideological values of youth are taken into account. It is clear that they are significantly different from the promoted ones and on which social system is based in the researched countries. Youth are in contradiction with market solutions. Egalitarianism, etatism, authoritarianism are dominant among youth. The researched youth lives in a world which is not their reality. Moreover, a part of youth has fatalist attitude towards reality and has a feeling of limited chances for achieving life goals in their place of inhabitation. Therefore, fatalism and pessimism are further symptoms of anomie.

The assumption that the type of borderland determines the occurrence of anomie has been refuted. In this case it is necessary to refer to the standing of Grzegorz Babiński (1997, p. 51) who states that borderlands are mainly or to a greater extent parts of a whole, and even though certain individual nature and differences between processes that take place there are not completely negated, some of their fundamental reasons are located outside a borderland. The following research confirms this thesis: the extent and level of anomie among youth was differentiated to a greater extent by the country in which they live rather than the type of borderland. This means that youth in the borderlands is a social mirror in which phenomena typical for certain societies are reflected.

Taking into consideration all the analysed symptoms of anomie it can be stated that it is most noticeable in Hungary, a little less in Ukraine and the least in Poland. It is possible that different stages of advancement in modernisation processes in the countries from the discussed region and normative chaos resulting from cultural, political and social changes in Hungary, Poland and Ukraine have influence on differences in the occurrence of anomie. As shown, rapid and extensive changes give rise to positive attitudes towards the world which is rightful, certain and the order of which is protected by a powerful ruler, who provides stability and shares equally.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Babiński, G. (1997). *Pogranicze polsko-ukraińskie* [Polish-Ukrainian Borderland], Krakow: Nomos.

Bieliński, J. (2013). *Między anomią a fatalizmem. Regulacja społeczna w Polsce w okresie zmiany systemowej* [Between Anomie and Fatalism: Social Regulation in Poland during the Systemic Transformation] Kraków: Nomos.

Durkheim, E. (1951). *Suicide: A study in sociology*. Illinois: The Free Press. (Original work published 1897).

Merton, R. K. (1968). *Social structure and anomie*. New York: The Free Press.

Młodzież 2013. [Youth 2013] (2014). Warszawa: CBOS.

Nowak, S. (2009). *O Polsce i Polakach*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo UW.

Parsons, T. (1964). *Social Structure and Personality*. New York: The Free Press.

Szafranec, K. (2002). Anomia okresu transformacji a orientacje normatywne młodzieży. *Perspektywa międzygeneracyjna*, W: J. Mariański (red.). *Kondycja moralna społeczeństwa polskiego*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 453-481.

Sztompka, P. (1982). Dynamika ruchu odnowy w świetle teorii zachowania zbiorowego. *Studia Socjologiczne*, 3(4), 69-93.

Sztompka, P. (2000). *Trauma wielkiej zmiany. Społeczne koszty transformacji*. Warszawa: ISP PAN.

Wertenstein-Żuławski, J. (1988). Anomia i ruchy młodzieżowe, *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 32(3),137-154.